

Bill of Rights in Action

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HAMILTON, JEFFERSON, AND THEIR FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

AS THE FIRST U.S. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, ALEXANDER HAMILTON WANTED A STRONG FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO HELP ESTABLISH A THRIVING NATIONAL ECONOMY. OTHERS LED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON HAD A DIFFERENT VISION FOR THE COUNTRY AND BITTERLY OPPOSED HAMILTON'S POLICIES.



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Thomas Jefferson (left) and Alexander Hamilton (center), both members of President George Washington's cabinet, had different visions for the future of America.

In 1755, Alexander Hamilton was born on a small British West Indies island. Orphaned at a young age, he apprenticed as a clerk in a trading company. His intelligence caught the attention of a minister, who collected money to send him at age 17 to the mainland for a college education.

In 1774, Hamilton entered King's College (now Columbia) in New York City. He became a strong supporter of the cause for independence. When war came, he left college and took command of a New York artillery unit.

Gen. George Washington made Hamilton an aide. Working for the

general, he grew frustrated at the unwillingness of the Continental Congress to adequately supply Washington's army. Hamilton began to read widely about financial subjects and even proposed a national bank to help finance the revolution.

After the war, Hamilton never returned to college, but he did study law and became a lawyer. The New York state legislature made him a delegate to the first U.S. Congress, created by the Articles of Confederation. In fact, this weak government consisted of just one branch, Congress, as the Articles ceded most power to the states. In

Congress, Hamilton argued that Americans should think nationally rather than just about their own state.

In 1786, the states under the Confederation had adopted tariffs on goods from other states, which led to a huge drop in interstate trade. Hamilton attended a small conference at Annapolis, Maryland, to consider ways to address the problem. Hamilton and the other delegates realized that the real problem was the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation. Hamilton wrote the final report, recommending a convention in Philadelphia to amend the Articles of Confederation.

The delegates at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 quickly decided to write an entirely new constitution. Hamilton did not say much until June 18 when he delivered a six-hour speech that called for electing the president for life. Hamilton's proposal for an "elected monarch" stunned the other delegates. Hamilton never mentioned it again.

After the Constitutional Convention, he joined James Madison to write ▶

ORIGINS

This edition of *Bill of Rights in Action* looks at origins. The first article examines the fight between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson over the direction of the country, a debate that continues today. The second article explores how Genghis Khan was able to set up his vast and influential Mongol Empire. The last article looks at why we have the Electoral College and the debate over replacing it.

U.S. History: Hamilton, Jefferson, and Their Fight for the Future of America

World History: Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire

Current Issue: The Electoral College

U. S. HISTORY

most of the *Federalist Papers*, which argued for ratification of the Constitution.

On April 30, 1789, the new American government began when Washington took the president's oath in New York City, the first national capital. He appointed Hamilton from New York as the first secretary of the treasury. Washington also appointed Thomas Jefferson from Virginia, who was then serving as U.S. ambassador to France, as the first secretary of state.

Establishing the Public Credit

Hamilton had a plan to create a thriving economy that depended on wealthy Americans and foreigners buying U.S. government bonds. He wanted to use this money to refinance the Revolutionary War debt and invest in the economic needs of the new nation. It was in this sense that he thought of the debt, if kept within bounds, as a “national blessing.” If investors trusted that the new nation would repay its debts, it would allow for investments to grow the nation.

Hamilton's first step was to convince wealthy men that the U.S. would honor its debt obligations. Just a few months after he took office, Hamilton addressed this issue in a report to Congress on the public debt and credit.

Hamilton argued that the Revolutionary War debt was “the price of liberty” and that the current holders of this debt must be paid in full. Others like Madison protested that this debt was now held mainly by speculators. They had bought most of the debt at heavily discounted prices from the original holders, soldiers and farmers whom the Revolutionary government had paid with IOU notes for their services.

Madison wanted the original holders of the notes to get the bulk of the debt payment while the speculators should get a smaller amount. Hamilton strongly opposed this idea, pointing out that the original debt holders had voluntarily sold their notes.

Hamilton further argued that the government had a contract obligation to pay the current debt holders. Honoring contracts, he believed, was essential for building confidence in investors to lend money to the new federal government.

Congress finally approved Hamilton's plan to pay the current debt holders. But he raised another controversial issue in his report. He recommended making the war debts of the states a federal government obligation. He wanted to combine the federal and state war debts in order to pay them off more dependably. He thought the debt holders would then have a stake in the federal government and be more willing to continue lending to it.

Madison and others from states that had been paying off their war debts objected. They said it was unfair to bail out those less responsible states that had not been paying their war debts.

Thomas Jefferson, who had just returned from France, was not sure where he stood on this question. He invited Hamilton and Madison to discuss the matter over dinner.

Neither Hamilton nor Jefferson won the fight for America's future in any permanent sense.

Hamilton convinced them that the so-called assumption of state war debts was the right way to go. But Madison insisted that Hamilton first agree to get his friends in Congress to support the permanent location of the national capital in what was then part of Virginia. Hamilton wanted the capital in New York, but gave in to Madison to get the state debt assumption bill passed by Congress.

Hamilton's plan to pay the current IOU note holders plus the federal assumption of state war debts worked as Hamilton predicted. Investors soon welcomed the chance to buy U.S. bonds.

The National Bank

Long before becoming secretary of the treasury, Hamilton was convinced that the U.S. needed a banking system. In 1784, he helped set up the Bank of New York on Wall Street. In December 1790, Hamilton submitted another report to Congress, this time calling for a national bank.

Hamilton argued that a national bank would provide a ready source of

funds for borrowing by the government and private enterprises. It would also receive government tax deposits, make dependable payments to U.S. debt holders, and stabilize the money supply.

Hamilton wanted the national bank to be privately managed. But the government would own 20 percent of the stock and thus have a major influence on bank operations. He recommended that it be chartered by the federal government for terms of 20 years.

Hamilton's Bank Bill easily passed the Senate, but Madison raised strong objections to it in the House of Representative. He charged that the national bank would mainly benefit Northern merchants and wealthy investors at the expense of small farmers and Southern planters.

The Bank Bill finally passed the House, but Madison (supported by Jefferson) lobbied President Washington to veto it on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. Washington asked Jefferson and Hamilton to each write a legal opinion on this issue.

In his opinion, Jefferson cited the 10th Amendment of the Constitution, which required those powers not granted to Congress to remain with the states or people. To go beyond this, Jefferson wrote, “is to take possession of a boundless field of power.”

Jefferson went on to say that passing a law that chartered a bank was not one of the “enumerated” (listed) powers of Congress in the Constitution. Therefore, Congress had no legal authority enact the Bank Bill.

Jefferson also addressed the clause in the Constitution that gave Congress the power to make all laws “which shall be necessary and proper” to carry out the enumerated powers. He argued that a national bank was not “necessary” to do this.

Hamilton responded that all governments possess “a right to employ all the means” they need to function except those powers that are specifically prohibited. Otherwise, he said, a country would have “a people governed without government.”

Hamilton, argued that chartering a national bank “is either implied in, or would result from some or all of the [enumerated] powers.” He claimed

that a national bank was “necessary and proper” to carry out such enumerated powers of Congress as collecting taxes, borrowing money, and regulating trade among the states.

Hamilton charged that Jefferson tried to limit the meaning of the “necessary and proper” from its common understanding of “needful” and “useful” to “extreme necessity.” The federal government, wrote Hamilton, has a duty to deal with national emergencies and promote prosperity. Thus, it must have “great latitude of discretion” in exercising its powers.

This exchange of legal opinions provided the first important expression of two different ways of interpreting the Constitution. Jefferson read the Constitution as strictly limiting the power of the federal government to those specific powers granted to it. Hamilton read the founding document more loosely as having “implied powers.” Today, we call these opposing interpretations “strict construction” and “loose construction” of the Constitution.

Washington accepted Hamilton’s opinion and signed the law creating the Bank of the United States in February 1791. Investors rushed to buy stock in the bank, and it began business in Philadelphia in December.

Two Visions for America’s Future

Jefferson envisioned a future America of small independent farmers, rather than industrial workers. He believed democracy should be close to home. Therefore, he argued states’ rights and the 10th Amendment should prevail over federal power. Otherwise, he feared, the federal government would grow too big and easily fall under the corrupting influences of debt, banks, and wealthy men.

In December 1791, Hamilton sent his *Report on the Subject of Manufactures* to Congress. He did not deny the importance of American agriculture. But he backed a bigger role for manufacturing and trade to enhance the prosperity and wartime defense of the country.

In his report, Hamilton discussed the efficiency of manufacturing in all seasons. He explained how it created



President George Washington prepared to lead militiamen to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794.

“an increase of hands” by the use of machines operated by women and children while men farmed.

Hamilton called for the federal government to enable manufacturing and trade by financing roads, canals, ports, and a navy. He again made the case of a reasonable public debt being a “national blessing.”

Hamilton realized that new American manufacturing enterprises could not compete with well-established European companies. He proposed a long list of measures the federal government should take to encourage America’s “infant manufactures.”

These measures of encouragement included increasing duties (taxes) on foreign imports, inspecting American export goods for quality, and granting “bounties” (subsidies) to worthy new companies to get them going. In addition, he opposed taxes on the capital investment and profits of manufacturing.

Hamilton ended his report by identifying over a dozen young American industries “most proper for public encouragement.” These ranged from iron production to making chocolate. Hamilton cautioned that as these industries matured, the government aid should cease.

Despite promoting an active role for the federal government in the economic development of the nation, Hamilton believed that entrepreneurs (businessmen) were the moving force of the economy. “Enterprise is our element,” he said.

Except for enacting higher duties on certain imports, Hamilton’s farsighted

report was largely ignored. But Jefferson was alarmed that Hamilton was again trying to widen the scope of federal power.

Republicans and Federalists

Hamilton’s opponents first gathered around Madison in Congress. They were in the minority, claiming to represent the “common man” in the South and West. They began calling themselves defenders of the republic, or Republicans. They agreed with Jefferson’s vision of an agricultural society with a small federal government and strong states’ rights. By 1792, Jefferson had become the leader of the Republican Party. (This was different from the modern Republican Party, which was formed in 1854.)

The majority in Congress agreed with Hamilton’s vision of an industrial and commercial society. They were mainly business-minded Northerners who wanted an active federal government that promoted economic development. They called themselves the Federalist Party with Hamilton as their leader.

During the summer of 1792, the fight between Jefferson and Hamilton became increasingly public and personal. Jefferson charged that Hamilton’s economic program was actually a plot to undermine the republic and restore an English-style monarchy. Jefferson and his allies also accused Hamilton of driving up the public debt, enriching the wealthy aristocracy, and having some devilish control over Washington’s mind.

Hamilton charged that Jefferson was disloyal to Washington and was a dictator in disguise. Hamilton wrote in a newspaper article that Jefferson wanted to replace sound Federalist economic policies with “National division, National insignificance, Public disorder and discredit.”

In 1793, as Washington began his second term, Jefferson prepared a list of charges against Hamilton and urged Washington to fire him. Washington told Jefferson there was no monarchist plot, and he supported Hamilton’s policies because they worked. Jefferson finally resigned.

Outcomes

After Hamilton got Congress to pass a tax on making whiskey to help pay the public debt, some farmers who made whiskey from grain rebelled and attacked federal tax collectors. Hamilton advised Washington to quickly put down the Whiskey Rebellion in order to firmly establish federal authority. In 1794, Hamilton and Washington personally led 12,000 militiamen into western Pennsylvania, the center of the rebellion. It quickly faded, and the whiskey tax remained.

In 1795, Hamilton resigned his treasury post, but still remained active in Federalist politics. Jefferson became president in 1801. He shocked many when he seemed to adopt Hamilton’s idea of “implied powers” in purchasing Louisiana from France. Hamilton supported Jefferson’s action, which doubled the size of the U.S.

In 1804, Hamilton died in a duel with Aaron Burr, the Republican vice president, over a political dispute in New York state.

Hamilton’s public debt and national bank program largely succeeded in creating the financial foundation for a strong national economy. In 1834, President Andrew Jackson fully paid off the national debt. But federal borrowing soon resumed. Jackson thought the Bank of the U.S. was a tool of the wealthy and refused to re-charter it. Hamilton’s idea for a central national bank was revived in 1913, however, in the form of the Federal Reserve System.

* * * * *

Neither Hamilton nor Jefferson won the fight for America’s future in any permanent sense. Their debate over the powers and role of the federal government has continued throughout American history right up to the present. Today’s two major political parties that formed after the time of Hamilton and Jefferson reflect elements of both men’s views.

Most Democrats today agree with Hamilton’s desire for a robust federal government and loose construction of the Constitution to achieve important national goals. But Democrats also side with Jefferson’s distrust of Wall Street banks and the wealthy while championing ordinary workers.

Most Republicans today agree with Jefferson’s desire for a smaller federal government and strict constitutional construction to avoid debt, keep taxes low, and protect states’ rights. But they also favor lightly regulating the free market economy and Wall Street banks while championing entrepreneurs, as Hamilton did.

FOR DISCUSSION AND WRITING

1. What did Hamilton mean when he said the public debt was a “national blessing”? Do you agree with him? Why?
2. Some today call for federal grants and loans to “infant industries” like manufacturing long distance car batteries. Others argue the federal government has no business favoring certain industries over others. That should be left to free market competition, they say. Which viewpoint do you support? Why?
3. Why do you think Hamilton and Jefferson opposed each other so bitterly?

For Further Reading

Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.

Cunningham, Noble E. *Jefferson vs. Hamilton, Confrontations That Shaped a Nation*. Boston: Bedford/St. Marks, 2000.

ACTIVITY

Hamilton’s vs. Jefferson’s Vision

Hamilton and Jefferson had different visions for America. These visions still live on today in our political debates. In this activity, students look at historical policies and state the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian positions on each.

1. Form small groups and assign each group one of the policies below.
 2. Each group should:
 - a. Read and discuss the policy.
 - b. Relying on the reading for information, determine what the pure Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian positions would be on each policy.
 - c. Be prepared to present its finding to the class, including reasons for them.
 - d. If time permits, look at other policies and determine the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian positions on each.
 3. Reassemble the class, call on groups to report, and hold a class discussion on each policy.
- A. Transcontinental Railroad.** Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862 and 1864 granted government-owned land to private railroads and also gave them 30-year U.S. government loans to build the first railroad line that connected the East and West coasts.
 - B. Social Security.** The Social Security Act of 1935 required federal taxes be taken out of workers’ paychecks and be given to a government-administered trust fund that distributes benefits to workers when they retire.
 - C. Space Race.** For about 20 years from the mid-1950s, the U.S. engaged in a race with the Soviet Union to launch satellites into space and land an astronaut on the moon. The race required massive federal spending on education, research, and technology.
 - D. Farm Bill.** A farm bill is enacted every five years and currently costs taxpayers about \$100 billion each year. It sets U.S. food and agricultural policy. Among other things, it consists of price protections for certain crops, federally subsidized crop insurance protecting farmers against crop failures, and the food stamp program.

GENGHIS KHAN AND THE MONGOL EMPIRE

GENGHIS KHAN UNITED MONGOL TRIBES BEHIND HIM AND BEGAN CONQUERING LAND IN CHINA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND EUROPE. HIS CONQUESTS LED TO AN EMPIRE FAR LARGER THAN THOSE OF ROME OR ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

About 1162, the wife of a minor Mongol tribal leader gave birth to a male child. The boy's father named his son Temujin after a brave chieftain he had just captured in battle. We know Temujin today as Genghis Khan.

The Mongols were nomadic horsemen and herders, who lived in tents on the Asian steppe. A dry grassy plain, the steppe extended from Eastern Europe to China. Like all Mongol boys, Temujin learned early to shoot a bow and arrow while riding horseback. This skill was essential for hunting but also for raiding enemy tribes and foreign settlements to steal goods and take prisoners.

Around the time of Temujin's birth, the Jin Empire in northeast China and its Tartar allies defeated a raiding Mongol army. (The Tartars were another nomadic people from Central Asia.) The Jin victors forced the Mongols to pay annual tribute (money and valuable goods) while also taking some as slaves.

The defeat caused humiliation, poverty, and fighting among the Mongol tribes. When Temujin was 9, some Tartars invited his father for a feast and poisoned him.

At age 14, Temujin and his younger brothers murdered an older half-brother who bragged that he, not Temujin, would replace their father as tribal chief. The Mongols respected him for the killing, believing it showed he was a strong leader who would use any means to win.

At 18, Temujin married a woman from a tribe of Turk people. When she was kidnapped by raiders, he assembled a band of followers, attacked the raiders' camp, and rescued his wife. For the first time, Temujin tasted victory on the battlefield.

Over the next 25 years, Temujin attracted warriors in a quest to unify the



Genghis Khan (c. 1162-1227) united the Mongol tribes, led his armies to victory, and established the largest continuous land empire in history.

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Mongols under his command. To unite the Mongols, he had to fight and defeat rival Mongol tribes, which then pledged their loyalty to him. While only in his 20s, Temujin was elected khan (king) of his growing confederation of tribes.

Temujin then led a successful war against the Tartars who had killed his father. Revenge proved to be a strong motivating force throughout his life. After defeating the Tartars, Temujin called an assembly of all the Mongol tribes.

At the assembly in 1206, the tribes elected Temujin as Genghis Khan (more accurately, Chinggis Qahan), the "Fierce King." Just in his mid-40s, he had risen to be the supreme leader of the Mongols. But he had even greater ambitions.

Preparing for World Conquest

The Mongols believed in an all-powerful god in the blue sky above (called Eternal Heaven). Their religion did not have a formal priesthood, holy book, or temples. Shamans (holy men) communicated with the spirits of nature, interpreted visions, and predicted the future.

When Temujin was elected Genghis Khan, a powerful shaman had a vision of the world ruled by a blue wolf who had come from the Eternal Heaven. The shaman interpreted this to mean that Genghis Khan and his family were given a divine mission to conquer and rule wherever the blue sky extended.

Genghis Khan also had practical reasons for conquering peoples beyond ►

the Mongol homeland. He wanted to improve the economic conditions of his nomadic people by taking more treasure from settled peoples. He also realized the value of controlling trade routes from distant lands.

In the past, many Mongol khans had led armies, but Genghis Khan radically changed the way his army was organized. He broke his army into units of 10, 100, 1,000, and 10,000 men. He chose his commanders based on merit, rather than tribal leadership.

Most important, Genghis Khan mixed members of different tribes within military units. His idea was to shift the loyalty of the soldiers, and the Mongol people, from their tribes to him.

Genghis Khan proclaimed laws for the Mongols. Most of his laws related to military discipline, the hunt, and social order. Here is one example:

A horse thief must compensate the owner with 10 horses. If he cannot provide the horses, he must turn over his children. If he has no children, he is to be executed.

In addition, the new Mongol leader established a court system with a chief judge to decide disputes among the Mongols, try criminals, and apportion the spoils of war fairly. He also authorized making Mongolian a written language, which was needed for record keeping. Confident of his divine origins and mission, Genghis Khan declared that only his sons and their descendants could be elected khans in the future.

Conquering Northern China

In 1209, Genghis Khan attacked Xia, an independent state in northwest China. He easily defeated the Xia Chinese army, but could not take the capital. This was the first Mongol attempt to besiege a fortified city. Lacking siege weapons, he failed to capture it.

As winter approached, Genghis Khan negotiated a treaty that required Xia to pay tribute and pledge allegiance to him. He then withdrew to Mongolia.

Two years later, Genghis Khan invaded the Chinese Jin Empire east of Xia. Jin had a long history of humiliating and oppressing the Mongols. Genghis Khan's army slaughtered many and looted their villages.

The Mongols blockaded the Jin

capital, which forced the emperor to agree to a peace treaty that required tribute and a princess for Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan then took his army back home.

When the Jin emperor violated the terms of the treaty, Genghis Khan returned and again besieged the capital. The starving city population finally surrendered, and the Mongols massacred residents and looted the city.

The Mongol Empire at its peak facilitated the movement of foreigners around the empire. They brought with them new ideas, styles of art, scientific knowledge, political skills, and religions.

When Genghis Khan went back to Mongolia, he left his generals in charge of the Jin. For the first time, the Mongols faced the task of governing a conquered settled people. Genghis Khan recruited foreign experts as occupation administrators. Their main job was to collect taxes and draft troops for the Mongol army.

Invading the Muslim World

In 1218, Genghis Khan sent representatives to the Muslim Khwarazm Empire in Central Asia to negotiate access to trade routes through its territory. After securing a treaty with the shah (emperor), the Mongol leader sent a caravan of about 100 merchants to Khwarazm to begin trading.

When the merchants reached the city of Otrar, the governor accused them of spying, and with the permission of the shah, he executed all but one and seized their goods. Genghis Khan was enraged, but sent a diplomat to convince the shah to punish the governor and return the goods.

The shah ordered the diplomat killed. This turned out to be a catastrophic mistake and a major turning point in world history.

Genghis Khan assembled an army of about 200,000, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and Chinese experts on attacking city fortifications. In 1219, he and his four sons led the Mongol invasion of the Muslim world.

The Mongol army, outnumbered by the shah's forces, marched to Otrar where the merchants had been executed. After defeating the shah's army outside the city, Genghis Khan besieged it for five months. When Otrar fell, the Mongols massacred the entire population.

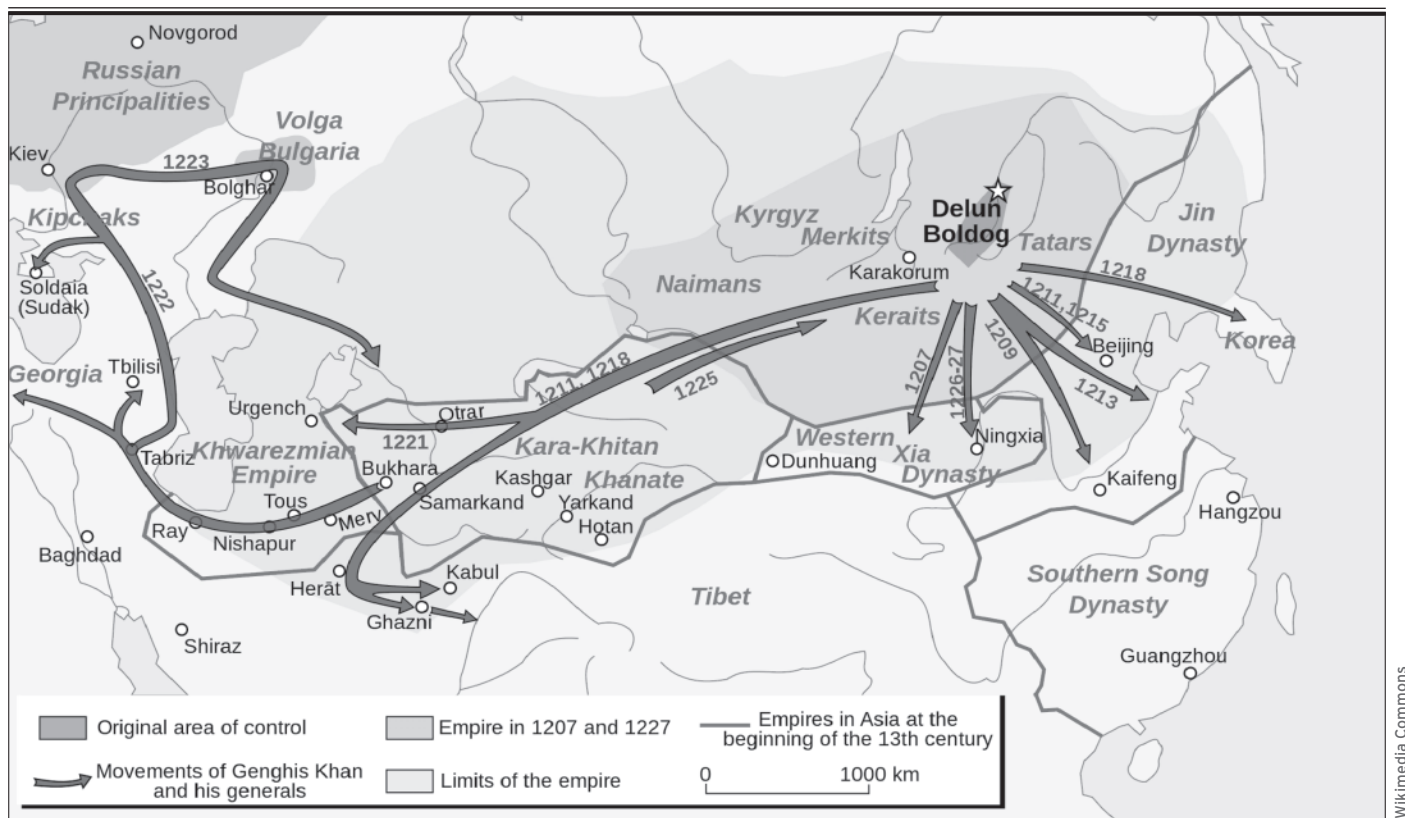
From Otrar, Genghis Khan advanced toward the Khwarazm capital of Samarkand. Along the way, he destroyed farms and irrigation systems, demolished city defenses with catapults, and slaughtered any who resisted. One survivor said, "They came, they sapped [struck], they burnt, they slew, they plundered, and they departed." From this invasion, the Mongols gained their reputation for lightning-fast cavalry attacks with bows and arrows, sabers, and spears.

To reduce his own casualties, Genghis Khan deliberately used the fear of Mongol terror to convince many enemy soldiers and civilians to surrender. As a general rule, the Mongols did not kill those in a city who surrendered without a fight. They were usually taken to safety outside the city walls. Then the Mongols butchered any remaining defenders, looted the city, and set it afire.

Many of those who surrendered were still not entirely safe. Genghis Khan forced young men to march in front of his army as human shields to the next city. He also sent captured craftsmen and other "useful people" to work in Mongolia and other parts of his growing empire.

The shah unwisely divided his army to defend his cities. In the spring of 1220, Genghis Khan captured and sacked Samarkand. He then invaded parts of Afghanistan, Persia, and India.

Meanwhile, Genghis Khan sent two generals to pursue the fleeing shah. The shah apparently died of natural causes on an island in the Caspian Sea. But the generals kept going until they reached Russia and defeated Christian forces there. This army, called "The Golden



Major conquests and movements of Genghis Khan and his generals during his lifetime.

Wikimedia Commons

Horde,” established the first Mongol foothold in Europe.

Genghis Khan returned to Mongolia in 1224. He left behind generals and civilian administrators to govern in his name. The administrators were usually educated Chinese and other foreigners experienced in government affairs. Their job was to restore the war-torn economy, reopen trade routes, and collect taxes.

At first, the Mongols saw little value in farms or farmers, preferring to raid them and use the land as pastures for their horses and other livestock. But Genghis Khan began to see that taxing farmers was a steadier source of wealth. He also grew to appreciate the cultural advances of the people he had conquered and readily adopted their ideas and technology.

Genghis Khan had no interest in imposing his Eternal Heaven belief on the Muslims or any other religious group. “All religions must be treated with deference and not discriminated against,” said one of his laws. His policy of toleration existed as long as there was no religious threat to Mongol rule. This also gained him support among religious leaders in conquered lands.

One thing that Genghis Khan would not tolerate was rebellion. After a son-in-law was killed fighting a rebellious city, the Fierce King directed his youngest son to exterminate every living thing within its walls, including dogs and cats.

The Mongol Empire

In 1227, Genghis Khan died of natural causes while crushing a rebellion by the Chinese Xia state. In his will, he called for his sons to continue his divine mission of Mongol conquests.

Genghis Khan had earlier named his third son, Ogedei, as his successor. Ogedei took the title Great Khan. He brought engineers and craftsmen from all over the empire to start building a capital city in Mongolia. He also expanded the courier system created by Genghis Khan that speeded communication throughout the empire.

Ogedei ended the Jin dynasty in northern China and ordered the Golden Horde in Russia to invade further into eastern Europe. The Mongols terrorized Poland and Hungary. The people there called them “devils.” But just as the Mongols were about to attack the heart

of Europe, Ogedei died, and the leaders of the Golden Horde abandoned their invasion plans.

In 1258, the Great Khan Mongke, grandson of Genghis, sent an army to conquer the Muslim caliphate (empire) centered in Iraq and Syria. The Mongols sacked Baghdad, killed the caliph, and went on to capture Aleppo and Damascus in Syria.

The next year, Mongke died, setting off a civil war over which family member should succeed him. Mongke’s brother, Kublai, won and was confirmed Great Khan in 1264.

By this time, sons and grandsons of Genghis Khan ruled a divided empire, consisting of four mostly independent kingdoms called khanates. These were located in Central Asia, Persia-Iraq, Russia, and China-Mongolia where the Great Khan Kublai reigned but held little power over the other khanates.

Kublai moved the Mongol capital to what is now Beijing, and adopted the traditional characteristics of a Chinese emperor. In 1279, he defeated the Chinese Song dynasty in the South, unifying all of China. This also expanded the Mongol Empire to its greatest extent. ▶

Pax Mongolica

By 1280, Genghis Khan's Mongol Empire had grown to become the largest continuous land empire in world history. It reached from China and Korea in the East to Poland and Hungary in the West, dwarfing the empires of Alexander the Great and Caesar Augustus.

The near domination of the Mongols over such a vast area made it possible for what has been called the Pax Mongolica (Mongolian Peace). Kublai and the rulers of the other khanates opened safe long distance trade routes like the Silk Road, connecting Europe and China, which Marco Polo traveled on his way to the Great Khan's capital.

Soon, an exchange of trade goods, luxuries, medicine, science, and technology connected China, the Muslim world, and Europe for the first time. The nomadic Mongols themselves had little to contribute, but their leaders enthusiastically continued Genghis Khan's trade policies that opened up the known world. Some historians compare this with today's economic "globalization."

Genghis Khan and his successors were eager to learn from foreigners regardless of their ethnicity or religion. Thus, the Mongol Empire at its peak facilitated the movement of foreigners around the empire. They brought with them new ideas, styles of art, scientific knowledge, political skills, and religions.

Early in his career, Genghis Khan declared a policy of religious toleration, something very unusual in the world up to that time. Three of the four khanate rulers eventually converted to Islam as did other Mongols. This spurred the spread of Islam into Persia, Central Asia, India, and further east. In China-Mongolia, many became Buddhists and Christians.

End of the Empire

Kublai Khan attempted to enlarge the Mongol Empire by invading Japan, Java, and Southeast Asia, but all his campaigns ended in disaster. Battles over succession in the four khanates increasingly weakened the empire. It finally fell apart by the 1500s and was largely absorbed by other powers.

Mongolia itself was attacked and dominated by the Chinese Ming dynasty, which overthrew Mongol rule in 1368. In 1921, Mongolia became a communist satellite of the Soviet Union. Mongolia today, where Genghis Khan is a national hero, is a democratic country that is enjoying an economic boom due to large mineral discoveries.

Genghis Khan certainly earned his reputation as a ruthless conqueror. But some credit him and the Mongol Empire he founded with beginning the exchange of knowledge that led to the making of the modern world.

ACTIVITY

Evaluating Genghis Khan

Historians have long debated over how best to assess Genghis Khan. Below are four different assessments. In small groups, do the following:

1. Read and discuss each of the assessments below.
2. Using the information in the article, determine which, if any, of the assessments you agree with.
3. If you agree with none of them, write your own short assessment of Genghis Khan.
4. Be prepared to present your decisions and reasons for them to the whole class.

Leo de Hartog, *Genghis Khan: Conqueror of the World* (1989): A judgment about Genghis Khan can be made only if he is seen in the context of his times and surroundings. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Mongols were far more barbarous than their neighboring tribes. For this reason Genghis Khan, as the cultivated Chinese put it, was nothing more nor less than a barbarian. However, this barbarian possessed a number of qualities that enabled him to become one of the greatest conquerors in the history of the world.

Robert Walsh, *The American Quarterly Review*, Volume 1 (1827): Excessively proud, ambitious, and revengeful, he joined the most wily artfulness to the most unsparing cruelty. With him, the end always justified the means, and expediency was ever sufficient to justify any breach of faith. . . . [H]e set no value on human life, nor hesitated to make any sacrifice of it to gratify his lust of conquest. Considering his subjects as *enemies*, he swayed them with an iron sceptre, maintaining thus their loyalty through their fears . . .

Don Lessem, museum exhibit producer of *Genghis Khan: The Exhibition* (2012): Genghis did do brutal things, but no more so than the Crusaders. And his savagery had a purpose — creating a secure world empire — and once inside the Pale, people were safe and more prosperous and liberated than anywhere else. Genghis was the guy who developed diplomatic immunity, a code of laws including fair trial and tax benefits for clerics and scholars.

Harold Lamb, *Genghis Khan: The Emperor of All Men* (1927): Genghis Khan, the destroyer, had broken down the barriers of the Dark Ages. He had opened up roads. Europe came into contact with the arts of Cathay. At the court of his son, Armenian princes and Persian grandees rubbed shoulders with Russian princes.

FOR DISCUSSION AND WRITING

1. What do you think was the most important reason for Genghis Khan's success as a conqueror?
2. Was Genghis Khan a terrorist? Explain.
3. What made the Mongol Empire different from other empires?

For Further Reading

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THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

THE VOTES OF 538 'ELECTORS' ACTUALLY ELECT THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. AMERICANS WONDER WHY THE PEOPLE DO NOT DIRECTLY DO THIS THEMSELVES. MANY HAVE TRIED TO ABOLISH OR REFORM THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, BUT IT REMAINS FIRMLY IN PLACE.

Why do we have an Electoral College? The simple answer is that the writers of the Constitution created it at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

The Founding Fathers had trouble deciding on a method for choosing the president. They debated whether the president should be elected by the people, appointed by Congress, chosen by the state governors, or selected by state legislatures.

Convention delegates voted down the idea of the people voting directly for president. Some were concerned that a president elected by the people would become more powerful than Congress. The states with small populations believed they would always be outvoted by the bigger states. Others feared the people would be easily misled by smooth-talking power seekers.

The main argument against the people directly electing the president, however, was that most voters would know little about the qualifications of national leaders running for president. Due to poor communications at that time, most people were likely to just vote for candidates they knew in their own states.

The delegates finally agreed on a compromise that created what later was called the Electoral College. ("College" in this sense means a group with a common purpose.) The compromise was to assign each state a number of electors based on the number of representatives it had in the House of Representatives plus its two senators.

The Electoral College compromise also:

- Left it to each state to decide how to choose its electors.



Tim Martin | Dreamstime.com

In voting booths on Election Day, voters mark their choice for president. In reality, they are voting for a slate of electors pledged to that candidate.

- Gave electors two votes for president; only one of the candidates they voted for could be a resident of their state.
- Declared that the candidate with the majority of electoral votes became the president and the one who came in second became the vice president.
- Required the electors to cast their electoral votes in their own states in order to prevent electors from making secret deals with electors from other states.
- Called for each state to seal and send its electoral votes to the president of the U.S. Senate, who opened the envelopes before both houses of Congress and announced the results.
- In the event of a tie or lack of majority in the Electoral College, placed the election of president in the hands of the House of Representatives, and vice president in the hands of the Senate.

In 1789 in the first presidential election, the Electoral College worked as most people thought it would. George Washington was elected president when all the electors voted for him on their first ballot. When they cast their second ballot, they voted for several other candidates. John Adams ended up with the second most electoral votes and became vice president. Washington's re-election in 1792 also went smoothly. But after Washington,

problems with the Electoral College began to appear.

The Election of 1796

The writers of the Constitution did not anticipate the development of political parties. By the end of Washington's two terms, two parties had formed: the Federalist Party and the Republicans. (This Republican Party is not related to the modern Republican Party, which began in 1854.)

In the election of 1796, most electors sided with one political party or the other. John Adams, a Federalist, won the most electoral votes and was elected president. But Thomas Jefferson, a Republican, got the second most votes and became vice president. As a result, two political opponents headed the federal government.

The Tie in 1800

In the election of 1800, the Republican ticket included Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice president. Both Republicans received the same number of electoral votes for president. The election then went to the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives, which took 36 ballots to finally choose Jefferson as president. Burr became vice president.

To take into account the impact of political parties, Congress approved and the states ratified the 12th Amendment to the Constitution in 1804. From then on, each elector has cast separate ballots for president and vice president. ►

The 12th Amendment also requires that if no candidate for president gets a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives will elect the chief executive from among the top three electoral vote getters. But each state has only one vote, giving states with small populations greater voting power. The Senate chooses between the two top candidates for vice president with each state's two senators voting.

John Quincy Adams' Election in 1824

In the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson won the most popular votes (votes cast by the people) and the most electoral votes among four candidates. But he did not get a majority of the electoral votes.

The House of Representatives voted for president among the top three electoral vote winners. Amid charges of corrupt deal making, John Quincy Adams won the presidency despite getting fewer popular and electoral votes than Jackson. (In the 1828 election, Jackson was elected president, winning both the popular vote and the Electoral College.)

The House Decides the 1876 Election

In the 1876 presidential election, Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat, beat Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican, by a quarter of a million popular votes. Tilden also won more electoral votes, but not a majority. The problem came from disputed elections in three Southern states. Each of these states submitted two sets of electors.

The House of Representatives deadlocked on which sets of electors to accept. Finally, the Southern states switched from supporting Tilden to Hayes in exchange for a promise by the Republicans to end Civil War Reconstruction. Hayes got all the disputed electoral votes and won in the Electoral College by one vote.

Harrison Defeats Cleveland in 1888

The very close election of 1888 resulted in Democrat Grover Cleveland winning the popular vote against Republican Benjamin Harrison 48.6% to

47.8%. But Harrison got 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168. Harrison became the president.

Bush v. Gore

Over the next 112 years, no presidential election produced an Electoral College dispute until the contest between Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore in 2000. Gore clearly won the national popular vote by about a half-million ballots. But neither man could claim victory until Florida's popular vote decided which candidate would get all of that state's electoral votes.

Bush won the initial Florida count by less than 2,000 votes out of 6 million cast. Gore demanded a hand recount in four Democratic leaning counties where voting machines may not have always recorded the vote correctly. Soon both parties filed lawsuits on several issues.

Finally, the U.S. Supreme Court in a controversial 5–4 decision ordered the recounts to stop because the four counties were not using a uniform method for counting the disputed ballots. In the end, Bush won the popular vote in Florida by 537 votes, which enabled him to claim all of Florida's 25 electoral votes. They gave him the majority in the Electoral College.

The Electoral College Today

Today, 538 electors make up the Electoral College. (The number equals the number of members of the House of Representatives — 435 — plus the number of U.S. senators — 100 plus three electors from the District of Columbia.) To be elected president and vice president in the Electoral College, a candidate must win a majority, which is 270 electoral votes.

The 23rd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, adopted in 1961, gives the District of Columbia three electoral votes, which is also the minimum for any state. U.S. Territories, such as Puerto Rico, have no electoral votes.

In most states and the District of Columbia, the political parties appoint a slate of electors before each presidential election. The electors are usually party loyalists, but cannot be holding a federal office when

they serve as electors. Electors pledge to vote for their party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the Electoral College, but they are not required to do so by federal law. (About half of the states have enacted laws requiring electors to fulfill their pledges.)

All states and the District of Columbia select electors by popular vote. When voters enter the voting booth, the names of the presidential candidates are on the ballot. But voters are really voting for the slate of electors pledged to the candidates.

The vast majority of states have adopted the “winner takes all” system. The candidate for president who wins the popular vote gets all of the state's electoral votes. But two states — Maine and Nebraska — use the congressional district plan. In these states, the winner of each congressional district gets one electoral vote. The winner of the state gets the remaining two electoral votes.

Over the years, the Electoral College has stirred much controversy and debate. Some have called for abolishing it. Others think it needs to be reformed. Still others believe we should keep it as it is.

Abolish It

A 2011 Gallup Poll found that Americans, by 62–35 percent, favor abolishing the Electoral College and replacing it with a national popular vote. But this would require a constitutional amendment, which would need to be approved by two-thirds of the House and Senate and ratified by three-fourths of the states. Although many such amendments have been proposed over the years, none has ever made it out of Congress.

Arguments for abolishing the Electoral College include:

- The Electoral College system is undemocratic. In four elections, the candidate who won the most popular votes still lost the presidency.
- The states with small populations have disproportionate power in the Electoral College system. If the presidency is decided by the House, a combination of states with relatively few people can outvote the states with a majority of the nation's voters.

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTORAL VOTES

Electoral votes are allocated based on the Census. The allocations below are based on the 2010 Census. They are effective for the 2012, 2016, and 2020 presidential elections.

Total Electoral Votes: 538

Majority Needed to Elect: 270

State	# of Electoral Votes
Alabama	9
Alaska	3
Arizona	11
Arkansas	6
California	55
Colorado	9
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
D.C.	3
Florida	29
Georgia	16
Hawaii	4
Idaho	4
Illinois	20
Indiana	11
Iowa	6
Kansas	6
Kentucky	8
Louisiana	8
Maine	4
Maryland	10
Massachusetts	11
Michigan	16
Minnesota	10
Mississippi	6
Missouri	10
Montana	3
Nebraska	5
Nevada	6
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	14
New Mexico	5
New York	29
North Carolina	15
North Dakota	3
Ohio	18
Oklahoma	7
Oregon	7
Pennsylvania	20
Rhode Island	4
South Carolina	9
South Dakota	3
Tennessee	11
Texas	38
Utah	6
Vermont	3
Virginia	13
Washington	12
West Virginia	5
Wisconsin	10
Wyoming	3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 12/10/2010

- Deciding by a popular vote will force candidates to campaign in all states, not just the few “battle-ground” states whose electoral votes are up for grabs under the current system.
- The president and vice president are the only nationwide elected federal officials. They should be elected by “We the People” not by states under an outdated voting system.

Arguments against abolishing it include:

- A popular vote system increases the chances of a third party candidate reducing the winner’s popular vote to a plurality (below 50 percent). This would mean the majority voted for other candidates, and the “winner” would not have a mandate to govern. This could be corrected by a runoff election between the top two, but would voter turnout be as high?
- Under a popular vote in a close election, demands for recounts across the country would probably occur as the apparent loser(s) sought more votes.

Reform It

Since it would be extremely difficult to amend the Constitution to abolish the Electoral College, some have proposed reforming it. Most reformers back one of three different changes, all based on the power of the states to decide how to select their electors. None of these reforms requires a constitutional amendment. Instead, the reforms would result from changes in states’ laws.

District Plan

This reform encourages states to follow Maine and Nebraska and adopt a system that grants electoral votes according to which party’s candidate for president wins the most votes in each House district. Arguments for this reform include:

- This plan eliminates some of the unfairness of the winner-takes-all system by making it possible for the loser of the statewide popular vote to pick up electoral votes from certain districts.
- Candidates would campaign in favorable districts in states they would ordinarily lose, increasing voter turnout.

Arguments against the district plan include:

- The state’s majority party in the state legislature is likely to try to redraw boundaries of districts that may vote for the minority party. The new districts would include more of the majority party’s own registered voters in such districts.
- This plan still does not prevent a national popular vote winner from losing in the Electoral College.

Proportional Plan

This reform would divide a state’s electoral votes according to the percentage of the statewide popular vote won by each candidate. Arguments for this reform include:

- This plan eliminates the winner-takes-all system. For example, Wisconsin has 10 electoral votes. If one candidate won 60 percent of the state’s vote, that candidate would get six electoral votes. The candidate who won 40 percent would pick up four electoral votes.
- Each candidate is likely to get one or more electoral votes in every state. Candidates would want to campaign nationwide, increasing voter turnout.

Arguments against the proportional plan include:

- How do you divide Wisconsin’s 10 electoral votes if one candidate wins 53.7 percent of the vote and the other candidate wins 46.3 percent? Divide some electors into fractions? Round up?
- It increases chances for more recounts and lawsuits as in the chaotic 2000 election in Florida.

National Popular Vote Plan

In this reform, a state passes a law, pledging to cast all its electoral votes for the winner of the national popular vote, *even if the state voted overwhelmingly for the loser*. This reform would not go into effect until those states agreeing to do this have a combined total of at least 270 electoral votes, a majority in the Electoral College. As of June 2012, eight states and the District of Columbia have agreed to this plan. They have 132 electoral votes, about half those needed. Arguments for this reform include: ▶

- This plan guarantees that the winner of the nation's popular vote will always win in the Electoral College.
- It encourages campaigning across the nation and more voter turnout.

Arguments against the national popular vote plan include:

- This is a “backdoor” way to abolish the Electoral College without a constitutional amendment. Should a state ignore the will of the voters and hand over all its electoral votes to a candidate most did not vote for?
- Under this plan, a minority of states with a combined majority of electoral votes could vote as a bloc while, in effect, discarding the electoral votes of the other states.

Keep It

The Electoral College has lasted for more than 200 years and has many supporters. Arguments for keeping the Electoral College include:

- The Electoral College has worked well, with problems arising in only a few elections. Abolishing

orreforming it should only be by a constitutional amendment.

- The current system encourages candidates to appeal for votes in a wide variety of states across the nation, not just in highly populated states or particular geographical regions.
- Even in close popular vote elections, there is usually a clear winner in the Electoral College, providing the president a mandate to govern.
- The Electoral College system balances the small and big states so that neither can always decide who the president will be.
- There is no wide agreement on the proposed reforms, all of which have serious flaws.

Arguments against keeping the Electoral College include:

- The possibility of electing a president who wins fewer popular votes than his or her opponent is fundamentally undemocratic.
- The reasons why the Founding Fathers rejected the direct election of the president by the people are no longer relevant.

FOR DISCUSSION AND WRITING

1. What do you think are the best and worst parts of the Electoral College system? Why?
2. Why do you think the Electoral College seems to be firmly in place today even though a majority of Americans favor abolishing it?
3. The winner-takes-all system was never part of the Electoral College in the Constitution, but has been adopted by most states in choosing their electors. Do you agree or disagree with this method of choosing state electors? Why?

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Streb, Matthew J. *Rethinking American Electoral Democracy*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2011.

ACTIVITY

Debating the Electoral College

In this activity, students will argue different positions on the Electoral College.

1. Form groups of four. Assign each member of the group a number: 1, 2, 3, or 4. Each number will have a different role:
 - #1s: Prepare arguments for a constitutional amendment to **abolish** the Electoral College and replace it with the national popular vote.
 - #2s: Prepare arguments to **reform** the Electoral College without a constitutional amendment. Choose and argue for one of the three reforms discussed in the article.
 - #3s: Prepare arguments to **keep** the Electoral College as it is.
 - #4s: Listen to the arguments and vote for how the U.S. should elect the president and vice president.
2. Everyone should meet in different parts of the room with those who have the same number. Those meeting in groups with #1, #2, and #3 should develop arguments for their position. The group of #4s should create questions to ask the supporters of each position.
3. Everyone should return to the original group of four. The #4 in each group should lead the debate and give all sides equal time.
4. When time is up, the #4s should come to the front of the room, discuss the arguments, and vote on which is the best position.

About Constitutional Rights Foundation

Constitutional Rights Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization committed to helping our nation's young people to become active citizens and to understand the rule of law, the legal process, and their constitutional heritage. Established in 1962, CRF is guided by a dedicated board of directors drawn from the worlds of law, business, government, education, and the media. CRF's program areas include the California State Mock Trial, youth internship programs, youth leadership and civic participation programs, youth conferences, teacher professional development, and publications and curriculum materials.

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Standards Addressed

Hamilton and Jefferson

National High School U.S. History Standard 8: Understands the institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how those elements were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. (6) Understands the factors that led to the development of the two-party system (e.g., the emergence of an organized opposition party led by Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton's financial plan). (7) Understands the factors that led to the Whiskey Rebellion

Common Core Standard RH.11-12.6: Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Common Core Standard RH.11-12.8: Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

California History-Social Science Standard 8.3: Students understand the foundation of the American political system and the ways in which citizens participate in it. (4) Understand how the conflicts between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton resulted in the emergence of two political parties (e.g., . . . economic policy, National Bank, funding and assumption of the revolutionary debt).

Genghis Khan

National High School World History Standard 21: Understands the rise of the Mongol Empire and its consequences for Eurasian peoples from 1200 to 1350. (1) Understands the political features of the Mongol Empire and its influence on other regions (2) Understands factors that contributed to the division and eventual decline of the Mongol Empire after the death of Chinggis Khan (3) Understands the interaction between the Mongols and cultures of Mongol domination (4) Knows the trade routes that emerged under Mongol domination, and the goods traded along these routes.

Common Core Standard RH.11-12.3: Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

California History-Social Science Standard 7.3: Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of the civilizations of China in the Middle Ages. (4) Understand the importance of both overland trade and maritime expeditions between China and other civilizations in the Mongol Ascendancy and Ming Dynasty.

Electoral College

National High School U.S. History Standard 8: Understands the institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how these elements were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. (1) Understands influences on the ideas established by the Constitution

National High School Civics Standard 20: Understands the roles of political parties, campaigns, elections, and associations and groups in American politics. (1) Knows the origins and development of the two party system in the United States (6) Understands the significance of campaigns and elections in the American political system, and knows current criticisms of campaigns and proposals for their reform.

Common Core Standard SL.11-12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions . . . with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

California History-Social Science Standard 11.1: Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence. (2) Analyze the ideological origins of the American Revolution, . . . the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution

California History-Social Science Standard 12.4: Students analyze the unique roles and responsibilities of the three branches of government as established by the U.S. Constitution. (4) Discuss Article II of the Constitution as it relates to the executive branch, including . . . election to . . . office

California History-Social Science Standard 12.6: Students evaluate issues regarding campaigns for national, state, and local elective offices. (6) Analyze . . . the function of the Electoral College.

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Into the Future

Recognizing the cost efficiency and potential impact of the Internet, in the mid-1990s CRF began utilizing the web to deliver program information and educational resources. By the early 2000s, CRF's main web site featured information about all of its major programs, hundreds of free downloadable educational resources, live links to support CRF texts, and an online catalog.

Users of the site reached nearly 1.5 million unique visitors per year in 2007. The same year, the *Los Angeles Times* named it as the top academic "super-site" in its annual guide to educational resources for students on the web. In 2010, *findingDulcinea*, *Librarian of the Internet*, a noted web guide, named CRF among the "101 Great Sites for Social Studies" and one of eight on its "Top Sites for High School Government Teaching Resources."

Based on this success and with the support of various funders, CRF began developing and launching specialty web sites to address specific programs and content areas and needs: *Student Forum* (2004) and *California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools* (2005).

CRF also collaborates with other organizations in developing web resources. With *Courtroom to Classroom*, CRF works with the Judiciary of California on an animated site to educate about the courts and the Constitution. *Deliberating in a Democracy*, a collaboration with Constitutional Rights Foundation/Chicago, features high quality discussions on controversial issues used both domestically and internationally. Street Law, Inc., and CRF came together to develop *Educating about Intellectual Property*, which feature curriculum and electronic lessons to address these important issues. And CRF has partnered with the Los Angeles Office of the District Attorney to create and disseminate an online version of Project L.E.A.D., a law-related and dropout prevention model for upper-elementary students.

In 2007, CRF received funding to create its most ambitious digital effort, *Civic Action Project*. This full-service web resource serves U.S. government teachers and students with online resources to learn about civics while actually engaging in civic actions to address real community issues and problems, affect public policy pertaining to them, and promote constructive change. It features a 14-lesson curriculum linked to state standards; online teacher professional development and instructional tools; teacher-to-teacher, teacher-to-student, and student-to-student interactivity; and a range of participant work product and video assets.

CRF also seeks to better serve teachers, administrators, and supporters through other electronic and social networking modes. We have a growing presence on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube and publish a blog to keep our public abreast of issues and resources.

All of this technology was barely imaginable when CRF got its start in 1962, and it is dizzying to think where it will take us in the next 50 years. Only one thing is certain. CRF will strive to provide teachers and students with high quality programming and educational resources to meet its mission of educating each new generation to be informed, effective, and engaged citizens.



Join our 50th Celebration by visiting www.crf-usa.org/50th



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Many of you are aware of CRF through *Bill of Rights in Action*. This remarkable publication, now in its 45th year, goes out to 40,000 subscribers free-of-charge, four times each school year. Every issue provides social studies teachers around the nation with balanced, high-level content, discussion strategies, and meaningful learning activities for the classroom. With your support, we can keep this vital resource coming for many years to come.

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Sincerely,

T. Warren Jackson
Board Chair

P.S. Your generosity deserves recognition as well. If your total contribution is greater than \$100, we will be happy to mention you by name on CRF's web site and on the "Donors" pages we create for the year-long **50th Anniversary Celebration**. It's that important to us — and we want to thank you for your support.

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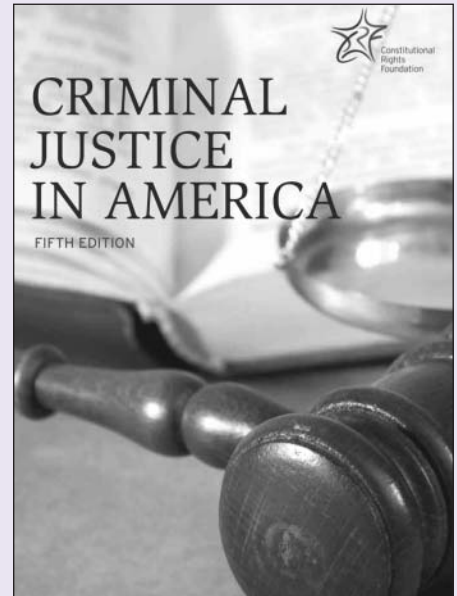
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