

★★★★FREEDOM INDEX★★★★

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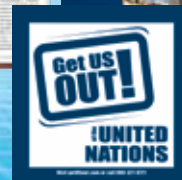
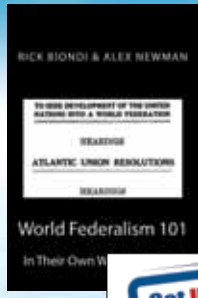


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# of the UNITED NATIONS



## U.N. Me

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## The United Nations and You

Join with JBS to *Get US Out!* of the UN by creating sufficient understanding among voters, business owners, and other community leaders to persuade Congress to approve the American Sovereignty Restoration Act that would "end membership of the United States in the United Nations." (2013, four-color trifold pamphlet, 1/\$0.20; 100-499/\$0.15ea; 500-999/\$0.13ea; 1,000+/\$0.10ea) PUNAY

## World Federalism 101

*World Federalism 101*, by Rick Biondi and Alex Newman, explores the history of the World Federalist and Atlantic Union movements in the U.S. Congress and beyond, as well as exposing proponents of world government using their own words and deeds. (2014, pb, 212pp, \$16.95; 5-9/\$14.95ea; 10+/\$13.95ea) BKWF101

## America and the United Nations

This analysis of the United Nations traces its history from its forerunner, the League of Nations, up to the present, and compares the basic foundational documents of the UN with those of the United States with regard to the protection of human rights. (2013, 45pp, pb, 1/\$2.95ea; 10-24/\$2.00ea; 25-49/\$1.50ea; 50-99/\$1.00ea; 100+/\$.95ea) BKLTAUN

## Our UN-American Military

Buy placing soldiers in the service of the United Nations and joining NATO, which is a UN "regional arrangement," U.S. politicians have virtually ensured both more wars and no-win wars. So why did they do it? Eight-page reprint by John F. McManus that originally appeared in the August 22, 2016 issue of TNA — pgs. 33-39. (2016, 8pp, 1-24/\$0.50ea; 25-99/\$0.40ea; 100+/\$0.35ea) RPOUNAM

## Inside the United Nations

The United Nations has been in existence for over 70 years, but its origins and objectives remain misunderstood by many Americans. This book is a brief, readable introduction to the United Nations and to the people who created and support it. (2013ed, 135pp, pb, 1/\$9.95ea; 5-19/\$8.95ea; 20-59/\$7.95ea; 60+/\$6.95ea) BKIUN

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## Miracle at Philadelphia

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## View of the Constitution of the United States

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This motion picture does an admirable job of dramatizing the events of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. (2006, 120min, cased DVD, \$19.95) DVDAMPU

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## COVER STORY

### POLITICS

#### 10 The Electoral College: The Best Way to Pick a President

by *Steve Byas* — Most Americans would be at a loss to explain why the Electoral College is important, even as liberals rage against it. Here's why.

## FEATURES

### CONGRESS

#### 20 The Freedom Index

Our fourth (and final) look at the 114th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as warrantless surveillance (House), firearms sales background checks (Senate), and the National Defense Authorization Act (House and Senate).

### BOOK REVIEW

#### 31 UNsilenced: Whistleblower Exposes UN Culture of Corruption

by *Alex Newman* — A former UN employee exposes the systemic corruption within the United Nations, including falsifying data, covering up scandals, and persecuting whistleblowers.

### HISTORY — PAST AND PERSPECTIVE

#### 34 The Forgotten Story of a Heroic UN Officer's Murder

by *Alex Newman* — After a UN official blew the whistle on a UN coverup of Soviet atrocities in Hungary, he was fired and persecuted, and eventually died in a suspicious "suicide." Here is his story.

### THE LAST WORD

#### 44 Congress Planning to Defund UN as Critics Seek Full Withdrawal

by *Alex Newman*

## DEPARTMENTS

18 American Principles

5 Letters to the Editor

33 The Goodness of America

7 Inside Track

41 Exercising the Right

9 QuickQuotes

42 Correction, Please!



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## Beating Bad Law

I read Steve Byas' article in the November 7 edition, regarding Senator Mike Lee addressing violations to the U.S. Constitution. There are further corrections that need to be addressed. Here is a major one: removing bad judges from the bench and erasing their unconstitutional judgments.

Federal judges can only rule on that which is expressly written in the U.S. Constitution. Article III, Section 1 states a judge's ability to hold office is premised on good behavior. Good behavior means to comply with the U.S. Constitution. A judge has acted in bad behavior whenever a decision violates the U.S. Constitution. Consequently he should be removed from office.

Then bad judges' bad law needs to be dealt with. As Chief Justice John Marshall stated in the landmark case *Marbury v. Madison*: "Thus, the particular phraseology of the constitution of the United States confirms and strengthens the principle, supposed to be essential to all written constitutions, that a law repugnant to the constitution is void, and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."

Voiding of an unconstitutional act dates to when the act occurred, not when it was decided by any branch of government. Therefore the People need not comply with an unconstitutional act from the date the act was created.

The question then becomes how can the People uphold the U.S. Constitution? The answer lies within that document. Amendment VII states: "In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right to trial by jury shall be preserved and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law."

This provision was not considered a passing thought by the Founding Fathers nor did it pertain only to civil suits. In their time the common law was common practice. It is also rooted in Article III, Section 2, Clause 3: "The Trial of all Crimes, except in Case of impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not

committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed."

Under common law only the jury considers all matters of law and fact, and it cannot be overturned unless done by another common-law jury as referenced in Amendment VII. Alexander Hamilton confirmed this fundamental principle in *The Federalist*, No. 81.

This reduces the role of a judge to merely referee to ensure court procedures are followed and as an advisor to the jury should they have any questions for the judge on a point of law. Neither the judge nor the prosecuting attorney can instruct a common-law jury on any matter of law and fact. A common-law jury is not required to follow statute law, since the former is not premised on the latter but instead their collective common sense, as has been the case dating back to the origins of the common law in medieval England.

Moreover, the prosecuting attorney must issue an indictment before the common-law grand jury or the grand jury can initiate the process with a presentment. The prosecution cannot proceed without the common-law grand jury's consent. The grand jury operates independently of the other three branches per the late Justice Antonin Scalia's decision in the case of *U.S. v. Williams* via other cases he cites: "Rooted in long centuries of Anglo-American history, the grand jury is mentioned in the Bill of Rights, but not in the body of the Constitution. It has not been textually assigned, therefore, to any of the branches described in the first three Articles. It is a constitutional fixture in its own right."

The U.S. Constitution gives the People the power to uphold it and their unalienable rights, but it is only effective if the People educate themselves and each other, and maintain a constant vigil.

DANIEL HUNT  
Manchester, Connecticut

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## Lame Duck Obama Grabbed More Land and Power

“This arrogant act by a lame duck president will not stand,” tweeted Senator Mike Lee (R-Utah) in reaction to President Barack Obama designating two national monuments on December 28 at sites in Nevada and in Lee’s home state of Utah.

Christy Goldfuss, managing director of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, stated that the action will not allow any new mining or oil and gas development within the monument boundaries.

The Bears Ears National Monument in Utah adds even more land to the control of the federal government, covering 1.35 million acres in the Four Corners region. While Lee and many other residents of the states affected by Obama’s latest executive order reacted angrily, conservationists were ecstatic.

In Nevada, the Gold Butte National Monument has been a site of controversy for more than 15 years. Environmentalists have worked feverishly to stop the expansion of Las Vegas in order to protect various indigenous species such as the desert tortoise.

Obama said his action will “protect some of our country’s most important cultural treasures, including abundant rock art, archaeological sites, and lands considered sacred by Native American tribes. Today’s actions will help protect this cultural legacy and will ensure that future generations are able to enjoy and appreciate these scenic and historic landscapes.”

Homer Cummings, the U.S. attorney general for President Franklin Roosevelt, issued an opinion in 1938 that while presidents could remove land from private use under the 1906 Antiquities Act, they could not reverse such executive actions. Republicans in Congress, incensed at Obama’s repeated use of executive orders to circumvent the will of Congress, are threatening to change the law in January.

This is an opportunity for the Republicans, who now control both houses of Congress and the White House, to rein in both the excessive power of the imperial presidency and the policy of the federal government controlling more and more land in the western states. Whether they will actually do so remains to be seen.



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## California Governor Vows to Resist Trump Climate Policies



AP Images

California Democratic Governor Jerry Brown, who has a record as a strong environmentalist and who has attended the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris and the Climate Summit of the Americas in Toronto, has said that he will take California in a different direction if the incoming Trump administration relaxes environmental regulations or measures to fight against so-called climate change.

In a December 26 interview with the *New York Times*, Brown pledged to bypass Washington and work directly with other nations and states to defend and strengthen California’s environmental policies, which are already the most aggressive in the

nation. Following the line prevailing among those who insist that carbon emissions contribute to climate change and global warming, Brown maintains that strict regulations are necessary to prevent such environmental calamities — a theory that has been disputed by many scientists.

“California can make a significant contribution to advancing the cause of dealing with climate change, irrespective of what goes on in Washington,” said Brown in the *Times* interview. “I wouldn’t underestimate California’s resolve if everything moves in this extreme climate denial direction. Yes, we will take action.”

Brown described Trump’s election as a setback for the climate movement, but predicted that it would be a temporary setback: “In a paradoxical way, it could speed up the efforts of leaders in the world to take climate change seriously.... The shock of official congressional and presidential denial will reverberate through the world.”

But the *Times* pointed out pitfalls in the path the Golden State has taken: “The environmental effort poses decided risks for this state. For one thing, Mr. Trump and Republicans have the power to undercut California’s climate policies. The Trump administration could reduce funds for the state’s vast research community ... which has contributed a great deal to climate science and energy innovation, or effectively nullify state regulations on clean air emissions and automobile fuel standards.”

The Trump administration should move quickly and decisively to dismantle and defund the climate-change lobby and withdraw all U.S. support for the UN’s destructive Paris Agreement.

## Venezuelan Parents Giving Up Children They Can't Feed

Poverty in Venezuela is becoming so severe that parents are increasingly “handing children over to the state, charities or friends and family,” reported Reuters December 15.

The nation with the world's largest oil reserves also has at present the world's highest inflation rate, a shrinking economy, rising joblessness, food shortages, forced Christmas sales, and currency crackdowns.

For those fortunate enough to have a job, wages average “less than the equivalent of \$50 a month at black market rates,” writes Reuters. (Forget the country's four official exchange rates, none of which even remotely reflects the bolivar's real value.) Prices,

meanwhile, are skyrocketing, putting necessities such as food and clothing beyond the reach of the growing number of poor. Given the choice between seeing their children starve to death — or, perhaps worse, get involved in begging or prostitution just to eat — and turning them over to others who may be able to feed them, many parents are, with heavy hearts, opting for the latter.

Hunger is a widespread problem in Venezuela, affecting millions. Two-thirds of 1,099 households with children in Caracas told children's rights organization Cecodap they didn't have enough to eat, according to a survey released by the group last week.

Some parents are simply abandoning their children. Infants and toddlers have been found in bags and cardboard boxes. Recently, two mothers checked out of hospitals after giving birth without taking their babies.

A social-services center in Carirubana, a municipality on a peninsula far from Caracas, sees “more than a dozen parents plead for help taking care of their children” every day, up from about one parent per day last year, says Reuters. Maria Salas, the center's director, said, “The principal motive now is lack of food.” The government, despite its professed compassion for the poor, has been no help.

Venezuelans are learning that the hard way. Others would be wise to learn from their experience rather than chase after the chimerical “workers' paradise” themselves — and end up having to give away their own children.



AP Images

## Study Finds One in Six Americans on Psychiatric Drugs

A new analysis published on December 12 in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) reveals that approximately one in six adults in the United States is taking at least one psychiatric drug, most commonly an antidepressant or anti-anxiety drug.

The analysis examined three classes of psychiatric drugs: antidepressants; anti-anxiety medications, including sedatives and hypnotics primarily used to treat anxiety and insomnia; and antipsychotics, for patients suffering from conditions such as bipolar disorder and schizophrenia.

The researchers found that 16.7 percent of adults reported filling one or more prescriptions for psychiatric drugs in 2013, of whom 12 percent reported antidepressant use; 8.3 percent reported taking anti-anxiety meds, sedatives, and hypnotics; and 1.6 percent used antipsychotics.

Women were more likely to report taking a psychiatric drug than men. In 2013, one in five women had filled at least one psychiatric drug prescription that year.

The numbers vary dramatically depending on race: 20.8 percent of white adults reported use of psychiatric drugs, compared with 8.7 percent of Hispanic adults, 9.7 percent of black adults and 4.8 percent of Asian adults.

Adults between the ages of 60 and 85 are now the highest users of psychiatric medicines, with over a quarter of that population reporting use, as compared to nine percent among those



between the ages of 18 and 39 and 18 percent among those between the ages of 40 and 59.

The majority of adults in the survey who reported taking psychiatric medications have been using them a long time: Eighty-four percent of those who reported psychiatric drug use had filled three or more prescriptions in 2013, which the authors considered long-term use. The most commonly used type of drug was an antidepressant, followed by an anti-anxiety drug or sleeping pill.

With patients and doctors seeking immediate relief for certain symptoms, too many Americans are opting for prescription medications when they may indeed not always be necessary. The JAMA report is just the latest to underscore once more that there is a definite overmedication problem in the United States. ■



### Buchanan Suggests Two Senators Should Receive "Get the U.S. Out" Material

"If the folks over at the John Birch Society still have some of those bumper stickers — 'Get the U.S. out of the U.N., and the U.N. out of the U.S.!' they might FedEx a batch over to Schumer and Graham."

*When the U.S. ambassador to the UN failed to veto a measure chastising Israel's building of settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, her refusal stirred up an enormous controversy that had Senators Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) condemning the United Nations. In his column about the matter, Pat Buchanan suggested that the two senators, who are well-known supporters of the UN, ought to team up with The John Birch Society and its decades-long campaign to have the United States withdraw from the world body.*



AP Images

### O'Reilly Slams George Will; Defends Donald Trump

"Will despises Trump, feels he is an intellectual inferior and even left the Republican Party because of Trump's nomination. What's troubling, however, is that much of Will's negative analysis is driven by personal animus."

*Perhaps the Republican Party should be elated at losing Will. It's good to find Bill O'Reilly lambasting a certified member of the establishment.*



AP Images

### Advocate of Less Spending to Lead Office of Management and Budget

"He's a tremendous talent, especially when it comes to numbers and budgets."

*President-elect Donald Trump named Congressman Mick Mulvaney (R-S.C.), a leading member of the House Freedom Caucus, to be budget director for the incoming administration.*

### Opposition to European Union Grows in France

"In 2005, a majority voted against Europe, and we still find ourselves in Europe. I find it inadmissible."

*Referring to the French vote against the draft EU Constitution in 2005,*

*Pascal Verrelle is now the mayor of a small town and an ardent member of the right-wing National Front political party.*

### Two Senators Push for Nuclear Power

"If we want to clean the air and reduce carbon emissions to deal with climate change, we need a stronger, not weaker, nuclear energy sector. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission must work with utilities ... to develop the next generation of reactors that will provide cheaper, reliable, carbon-free electricity."

*Two senators with diverse views about most other matters, Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.) and Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.), agree on the wisdom of relying on nuclear power for electricity.*

### President-elect Says Truck Attack in Germany Vindicates His Attitude

"You know my plans. All along, I've been proven to be right."

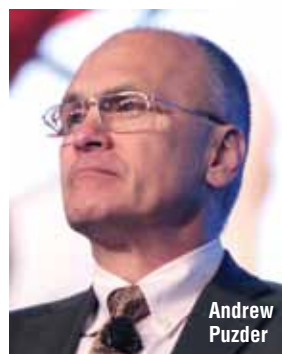
*According to an advisor, Donald Trump was referring to the need to bar entry of those seeking to migrate to the United States from countries where Islamic extremism is present.*

### Trump Nominee for Secretary of Labor Applauds Use of Robots

"They're always polite, they always upsell, they never take a vacation, they never show up late, there's never a slip or fall or an age, sex or race discrimination case."

*The chief executive of CKE Restaurants, Andrew Puzder, knows from experience that human workers can be undependable. ■*

— COMPILED BY JOHN F. McMANUS



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# THE **ELECTORAL COLLEGE**

The best way to pick  
a president



Most Americans would be at a loss to explain why the Electoral College is important, even as liberals rage against it. Here's why.



by Steve Byas

Imagine that it is the year 2028. America has abolished the Electoral College, with the 28th Amendment to the Constitution. With only a few weeks left before the inauguration of the next president, the United States faces a serious crisis. The election has failed to produce a clear winner.

After three days of counting, the Republican candidate appeared to have edged the Democratic Party choice by a mere 4,123 votes nationally, out of 135 million votes.

Of course, the Democrats refused to accept the results, and some additional “absentee votes” were found in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, which sent the Democrat surging ahead. But just as amazingly, Republicans in several small counties in Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, Idaho, Nebraska, Alabama, and Mississippi had likewise “found” additional votes, which put the Republican back on top by a little under 1,000 votes.

Lawsuits have filled the courts across the country. In several states, Democrats have even gone to court to stop the counting of votes from soldiers and sailors deployed around the world, arguing they were turned in “too late.” Riots are breaking out across the nation, and the National Guard has been called out in several states.

A national recount has begun, conducted by the United States Election Agency, created by Congress in the wake of the abolition of the Electoral College. But after three weeks, it has become obvious that the country will never settle — peacefully — who had actually won the election.

### A Tranquil Election

One can hope that such a frightening scenario will never happen. But if the system created by the Framers of the Constitution — choosing the president by electors, who are themselves elected through various methods by the several states — had been still in place in the above hypothetical election, the nation would have had a known winner weeks earlier, maybe even on election night.

Despite a concerted effort to overturn the November 8, 2016 presidential election, New York businessman Donald Trump was nevertheless chosen by the Electoral College on December 19 as the

Despite the unanimity of the Founding Fathers in their support of what we now call the Electoral College, in our day it is castigated as at best antiquated and at worst, racist.

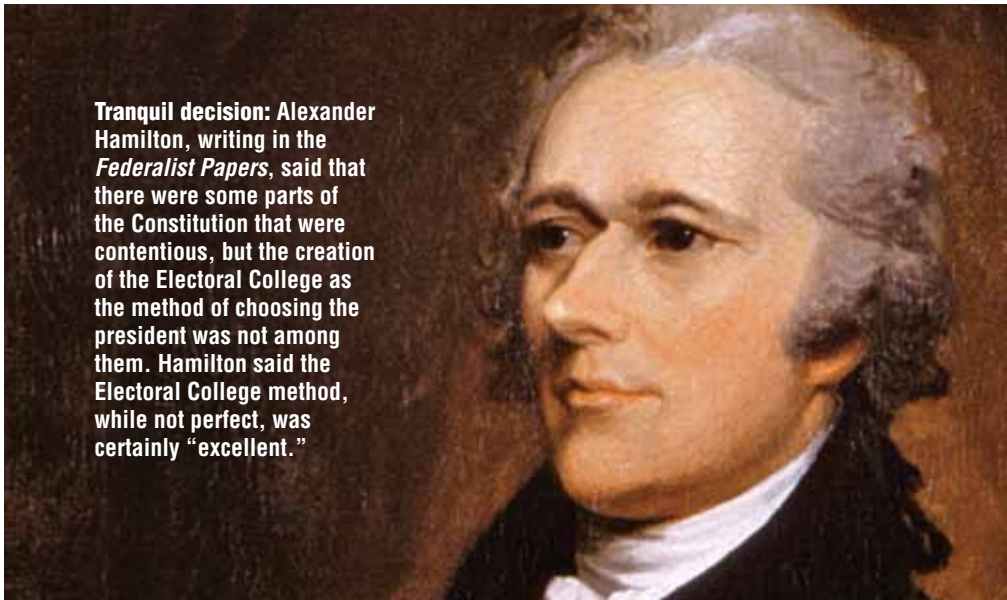
nation’s 45th president. Activists who favored Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton argued that since she ran first in the “popular vote,” the electors in states carried by Trump should just go ahead and cast their votes for Clinton. There were the predictable protests, and electors were inundated with pleas to change their votes, with even some ugly attempts at intimidation, such as murder threats. But in the end, the Electoral College did its work — demonstrating the wisdom of the Founders in their creation of a presidential elections system, which still provides for a peaceful transfer of power.

St. George Tucker, writing in his book *View of the Constitution of the United States*, said little about the Electoral College method of presidential election, other than it was the Constitution’s way of providing for the “tranquility” of the election of the chief magistrate of the U.S. government. Tucker’s 1803 book was the first systematic commentary on the Constitution following its adoption, ratification, and addition of the Bill of Rights. It was, for the next several decades, the most important handbook for American law stu-

dents, lawyers, judges, and statesmen. Tucker adopted the view of the federal government as an agent of the sovereign people of the several states, and heavily influenced the general understanding of what the Framers of the Constitution were wishing to accomplish. According to Tucker, the delegates at the constitutional convention disagreed on many things, but choosing the president via electors was not one of them.

Alexander Hamilton said the way the president was to be elected under the Constitution was certainly not perfect, but it was “excellent.” Writing in *The Federalist*, No. 83, Hamilton said, “The mode of appointment of the Chief Magistrate of the United States is almost the only part of the system, of any consequence, which has escaped without severe censure, or which has received the slightest mark of approbation from its opponents.” Making a similar point to what would be noted by Tucker a few years later, Hamilton believed the method of election of the president would “afford as little opportunity as possible to tumult and disorder.”

Despite the unanimity of the Founding

A portrait of Alexander Hamilton, showing him from the chest up, wearing a dark coat and a white cravat. He has light-colored, wavy hair and is looking slightly to the left.

**Tranquil decision:** Alexander Hamilton, writing in the *Federalist Papers*, said that there were some parts of the Constitution that were contentious, but the creation of the Electoral College as the method of choosing the president was not among them. Hamilton said the Electoral College method, while not perfect, was certainly “excellent.”

If the United States were to replace the Electoral College with a national popular election, we could expect an intensification of the current drift toward an imperial presidency.

Fathers in their support of what we now call the Electoral College, in our day it is castigated as at best antiquated and at worst, racist. Today, it is largely misunderstood, even by many of its defenders, some of whom assert that it is not working as it was intended to work by the Founders. It is safe to assume that such a statement could be made about a large portion of the Constitution, but the historical record clearly indicates that the Founders created the Electoral College as an important element in their overall goals of creating a republic, not a democracy; they wanted that republic to be of a federal nature; and, of course, they hoped it would produce the best possible person for the position of president of the United States.

### The Constitution Created a Republic, Not a Democracy

Upon leaving the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was asked what form of government the delegates had given

the United States. Franklin's response was, "A republic if you can keep it." In *The Federalist*, No. 10 (the *Federalist Papers* were a series of newspaper articles written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay in an effort to persuade the average person in New York State that the Constitution should be ratified), Madison took a dim view of a pure democracy, arguing, "Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths."

What Madison wanted instead, and what he believed the Constitution had established, was a republic: "A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect."

More recently, commentator George Will put it well: "The core principle of our republicanism is representation: The

people do not decide things. They decide who will decide."

Perhaps the most serious misunderstanding about this entire issue is the mistaken belief that the purpose of government is to create the conditions for the will of the majority to prevail. Fisher Ames, a member of the first three Congresses, did not agree with this proposition. He said, "Liberty has never lasted long in a democracy; nor has it ever ended in anything better than despotism."

The very reason that government should even exist is to advance liberty, and to protect the lives and property of its people. As Thomas Jefferson put it in the Declaration of Independence, government's legitimate purpose is to "secure" rights granted by the Creator. Certainly, for a government to be legitimate, it must obtain its "just" powers from the consent of the governed. But put simply, the only powers government can justly exercise, even those granted them by the governed, are those that carry out the legitimate purposes of government. So in choosing the president, like every other action taken in connection with government, protecting the life, liberty, and property of the people is its purpose, rather than making sure the will of the majority prevails.

This is why the president is afforded the veto pen by the Constitution. A simple majority of Congress is not enough to prevail when the president vetoes an act of Congress, but rather a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress is required to make a bill a law over his objections. This provision of the Constitution is not for reasons of democracy, but rather for reasons of carrying out the purposes of the Constitution and of the institution of government itself. It is the reason we have courts to decide whether an accused person is guilty, rather than leaving the judgment up to the mob. If the purpose of government were to simply carry out the will of the majority, the Bill of Rights, indeed the entire Constitution, would be superfluous.

If the United States were to replace the Electoral College with a national popular election, we could expect an intensification of the current drift toward an imperial presidency. The president would be the only public official chosen by a national popular vote. This would dangerously tilt the powers of the federal government even more so in favor of the executive. With



**It won't happen again:** Washington won election as president by unanimous vote in the Electoral College in the nation's first presidential election. Four years later, he repeated his unanimous victory. No one else has matched this accomplishment.





AP Images

**States' role:** Electors cast votes at their state Capitol, not in D.C., thus illustrating the federal character of the election. Choosing the president by a national popular vote, instead of a state-by-state vote, would change the United States from a federal republic into a unitary democracy.

a national popular election “mandate,” presidents would make the argument that they represent “the will of the people,” and that Congress should fall in line. We have already experienced presidents asserting their right to make law through executive orders, or that they can make war on their own, without any approval from Congress.

Furthermore, using a *national* popular election for the selection of a president was not seriously considered by the Founders, as there were simply too many problems with such an idea. Under the federal system of government established by the Constitution, such a process would have been unworkable. After all, no other officer of the new general government would be chosen by a national election. Elections of the president by a direct and national popular vote would raise many serious questions — such as what to do about recounts and voter fraud, and even the question of who would count the votes. No doubt a national election commission of some sort would be required, and the states would likely not accept that.

### The Electoral College Preserves Federalism

Perhaps the Electoral College can be better understood by examining the issues surrounding the most intense debate at the Constitutional Convention — how to

choose members of Congress. Under the Articles of Confederation, each state exercised one vote, owing to their status as equal states. James Madison was among the leaders at the convention in bringing forth a plan for congressional representation that would give more votes in Congress to the more-populated states.

Not surprisingly, this so-called Virginia Plan met with stiff opposition from the lesser-populated states. At the time, Virginia had approximately twice the population of the next closest state, Massachusetts. Madison reluctantly accepted what has been called the Great Compromise of the convention — one house (the House of Representatives) would be apportioned by a state’s population, but a second house (the Senate) would have each state equally represented, with two senators. This was considered so important to the smaller states, but also to even some of the larger states, that it is the only part of the Constitution that can never be changed, even by constitutional amendment.

Because the government of the United States was to be a federal republic — or what is sometimes called a compound republic — the states were expected to elect both the Congress and the president. The selection of electors followed this pattern created in which the people in the states elect members of the House of Represen-

tatives, and the state legislatures of each state choose the members of the Senate.

The delegates rejected the idea of just letting Congress choose the president because this would reduce him to a mere creature of that body. They also understood that Congress, with its power to make laws, would be the most powerful branch of the new general government. They gave the president the veto power as a check on this awesome power.

This led the convention to create a system wherein the states would choose electors, who would then choose the president. How many electors would each state have? Following the pattern established with the Great Compromise on congressional representation, each state legislature could then choose, by whatever method they so determined, a number of electors, equal to their combined numbers of representatives and senators. Thus, the larger states would have more say in the election of the president, but it would also protect the people in the smaller states by forcing more respect for their interests, as well.

Significantly, the electors would not meet together, but rather in their state’s capital city. The very term “electoral college” was a later invention, not even being referred to in federal law until 1845.

### Electors Are Chosen for Their Independent Judgment

Another assumption apparently made by the constitutional Framers was that each elector would use his own judgment in how to cast his vote. A comparison can be made to members of the House of Representatives. Although these individuals are chosen by the popular vote within their congressional districts (and not by some national popular vote), they are not “bound” to vote any particular way on the issues that come before them.

It was thought that the members of the House of Representatives would be chosen by their character, their views as expressed in the campaign, and their independent judgment. These qualities were important, since the Founders did not intend for the average citizen to vote on each national issue, leaving that up to their congressman’s judgment. As George Will stated, “Representatives are supposed to deliberate about the national interest.”

If one's goal is for government to protect our lives, liberty, and property, then the preservation of the Electoral College would seem imperative.

And if citizens did not like the way their congressman voted, they could just vote him out at the next election.

Similar expectations were made of presidential electors. It was hoped that they would make a careful study of the various men who could potentially serve as the nation's president, and make a deliberative judgment. While each elector would cast his own individual vote, it was assumed each would benefit from a discussion with the other electors in their state before making a final decision.

### Evolution of the Electoral College

One reason that the Electoral College system does not operate exactly as expected by the Framers of the Constitution is that they left the elector selection method up to each state legislature. In the first presidential election, the legislatures of Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey, and South Carolina simply appointed the electors. Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland picked their electors with a popular vote. Maryland set up its election for electors on a general ticket, but directed that five were to be residents from the "Western Shore," and three were to be from the "Eastern Shore." New York did not even choose any electors, as their legislature could never agree on how to proceed before the election of the first president.

It made little difference in the first presidential election, as George Washington was the unanimous choice.

Nine of the 15 state legislatures chose the electors in the second presidential election (which Washington also won by unanimous vote). By the 1830s, however, most states had gone to using a state popular vote method.

The Constitution provided that a person had to obtain a *majority* of the electoral vote in order to be elected, not just a *plurality*. Failure of any one candidate to gain the majority of the electoral vote would mean that the election would then be determined by the House of Representatives. This has happened twice — with

Jefferson winning in 1801, and John Quincy Adams winning in 1825. The Constitution requires that each state's delegation of House members cast only one unit vote, in that case.

### The Electoral College Today

Although the Electoral College has evolved over the years, it remains a testimony to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers. If the president were chosen through a national popular vote election, the campaign would look much different than it does now. Instead of candidates paying so much attention to small states such as Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Maine, they would instead camp out in large urban centers, where there are

lots of voters. This would, of course, tilt national policy away from the interests of what many on the east and west coasts of the United States presently dismiss as "flyover country." In fact, presidential candidates in the general election would tend to fly over "flyover country," spending little or no time campaigning there. Columnist William O'Rourke of the *Chicago Sun-Times* was quite explicit in his disdain for the country outside of New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other great metropolitan areas, calling the less-populated areas of the country "Yahoo Nation."

O'Rourke's description of the middle of the country was extremely vitriolic, asserting that the part of America that voted against Al Gore in 2000 "is a large, lopsided horseshoe, a twisted W, made up of primarily the Deep South and the vast, lowly populated upper-far-west states that are filled with vestiges of gun-loving, Ku Klux Klan-sponsoring, formerly lynching-happy, survivalist-minded, hate crime-



**Eliminating rural pull:** Liberals were angry in 2000 when Al Gore finished first in the popular vote, but lost to George Bush in the Electoral College. A *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist even said that the part of the country that had not voted for Gore was made up of "gun-loving, Ku Klux Klan-sponsoring, formerly lynching-happy, survivalist-minded, hate crime-perpetrating, non-blue-blooded, rugged individualists." Such liberals prefer the national popular vote, in which large cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City would dominate the selection of the president.





AP Images

**Playing by the rules:** Trump won the election in the Electoral College, according to the rules set before the presidential election. Since the *national* popular vote does not determine the election of the president, but rather the *state-by-state* popular vote, the candidates campaigned to win *states*. Had the national popular vote been the determining factor, the two candidates no doubt would have campaigned differently, and the national popular vote would have been different.

perpetrating, non-blue-blooded, rugged individualists.” He added that these areas do not contain “one center of thinking America, the teeming centers of creative and intellectual life.”

It should be noted that a popular vote in a presidential election may not necessarily reflect the winner of the popular vote under the present electoral methodology. After all, candidates could be expected to campaign much differently if they were trying to win the popular vote, rather than attempting to

win electoral votes by winning states. Neither Trump nor Clinton even bothered to campaign in California, the nation’s largest state. In a powerful demonstration of how a national popular vote could lead to that state dominating a national election, it should be noted that were the votes of California removed from the national popular vote, Trump would have actually finished ahead of Clinton in the popular vote, a swing of millions of votes. Conversely, millions of Republican voters living in “blue states”

who might have stayed home on Election Day because they couldn’t influence the election might vote in a national popular election scenario.

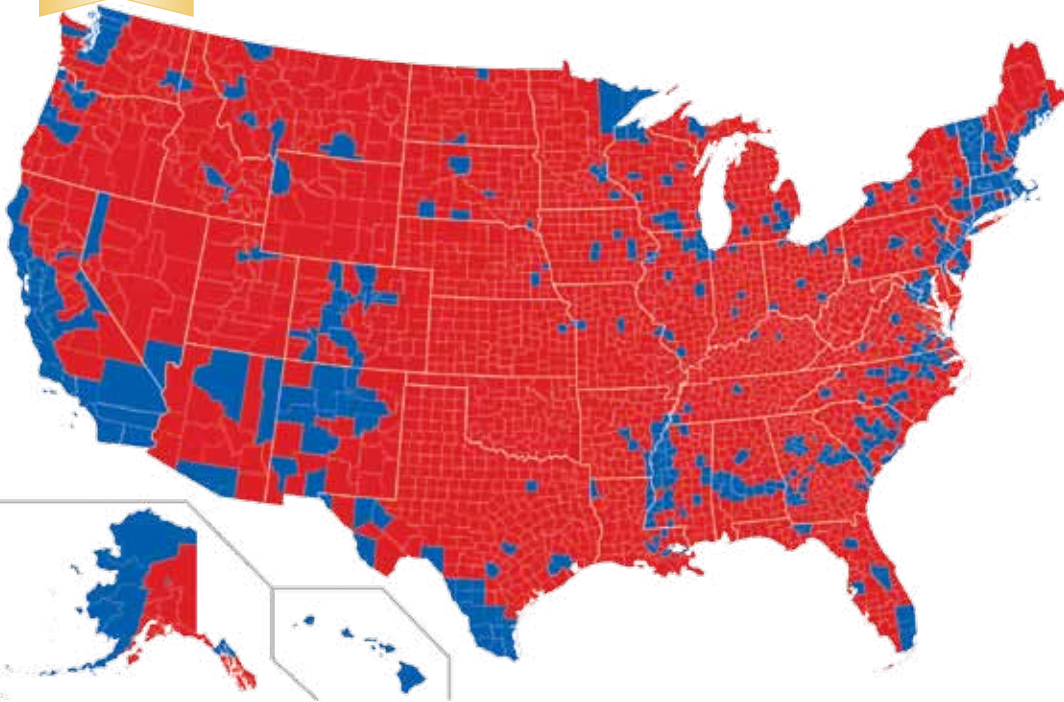
Strategy would be much different in a national popular vote election, rather than in an election determined by the electoral vote. After all, the game plan for a football game would be much different if field goals counted as four points instead of three, and touchdowns as five points instead of six, or if total yardage were the way a winner was determined, rather than by touchdowns, field goals, and safeties.

Determining a winner in a national popular vote election might even prove impossible. The 2000 election is particularly memorable, since it took 36 days *after* the election before a winner was finally declared — and that delay was solely because of disputes concerning the popular vote in one state: Florida. Texas Governor George W. Bush ran first in that state by a mere 537 votes out of six million cast, giving him a narrow 271-267 victory in the Electoral College. Americans who are old enough can remember the spectacle of the recounting of votes in a handful of Florida counties, in some cases even holding punch-card ballots up to the light in an effort to determine the intent of the voter.

Recounts are certainly an issue that would have to be resolved before the country could hold a meaningful national popular vote election for president. As it stands now, each state conducts its own recounts, according to its own laws. But if

## REASONS TO KEEP THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

- The Electoral College better maintains the federal character of presidential elections than does a national popular vote.
- With a national popular vote election, the trend toward an imperial presidency would only increase.
- The Electoral College limits the effects of vote fraud on the nationwide election results, since such fraud is more likely to occur in major metropolitan areas located in the larger states.
- A national popular vote election could lead to an election so close that a recount could not establish a winner.
- A national popular vote election would require more national control over the election process.
- A national popular vote election would increase the mistaken idea that the purpose of government is to ensure the will of the majority prevails, rather than the purpose of government being to protect life, liberty, and property.
- A national popular vote election would increase the cultural divisions of the country. ■



Even in “blue” states, once one gets outside of the population centers, the map is “red.” If one removed the votes of Los Angeles County and New York City, for example, Trump would have won the national popular vote. The Electoral College forces the candidates to care about the vast parts of the country outside of the great metropolitan centers. Going to a national popular vote could very well lead to a dismissal by the candidates of what some already call “fly-over country.”

the nation were to begin holding presidential elections based on a *national* popular vote, it is likely that this recount would be conducted by a federal agency. After all, what motive would a state have to spend funds to recount its votes in the circumstance that its own state’s election was not even close?

And once a federal agency begins to conduct a presidential election, with recounts, the detection of fraud, and ancillary issues, we would have *de facto* national control of all elections. It would be rather impractical to have a national agency overseeing just the presidential election, and this would mean even more power has shifted from the states to the federal government.

With a national popular vote election, in which fraud can no longer be “contained” within the borders of a single state, or a handful of states, the temptation to stuff the ballot box would be obvious. And with a national popular vote, states would likewise be tempted to increase their vote totals. This could lead to the spectacle of some states letting convicts inside state prisons cast ballots, the allowing of foreigners (both

legal residents and illegal aliens) to vote, and maybe even letting children as young as 12 (or younger) cast ballots. After all, most young children could be expected to pad the results according to the views of their parents.

Such shenanigans in one state would be unfortunate, but if the votes in states that resorted to such unseemly tactics were allowed to affect the outcome of the national election, it would be tragic for our Republic.

### Suggestions for Reform

While the Constitution left the actual selection method of states’ electors in the hands of state legislatures, Madison and Hamilton were disappointed when Pennsylvania and Maryland opted to use a “winner-take-all” method. They had apparently assumed that each congressional district would choose one elector, with the other two then picked directly by the state legislature. Since the

Civil War, however, states have generally awarded all of their electoral votes to the candidate who wins the popular vote in their state.

Today, only two states — Maine and Nebraska — use the congressional district method favored by Madison and Hamilton. This year, Hillary Clinton won the statewide popular vote in Maine, but because Republican Donald Trump carried one of the state’s two congressional districts, he garnered one electoral vote in Maine.

If every state adopted this method, it would better maintain the federal character of the presidential election as envisioned by the Founders than the present winner-take-all system prevalent across the country. Had this system been in effect in 2012, Mitt Romney would have been elected president over Barack Obama. Within the 26 states won by Obama, Rom-

ney actually won a plurality of votes in 99 congressional districts, while Obama won only 32 districts in “Red States.”

Opponents of this suggested reform argue that this would lead to state legislatures drawing congressional district lines so as to increase their state’s clout in determining the winner of the presidential election, much as they now influence the makeup of Congress through gerrymandering. Actually, increasing the power of state legislatures in the selection of the president can be argued to be a good thing, because it would help restore some of the power of the states in their relationship with the federal government.

If one’s goal is for government to protect our lives, liberty, and property, then the preservation of the Electoral College would seem imperative. ■

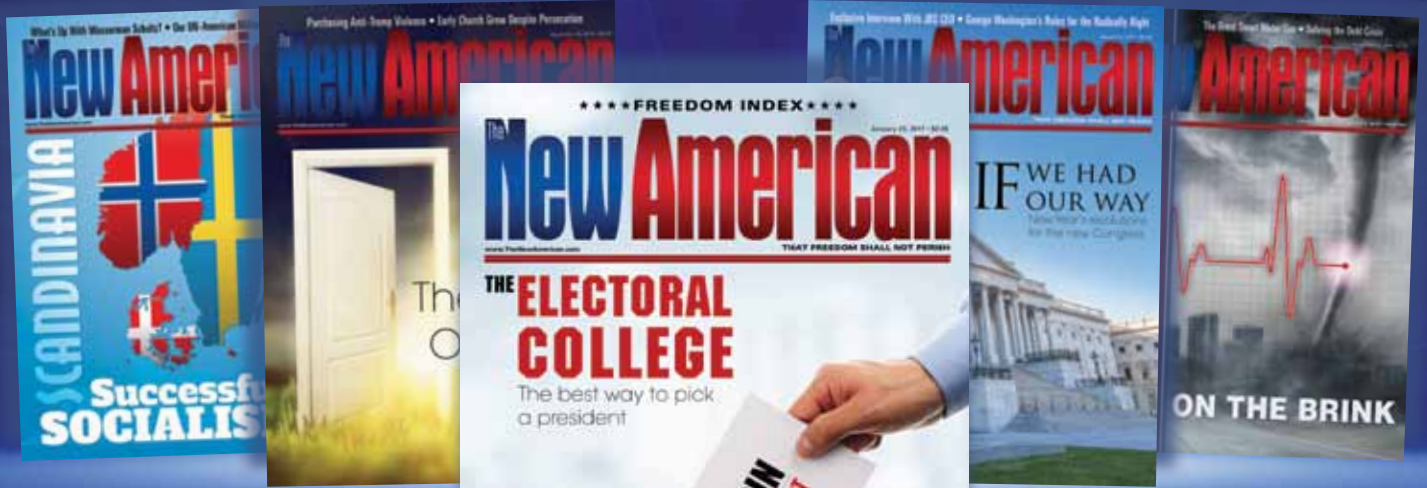


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## The Dawn of Hope

Each day bad news seems to pile upon bad news: Social chaos and economic malaise seem ever-broadening. But the good news is that the masses increasingly recognize the problems as merely the implementation of socialist plans to divide and conquer. (December 19, 2016, 48pp) TNA161219

## The Electoral College: The Best Way to Pick a President

Both when the Constitution was written and in the present day, the Electoral College has provided the ability to elect a new president with fairness and stability — and without rampant rioting, resentment, and court cases. (January 23, 2017, 48pp) TNA170123

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### Can a Nation Exist Without Sovereignty?

In the very first sentence of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson invoked the need for Americans to “dissolve the political bands which have connected them” with Great Britain and to “assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and Nature’s God entitle them.” In other words, by declaring independence, America was also asserting her sovereignty, although Jefferson did not use that term.

The notion of sovereignty traditionally implied a sovereign personage — a monarch by any other name — in which the ultimate authority of the state was believed to reside. According to this theory, a monarch is a necessary single repository for that ultimate authority. The major theoretical justification for the maintenance of the British monarchy is so that there can be a single personage in which the sovereign authority of the government of Great Britain (as well as of the governments of all those countries, such as Canada and Australia, which belong to the Commonwealth of Nations) can be placed.

Under a monarchical system, however, the sovereignty of a prince or even a king may be limited by some higher monarchical authority, such as an emperor (often styled a king of kings). It was a common practice over the ages for lesser monarchs and oligarchic authorities to pay tribute to higher and more powerful authorities. Thus, for example, the two “king” Herods of the New Testament were actually tetrarchs who exercised monarchic authority over Judea — but remained subordinate to Rome. During the peak of British power in India, many princely states remained nominally independent of the British Raj — but still paid tribute or made other significant concessions to the British in exchange for partial sovereignty.

The sovereignty alluded to by Jefferson is of an altogether more robust sort, and is not contingent on the whim of any foreign power, monarchical or otherwise. This modern notion of sovereignty is usually traced to the Peace of Westphalia, the

treaty that ended the Thirty Years’ War, Europe’s last great religious war. So long and devastating was that war, which included most of the powers of continental Europe in a no-holds-barred tilt between Catholic and Protestant powers, that the exhausted powers of Europe were forced to reconsider what it meant to be a nation at all. The reluctant conclusion was that, in recognition of irreconcilable differences between Catholic and Protestant forces, and in acknowledgement of the fact that these two great religious forces were likely to endure, each side needed to accept the other’s right to govern themselves as they saw fit. This meant that, in theory at least, interference by one nation in another’s internal affairs as a result of ideological or dogmatic differences was no longer to be countenanced; every independent nation, no matter how large or small, was to be regarded as an equal in the conduct of its internal affairs and its diplomacy. As a result, Catholic and Protestant states, as well as monarchies alongside republics, all were equivalent entities under the so-called law of nations. Pioneering theorists of the law of nations, such as Grotius, Pufendorf, Wolf, and Vattel, all helped to cement this notion of absolute sovereignty as legal doctrine.

According to Jefferson’s Declaration, the same “laws of Nature and Nature’s God” that give rise to unalienable rights such as life and liberty also confer upon a people the right to assert their sovereignty and remove themselves from the sovereignty of another, if they have sufficient cause for so doing. For the American Founders, sovereignty resided not in the person of some monarch, but in the people themselves. Aspects of such popular sovereignty could be delegated to a government, but could always be reclaimed by the people if their government chose to abuse it — or refused to fully vindicate it.

In our day, sovereignty is routinely ignored and derided by political and media elites. For example, the alleged need for free trade is frequently invoked to criticize any exercise of economic sovereignty such as tariffs and import controls. Yet if national sovereignty is truly inviolate, any

independent nation should have the absolute authority to set its own trade policies, however ill-considered they might seem to other countries. Nevertheless, the United States, thanks to the untiring efforts of these same elites, now finds itself subordinate to a number of international trade authorities, including NAFTA and the WTO, that have been granted ascendancy over aspects of domestic law.

Another area in which a sovereign nation enjoys absolute independence is in its military policy. A truly independent, fully sovereign United States of America would have unfettered authority over its own military, both as to the types of weapons it chooses to deploy, and over the decision to resort to war. Yet America today is hamstrung by dozens of treaties restricting the type and number of certain weapons it may possess, and requiring it to come to the defense of nations to which it is bound by treaty — nations in far-flung areas of the world such as Estonia and South Korea. In other words, we no longer enjoy total sovereignty over our military destiny. We have also lost control over our own borders, as the ongoing flood of illegal immigrants attests. No sovereign nation can long exist without border control.

And we are even losing control of our ability to make such laws as we please, thanks in large measure to our decades-long membership in that most pernicious of globalist institutions, the United Nations, as well as related entities such as the aforementioned WTO. The UN was founded as a platform on which to erect a true world government that would put an end to national sovereignty, and our continued membership in it is an affront to the Founders and to the sacrifices they made to secure our independence and sovereignty in the first place.

Popular sovereignty is the very basis of our entire system of government. Without it, we would still be subordinate, to some degree, to Great Britain, as is the case with Canada. To remain free, we must maintain our sovereignty and independence, especially from the UN-centered system designed to take them from us. ■

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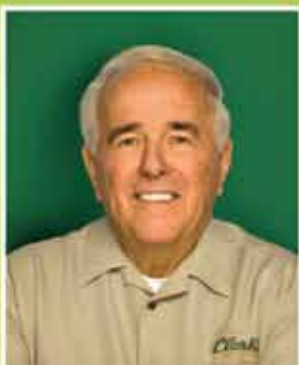
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# The Freedom Index

*A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution*

*Our fourth (and final) look at the 114th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as warrantless surveillance (House), fire-arms sales background checks (Senate), and the National Defense Authorization Act (House and Senate).*

## House Vote Descriptions

**31 Warrantless Surveillance.** During consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5293), Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to bar the use of funds in the bill from being used to conduct warrantless searches of Americans' digital communications that have crossed the U.S. border. Massie noted in a letter to his colleagues that "the Director of National Intelligence has confirmed that the government searches vast amounts of data — including the content of emails and telephone calls — without individualized suspicion or probable cause," and that "the director of the FBI has also confirmed that it uses this information to build criminal cases" against Americans. Massie added that the National Intelligence and FBI directors "are not above the Fourth Amendment, and this practice should end." Massie's amendment would also prohibit funds from being used



**Government spies:** With the majority of the U.S. House of Representatives voting to OK Fourth Amendment violations by the U.S. government — collecting electronic data without a warrant — privacy protections are all but gone.

to pressure companies to build "backdoors" into their products for surveillance.

The House rejected Massie's amendment on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 198 to 222 (Roll Call 321). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because Massie's amendment seeks to uphold the Constitution and its protection of privacy rights.

**32 Green-energy Mandates.** During consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5293), Representative Tom McClintock (R-Calif.) introduced an amendment to bar the use of funds in the bill to carry out certain green-energy mandates that, McClintock said on the House floor, have forced the military

## About This Index

**T**he 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 score for this index (votes 31-40) is 34 percent for both the House and Senate. Two representatives and

one senator earned 100 percent. We encourage readers to examine how their own congressmen voted on each of the 10 key measures, as well as overall. We also encourage readers to commend legislators for their constitutional votes and to urge improvement where needed.

This is our final index for the 114th Congress. Our first index (votes 1-10) for the 114th Congress appeared in our July 20, 2015 issue, our second index (votes 11-20) appeared in our January 25, 2016 issue, and our third index (votes 21-30) appeared in our July 18, 2016 issue. An online version of the "Freedom Index" is also available (click on "Freedom Index" at [TheNewAmerican.com](http://TheNewAmerican.com)). ■



# House Vote Scores ✓

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>ALABAMA</b>												
1 Byrne (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	59%
2 Roby (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
3 Rogers, Mike D. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	59%
4 Aderholt (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
5 Brooks, M. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	78%
6 Palmer (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	75%
7 Sewell (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	11%
<b>ALASKA</b>												
AL Young, D. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	62%
<b>ARIZONA</b>												
1 Kirkpatrick (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	?	?	17%
2 McSally (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
3 Grijalva (D)	56%	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	32%
4 Gosar (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	81%
5 Salmon (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	71%
6 Schweikert (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	73%
7 Gallego, Ruben (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
8 Franks (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	68%
9 Sinema (D)	0%	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>												
1 Crawford (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
2 Hill (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
3 Womack (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
4 Westerman (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>												
1 LaMalfa (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
2 Huffman (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	26%
3 Garamendi (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	21%
4 McClintock (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	71%
5 Thompson, M. (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
6 Matsui (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
7 Bera (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
8 Cook (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
9 McNerney (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
10 Denham (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
11 DeSaulnier (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	23%
12 Pelosi (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	18%
13 Lee, B. (D)	60%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	33%
14 Speier (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	16%
15 Swalwell (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
16 Costa (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
17 Honda (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	25%
18 Eshoo (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	18%
19 Lofgren (D)	44%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	?	+	23%
20 Farr (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	13%
21 Valadao (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%
22 Nunes (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
23 McCarthy (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
24 Capps (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	18%
25 Knight (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	62%
26 Brownley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
27 Chu (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	23%
28 Schiff (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
29 Cárdenas (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
30 Sherman (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
31 Aguilar (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	8%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
32 Napolitano (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	20%
33 Lieu (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	30%
34 Becerra (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	30%
35 Torres (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
36 Ruiz (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
37 Bass (D)	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	25%
38 Sánchez, Linda (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	21%
39 Royce (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
40 Roybal-Allard (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
41 Takano (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	30%
42 Calvert (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
43 Waters (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	26%
44 Hahn (D)	38%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	-	24%
45 Walters (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	49%
46 Sanchez, Loretta (D)	29%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	?	?	16%
47 Lowenthal (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	23%
48 Rohrabacher (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	83%
49 Issa (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
50 Hunter (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
51 Vargas (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
52 Peters, S. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
53 Davis, S. (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
<b>COLORADO</b>												
1 DeGette (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Polis (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	25%
3 Tipton (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
4 Buck (R)	50%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	77%
5 Lamborn (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	67%
6 Coffman (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
7 Perlmutter (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>												
1 Larson, J. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%
2 Courtney (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%
3 DeLauro (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%
4 Himes (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	8%
5 Esty (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
<b>DELAWARE</b>												
AL Carney (D)	11%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	18%
<b>FLORIDA</b>												
1 Miller, J. (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	68%
2 Graham, G. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
3 Yoho (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	77%
4 Crenshaw (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
5 Brown, C. (D)	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	10%
6 DeSantis (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	67%
7 Mica (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
8 Posey (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	80%
9 Grayson (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	28%
10 Webster (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	68%
11 Nugent (R)	38%	+	+	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	66%
12 Bilirakis (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
13 Jolly (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	45%
14 Castor (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	20%
15 Ross (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	60%
16 Buchanan (R)	33%	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	?	+	-	51%
17 Rooney (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
18 Murphy, P. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%

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 rep. did not vote; a "P" means he voted "present." If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 20, 22, and 24.

“to squander billions of dollars.” Citing examples, McClintock noted: “These mandates have cost the Navy as much as \$150 per gallon for jet fuel.... [They] forced the Air Force to pay \$59 per gallon for 11,000 gallons of biofuel in 2012 — 10 times more than regular jet fuel cost.” Also, “At Naval Station Norfolk, the Navy spent \$21 million to install a 10-acre solar array, which will supply a grand total of 2 percent of the base’s electricity ... [and] pay for itself in only 447 years. Too bad solar panels only last 25 years.”

The House passed McClintock’s amendment on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 221 to 197 (Roll Call 322). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the so-called green-energy mandates squander military resources and undermine the purpose of having a military, which is to defend the United States and win our wars.

**33 Aid to Pakistan.** During consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5293), Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.) introduced an amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the bill to provide aid to Pakistan, a supposed U.S. ally in the “war on terror.” Rohrabacher noted on the House floor: “Since 9/11, we have given Pakistan well over \$30 billion, the majority of which goes to military and security services of Pakistan. And Pakistan has used those services to murder and oppress their people.... It is a grotesque charade for us to suggest that our aid is buying Pakistani cooperation in the war on radical Islamic terrorism or in anything else.”

The House rejected Rohrabacher’s amendment on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 84 to 336 (Roll Call 325). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because U.S. foreign aid is unconstitutional, and aid sent to Pakistan has undermined rather than helped the cause of freedom.

**34 Aid to Syria.** During consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5293), Representative Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii) introduced an amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the bill for the Syria Train and Equip Program. Through this program, the U.S. government has armed so-called moderate jihadists who are not fighting for freedom but for an Islamic State under Sharia law,

not just in Syria but beyond — the same goal as ISIS. In her House speech advocating her amendment, Gabbard warned that “overthrowing Assad ... would strengthen groups like ISIS and al Qaeda, allowing them to take over all of Syria, creating an even worse humanity crisis and an even greater threat to the world.”

The House rejected Gabbard’s amendment on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 135 to 283 (Roll Call 328). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because U.S. foreign aid is unconstitutional, and arming so-called moderate jihadists to fight Assad is both counterproductive and tantamount to going to war in Syria.

**35 Authorization for Use of Military Force.** During consideration of the Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5293), Representative Barbara Lee (D-Calif.) introduced an amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the bill for the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force Act. Enacted in the wake of 9/11, the AUMF authorized the president to “use all necessary and appropriate force” against the terrorists involved, as well as those who aided or harbored them. It was used as the authorization for U.S. military entry into

Afghanistan in 2001, and over the years has also been invoked on other occasions by the executive branch to justify U.S. military intervention abroad.

The House rejected Lee’s amendment on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 146 to 274 (Roll Call 330). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because presidents have been able to claim broad authority to go to war whenever or wherever they choose under the AUMF, despite the fact that the Founding Fathers never intended for one man to make this decision, and under the Constitution only Congress may “declare war.”

**36 Countering Terrorist Radicalization Act.** This bill (H.R. 5471) would authorize the Homeland Security Department to train state and local law enforcement in methods for countering violent extremism and terrorism. This training would take place at fusion centers that have been established across the nation by the Homeland Security Department and the U.S. Department of Justice for promoting information sharing between agencies such as the CIA, FBI, U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. military, and state- and local-level governments. It



**Who is the bad guy here?** The U.S. government has been supplying arms to overthrow Syria’s totalitarian leader Bashar Assad. If he is overthrown, Islamic militants will take control of the country, which would be worse for the world, especially Syrians, than having Assad in charge.



	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
19 Clawson (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	77%
20 Hastings (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	?	?	-	+	25%
21 Deutch (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	16%
22 Frankel (D)	10%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	16%
23 Wasserman Schultz (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
24 Wilson, F. (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	?	15%
25 Diaz-Balart (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	45%
26 Curbelo (R)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	35%
27 Ros-Lehtinen (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	33%

**GEORGIA**

1 Carter, E.L. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
2 Bishop, S. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	28%
3 Westmoreland, L. (R)	43%	-	+	-	+	-	-	?	+	?	?	68%
4 Johnson, H. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
5 Lewis (D)	60%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	30%
6 Price, T. (R)	44%	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	?	67%
7 Woodall (R)	50%	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	65%
8 Scott, A. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
9 Collins, D. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
10 Hice (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	68%
11 Loudermilk (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
12 Allen (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
13 Scott, D. (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	-	+	-	-	21%
14 Graves, T. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%

**HAWAII**

1 Hanabusa (D)											-	-
2 Gabbard (D)	40%	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	23%

**IDAHO**

1 Labrador (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	92%
2 Simpson (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%

**ILLINOIS**

1 Rush (D)	33%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	?	21%
2 Kelly, R. (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	23%
3 Lipinski (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	19%
4 Gutiérrez (D)	56%	+	?	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	26%
5 Quigley (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
6 Roskam (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
7 Davis, D. (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	24%
8 Duckworth (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	10%
9 Schakowsky (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	+	+	25%
10 Dold (R)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	23%
11 Foster (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
12 Bost (R)	33%	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	52%
13 Davis, R. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
14 Hultgren (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
15 Shimkus (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
16 Kinzinger (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%
17 Bustos (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
18 LaHood (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%

**INDIANA**

1 Visclosky (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	18%
2 Walorski (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
3 Stutzman (R)	56%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	-	-	74%
4 Rokita (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
5 Brooks, S. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
6 Messer (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
7 Carson (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	20%
8 Bucshon (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
9 Young, T. (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%

**IOWA**

1 Blum (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	73%
2 Loebsack (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
3 Young, D. (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
4 King, S. (R)	40%	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	66%

**KANSAS**

1 Huelskamp (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	83%
2 Jenkins, L. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
3 Yoder (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
4 Pompeo (R)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	66%

**KENTUCKY**

1 Comer (R)											-	-
2 Guthrie (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
3 Yarmuth (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	25%
4 Massie (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
5 Rogers, H. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
6 Barr (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%

**LOUISIANA**

1 Scalise (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
2 Richmond (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	22%
3 Boustany (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
4 Fleming (R)	50%	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	80%
5 Abraham (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
6 Graves, G. (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%

**MAINE**

1 Pingree (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	23%
2 Poliquin (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%

**MARYLAND**

1 Harris (R)	50%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	78%
2 Ruppersberger (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
3 Sarbanes (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%
4 Edwards (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	23%
5 Hoyer (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
6 Delaney (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	8%
7 Cummings (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
8 Van Hollen (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%

**MASSACHUSETTS**

1 Neal (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	21%
2 McGovern (D)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	31%
3 Tsongas (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	25%
4 Kennedy (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	21%
5 Clark, K. (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	28%
6 Moulton (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
7 Capuano (D)	60%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	35%
8 Lynch (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11%
9 Keating (D)	11%	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	11%

**MICHIGAN**

1 Benishek (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	63%
2 Huizenga (R)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
3 Amash (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95%
4 Moolenaar (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
5 Kildee (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
6 Upton (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
7 Walberg (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
8 Bishop, M. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
9 Levin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
10 Miller, C. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
11 Trott (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
12 Dingell (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
13 Conyers (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	26%
14 Lawrence (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%

**MINNESOTA**

1 Walz (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Kline, J. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%

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 rep. did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 20, 22, and 24.

also would require the department to incorporate testimonials of former extremists and their friends and families into its efforts to combat terrorist recruitment and communications.

The House passed H.R. 5471 on June 16, 2016 by a vote of 402 to 15 (Roll Call 333). We have assigned pluses to the nays because providing federal training to state and local law-enforcement programs is not only unconstitutional, but also further federalizes the police system.

**37 Abortion.** During consideration of the Financial Services Appropriations bill (H.R. 5485), Representative Alan Grayson (D-Fla.) introduced an amendment that would strike section 613 of the bill, which prohibits Federal Employee Health Benefits Program funds from being used to pay for an abortion or abortion-related expenses. Essentially, Grayson's amendment would allow federal employees to have abortions covered by their taxpayer-funded health insurance.

The House rejected Grayson's amendment on July 6, 2016 by a vote of 177 to 245 (Roll Call 364). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the U.S. government should not be subsidizing abortions. While it is certainly constitutional for the federal government to provide healthcare to federal employees, abortion is not healthcare. The federal government should not be using taxpayer money to pay for the taking of innocent life.

**38 Power Plant Emissions.** During consideration of the Interior and Environment Appropriations bill (H.R. 5538), Representative Scott Peters (D-Calif.), on behalf of Representative Frank Pallone (D-N.J.), introduced an amendment that would remove provisions in the bill that would prohibit the Environmental Protection Agency from limiting the greenhouse gas emissions of new and existing power plants.

The House rejected Peters' amendment on July 12, 2016 by a vote of 182 to 244 (Roll Call 431). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the federal government has no constitutional authority to be making environmental regulations. Such regulations on power plants will likely do nothing to actually help the environ-



**Propaganda and intervention:** More than 90 percent of representatives who voted in the House agreed to fund a government propaganda campaign within the United States, as well as foreign operations in Syria.

ment, but will hurt consumers via higher prices and will almost certainly cause job losses in the energy sector. The EPA is an unconstitutional federal agency created by executive order, and Congress really ought to abolish it. Any action to limit the EPA's power is a good thing.

**39 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA).** This bill (S. 2943) authorizes \$611.2 billion for military programs in fiscal year 2017, including \$59.5 billion for foreign operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Among its many provisions, the massive bill creates a "Global Engagement Center" to counter "foreign state and non-state propaganda and disinformation efforts." Dubbed an Orwellian "Ministry of Truth" by critics including *THE NEW AMERICAN*, this new government propaganda center is authorized to "provide financial support" to (among others) "media content providers," including "local independent media who are best placed to refute foreign disinformation and manipulation in their own communities."

The House passed the NDAA on December 2, 2016 by a vote of 375 to 34 (Roll Call 600). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the authorizations in this bill go way beyond providing for our national defense. Our foreign military interventions in the Middle East in particular have exacer-

bated terrorism and undermined U.S. security. The creation of the Orwellian "Global Engagement Center," which was added to the NDAA without Congress being able to vote on it as a stand-alone bill, also falls outside the scope of legitimate national defense. Rather than agreeing to the version of NDAA they did, our lawmakers should have rejected it and passed instead a constitutionally sound version.

**40 Continuing Appropriations.** This bill (H.R. 2028) perpetuates Congress' growing habit of avoiding hard decisions about the level of federal spending by kicking the can down the road into the middle of the new fiscal year, with a continuing resolution that would provide funding for federal government operations at the fiscal year 2016 level through April 28, 2017 at an annualized "discretionary" rate of \$1.07 trillion.

The House passed the final version of H.R. 2028 on December 8, 2016 by a vote of 326 to 96 (Roll Call 620). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this Continuing Appropriations bill, Congress is failing to address its fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits measured in the hundreds of billions of dollars that contribute directly to the dramatic growth of our \$20 trillion national debt. ■



	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
3 Paulsen (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
4 McCollum (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	20%
5 Ellison (D)	33%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	-	28%
6 Emmer (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
7 Peterson (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%
8 Nolan (D)	40%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	25%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>												
1 Kelly (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	57%
2 Thompson, B. (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	21%
3 Harper (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
4 Palazzo (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
<b>MISSOURI</b>												
1 Clay (D)	22%	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	15%
2 Wagner (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
3 Luetkemeyer (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
4 Hartzler (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
5 Cleaver (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	15%
6 Graves, S. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
7 Long (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
8 Smith, J. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
<b>MONTANA</b>												
AL Zinke (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>												
1 Fortenberry (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
2 Ashford (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	18%
3 Smith, Adrian (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
<b>NEVADA</b>												
1 Titus (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	23%
2 Amodei (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
3 Heck, J. (R)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	-	55%
4 Hardy (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>												
1 Guinta (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
2 Kuster (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>												
1 Norcross (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
2 LoBiondo (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	45%
3 MacArthur (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
4 Smith, C. (R)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
5 Garrett (R)	67%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	-	79%
6 Pallone (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	26%
7 Lance (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
8 Sires (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
9 Pascrell (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
10 Payne (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
11 Frelinghuysen (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
12 Watson Coleman (D)	60%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	30%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>												
1 Lujan Grisham, M. (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
2 Pearce (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	62%
3 Lujan, B. (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>NEW YORK</b>												
1 Zeldin (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
2 King, P. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
3 Israel (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
4 Rice, K. (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
5 Meeks (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	16%
6 Meng (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	22%
7 Velázquez (D)	56%	+	?	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	26%
8 Jeffries (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	21%
9 Clarke, Y. (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	28%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
10 Nadler (D)	33%	+	-	-	-	+	-	?	-	+	-	26%
11 Donovan (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
12 Maloney, C. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13 Rangel (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
14 Crowley (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	20%
15 Serrano (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	23%
16 Engel (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
17 Lowey (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
18 Maloney, S. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
19 Gibson, C. (R)	50%	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	52%
20 Tonko (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	25%
21 Stefanik (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	43%
22 Hanna (R)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	33%
23 Reed, T. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
24 Katko (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	51%
25 Slaughter (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	20%
26 Higgins (D)	20%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
27 Collins, C. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Butterfield (D)	22%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-	16%
2 Ellmers (R)	22%	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	46%
3 Jones (R)	89%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	?	+	95%
4 Price, D. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
5 Foxx (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
6 Walker (R)	50%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	68%
7 Rouzer (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
8 Hudson (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
9 Pittenger (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
10 McHenry (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
11 Meadows (R)	50%	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	73%
12 Adams (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
13 Holding (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Cramer (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
<b>OHIO</b>												
1 Chabot (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
2 Wenstrup (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
3 Beatty (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
4 Jordan (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	79%
5 Latta (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
6 Johnson, B. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
7 Gibbs, B. (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
8 Davidson (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	15%
9 Kaptur (D)	50%	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	26%
10 Turner (R)	22%	-	+	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	50%
11 Fudge (D)	40%	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	23%
12 Tiberi (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
13 Ryan, T. (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	21%
14 Joyce (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
15 Stivers (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
16 Renacci (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	60%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>												
1 Bridenstine (R)	60%	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	79%
2 Mullin (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
3 Lucas (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	51%
4 Cole (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
5 Russell (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	60%
<b>OREGON</b>												
1 Bonamici (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
2 Walden (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
3 Blumenauer (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	21%
4 DeFazio (D)	56%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	+	28%
5 Schrader (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	20%

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 rep. did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 20, 22, and 24.

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
1 Brady, R. (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	18%
2 Evans (D)												
3 Kelly (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
4 Perry (R)	60%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	75%
5 Thompson, G. (R)	50%	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
6 Costello (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	45%
7 Meehan (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%
8 Fitzpatrick (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
9 Shuster (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
10 Marino (R)	22%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	?	-	-	53%
11 Barletta (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
12 Rothfus (R)	50%	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	73%
13 Boyle (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	16%
14 Doyle (D)		?	?	?	?	?	?	+	-	-	+	24%
15 Dent (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	50%
16 Pitts (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	58%
17 Cartwright (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	28%
18 Murphy, T. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
1 Cicilline (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	23%
2 Langevin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	13%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
1 Sanford (R)	60%	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	74%
2 Wilson, J. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
3 Duncan, Jeff (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	78%
4 Gowdy (R)	50%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	72%
5 Mulvaney (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	88%
6 Clyburn (D)	33%	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	?	19%
7 Rice, T. (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
AL Noem (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
1 Roe (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	64%
2 Duncan, John (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	90%
3 Fleischmann (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
4 DesJarlais (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	79%
5 Cooper (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
6 Black, D. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	64%
7 Blackburn, M. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	66%
8 Fincher (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	?	?	67%
9 Cohen (D)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	23%
<b>TEXAS</b>												
1 Gohmert (R)	80%	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	88%
2 Poe (R)	71%	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	?	?	63%
3 Johnson, S. (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	73%
4 Ratcliffe (R)	56%	+	+	-	?	-	-	+	+	-	+	74%
5 Hensarling (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
6 Barton (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	56%
7 Culberson (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	59%
8 Brady, K. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
9 Green, A. (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	15%
10 McCaul (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
11 Conaway (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
12 Granger (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	54%
13 Thornberry (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	50%
14 Weber (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	68%
15 Hinojosa (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
16 O'Rourke (D)	30%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	15%
17 Flores (R)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	60%
18 Jackson Lee (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15%
19 Neugebauer (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	63%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
20 Castro (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	18%
21 Smith, Lamar (R)	40%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
22 Olson (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	62%
23 Hurd (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
24 Marchant (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	61%
25 Williams (R)	56%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	?	+	64%
26 Burgess (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	80%
27 Farenthold (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	75%
28 Cuellar (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	28%
29 Green, G. (D)	11%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	18%
30 Johnson, E. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	14%
31 Carter, J. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	55%
32 Sessions, P. (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
33 Veasey (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
34 Vela (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	13%
35 Doggett (D)	40%	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	23%
36 Babin (R)	50%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	65%
<b>UTAH</b>												
1 Bishop, R. (R)	33%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	-	63%
2 Stewart (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
3 Chaffetz (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	61%
4 Love (R)	44%	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	?	-	68%
<b>VERMONT</b>												
AL Welch (D)	50%	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	33%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
1 Wittman (R)	40%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	65%
2 Rigell (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	55%
3 Scott, R. (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	20%
4 Forbes (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	?	67%
5 Hurt (R)	50%	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
6 Goodlatte (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	58%
7 Brat (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	-	85%
8 Beyer (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15%
9 Griffith (R)	70%	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	75%
10 Comstock (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	48%
11 Connolly (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
1 DelBene (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
2 Larsen, R. (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
3 Herrera Beutler (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	-	62%
4 Newhouse (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
5 McMorris Rodgers (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	52%
6 Kilmer (D)	20%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
7 McDermott (D)	56%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	+	26%
8 Reichert (R)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	43%
9 Smith, Adam (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
10 Heck, D. (D)	10%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
1 McKinley (R)	30%	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	63%
2 Mooney (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	75%
3 Jenkins, E. (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	60%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
1 Ryan, P. (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	58%
2 Pocan (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	30%
3 Kind (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	13%
4 Moore (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	29%
5 Sensenbrenner (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	68%
6 Grothman (R)	40%	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	62%
7 Duffy (R)	50%	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	62%
8 Ribble (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	63%
<b>WYOMING</b>												
AL Lummis (R)	70%	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	77%

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 rep. did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If a rep. cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to House vote descriptions on pages 22, 24, and 26.



# Senate Vote Descriptions

## 31 Overseas Domestic Programs.

During consideration of the National Defense Authorization Act (S. 2943), Senator Jack Reed (D-R.I.) introduced an amendment that would authorize an additional \$18 billion in overseas contingency operations for domestic programs. Part of the \$18 billion includes \$1.1 billion to combat heroin and opioid addiction, \$1.9 billion to implement an integrated campaign plan to counter ISIS, and \$1.9 billion to treat the Zika virus and prevent Zika outbreaks.

The Senate did not vote directly on Reed'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 June 9, 2016 by a vote of 43 to 55 (Roll Call 95). We have assigned pluses to the nays because funding overseas contingency operations for domestic programs is not "defense" spending and does not belong in the NDAA. The federal government has no constitutional authority to engage in such spending for operations in other countries, and using American taxpayer dollars in an attempt to fight drugs and disease is inappropriate.

## 32 Firearm Sales Background Checks.

During consideration of the Commerce, Justice, Science Appropriations bill (H.R. 2578), Senator Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) offered an amendment to require that a background check be conducted for every U.S. firearm sale.

The Senate did not vote directly on Murphy's amendment but on a motion to table (kill) another motion to send H.R. 2578 back to committee with instructions to add Murphy's amendment to the bill. The motion to table was agreed to on June 20, 2016 by a vote of 56 to 42 (Roll Call 107). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because federally mandated background checks for all firearm purchases have long been a goal of gun-control advocates, as they could easily be used to restrict firearm ownership by setting arbitrary requirements for passing the background checks. Murphy's amendment is a blatant violation of the Second Amendment,



**Real restrictions:** Senator Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) is shown here calling for gun control in the wake of the Orlando gay nightclub shooting. Since only law-abiding people would comply, nothing good could come from them. They would merely enable gun confiscation.

which prohibits the federal government from infringing upon the people's right to keep and bear arms.

## 33 No-fly List.

During consideration of the Commerce, Justice, Science Appropriations bill (H.R. 2578), Senator Susan Collins (R-Maine) offered an amendment that would authorize the attorney general to deny the transfer of a firearm to an individual who appears on the "no fly list" or the "selectee list" and would require notification to law-enforcement officials if an individual who has appeared on the Terrorist Screening Database within the last five years has requested a firearm transfer. The Senate did not vote directly on Collins' amendment but on a motion to table (kill) another motion to send H.R. 2578 back to committee with instructions to add Collins' amendment to the bill. The motion to table was rejected on June 23, 2016 by a vote of 46 to 52 (Roll Call 109). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because restricting non-criminals from flying is a violation of the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of "due process of law," and linking firearm ownership to a federal no-fly list is a violation of the Second Amendment's protection of the right of the people

to keep and bear arms. The federal no-fly list includes many people with no criminal record, and some people with identical or similar names to convicted criminals are erroneously placed on the list.

## 34 Sanctuary Cities.

This bill (S. 3100) would make states and cities ineligible for certain federal grants if they place restrictions on sharing information about the immigration status of individuals with the federal government or on fulfilling Homeland Security Department (DHS) requests to comply with "detainers," or requests to keep an immigrant in custody. The Senate did not vote directly on S. 3100 but on a motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the bill could come up for a vote. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on July 6, 2016 by a vote of 53 to 44 (Roll Call 119; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the presence of "sanctuary cities," in which cities and states harbor illegal immigrants and protect them from deportation, is a violation of federal immigration law. Saying such cities and states are ineligible for federal grants, while imperfect in that it

# Senate Vote Scores ✓

	Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>ALABAMA</b>													
Shelby (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	75%
Sessions, J. (R)	67%		+	+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	+	82%
<b>ALASKA</b>													
Murkowski (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	50%
Sullivan (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	65%
<b>ARIZONA</b>													
McCain (R)	60%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	56%
Flake (R)	60%		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	76%
<b>ARKANSAS</b>													
Boozman (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	65%
Cotton (R)	57%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	?	?	?	68%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>													
Feinstein (D)	0%		-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Boxer (D)	33%		-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	+	+	21%
<b>COLORADO</b>													
Bennet (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
Gardner (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>													
Blumenthal (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	15%
Murphy, C. (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>DELAWARE</b>													
Carper (D)	22%		+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10%
Coons (D)	11%		-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	8%
<b>FLORIDA</b>													
Nelson (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Rubio (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	66%
<b>GEORGIA</b>													
Isakson (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
Perdue (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	68%
<b>HAWAII</b>													
Schatz (D)	30%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	15%
Hirono (D)	30%		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	18%
<b>IDAHO</b>													
Crapo (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	70%
Risch (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	70%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>													
Durbin (D)	40%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	20%
Kirk (R)	30%		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	33%
<b>INDIANA</b>													
Coats (R)	33%		+	+	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	45%
Donnelly (D)	10%		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	28%
<b>IOWA</b>													
Grassley (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	65%
Ernst (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>KANSAS</b>													
Roberts (R)	44%		+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	54%
Moran, Jerry (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63%
<b>KENTUCKY</b>													
McConnell (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	48%
Paul (R)	90%		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	93%
<b>LOUISIANA</b>													
Vitter (R)	44%		+	+	+	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	65%
Cassidy (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63%

	Votes:	31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>MAINE</b>													
Collins (R)	40%		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	40%
King, A. (I)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	13%
<b>MARYLAND</b>													
Mikulski (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10%
Cardin (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>													
Warren (D)	40%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	20%
Markey (D)	30%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	21%
<b>MICHIGAN</b>													
Stabenow (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10%
Peters, G. (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8%
<b>MINNESOTA</b>													
Klobuchar (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	13%
Franken (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	15%
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>													
Cochran (R)	44%		+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	44%
Wicker (R)	44%		+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	59%
<b>MISSOURI</b>													
McCaskill (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	13%
Blunt (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	54%
<b>MONTANA</b>													
Tester (D)	40%		+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	28%
Daines (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	68%
<b>NEBRASKA</b>													
Fischer (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	65%
Sasse (R)	80%		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	78%
<b>NEVADA</b>													
Reid, H. (D)	40%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	21%
Heller (R)	67%		+	+	+	+	?	-	+	-	+	-	62%
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>													
Shaheen (D)	0%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5%
Ayotte (R)	20%		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	35%
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>													
Menendez (D)	10%		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	13%
Booker (D)	30%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	15%
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>													
Udall (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	18%
Heinrich (D)	20%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	18%
<b>NEW YORK</b>													
Schumer (D)	30%		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	18%
Gillibrand (D)	50%		-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	25%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>													
Burr (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	55%
Tillis (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>													
Hoeven (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	52%
Heitkamp (D)	20%		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	25%
<b>OHIO</b>													
Brown, S. (D)	11%		-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	13%
Portman (R)	30%		-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	49%
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>													
Inhofe (R)	40%		+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	62%
Lankford (R)	50%		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	65%



	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>OREGON</b>												
Wyden (D)	50%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	18%
Merkley (D)	40%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	23%
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>												
Casey (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	13%
Toomey (R)	30%	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>												
Reed, J. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15%
Whitehouse (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	15%
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>												
Graham, L. (R)	38%	+	+	-	?	?	-	-	-	+	-	35%
Scott, T. (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	62%
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>												
Thune (R)	44%	+	+	+	+	-	-	?	-	-	-	62%
Rounds (R)	44%	+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	-	54%
<b>TENNESSEE</b>												
Alexander (R)	30%	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	45%
Corker (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	62%
<b>TEXAS</b>												
Cornyn (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	52%
Cruz (R)	50%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	77%

	Votes: 31-40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1-40
<b>UTAH</b>												
Hatch (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	43%
Lee, M. (R)	100%	+	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	92%
<b>VERMONT</b>												
Leahy (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	18%
Sanders (I)	63%	?	-	?	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	46%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>												
Warner (D)	11%	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10%
Kaine (D)	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	8%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>												
Murray (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	13%
Cantwell (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	13%
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>												
Manchin (D)	40%	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	43%
Capito (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%
<b>WISCONSIN</b>												
Johnson, R. (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	52%
Baldwin (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	15%
<b>WYOMING</b>												
Enzi (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63%
Barrasso (R)	40%	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	58%

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 27, 29, and 30.

essentially uses federal (and likely unconstitutional) grant money as a "bribe," is still a step in the right direction.

**35 GMO Labeling.** This substitute amendment to S. 764 would require the Department of Agriculture to establish a national mandatory disclosure standard for genetically modified organism (GMO) food within two years of the bill's enactment. This bill as amended "prohibits states or political subdivisions of states from establishing or continuing requirements for labeling or disclosure of bioengineered or genetically engineered food that are not identical to the mandatory disclosure standard established by this bill." Companies could choose to provide GMO disclosure through a symbol or by electronic bar codes that could be scanned by smart phones.

The Senate passed this amended version of S. 764 on July 7, 2016 by a vote of 63 to 30 (Roll Call 123). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the power to pass legislation regarding agriculture in general and the labeling of agricultural products in particular was not granted to Congress by the Constitution. Therefore, this amended version of S. 764 usurps the power of the states to pass laws regarding GMO labeling of food products.

**36 Opioid Abuse Treatment and Prevention.** This bill (S. 524) would authorize \$103 million annually through fiscal 2021 for the Department of Justice to award grants to state, local, and tribal governments to provide services relating to opioid abuse, including first-responder training for opioid overdose reversal drugs and treatment alternatives to incarceration programs. It also would establish a Health and Human Services Department grant program for states to encourage pharmacists to dispense opioid overdose reversal drugs pursuant to a "standing order," which permits pharmacists to dispense medication without a person-specific prescription.

The Senate passed the final version (conference report) of S. 524 on July 13, 2016 by a vote of 92 to 2 (Roll Call 129). We have assigned pluses to the nays because attempting to help citizens deal with drug overdose and addiction is not a responsibility of the U.S. government under the Constitution. While it is arguably better to treat addicts as people having a medical problem rather than as criminals needing incarceration, this is not a constitutional use of taxpayer money. Such programs, if handled by government, should be handled by local or state governments rather than the federal government.

**37 Saudi Arabia.** This legislation (Senate Joint Resolution 39) would block the proposed \$1.15 billion sale of tanks and other military equipment to Saudi Arabia. Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.), who sponsored S. J. Res. 39, said prior to the vote that the debate should not just be about whether to "sell arms to Saudi Arabia," but whether to "sell arms to Saudi Arabia for the war in Yemen," where presumably the tanks would be used.

The Senate did not vote directly on S. J. Res. 39; it voted instead to table (kill) a motion to discharge S. J. Res. 39 from committee, thereby effectively killing the bill. The vote, on September 21, 2016, was 71 to 27 (Roll Call 145). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the United States should not interject itself in foreign conflicts such as the civil war in Yemen, and should not take steps tantamount to going to war without congressional debate and a declaration of war by Congress.

**38 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA).** This bill (S. 2943) authorizes \$611.2 billion for military programs in fiscal year 2017, including \$59.5 billion for foreign operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria.

Among its many provisions, the massive bill creates a “Global Engagement Center” to counter “foreign state and non-state propaganda and disinformation efforts.” Dubbed an Orwellian “Ministry of Truth” by critics including THE NEW AMERICAN, this new government propaganda center is authorized to “provide financial support” to (among others) “media content providers,” including “local independent media who are best placed to refute foreign disinformation and manipulation in their own communities.”

The Senate passed the final version (conference report) of S. 2943 on December 8, 2016 by a vote of 92 to 7 (Roll Call 159). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the authorizations in this bill go way beyond providing for our national defense. Our foreign military interventions in the Middle East in particular have exacerbated terrorism and undermined U.S. security. The creation of the Orwellian “Global Engagement Center,” which was added to the NDAA without Congress being able to vote on

it as a stand-alone bill, also falls outside the scope of legitimate national defense. Rather than agreeing to the version of NDAA they did, our lawmakers should have rejected it and passed instead a constitutionally sound version.

### 39 Continuing Appropriations.

This bill (H.R. 2028) perpetuates Congress’ growing habit of avoiding hard decisions about the level of federal spending by kicking the can down the road into the middle of the new fiscal year, with a continuing resolution that would provide funding for federal government operations at the fiscal year 2016 level through April 28, 2017 at an annualized discretionary rate of \$1.07 trillion.

The Senate agreed to H.R. 2028 on December 9, 2016 by a vote of 63 to 36 (Roll Call 161). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this Continuing Appropriations bill Congress is failing to address its fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits measured in the hundreds

of billions of dollars that contribute directly to the dramatic growth of our \$20 trillion national debt.

**40 Water Projects.** This bill (S. 612) would authorize approximately \$10 billion for construction of 30 Army Corps of Engineers water projects, including navigation, flood control, and environmental restoration projects. It would authorize \$170 million in response to the lead-contaminated water system in Flint, Michigan.

The Senate agreed to S. 612 on December 10, 2016 by a vote of 78 to 21 (Roll Call 163). We have assigned pluses to the nays because Army Corps of Engineers water projects are unconstitutional. Nowhere does the Constitution give the federal government authority to “restore” or “improve” the environment or guarantee safe drinking water. Such projects, if needed, should be handled by the states and cities. Further, many of the Army Corps of Engineers projects actually have disastrous results, far from what was originally intended. ■

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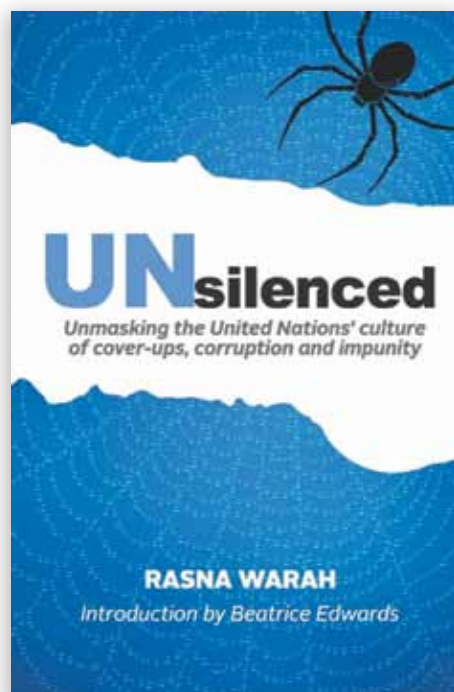
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# UNSILENCED:

## Whistleblower Exposes UN Culture of Corruption

A former UN employee exposes the systemic corruption within the United Nations, including falsifying data, covering up scandals, and persecuting whistleblowers.



by Alex Newman

***UNSILENCED: Unmasking the United Nations' Culture of Cover-ups, Corruption and Impunity***, by Rasna Warah, Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2016, 120 pages, paperback.

When she stumbled across massive corruption and made-up statistics in her job at the United Nations, Rasna Warah knew she needed to act. But when she tried to blow the whistle, she was viciously attacked, publicly humiliated, threatened, intimidated, and more. Unfortunately, as Warah explains in her new book *UNSILENCED: Unmasking the United Nations' Culture of Cover-ups, Corruption and Impunity*, her case is far from unique.

In fact, the corruption and lawlessness across the UN appear to be systemic. Some of the cases described in the book and the pages of *THE NEW AMERICAN* magazine make the scandals she exposed and the retaliation she suffered seem mild by comparison. Indeed, in her book, she actually spends very little time dwelling on her own case, but delves instead into some of the many other known and unknown scandals that have rocked the global organization.

Perhaps the most grotesque whistleblower-related story in recent memory surrounds the now-infamous case of Anders Kompass, the UN human-rights official who exposed child-rape by “peace-keeping” troops in Africa after the UN refused to act on it. But the book is filled with startling examples of corruption, mismanagement, and more, ranging from brazen theft of taxpayer money to the sexual abuse and exploitation of children by UN “peace” troops. Just the quotes from the UN whistleblowers exposing the putrid UN culture of impunity make the book worth reading. Apparently the UN did not want a “culture of snitches,” as one whistleblower put it.

It got so bad that in 2015, as Warah explains, a coalition of nine UN whistleblowers got together to raise the matter with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. “Each of us has blown the whistle on serious wrongdoing, gross misconduct and even criminal acts at the United Nations,” the group wrote in the letter, which is quoted in the book. “Our collective experience of reporting misconduct in the UN covers sexual exploitation, abuse of power, corruption and other criminal behavior over a period of more than a decade and a half.”

The group noted in the letter that instead of the UN scrambling to make things right, though, it responded in every case by attacking the whistleblower instead of the crimes, abuse, and the people behind the problems. “Each of us has faced retaliation for report-

ing the wrongdoing,” the whistleblowers continued. “Our cases are well-known, and sadly, deter others from reporting wrongdoing. This must change.” Unfortunately for humanity, despite threats from Congress to cut funding, and increasingly widespread media attention, nothing has changed, as the book documents extensively.

Warah’s realization that something was very wrong at the UN began while she was serving at UN-Habitat as an editor of various publications, including the important “State of the World’s Cities” report. Her troubles began in 2009, when she traveled to Bahrain with Anna Tibaijuka, the executive director of the UN-Habitat agency that focuses on promoting “sustainable” cities. During the visit, Warah explained, some Bahrain officials asked how their money was being used.

“The executive director did not provide an adequate response, and thinking that perhaps she had not been briefed about it, I made my own inquiries when I returned to Nairobi,” explained Warah, a Kenyan of Indian heritage. “I discovered that at least \$350,000 of the \$1 million donation Bahrain had made to UN-Habitat could not be accounted for. When I asked my supervisors if they knew where the money went, they descended on me like a tonne of bricks, even threatening to not talk to me any more.”

At that time, Warah realized that “the money had probably been used on personal projects or maybe even diverted to individuals within the organization.” In an interesting turn of events, Warah later concluded that the monarchy in Bahrain did not even really care if its money had been used properly. Instead, it seems that the regime was involved in a sort of tit-for-tat agreement.

“In 2007, the Prime Minister of Bahrain, Shaikh Khalifa, had been awarded the UN-Habitat Scroll of Honour award for ‘his outstanding efforts in raising the

“My questioning resulted in several acts of retaliation, including public humiliation at office meetings, threats of non-renewal of contract, intimidating questioning during an interview for a post I had applied for and petty revenges, like forcing me to share my office with visiting consultants.” — Rasna Warah

living standards of Bahrainis,” Warah added in an e-mail about her experiences. “This was just before Bahrain experienced its own Arab spring, when the monarchy’s legitimacy was being questioned. The huge donation to UN-Habitat was probably how Bahrain’s monarchy ‘bought’ international legitimacy through the UN.”

Around that same time, Warah had already started to question how some of the alleged statistics used in the State of the World’s Cities reports were actually being computed. “Many UN agencies deliberately exaggerate the scale of a problem or disseminate statistics that are not based on any scientific survey or research,” she wrote in the book. Many also “manufacture data,” she added, “because that is how they remain relevant, how they push their agenda on the international stage, and how they attract donor [taxpayer] funding.”

During her stint editing the UN world cities report, Warah was concerned about the “Gini coefficient” numbers used for cities, which seek to measure income inequality. She tried to figure out how these were being arrived at. Not surprisingly, her superiors at the UN office were not pleased with the curiosity and additional scrutiny, Warah explained.

“My questioning resulted in several acts of retaliation, including public humiliation at office meetings, threats of non-renewal of contract, intimidating questioning during an interview for a post I had applied for and petty revenges, like forcing me to share my office with visiting consultants, even though I had made it clear that as editor of this important report I needed privacy and silence to carry out my work,” she explained in an e-mail to THE NEW AMERICAN. “I left the organization soon after due to frustration and a sense that my supervisors were hell-bent on making my life miserable.”

In response to the retaliation, Warah

filed an official complaint at the UN “Ethics Office,” which is supposed to investigate claims and provide relief to whistleblowers. The office claimed that “while there probably was evidence of wrongdoing at UN-Habitat, they could not establish whether I had experienced any retaliation,” Warah said, adding that determining whether retaliation took place is key to getting justice from the UN’s internal systems.

The book also contains a very informative introduction by Beatrice Edwards, the international program director at the whistleblower advocacy group Government Accountability Project. Edwards highlights a number of extremely serious issues. Among those is the fact that UN personnel enjoy immunity from national and local laws, leading to a total lack of accountability that produces lawlessness and impunity. She also blasts the UN’s supposed “internal system of justice” as subject to manipulation, calling its setup “increasingly opaque and arbitrary.”

When Warah tried to blow the whistle and seek relief, she witnessed the failures firsthand. “Since the Ethics Office could not determine retaliation, I could not take my case forward,” she explained. “Later I realized that the Ethics Office fails to prove retaliation in about 98 per cent of the whistleblower cases it receives, which suggests that it protects senior UN management rather than UN whistleblowers.” Numerous UN whistleblowers who have spoken to this magazine in recent years have made the same charge, and the UN has done little to dispel that notion.

In the case of Danish UN diplomat Paul Bang-Jensen, who blew the whistle on the deliberate sabotage of a UN probe into Soviet atrocities in Hungary, and tried to protect the identity of witnesses to protect them and their families from torture and murder, the saga ended with his suspicious

“suicide.” His death came after he had told his wife and others not to believe any claims that he would commit suicide. THE NEW AMERICAN magazine has a more in-depth story on Bang-Jensen and his saga on page 34.

There is so much more to learn from the *UNSILENCED* book. For instance, Warah describes how international “aid” outfits bring in huge quantities of tax-funded food supplies right around harvest time, flooding the market with basically “free” food in huge quantities. This crushes prices, thereby destroying the incentive for locals to farm while perpetuating dependence on corrupt agencies funded by Western taxpayers, in addition to ensuring budget increases for global bureaucrats.

Some of the ideas proposed in the book to remedy the many problems include reforming the UN’s internal justice system, setting up outside independent mechanisms, ensuring protection of whistleblowers, and more. Unfortunately, though, none of those recommendations get to the heart of the problem, which is that the dictator-dominated UN was flawed from the start and cannot be “reformed” enough to make it worth keeping. Surely protection for whistleblowers is needed — if only to ferret out criminals and bring them to justice, and to protect their victims, often children. But it will not solve the broader UN problem.

If there is anything to quibble about with the book, it is that it accepts as true many of the fundamental (and false) premises upon which the UN was established — the idea that “world peace” was the goal of leading UN founders such as butcher Joseph Stalin of Moscow and Soviet spy Alger Hiss of the United States, for instance. The book also occasionally treats leftist ideological claims — the idea that governments are responsible for feeding people, as just one example — as if they were facts. The ideological lens through which Warah reports, though, is easy to discern, and does not interfere with, or take away from, the excellent and brave work she has done exposing this cesspool of corruption and crime.

The book is well worth reading for anybody seeking information on UN corruption or the persecution of UN whistleblowers who try to do the right thing. For the sake of humanity and liberty, it needs to stop. ■





## THE GOODNESS OF AMERICA

### Brave High Schooler

Seventeen-year-old Daniel Wesley's heroic actions could not save a woman from her deranged boyfriend, but at least he ensured that she was not alone when she died, even if it meant putting his own life in danger.

Wesley was driving home from the Mall of Louisiana in Baton Rouge on November 26 when he saw 30-year-old April Peck being tossed from a car after she had been shot. He immediately jumped out of his car and went to her to try to stop the bleeding, but the man who shot Peck, her boyfriend Terrell Walker, came back and threatened Wesley and other bystanders who came to Peck's aid.

"He gets out and he yells, 'If you're helping her, you are going to die, too,' and he shot me in the butt and then he ran after everybody else," Wesley told WAFB. "On his way back to the car, he shot me again in the arm and then my feet were hanging off of the curb and whenever he pulled away, he hit my legs and broke my femur in half."

Wesley pretended to be dead until Walker fled the scene. Walker was later killed in a gunfight with sheriff's deputies.

Wesley's quick thinking managed to save his own life, but he has had to undergo multiple surgeries. Peck, sadly, could not be saved.

The response to Wesley's heroism has been enormous, with Walker's cousin even visiting him in the hospital to apologize for Walker's actions.

"I told her, 'Don't be sorry. You couldn't change it,'" Wesley told WAFB.

Wesley was also visited by Louisiana Governor John Edwards and his wife, Donna.

Unfortunately, Wesley's actions are likely to impede his dream of joining the military. "I wanted to go into the Army and be a medic in the Army, but now, I have screws in both hands, my elbow and a metal rod in my knee, so that is probably out of the picture," Wesley said, though he remains positive.

A GoFundMe page has been set up to help Wesley's family pay for his medical care and the months of rehabilitation ahead of him. In just five days, nearly three-quarters of the \$100,000 goal had been raised.

Though most people regard Wesley as a

hero, he says he was inspired by his father. "My dad was a paramedic and a supervisor. I was trained to do it. So, even though I was just trying to be a good Samaritan and do it, I felt like I kind of needed to do it," Wesley said.

### A Fresh Pair of Kicks

Greenwood (South Carolina) High School senior Tae Moore witnessed bullying at his school against fellow student Taylor Bates and did something amazing in response.

Bates, a young aspiring rapper who also goes by the name "Eazy T," was being bullied for the way he dressed, prompting Moore to reach out. According to Bates' Facebook post, Moore approached him and asked him his shoe size. When Bates responded that it was nine, Moore asked him to meet him in the same spot the following day. Unbeknownst to Bates, Moore went out that evening and purchased him a pair of expensive Jordan basketball shoes. On November 3, he presented Bates with the sneakers in the gym.

"Today when I went into the gym there was a small crowd of students around [Tae] who had a footlocker bag," Bates wrote. "When he saw me come in he pulled out a Jordan shoe box and he opened it and it had retro 1 Jordans, and then he handed them to me saying, 'here you go man these are yours.'"

Bates' initial response was that of confusion, and when he asked Moore why he was giving him the sneakers, Moore responded, "I heard people have been bullying you, so I wanted to get these to make you feel better."

Moore also added, "If anybody bullying you, you let me know alright?"

Moore, proud of his generosity and hoping to inspire others, posted a video of the exchange on his Facebook page with the following message: "It's this kid go to our school name Eazy T he likes to rap and etc he said he wants to be a rapper just trying to chase his dream but kids at school likes to bully him and pick on him and talk about him the way he dress and look so I went and bought him some Jordan's he was shocked."

Within just a few days, the video went viral.

Bates told Fox Carolina that he was so happy that he nearly cried. He hugged Moore and thanked him for his kindness.

### Proud Patriotism

It seems today that patriotism is considered to be politically incorrect, with protests against the national anthem sweeping the nation. San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick has made headlines for refusing to stand for the national anthem, with others following suit. But many Americans love their country and are proud of it, and those in attendance at a Fisher Football game in Philadelphia proved that on November 21.

The St. John Fisher College football team took it upon themselves to sing the national anthem when it became clear that the song was not going to be played before their big game against the University of Pennsylvania.

According to the Daily Wire, it's unclear why the national anthem was not played, as the teams had been told that it would be played after the coin flip.

The scene was caught on video by Jen Ventura, mother to football player Dominick Ventura. She posted it to the St. John Fisher Football Booster Club Facebook page. "ECAC playoff game in Philadelphia at Franklin Field and they didn't play the national anthem so our boys sang it!! #proud-americans," reads the Facebook post.

The boys lined up and waited for the playing of the national anthem as usual, explained Ventura, and when it became clear that it wasn't going to be played, they started singing it themselves. She said the parents and fans in the stands soon joined in. Even the players of the opposing team followed suit once they realized what was going on, the Blaze reports.

The Facebook post received a lot of positive responses from Fisher fans. "Proud to have been a part of such an amazing football program. Shame on them for not playing the anthem! Not surprised that the Fisher football family decided to take matters into their own hands. Thank you!" one fan wrote. ■

— RAVEN CLABOUGH

# The Forgotten Story of a Heroic UN Officer's Murder

After a UN official blew the whistle on a UN coverup of Soviet atrocities in Hungary, he was fired, persecuted, and eventually died in a suspicious “suicide.” Here is his story.

*by Alex Newman*

After blowing the whistle on the UN, Paul (Povl) Bang-Jensen, a United Nations official from Denmark, warned his wife and friends never to believe it if they were told that he had “committed suicide.” Then, supposedly, he “committed suicide.” That tragedy took place more than 50 years ago.

More recently, UN persecution of whistleblowers has made headlines around the world. Most infamous, perhaps, was the case of Swedish whistleblower Anders Kompass, a senior UN human rights official in Geneva. When he learned that international peacekeeping troops on a UN mandate in the Central African Republic were systematically raping children under 10 years old, he did the only thing a reasonable person could do: He tried to protect the children by passing the information along to somebody who might be able to act on it, French prosecutors in this case. Instead of being handed a medal, though, Kompass was escorted from his office under armed guard, “investigated” for alleged violation of “protocol,” humiliated, publicly smeared, and forced out of the UN. But at least he survived to tell the tale.

Long before the UN sought to destroy Kompass for trying to protect innocent children from barbarous “peace” troops, another heroic UN official was destroyed — and eventually murdered, it seems — for similarly trying to do the right thing in the face of monstrous evil. Bang-Jensen stood against communism and for truth. And he kept his word until the end. For that, he paid the ultimate price. But his saga still cries out from history, exposing



**Bang-Jensen:** UN official Povl (Paul) Bang-Jensen, a Danish diplomat and the original UN whistleblower, appears to have been “suicided” for exposing the UN and Soviet infiltration of institutions.

early the real nature of the UN. Today, as the UN continues to terrorize any and all insiders who speak out about UN crimes, the Bang-Jensen tragedy shows that the lawlessness and evil that permeate the UN are nothing new. The tale deserves to be heard — and the lessons it provides need to be understood.

Unfortunately, the crucial history of the Bang-Jensen saga has been largely ignored by modern-day pro-UN historians and scholars, even among those who focus on the UN. And it is not hard too understand why. If the story were more widely known, efforts by the UN and its apologists to portray the outfit as a benevolent organization working toward “world peace” and “human rights” would be in serious trouble, to put it mildly.

But the tragic saga is re-examined here, almost six decades later, in order that

Americans and people of goodwill around the world may better understand that the UN has been hopelessly under the control of ruthless totalitarians from the very beginning. It is, and always has been, irredeemable. The Bang-Jensen story also helps put the growing global outcry surrounding the UN’s ongoing war on whistleblowers into historical perspective — the recent wave of persecution against those who do the right thing at the UN is, in fact, nothing new.

Indeed, the Bang-Jensen tragedy shows that the UN’s relentless war on truth and freedom has been integral to the UN as an institution since its founding. The story also highlights in gruesome detail the lengths to which the UN, its member regimes, and the globalist establishment will go to protect tyrants and suppress truth — even if it means viciously smearing and



then apparently murdering a hero who actually believed in the UN and its ostensible mission. The lesson is clear: The UN needs to be dismantled. It grew from a poison seed, and so its fruit will inevitably be poisonous.

### The Story

Bang-Jensen, born in 1909, always stood against tyranny. When the National Socialists (Nazis) overran his homeland of Denmark, the liberty-minded patriot organized fierce resistance efforts to the Nazi war-machine. He even helped form a free government in exile, and was eventually tried for treason by Hitler's puppet regime in Denmark.

After that, Bang-Jensen ended up as a senior official at the recently formed UN. There, he was eventually appointed to serve as deputy secretary of the UN Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which was charged with investigating Moscow's savage suppression of an anti-Soviet uprising by Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956.

That is when the campaign to destroy him began. For refusing to tolerate the deliberate sabotage of the investigation into Soviet atrocities, and for refusing to give up the list of witnesses in order to protect their relatives in Hungary from torture and execution by the Soviets, the "powers that be" moved to crush him. They succeeded. But by doing so, they exposed the UN and its Soviet boosters as

**In addition to Bang-Jensen ultimately being fired for his efforts on behalf of the truth, vast swaths of the UN apparatus, as well as UN and Soviet lackeys in the United States, dedicated themselves to utterly destroying him for his heroic stand.**

barbarians willing to do anything — lie, cheat, maybe even murder — to conceal the truth and protect tyranny.

Official UN history records that Bang-Jensen was fired by then-UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld for alleged insubordination. The reality is much more sinister. In fact, he was attacked and crushed for exposing the deliberate UN coverup of Soviet barbarism in quashing the anti-communist 1956 uprising in Hungary.

That year, the U.S. government had, through radio broadcasts, convinced Hungarian freedom fighters that they would be supported if they rose up against their communist masters, who had enslaved the nation with Soviet backing in 1949 after World War II. When the freedom fighters did rise up to overthrow the communist regime, however, the U.S. government not only failed to provide support, but it even worked to block weapons shipments to the anti-communists. In the end, Soviet tanks rolled over and crushed the beleaguered rebellion in the most brutal and bloody manner conceivable. The uprising had failed. The mass-murdering Soviet mili-

tary unleashed a campaign of unspeakable terror across the nation. Thousands were murdered, including women and children machine-gunned by Soviet troops who shot at rescuers and engaged in "haphazard shooting at defenseless passers-by," according to testimony by witnesses. Soviet tanks "fired indiscriminately at every building from which they believed themselves to be under fire," even when there was no return fire and people lived inside. Almost a quarter of a million people fled the country amid mass arrests.

The UN committee Bang-Jensen served on gathered testimony from witnesses to the Soviet atrocities who, for obvious reasons, demanded that their identities be concealed. The UN outfit was supposed to document the Soviet horrors perpetrated in Hungary for the UN General Assembly by compiling the evidence. Instead of pursuing that mission honestly and faithfully, however, Bang-Jensen discovered that saboteurs within the UN itself were undermining the "investigation" deliberately, at every turn. Operating within the system, Soviets, communists, and their many agents worked to conceal the truth. From using Soviet guards to intimidate witnesses at hearings, to blocking witnesses, and even deliberately changing their testimony in official reports, it was obvious that powerful forces were intent on sabotaging the investigation — from the inside.

Bang-Jensen tried to bring this sabotage to the attention of his superiors in the UN Secretariat — going all the way to the top, including sending an official memorandum about the problems to Hammarskjöld, the secretary-general of the whole UN. "Sabotage of various kinds has gone on from the very beginning," Bang-Jensen wrote to the UN chief, adding that some of the efforts had been "extremely clumsy." Unfortunately, nobody, including Hammarskjöld, seemed to be interested. In fact, Bang-Jensen was ordered by his superiors to keep quiet about what he was seeing.



AP Images

**Anders Kompass:** UN human rights official Anders Kompass of Sweden blew the whistle on international "peace" troops raping children in Africa, only to suffer vicious retaliation as a result.

**As more than a few investigators have concluded after examining the evidence, however, the facts in the case suggest very strongly that Bang-Jensen was in fact murdered in what was made to look like a “suicide.”**

Another sore point with the UN’s leadership was that Bang-Jensen refused to hand over to the UN Secretariat the names of 81 Hungarian witnesses who had testified about the Kremlin’s savagery and mass murder unleashed in their homeland. The Danish diplomat knew what would await those witnesses and their families in Hungary. Plus, after receiving official authorization to do so, as documents later proved, he had promised to protect their identities — even from Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, at the request of multiple Hungarian witnesses who knew something about the UN chief, and that he was not to be trusted.

Of course, the witnesses had been reluctant to testify at all before the UN committee, knowing full well that their friends and relatives still trapped behind the “Iron Curtain” would end up paying the price for it. With official approval, though, Bang-Jensen had promised the witnesses anonymity if they would testify before the Special Committee on Hungary in Vienna and other European cities. After being assured that even UN boss Dag Hammarskjöld would not be allowed to gain possession of the list, the witnesses agreed to come forward.

Bang-Jensen and the witnesses had good reason to be concerned. As far back as 1953, a high-ranking Soviet diplomat seeking to defect to the West had warned Bang-Jensen of a high-ranking American in the UN who was passing sensitive U.S. intelligence onward to Moscow. Unfortunately, according to a *Newsweek* article, when Bang-Jensen tried to pass the information along through official U.S. channels, it was eventually put in writing, contrary to the wishes of the Soviet source seeking to defect. Finally the information ended up with that same high-ranking American working at the UN, and the Soviet diplomat in question was promptly shipped back to the USSR before disappearing completely. So Bang-Jensen, who felt tremendously guilty about the whole affair, already knew firsthand the dangers of allowing sensitive information to float

around in the communist- and spy-infested UN Secretariat.

Later, despite official documents proving Bang-Jensen had authority to grant absolute anonymity to the Hungarian witnesses, UN leadership changed its mind, demanding the list of names from Bang-Jensen. Considering the Soviet regime’s prominent position as a founder and leading member of the UN, and the fact that the murderous regime’s agents held countless senior posts within the UN system, Bang-Jensen knew that giving up the list of witnesses (and breaking his promises to them) to UN officials would very likely result in the names being leaked to Moscow. That would put all of the witnesses and certainly their loved ones still trapped at risk of torture, imprisonment, and even murder. Like any decent human being, Bang-Jensen kept his promises and refused to comply with the demand, eventually going so far as to burn the list to protect the people on it.

And so, in December of 1957, in viola-

tion of the UN’s own policies and procedures, Bang-Jensen was suspended from his post and escorted from his office under armed guard like some sort of criminal. Eventually, in July of 1958, he was officially fired. In addition to Bang-Jensen ultimately being fired for his efforts on behalf of the truth, vast swaths of the UN apparatus, as well as UN and Soviet lackeys in the United States, dedicated themselves to utterly destroying him for his heroic stand.

Early on, for example, UN leaders started “leaking” information to the media accusing Bang-Jensen of being a liar, highly emotional, “oversensitive,” driven “out of his mind,” and more. The leaks also accused him of being irrational. Not long after that, the demonization and vilification of the Danish diplomat by the UN’s leadership increased. He was accused of being an alcoholic, a homosexual, a “psychopathic troublemaker,” and more — even though the UN’s own doctor had refuted the charges about Bang-Jensen’s alleged mental illness. In leaks parroted by the press, UN insiders referred to him as a “McCarthyite” who was “disordered.” Lies also were spread accusing him of being “off his rocker” and potentially violent, and of having been separated from his job “under a cloud” of troubling circumstances. None of it was true, of course — even the UN shrink



**Dag Hammarskjöld:** Then-UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld ignored Bang-Jensen’s pleas regarding Soviet sabotage of the UN investigation into Soviet atrocities in Hungary, then helped destroy the Danish whistleblower.

AP Images





AP Images

**Hungarian Revolution:** Soviet tanks drive through the streets of Budapest as the mass-murdering Kremlin works to savagely crush the Hungarian uprising against Moscow's tyranny.

he was ordered to see gave him a clean bill of mental health — but it was typical of establishment and communist character assassination tactics.

The UN also organized pseudo-investigations into Bang-Jensen by kangaroo panels and committees that were dominated by corrupt UN cronies, as well as known and unrepentant communist agents, activists, and sympathizers. Indeed, so fraudulent were these hearings that Bang-Jensen and his lawyer were not even given access to necessary documents for his defense. Nor was he given an opportunity to enter into the record many official documents that were needed to defend himself from the false charges of “insubordination” being made against him. He often was not even given an opportunity to respond to charges as they were fabricated.

From claiming he was “mentally ill” to publishing all manner of libelous smears about him in the press and conducting sham “investigations” to demonize him, the UN did everything possible to destroy his reputation. But because he so valiantly fought to protect the UN’s sources, anti-communists and defectors from Eastern Europe had a great deal of trust in him. More than a few sources passed along information to him showing that Soviet agents were embedded all across the UN Secretariat, the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA),

and other key bureaucracies. (Even the chief of the conference that created the UN, U.S. State Department official Alger Hiss, was proved in court to have been a communist agent.) Unfortunately, despite the efforts of Bang-Jensen and others, not much was done to seriously address the enormous and dangerous problem of communist infiltration.

### Supposed “Suicide”

Eventually, Bang-Jensen “committed suicide,” though the evidence indicates that he was more likely “suicided.” He was found dead in a park in Queens County, New York, with a gunshot wound to the head on November 26, 1959. The official cause of death was ruled to be a “suicide.” As more than a few investigators have concluded after examining the evidence, however, the facts in the case suggest very strongly that Bang-Jensen was in fact murdered in what was made to look like a “suicide.”

In a note sent to a number of his friends, for example, the Dane made absolutely clear that, as he put it, “under no circumstances whatsoever would I commit suicide.” While acknowledging that he did not want to sound hysterical, he said his wife had become concerned and so, he wanted to make sure others knew he would never kill himself no matter what. “This would be completely con-

trary to my whole nature and to my religious convictions,” Bang-Jensen added in the letter to his friends. “If any note was found to the opposite effect in my handwriting, it would be a fake.” He wrote a similar note to his wife, which was published after his death.

There is no reason to suspect that his religion or his views on the subject of suicide ever changed. And his alleged “suicide note” made no mention of the previous letters he had sent out warning friends and family that he would never commit suicide. Indeed, many of his friends and family, including his wife, publicly shared their suspicions about Bang-Jensen’s alleged “suicide.”

One theory, published in leading American newspapers at the time and consistent with other Soviet murders, is that Soviet agents may have forced Bang-Jensen to kill himself by threatening his American wife and his five children. But the bullet wound was to his right temple, and Bang-Jensen was left-handed, fueling suspicions among researchers.

Another theory is that Soviet agents killed him, then carefully arranged the scene and the body to make it appear like a suicide. That would make more sense, based on the circumstances and the likelihood that, as a left-handed person, he would have used his left hand to shoot himself in the left temple, rather than the other way around.

Yet another view holds that Bang-Jensen may have been given some sort of mind-altering drug or hypnotized in order to induce him to kill himself. But because his body was cremated just three days after his death, whether psychotropic substances were involved may never be known for certain.

Perhaps the best examination of the evidence surrounding the Bang-Jensen tragedy appeared in May of 1960, when *American Opinion* (one of THE NEW AMERICAN magazine’s predecessor publications) published *The Bang-Jensen Tragedy: A Review Based on the Official Records*. The investigation and recounting of history was conducted by celebrated journalist and scholar Julius Epstein, an Austrian Jewish émigré who fled Europe to escape the National Socialists (Nazis) in 1938. The full issue is still available for free to members of The John Birch Society, and it



United Nations Photo

**UN Special Committee:** Bang-Jensen was officially fired from the UN Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary (three members shown) for refusing to hand over the names of witnesses to the communist-infested UN Secretariat.

can be downloaded for \$5 from shopJBS. org by non-members.

In his career, Epstein had served in the Office of War Information. Separately, he had worked as a research associate for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, in addition to writing for the *National Review*, *Human Events*, and many European newspapers. He also wrote the first serious, in-depth study of WWII's "Operation Keelhaul," which took place at the end of the war, blowing the lid off then-General Dwight Eisenhower's program to send millions of refugees who were fleeing from communism back to Soviet butcher Stalin and his puppets. The forcibly repatriated refugees were sent to gulags and tortured, and many were executed. The history is known today in large part due to Epstein's herculean efforts. Epstein also played a major role in exposing the truth about the savage Katyn Forest Massacre of over 20,000 Polish patriots and officers by the Soviet military.

"One of the mysteries still not solved (there is little probability that it ever will be solved) concerns the question: Did

Paul Bang-Jensen commit suicide or was he murdered?" explained Epstein. "This question cannot be answered until we know where he was and what he did during the thirty to forty-eight hours before his body was found in a park, near his home at Lake Success, L.I., N.Y. Why did he not contact his wife during those hours? Was he kidnapped, put under some drug like scopolamine, or perhaps hypnosis? Was he forced under such circumstances to write the suicide note, later found in his pocket? These possibilities cannot be dismissed lightly."

"There is at least one strong indication that the death of Paul Bang-Jensen was not brought about by suicide," Epstein continued, pointing to the letters he wrote warning his friends and relatives not to believe any claims about him committing suicide. "Under normal conditions, we should assume that Paul Bang-Jensen, having solemnly excluded the possibility of suicide, would have referred to this memorandum in his final suicide note if he ever felt himself forced to change his mind. Because he must have known very well that his friends

would immediately suspect foul play if his body was found with a suicide note, penned in his own handwriting. They would rightly suspect foul play, because he had so carefully warned them against such an occurrence."

"It must be further assumed that he would have included in his suicide note a reference to this earlier memorandum, in order to protect anybody against the suspicion of having murdered him, a suspicion necessarily created by that memorandum," Epstein continued in the introduction to his excellent and detailed study of the documents and evidence surrounding the case. "Bang-Jensen did nothing of the sort. Doubts, therefore, are not unjustified."

Epstein was hardly alone in doubting the official story and suggesting that Bang-Jensen was in fact murdered. In 1961, even the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, citing evidence pointing to a murder, questioned the decision to label the highly suspicious death a suicide. The subcommittee argued that Bang-Jensen might have been the victim of "political murder dressed up as suicide." "There are too many solid arguments against suicide, too many unanswered questions, too many serious reasons for suspecting Soviet motivation and the possibility of Soviet implication," the Senate subcommittee said in a report.

The document also suggested that the Soviet Secret Police (MVD), aware that the Danish diplomat had been approached by a would-be defector with information on Soviet penetration of the UN and U.S. intelligence, "may very well have decided to take Bang-Jensen in for the purpose of finding out what contacts he had, how much he knew, and how much he had already told the American authorities. If Bang-Jensen was taken into custody for such an interrogation, his liquidation would have been the inevitable sequel." That would also explain why Bang-Jensen was missing for days before being found dead, clean-shaven, on Thanksgiving.

Amid the Senate investigation, led by Senator Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.), the New York City Police Department, despite classifying the death as a suicide early on, told UPI that Bang-Jensen's death was still regarded as an "open case."

More than a few editorials in newspa-

**Even though nearly six decades have passed since the apparent murder of this brave UN whistleblower, the Bang-Jensen tragedy remains as relevant as ever — especially as the UN faces worldwide stridency over its ongoing ruthless persecution of whistleblowers.**



pers and magazines also indicated that the Danish diplomat had likely been murdered. The *Indianapolis Star*, for example, noted on January 29, 1960, that “the ‘suicide’ of Paul Bang-Jensen was suspect from the start.” Calling the UN official an “authentic hero” for defying the UN and the communists to protect the Hungarian witnesses, the *Star* added, “Today ... there is every reason to believe that he was murdered.” The paper’s own investigators had even interviewed Bang-Jensen and most of the principal characters in the saga. “It was their opinion that he was not at all the kind of person who would commit suicide under any circumstances,” the editorial continued, adding that evidence confirming that view — from Bang-Jensen’s own pen — had now confirmed it.

In the 1961 book *Betrayal at the UN*, DeWitt Copp and Marshall Peck also concluded that it was, indeed, murder. After a massive study of the evidence, they found that Bang-Jensen was either shot or forced to shoot himself by Soviet agents because, as the *Chicago Tribune* put it, “he knew too much about communist control of the U.N. secretariat and about efforts of a Russian official to defect to the United States.”

Even whitewashes of the scandalous saga that denied actual murder have concluded Bang-Jensen was “murdered,” though in a different sort of way. “There can be no reasonable doubt that Bang-Jensen was murdered,” wrote Chesly Manly, who reviewed the book and used to cover the UN for the pro-UN *Tribune*, an establishment media organ. “The probability, however, is that he was murdered by mental torture — humiliated, degraded, and hounded to self-destruction by the U.N. And several highly placed Americans were parties to that infamous crime.” In an earlier article, Manly noted that Bang-Jensen had, “single handed,” “fought the whole United Nations and the world communist conspiracy.”

While Manly concluded that the murder was perpetrated via mental torture, many of the other independent researchers and investigators from around the world who have examined the evidence concluded that actual murder was more likely. Writing in the U.K. *Spectator* after the ostensible end of the Cold War, for example, K. L. Billingsley summarized some of the

evidence pointing to Bang-Jensen’s likely murder by Soviet assassins.

Billingsley also pointed out that Bang-Jensen’s psychiatrist, Frederick Freidenborg, seen as the UN demanded that he undergo psychiatric evaluation, contended that Bang-Jensen was “entirely normal and positively anti-suicidal.”

That psychiatrist later told Manly at the *Chicago Tribune*: “I have difficulty believing it was a suicide. It was not in his make up.” Freidenborg, who saw Bang-Jensen for some six months prior to the supposed “suicide” and called him “possibly the most intelligent man I ever met,” said publicly that he “could very well believe there was dirty work behind his death.” Indeed, the UN’s own doctor, Dr. Szeming Sze, who saw Bang-Jensen at the UN’s demand and was told that the Danish diplomat was “under a great nervous strain,” also concluded that the charge was unfounded.

In his 1989 *Spectator* article, Billingsley also pointed out that the KGB had become known for staging phony suicides to dispose of its enemies. “Many believe that [Bang-Jensen] was a victim of a simulated suicide perpetrated by the KGB,” he explained. “One such case was that of the defector Walter Krivitsky, the former head of Soviet military intelligence in Europe. He was found dead in a Washington hotel, with a

suicide note in his pocket. But it was widely believed that he had been murdered.”

Murder is the most likely explanation, the researcher concluded. “Without the UN’s smear campaign to distort judgment, this explanation seems the most plausible in the Bang-Jensen case,” Billingsley argued, echoing similar conclusions that had been printed decades earlier in newspapers and publications around the world before being disappeared down the Orwellian memory hole of pro-UN propaganda history. “Motive, means, and opportunity all point to the Soviet Union. Perhaps the case could be re-opened by the United States, the UN and, in the interests of glasnost, the Soviet Union.” The Danish government apparently never responded to inquiries about its position on the death of its heroic citizen.

### Bang-Jensen’s Significance Today

After helping lead the Danish underground opposition to National Socialism (Nazism), and then helping set up a government in exile opposed to the Nazis and their puppet regime in Denmark, Bang-Jensen was branded a “traitor” by the National Socialist butchers occupying his homeland. Later, his devotion to truth and his efforts to expose communist infiltration and control over the UN resulted in his death.

But even though nearly six decades



**In freedom or death, they got death:** Urged on by the U.S. government, Hungarian freedom fighters risked everything to break free from Soviet slavery, only to have the U.S. government block weapons shipments to the rebels.



**Katyn:** Journalist Julius Epstein, who did some of the most important research into the Bang-Jensen tragedy, also exposed the Soviet slaughter of 20,000 Polish officers, known as the Katyn Forest Massacre.

have passed since the apparent murder of this brave UN whistleblower, the Bang-Jensen tragedy remains as relevant as ever — especially as the UN faces worldwide scrutiny over its ongoing ruthless persecution of whistleblowers, particularly those who expose sordid UN crimes such as the rape of children.

In 1960, writing in *American Opinion*, Epstein touched on the importance of this case. “During the fifteen years of the United Nations’ existence, nothing has shed more light on the organization’s character than the case of Paul Bang-Jensen,” he wrote. “The case, still wrapped in deep mystery, will continue to plague the United Nations’ Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld [sic], as well as its Secretariat, for years to come. This will be due to the fact that the United Nations — whether undeservedly or not — had gained tremendous prestige among peoples of the world who believed that it can do no wrong.”

“But the same people who held such opinion have been shocked to no end by the destruction of a man whose ‘crime’ was: (1) having promised Hungarian witnesses, to Khrushchev’s and Kadar’s atrocities in Hungary, that he would keep their names a secret from Mr. Hammarskjöld [sic] and the rest of the Secretariat, in order to protect their friends and relatives still living in Hungary; and (2), having faithfully kept his promise.”

Robert Welch, the founder of The John Birch Society and one of the earliest men to see the danger posed by the UN, also offered his comments on the significance of Bang-Jensen’s tragic story. After praising Epstein and explaining what went into the massive investigation the journalist conducted into the saga, Welch compared it to “a powerful tragedy by Euripides, or Racine.” Then he explained why this case was so important.

“The Bang-Jensen affair, as a part, is greater than its whole,” Welch explained in the introduction to the May 1960 issue of *American Opinion* containing Epstein’s 40-plus-page article. “For this study by Epstein becomes a case history of all the sophistry, subversive practices, utter lack of humane or civilized standards, and general rottenness which permeate the United Nations through and through. It shows that, despite the large number of noble and idealistic men and women, dedicated to the theoretical principles of the United Nations, who are still working their hearts out in trying to metamorphose a monstrous deception into the reality of their dreams, the actual organization is hopelessly venal, immoral, and degraded at every level. It also shows — what many of us have long suspected — that the driving force behind every act and every decision of importance is a determination to help the Communists and harm their enemies.”

Another voice touching on this significance, who was quoted by Epstein, was Dr. Gunnar Leistikow, a UN correspondent for several Danish newspapers, a fellow Dane, a friend of Bang-Jensen, and “one of the best experts” on the case according to Epstein. According to Leistikow, the Bang-Jensen tragedy has made it “quite clear that the UN is not the model of law and order for all nations it ought to be by definition and which we had hoped it was.” “Like Caesar’s wife this organization ought to be beyond suspicion,” Leistikow continued. “Instead, it is not even able to carry out a strictly objective investigation [into the UN’s accusations against and firing of Bang-Jensen and his accusations of sabotage], because its highest ranks are implicated. That’s exactly what is the case.”

Even back then, Epstein recommended that the immunity from legal action enjoyed by UN staff should be curtailed to prevent such travesties of justice. He called on the U.S. Congress to amend the Privileges and Immunities Act. Unfortunately, to this day, UN staff continue to enjoy immunity from laws all over the world, something that inevitably leads to widespread criminality, lawlessness, and impunity. Perhaps the most grotesque example of the implications of this is the ongoing, systematic sexual abuse and exploitation of women and children by UN “peace” troops all over the world. The persecution of UN whistleblowers has gotten so bad that the U.S. Congress has even taken action to withhold some U.S. funding from UN agencies that refuse to adopt proper whistleblower protections, though not much has changed.

Today, the UN continues to wage war on freedom, it continues to protect and empower totalitarian regimes, and it continues to relentlessly persecute those brave men and women who dare to blow the whistle on UN crimes. If people and organizations are to be judged by their fruit, and by their actions, it is clear that the UN is beyond redemption. With Bang-Jensen and other heroic victims of the UN in mind, civilized and liberty-loving people everywhere must work to get the United States out of the UN and to expose the UN for what it is. Human decency, and the survival of liberty, requires nothing less. ■



### One Time Too Many

ABC affiliate Local 10 News in Miami reported December 13 on a self-defense shooting in a neighborhood that had recently been plagued with a spike in burglaries. Police reported that the homeowner involved in the incident was alerted to someone breaking in to his house by the sound of his burglar alarm.

The homeowner grabbed a firearm and went to investigate, and discovered a man holding bolt cutters outside his house. The would-be burglar advanced toward the homeowner, who shot him in the stomach. The homeowner called 911, and authorities rushed to the scene to discover the injured suspect. The burglar was taken to a nearby hospital for surgery and is expected to recover. Neighbors told Local 10 News that their neighborhood had seen a recent uptick in burglaries and that some residents even began moving out after being repeatedly burglarized.

Neighbor Rachel Straub told Local 10 News, “I’m glad.... I think the people should be stopped.”

Another female neighbor told Local 10 News that her home had been broken in to four times and that the man involved in the shooting incident had had his house burglarized just a few weeks earlier.

Neighbor Jeff Jernigan said he thought the homeowner’s actions were justified: “I can’t blame the guy.”

### Morning Surprise

GreenvilleOnline reported on December 16 about a burglar who was shot by a gun he was trying to steal.

The shooting occurred in Pickens County, South Carolina, when a man returned to his home around 8 a.m. and encountered a man walking through his house carrying his guns. The homeowner confronted the intruder and was able to wrest away a rifle, which he fired at the intruder, hitting the suspect multiple times.

Police were called to the scene, and the injured suspect was taken for treatment, but ultimately succumbed to his injuries. Pickens County Chief Deputy Creed Hashe told reporters that “crime scene

technicians later found and recovered evidence indicating that the back door to the home had been kicked in and numerous areas within the residence had been searched and rummaged through prior to the shooting.... Additionally, during the course of the investigation, the Sheriff’s Office recovered unrelated stolen property linking the deceased to a residential break-in that had been previously reported to the Easley Police Department.”

### Deer Hunting at Home

The *Frederick News-Post* out of Frederick County, Maryland, reported on December 15 about a bizarre story involving a deer crashing through a front door and a teenager killing his first buck in his own living room!

Seventeen-year-old Ryan Manchester of Walkersville was home alone when an eight-point buck smashed through his front door and began tearing the boy’s house apart. The family had recently gotten a freshly cut Christmas tree, which Manchester surmised had the scent of doe urine on it. By dragging the tree through the woods into the house, they unwittingly created a trail for the buck to follow. The young man believed the deer was trying to mate when he burst the front door down.

Manchester described the hectic scene when the deer first tried getting into the house: “It sounded like someone was trying to break the door down with a sledgehammer.”

Manchester thought it was a human intruder and was even more startled to see a deer tearing through his living room. He filmed the deer with his phone as it knocked over the Christmas tree, shattering numerous ornaments and destroying the tree-top angel. Manchester called 911 to report the incident, but found the operator not to be very helpful. “I told them what was happening and they didn’t really seem to have any urgency.... I don’t think they knew how much damage it was doing. So I asked them if I should shoot it. They didn’t tell me to shoot it. But they didn’t tell me not to shoot it. So I was like, ‘I’m probably gonna shoot it,’” he told the *Frederick News-Post*.

Manchester got the key to his father’s gun safe and grabbed his father’s Smith and Wesson 9 mm handgun. Returning back to the room where the animal was making a terrible mess, he saw that the creature had somehow cut itself and was getting blood everywhere as it ran through the house. The deer was in the kitchen, but it was too far for him to get a good shot so he waited until it came closer. “He saw me and stopped ... like a deer in the headlights. So I shot him right between the eyes,” Manchester told the *Frederick News-Post*. When the beast didn’t immediately collapse, he fired a second shot into its shoulder, sending it crashing to the floor.

He called 911 back to report what had happened. Police soon arrived with animal control and checked whether the gun Manchester used was lawfully registered, which it was. Authorities said that Manchester’s actions were reasonable, and the Department of Natural Resources issued him a tag for the kill.

The story quickly spread due to the unusual nature of what occurred, and Manchester’s friends all had a good laugh about it. “We drove straight over, laughing the entire way. We could barely keep the car in the lane, we were laughing so hard.... I thought it was amazing,” Manchester’s close friend Dylan Mudd told the *Frederick News-Post*.

Manchester dragged the animal outside, where he gutted it in his backyard. He reflected on what happened, and told the newspaper that he wouldn’t do it differently if it happened all over again.

“I’m glad I shot it.... It caused a lot of damage. I know people will judge me for it, but I don’t care. If it happens to them, they don’t have to shoot it. But after it did all that, it wasn’t leaving alive.” Manchester told the *Frederick News-Post*.

The young man posted the video of the deer’s rampage on his Twitter account, and it quickly went viral. Manchester also posted pictures of himself with the deer’s body both after initially shooting the creature and another photo after he had gutted it. The deer netted the family 40 pounds of venison, and they dined on their first helping the Friday after the incident. ■

— PATRICK KREY





## Correction, Please!

### North Carolina Falsely Called Out

**ITEM:** After the North Carolina state legislature chose not to repeal H.B. 2, the “bathroom bill,” in late December, the New York Times attacked the Tarheel State in a December 22 op-ed piece entitled “North Carolina Doubles Down on Bigotry.” Describing the failed efforts of the incoming Democrat Governor, Roy Cooper, to convince the legislature to repeal the controversial bill, the Times editorial board wrote:

*After state lawmakers wrapped up a special session on Wednesday night, having failed to revoke the law, known as H.B. 2, their message was clear. The Republican-dominated legislature, the General Assembly, would rather allow discrimination against gays and lesbians and peddle malicious stereotypes about transgender people than undo a colossal mistake that has cost the state hundreds of jobs and millions of dollars worth of investment.*

*The piece went on to say, “Litigation may be the most effective means to strike down this unjust law, but definitive rulings may take several months,” adding:*

*Until that happens, transgender people in particular will endure discrimination with little legal recourse. The findings of a recent survey of transgender people conducted by the National Center for Transgender Equality shows how pernicious the damage can be. It found that 29 percent of transgender people in the United States live in poverty, when the national average is 14 percent; joblessness is rampant; and one third of transgender Americans have been homeless at some point in their life.*

*It’s unconscionable that North Carolina’s lawmakers would go out of their way to stigmatize and injure this vulnerable population.*

**ITEM:** Just three days before publishing that op-ed hit-piece, the New York Times



**Bashing beliefs:** The New York Times would have readers believe that all those who support keeping men who dress in women’s clothes out of multiple-occupancy women’s bathrooms are bigoted, rather than sensible.

*was predicting that H.B. 2 would likely be repealed. Under the headline “North Carolina Limits on Transgender Rights Appear Headed for Repeal,” Richard Fausset wrote for the New York Times online edition for December 19:*

*The North Carolina legislature plans to hold a special session Wednesday to consider fully repealing the contentious law curbing legal protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. The move comes after the Charlotte City Council rescinded a local anti-discrimination ordinance on Monday that had prompted passage of the statewide law in March.*

**CORRECTION:** While playing to fears of financial repercussions and sowing the seeds of guilt over the supposed mistreatment of the “vulnerable” LGBT “population,” the New York Times continues the trend of the liberal media reporting on H.B. 2 as a law “curbing legal protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.” The reader is left with the impression that the law regulates — with the power of law — the use of restrooms, changing rooms, locker rooms, and other intimate facilities across the whole state and leaves no room for individual busi-

nesses to set their own policies.

In reality, the bill does almost the exact opposite. It removes government almost entirely from the equation.

The battle over bathrooms in North Carolina did not begin in Raleigh; it began in Charlotte. In February 2016, the Charlotte City Council approved an ordinance that would require all businesses in the city to allow any man or woman who claims to “identify” as the opposite sex to use whichever restroom or changing room facilities they “feel” is appropriate to their “gender identity.” In response, Governor Pat McCrory called a one-day specially convened session on March 23, and the legislature passed H.B. 2 (the Public Facilities Privacy and Security Act) to establish a state-wide standard allowing businesses to set their own policies. The bill was immediately attacked as “discriminatory” and “bigoted.”

The city of Charlotte attempted to do what the state of North Carolina is *accused* of doing — regulate, by the *power of law*, access to restrooms and other intimate facilities. The liberal media — the New York Times included — positively praised the Charlotte ordinance. Why the praise?

The difference is that Charlotte’s ordinance made it illegal for individual businesses to make their own policies, which might restrict those facilities to the bio-

AP Images

logical reality of a person's sex, and H.B. 2 left it up to those businesses to make policies consistent with the values of the people running those businesses.

But, wait: Doesn't H.B. 2 create a situation where "transgender people in particular will endure discrimination with little legal recourse?" Given that nearly all coverage of H.B. 2 in the liberal media includes some variation of this claim, it is something akin to received wisdom that the law is "discriminatory." But is it so?

It is obvious that those who make such claims have either not read H.B. 2 or are deliberately being dishonest about it. H.B. 2 does not bar any company from allowing "transgendered" persons from using the restroom or changing room of the opposite sex. Proof of that can be seen in the "inclusive" policy of Target department stores operating in cities all across the Tarheel State. While Target has backpedaled and begun constructing unisex, single-occupancy "family" restrooms in all of its stores nationwide, the company is free to continue allowing guests and employees to use whichever restroom or changing room they prefer. Even in North Carolina.

The closest H.B. 2 comes to what the *New York Times* describes is that it *does* specify that in buildings under the control

of the government of North Carolina (such as courthouses, schools, state parks, etc.), men may not use a "multiple occupancy bathroom or changing facility" that is designated for women and women may not use a "multiple occupancy bathroom or changing facility" that is designated for men. But even where those buildings are concerned, the law allows "transgenders" to use single-occupancy facilities of the opposite sex. In fact, § 115C-521.2 (c) says:

Nothing in this section shall prohibit local boards of education from providing accommodations such as single occupancy bathroom or changing facilities or controlled use of faculty facilities upon a request due to special circumstances, but in no event shall that accommodation result in the local boards of education allowing a student to use a multiple occupancy bathroom or changing facility designated under subsection (b) of this section for a sex other than the student's biological sex.

And § 143-760 (c) says:

Nothing in this section shall prohibit public agencies from providing accommodations such as single occu-

pancy bathroom or changing facilities upon a person's request due to special circumstances, but in no event shall that accommodation result in the public agency allowing a person to use a multiple occupancy bathroom or changing facility designated under subsection (b) of this section for a sex other than the person's biological sex.

So while the *New York Times* would portray the law as being based in "discrimination against gays and lesbians" and "malicious stereotypes about transgender people," the facts — based on any honest reading of the law — show that nothing could be further from the truth. The only prohibitions to "out-ies" using the restrooms or changing rooms designated for "innies" (or vice versa) under H.B. 2 is in government buildings such as schools. Even then, the law allows a person suffering from a mental disorder causing them to be confused about their external plumbing to use a "single occupancy bathroom or changing" room, even if the sign on the door says it is for the opposite sex.

While the *New York Times* says, "It's unconscionable that North Carolina's lawmakers would go out of their way to stigmatize and injure this vulnerable population," the reality is that it's liberals who — in their efforts to reshape the cultural fabric of America — are using the LGBT crowd as cannon fodder in the culture war. While casting their actions in terms of "compassion" and "inclusiveness," the *New York Times* joins other liberals in exploiting those poor souls who suffer from the well-documented mental illness known as Gender Dysphoria to push their liberal agenda. In citing the study conducted by the National Center for Transgender Equality that shows that the poverty rate of "transgenders" is more than twice as high as the national average and that unemployment and homelessness are also disproportionately higher, the *New York Times* conveniently ignores the fact that mentally ill people of all stripes often fall into those same categories. If the *New York Times* really sees "transgenders" as a "vulnerable population," the exploitation is all the more inexcusable. ■

— C. MITCHELL SHAW



**Men are men, even in dresses:** Supporters of North Carolina's "bathroom bill" rallied on the Halifax Mall in Raleigh in April 2016. They were disparaged by liberals though nearly every locale in the country has laws that prevent someone from exposing oneself to the opposite sex.



## Congress Planning to Defund UN as Critics Seek Full Withdrawal

The most recent wave of outrage surrounding the United Nations came in response to UN Security Council Resolution 2334, a deeply controversial measure adopted on December 23 with 14 votes in favor and the Obama administration abstaining. Among other controversies, the measure purports to declare the Jewish presence in parts of Jerusalem and an area known to Jews as Judea and Samaria (“West Bank” to Arabs) to be a “flagrant violation” of what the UN likes to call “international law.” Basically, the UN and more than a few of its autocratic member regimes do not think Jews should be allowed to live in East Jerusalem and other areas.

Not surprisingly, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu blasted the UN and its “shameful” resolution, vowing to ignore it and curtail relations with the governments and regimes responsible for the scheme. “Israel rejects the anti-Israel resolution at the United Nations,” Netanyahu’s office said in a statement ridiculing the UN. “Israel looks forward to working with President-elect Trump and with all our friends in Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, to negate the harmful effects of this absurd resolution.”

Trump, a longtime critic of the UN and globalism in general, was among those to speak out, albeit more mildly than on the campaign trail. “The United Nations has such great potential but right now it is just a club for people to get together, talk and have a good time. So sad!” said Trump on social media after having previously noted that the UN was not a friend of Israel, freedom, or the United States. Trump sent out another statement blasting Obama and the UN, urging Israel to “stay strong” because “January 20th is fast approaching!”

Leading Democrats and Republicans alike have fervently denounced the UN and slammed the Obama administration for failing to exercise the U.S. government’s veto to stop the scheme. Even ultra-far-left U.S. lawmakers slammed the UN scheme, with Congressman Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.) blasting it as “a one-sided, biased resolution.” Incoming Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), another pro-UN globalist who also happens to be pro-Israel, blasted the UN as a “fervently anti-Israel body” that has been that way since it declared Zionism to be racism. Other Democrats also rushed to put out statements condemning the UN resolution.

Perhaps the most vocal Republican was conservative Sena-



Benjamin Netanyahu

AP Images

tor Ted Cruz (R-Texas), who is leading the charge to cut all U.S. funding to the UN. “The disgraceful anti-Israel resolution passed by the UNSC was apparently only the opening salvo in the Obama administration’s final assault on Israel,” he was quoted as saying, reminding Obama that Congress would reconvene soon and that under the U.S. Constitution, Congress controls the money. On social media, he said: “No US \$ for UN until reversed.” Other GOP lawmakers agreed.

Senate aides quoted in a number of media reports said

a variety of options were under consideration. Among them: defunding the UN, defunding certain UN programs and policies, withdrawing from UN agencies such as the communist-controlled UNESCO, passing legislation to protect any Jews targeted by the UN who may also be American citizens, and cutting off funds for the U.S. taxpayer-funded Palestinian Authority.

Even some neocons and establishment loyalists called for taking serious action against the rogue international body. Columnist and establishment talking head Charles Krauthammer, for example, a member of the globalist Council on Foreign Relations that has been instrumental in surrendering U.S. sovereignty for generations, suggested on Fox News’ *Special Report* on December 26 that Trump should turn UN headquarters in New York City into condos.

While stopping short of calling for an American exit (Amexit) from the UN, Krauthammer did suggest getting the UN out of the United States: “Any move to minimize our support for it, any move to get it out of the U.S. — imagine if [UN] headquarters were in Zimbabwe. The amount of weight and coverage it would get would be zero. I think that’s good real estate in downtown New York City, and Trump ought to find a way to put his name on it and turn it into condos.”

With the UN, there is much more at stake than Israeli settlements. And there are plenty of reasons to support a U.S. government withdrawal, or an “Amexit,” from the UN, beyond the recent resolution. Legislation to secure an Amexit, the American Sovereignty Restoration Act, has been introduced in practically every Congress for decades. With lawmakers on both sides of the aisle and large swaths of the American public in outrage mode over the latest anti-Israel vote, the time has never been better to Get US Out of the United Nations. Concerned Americans should contact their elected representatives to make their feelings known. ■



# The Bill of Rights

## First Ten Amendments to the Constitution

**Amendment I.** Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

**Amendment II.** A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

**Amendment III.** No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

**Amendment IV.** The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

**Amendment V.** No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

**Amendment VI.** In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

**Amendment VII.** In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

**Amendment VIII.** Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**Amendment IX.** The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**Amendment X.** The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.



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