

Senators on both sides of the aisle, but it does give Members an opportunity to focus, as we just heard, on issues that are important to individual Senators but also are important to the American people in the broadest sense.

In this body, because we are always on a particular piece of legislation or in Executive Session, this gives us an opportunity to pause for a moment and shine that spotlight and that focus on an initial speech or discussion.

I am delighted we are reaching to the past—not the distant past—to something we have gotten away from in the last several Congresses, and as an initiative by our new Senators are embarking upon what I know will be a great and very meaningful and powerful experience for all of us.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair, in my capacity as the Senator from Alaska, asks the floor staff to notify me when such speeches are to be made of any Senator.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, while the majority leader is in the Chamber, I ask unanimous consent that the majority be given a full hour—we have taken some time today—and the Democrats, if necessary, extended 10 minutes also. I ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I first thank the majority leader for his comments and his friendship and his encouragement of the new Senators in these first addresses. I thank the Senator from Nevada for his encouragement and his willingness to join me in cosponsoring the legislation that I hope to talk about. I thank my colleagues for taking the time to be here today.

From the Senate's earliest days, new Members have observed, as we just heard, the ritual of remaining silent for a period of time, ranging from several weeks to 2 years. By waiting a respectful amount of time before giving their so-called "maiden speeches," freshmen Senators hoped their senior colleagues would respect them for their humility.

This information comes from our Senate historian, Richard Baker, who told me that in 1906 the former Governor of Wisconsin—I am sensitive to this as a former Governor—Robert La Follette, arrived here, in Mr. Baker's words, "anything but humble." He waited just 3 months, a brief period by the standards of those days, before launching his first major address. He then spoke for 8 hours over 3 days and his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD consumed 148 pages. As he began to speak, most of the Senators present in the Chamber rose from their desks and departed. La Follette's wife, observing from the gallery, wrote:

There was no mistaking that this was a polite form of hazing.

From our first day here, as the majority leader said, we new Members of

the 108th Congress have been encouraged to speak up, and most of us have. But, with the encouragement of the majority leader and the assistant minority leader, several of us intend also to try to revive the tradition of the maiden address by a signature speech on an issue that is important both to the country and to each of us. I thank my colleagues who are here, and I assure all of you that I will not do what the former Governor of Wisconsin did and speak for 3 days.

THE AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS EDUCATION ACT

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I rise today to address the intersection of two urgent concerns that will determine our country's future, and these are also the two topics I care about the most, the education of our children and the principles that unite us as Americans. It is time we put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American. Especially during such serious times when our values and ways of life are being attacked, we need to understand just what those values are.

In this, most Americans would agree. For example, in Thanksgiving remarks in 2001, President Bush praised our Nation's response to September 11. "I call it," he said, "the American character." At about the same time, speaking at Harvard, former Vice President Al Gore said, "We should fight for the values that bind us together as a country."

Both men were invoking a creed of ideas and values in which most Americans believe. "It has been our fate as a nation," the historian Richard Hofstadter wrote, "not to have ideologies but to be one." This value-based identity has inspired both patriotism and division at home as well as emulation and hatred abroad. For terrorists, as well as those who admire America, at issue is the United States itself—not what we do but who we are.

Yet our children do not know what makes America exceptional. National exams show that three-quarters of the Nation's 4th, 8th, and 12th graders are not proficient in civics knowledge and one-third do not even have basic knowledge, making them "civic illiterates."

Children are not learning about American history and civics because they are not being taught them. American history has been watered down, and civics is too often dropped from the curriculum entirely.

Until the 1960s, civics education, which teaches the duties of citizenship, was a regular part of the high school curriculum. But today's college graduates probably have less civic knowledge than high school graduates of 50 years ago. Reforms, so-called, in the 1960s and 1970s, resulted in widespread elimination of required classes and cur-

riculum in civics education. Today, more than half the States have no requirement for students to take a course—even for one semester—in American government.

To help put the teaching of American history and civics in its rightful place, today I introduce legislation on behalf of myself and cosponsors, Senator REID of Nevada, Senator GREGG, Senator SANTORUM, Senator INHOFE, and Senator NICKLES. We call it the American History and Civics Education Act. The purpose of the act is to create presidential academies for teachers of American history and civics, and congressional academies for students of American history and civics. These residential academies would operate for 2 weeks, in the case of teachers, and 4 weeks in the case of students, during the summertime. Their purpose would be to inspire better teaching and more learning of the key events, the key persons, and the key ideas that shape the institutions and democratic heritage of the United States.

I had some experience with such residential summer academies when I was Governor of Tennessee. It was a good experience. In 1984, we began creating governor's schools for students and for teachers. We had a Governor's School for the Arts. We had a Governor's School for International Studies at the University of Memphis, a Governor's School for Teachers of Writing at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, which was very successful. Eventually there were eight governor's schools in our State, and they helped thousands of Tennessee teachers improve their skills and inspired outstanding students in the same way. When those teachers and students went back to their own schools during the regular school year, their enthusiasm for teaching and learning the subject they had been a part of in the summer infected their peers and improved education across the board. Dollar for dollar, I believe the governor's schools in our State were the most effective popular education initiatives in our State's history.

We weren't the only State to try it; many did. The first State governor's school I heard about was in North Carolina, started by Terry Sanford when he was Governor in 1963, and then other States have done the same—Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In 1973, Pennsylvania established the Governor's Schools of Excellence, with 14 different programs of study. Mississippi has done the same. Virginia's Governor's School is a summer residential program for 7,500 of the Commonwealth's most gifted students. Mississippi and West Virginia also have similar programs. They are just a few of the more than 100 governor's schools in 28 States. Clearly, the model has proved to be a good one.

The legislation I propose today applies that successful model to American history and civics by establishing

presidential and congressional academies for students and teachers of those subjects.

The legislation would do one more thing. It would authorize the creation of a national alliance of American history and civics teachers to be connected by the Internet. The alliance would facilitate sharing of best practices in the teaching of American history and civics. It is modeled after an alliance I helped the National Geographic Society start in the 1980s. Their purpose was to help put geography back into the school curriculum.

This legislation creates a pilot program, up to 12 presidential academies for teachers, 12 congressional academies for students, sponsored by educational institutions. The National Endowment for the Humanities would reward 2-year renewable grants to those institutions after a peer review process. Each grant would be subject to rigorous review after 3 years to determine whether the overall program should continue or expand or be stopped. The legislation authorizes \$25 million annually for the 4-year pilot program.

There is a broad new basis of support for and interest in American history and civics in our country. As David Gordon noted in a recent issue of the Harvard Education Letter:

A 1998 survey by the nonpartisan research organization Public Agenda showed that 84 percent of parents with school age children say they believe the United States is a special country and they want our schools to convey that belief to our children by teaching about its heroes and its traditions. Similar numbers identified the American ideal as including equal opportunity, individual freedom, and tolerance and respect for others. Those findings were consistent across racial and ethnic groups.

Our national leadership has responded to this renewed interest. In 2000, at the initiative of my distinguished colleague Senator BYRD, Congress created grants for schools that teach American history as a separate subject within the school curriculum. We appropriated \$100 million for those grants in the recent omnibus appropriations bill, and rightfully so. They encourage schools and teachers to focus on the teaching of traditional American history and provide important financial support.

Then, last September, with historian David McCullough at his side, President Bush announced a new initiative to encourage the teaching of American history and civics. He established the "We The People" program at the National Endowment for the Humanities, which will develop curricula and sponsor lectures on American history and civics. He announced the "Our Documents" project, run by the National Archives. This will take 100 of America's most prominent and important documents from the National Archives to classrooms everywhere in the country. This year, the President will convene a White House forum on American history, civics, and service. There we can discuss new policies to improve the

teaching and learning of those subjects.

This proposed legislation takes the next step by training teachers and encouraging outstanding students. I am pleased today that one of the leading Members of the House of Representatives, ROGER WICKER of Mississippi, along with a number of his colleagues, is introducing the same legislation in the House of Representatives. I thank Senator GREGG, the chairman of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, for being here and also for agreeing that the committee will hold hearings on this legislation so we can determine how it might supplement and work with the legislation enacted last year in this Congress and the President's various initiatives.

In 1988, I was at a meeting of educators in Rochester when the President of Notre Dame University asked this question: "What is the rationale for the public school?" There was an unexpected silence around the room until Al Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, answered in this way: "The public school was created to teach immigrant children the three R's and what it means to be an American with the hope that they would then go home and teach their parents."

From the founding of America, we have always understood how important it is for citizens to understand the principles that unite us as a country. Other countries are united by their ethnicity. If you move to Japan, you can't become Japanese. Americans, on the other hand, are united by a few principles in which we believe. To become an American citizen, you subscribe to those principles. If there are no agreement on those principles, Samuel Huntington has noted, we would be the United Nations instead of the United States of America.

There has therefore been a continuous education process to remind Americans just what those principles are. In his retirement at Monticello, Thomas Jefferson would spend evenings explaining to overnight guests what he had in mind when he helped create what we call America. By the mid-19th century it was just assumed that most Americans knew what it meant to be an American. In his letter from the Alamo, Col. William Barrett Travis pleaded for help simply "in the name of liberty, patriotism and everything dear to the American character."

New waves of immigration in the late 19th century brought to our country a record number of new people from other lands whose view of what it means to be an American was indistinct—and Americans responded by teaching them. In Wisconsin, for example, the Kohler Company housed German immigrants together so that they might be Americanized during non-working hours.

But the most important Americanizing institution, as Mr. Shanker reminded us in Rochester in 1988, was the

new common school. McGuffey's Reader, which was used in many classrooms, sold more than 120 million copies introducing a common culture of literature, patriotic speeches and historical references.

The wars of the 20th century made Americans stop and think about what we were defending. President Roosevelt made certain that those who charged the beaches of Normandy knew they were defending for freedoms.

But after World War II, the emphasis on teaching and defining the principles that unite us waned. Unpleasant experiences with McCarthyism in the 1950's, discouragement after the Vietnam War, and history books that left out or distorted the history of African-Americans made some skittish about discussing "Americanism." The end of the Cold War removed a preoccupation with who we were not, making it less important to consider who we are. The immigration law changes in 1965 brought to our shores many new Americans and many cultural changes. As a result, the American Way became much more often praised than defined.

Changes in community attitudes, as they always are, were reflected in our schools. According to historian Diane Ravitch, the public school virtually abandoned its role as the chief Americanizing institution. We have gone, she explains, from one extreme—simplistic patriotism and incomplete history—to the other—"public schools with an adversary culture that emphasizes the Nation's warts and diminishes its genuine accomplishments. There is no literary canon, no common reading, no agreed-upon lists of books, poems and stories from which students and parents might be taught a common culture and be reminded of what it means to be an American."

During this time many of our national leaders contributed to this drift toward agnostic Americanism. These leaders celebrated multiculturalism and bilingualism and diversity at a time when there should have been more emphasis on a common culture and learning English and unity.

America's variety and diversity is a great strength, but it is not our greatest strength. Jerusalem is diverse. The Balkans are diverse. America's greatest accomplishment is not its variety and diversity but that we have found a way to take all that variety and diversity and unite as one country. *E pluribus unum*: out of many, one. That is what makes America truly exceptional.

Since 9/11 things have been different. The terrorists focused their cross-hairs on the creed that unites Americans as one country—forcing us to remind ourselves of those principles, to examine and define them, and to celebrate them. The President has been the lead teacher. President Bush has literally taken us back to school on what it means to be an American. When he took the country to church on television after the attacks he reminded us

that no country is more religious than we are. When he walked across the street to the mosque he reminded the world that we separate church and state and that there is freedom here to believe in whatever one wants to believe. When he attacked and defeated the Taliban, he honored life. When we put planes back in the air and opened financial markets and began going to football games again we honored liberty. The President called on us to make those magnificent images of courage and charity and leadership and selflessness after 9/11 more permanent in our every day lives. And with his optimism, he warded off doomsayers who tried to diminish the real gift of Americans to civilization, our cockeyed optimism that anything is possible.

Just after 9/11, I proposed an idea I called "Pledge Plus Three." Why not start each school day with the Pledge of Allegiance—as we did this morning here in the Senate—followed by a faculty member or student sharing for three minutes "what it means to be an American." The Pledge embodies many of the ideals of our National Creed: "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." It speaks to our unity, to our faith, to our value of freedom, and to our belief in the fair treatment of all Americans. If more future Federal judges took more classes in American history and civics and learned about those values, we might have fewer mind-boggling decisions like the one issued by the Ninth Circuit.

Before I was elected to the Senate, I taught some of our future judges and legislators a course at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government entitled "The American Character and America's Government." The purpose of the course was to help policymakers, civil servants and journalists analyze the American creed and character and apply it in the solving of public policy problems. We tried to figure out, if you will, what would be "the American way" to solve a given problem, if such a thing were to exist.

The students and I did not have much trouble deciding that America is truly exceptional—not always better, but truly exceptional—or in identifying the major principles of an American creed or the distinct characteristics of our country; such principles as: liberty, equal opportunity, rule of law, *laissez faire*, individualism, *e pluribus unum*, the separation of church and state.

But what we also found was that applying those principles to today's issues was hard work. This was because the principles of the creed often conflicted. For example, when discussing President Bush's faith-based charity legislation, we knew that "In God We Trust" but we also knew that we didn't trust government with God.

When considering whether the Federal Government should pay for scholarships which middle and low income families might use at any accredited school—public, private or religious—we

found that the principle of equal opportunity conflicted with the separation of church and state.

And we found there are great disappointments when we try to live up to our greatest dreams; For example, President Kennedy's pledge that we will "pay any price or bear any burden" to defend freedom, or Thomas Jefferson's assertion that "all men are created equal," or the American dream that for anyone who works hard, tomorrow will always be better than today.

We often are disappointed when we try to live to those truths.

We learned that, as Samuel Huntington has written, balancing these conflicts and disappointments is what most of American politics and government is about.

If, most of our politics and government is about applying to our most urgent problems the principles and characteristics that make the United States of America an exceptional country, then we had better get about the teaching and learning of those principles and characteristics.

The legislation I propose today, with several cosponsors, will help our schools do what they were established to do in the first place. At a time when there are record numbers of new Americans, at a time when our values are under attack, at a time when we are considering going to war to defend those values, there can be no more urgent task than putting the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD several items: A syllabus from the course that I taught, an article from the National Association of Scholars, and memoranda outlining the various Governors' schools in our State and other States.

I also highly commend to my colleagues a report from the Carnegie Corporation and CIRCLE titled "The Civic Mission of Schools."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Association of Scholars]
TODAY'S COLLEGE STUDENTS BARELY MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE THAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS OF 50 YEARS AGO, POLL SHOWS

PRINCETON, NJ, Dec. 18, 2002.—Contemporary college seniors scored on average little or no higher than the high-school graduates of a half-century ago on a battery of 15 questions assessing general cultural knowledge. The questions, drawn from a survey originally done by the Gallup Organization in 1955, covered literature, music, science, geography, and history. They were asked again of a random sample of American college and university students by Zogby International in April 2002. The Zogby survey was commissioned by the National Association of Scholars.

There were variations in the pattern of responses. The contemporary sample of seniors did better than the 1950s high school graduates on four questions relating to music,

literature, and science, about the same on seven questions pertaining to geography, and worse on four questions about history.

The answers given by today's seniors were also compared to those provided to the Gallup questions by college graduates in 1955. Although the relatively small number of college graduates in the latter sample limits the degree of confidence one can have in the comparisons, the consistency and size of the knowledge superiority displayed by the 1950s college graduates strongly suggests that it is real.

The overall average of correct responses for the entire general knowledge survey was 53.5% for today's college seniors, 54.5% for the 1955 high school graduates, and 77.3% for the 1955 college graduates.

(Removing three questions about which, for reasons indicated in the full report, the earlier respondents may have had more "extracurricular" sources of knowledge, the figures become 50.3% for the 2002 seniors, 46.4% for the 1955 high school graduates, and 67.8% for the 1955 college graduates.)

In addition, the 2002 college seniors were asked two questions dealing with the reading and musical interests that were asked of national samples of the American population in 1946 and 1957. With respect to interest in high literate and musical culture, the answers fail to show impressive or consistent differences between the two groups.

On a question inquiring whether or not they had a favorite author, 56% of 2002 college seniors, as opposed to 32% of the general population in 1946—the great majority of whom had only an elementary or secondary school education—answered affirmatively. For both groups, however, most of the authors specifically mentioned were writers of popular fiction. When only responses naming "high-brow" and canonical writers were tabulated, the differences between the two groups shrank considerably: 17% of the national sample falling into a "high-brow" classification in 1946, as opposed to 24% of the 2002 college senior sample. Not a particularly large difference given the college senior's great advantage in formal education.

Asked whether or not they would like to collect a fairly complete library of classical music on LPs or CDs, the 1957 sample of owners 33 rpm-capable phonographs (37% of a national survey sample) provided a more affirmative response than did the 2002 college seniors, 39% of the former, and only 30% of the latter, responding "Yes".

On the other hand, the contemporary college seniors were more likely (69%) to have studied a musical instrument than were the members of the population as a whole (44%) in 1957. The type of instrument studied also differed, the 1957 national sample more heavily favoring the violin and piano than did the 2002 college seniors.

"The results," said NAS president Stephen H. Balch, "though somewhat mixed and based on a limited number of questions, are hardly reassuring. America has poured enormous amounts of tax dollars into expanding access to higher learning. Students spend, and pay for, many more years in the classroom than was formerly the case. Our evidence suggests that this time and treasure may not have substantially raised student cultural knowledge above the high school levels of a half-century ago."

"Worst yet," he continued, "the high cultural interest and aspirations of today's college seniors are neither consistently nor substantially more elevated than yesteryear's secondary school graduates. Creating such interests and aspirations has traditionally been considered a core element of the collegiate experience. If the last fifty years have in fact witnessed few gains in this respect, it represents a real disappointment of once widespread hopes."

GOVERNOR'S SCHOOLS APPENDIX

Virginia Governor's Schools for Humanities and Visual & Performing Arts:

Established in 1973;

Takes place in more than 40 sites throughout Virginia;

"The Governor's Schools presently include summer residential, summer regional, and academic-year programs serving more than 7,500 gifted students from all parts of the commonwealth";

Funded by way of the Virginia Board of Education and the General Assembly (no specific figures readily available).

Pennsylvania Governor's Schools of Excellence:

Established in 1973;

Program is broken up into 8 schools (Agricultural Sciences-Penn State University, Global Entrepreneurship-Lehigh University, Health Care-University of Pittsburgh, Information Technology-Drexel University/Penn State University, International Studies-University of Pittsburgh, Teaching-Millersville University, the Arts-Mercyhurst College, the Sciences-Carnegie Mellon University);

Funded by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mississippi Governor's School:

Established in 1981;

Program is hosted by the Mississippi University for Women;

Major academic courses change yearly, however, all courses are designed to provide "academic, creative leadership experiences."

West Virginia Governor's School for the Arts:

"Brings 80 of West Virginia's most talented high school actors, dancers, musicians, singers and visual artists to the West Liberty State College campus for a three-week residential program."

Arkansas Governor's School:

Established in 1980;

Program is hosted by Hendrix College and attended by approximately 400 students yearly;

Areas of focus include "art, music, literature, film, dance, and thought in the sciences, social sciences, and humanities";

This 6-week program is funded by the Arkansas General Assembly.

Governor's schools for Montana, Massachusetts, and Connecticut not found.

Alabama Governor's School:

Established in 1987;

Program is hosted by Samford University; Academic courses stress fieldwork and problem-solving; the arts, humanities and sciences are also explored;

Major and minor areas of study include, "The Legal Process, American Healthcare, and Urban Geography."

Delaware Governor's School for Excellence:

One-week summer program;

Open to academically and artistically talented sophomores from Delaware high schools;

Students attend either the academic program or the visual and performing arts program.

Kentucky Governor's Scholars Program:

Established in 1983;

Held on the campuses (2003) of Centre College in Danville, Eastern Kentucky; University in Richmond, and Northern Kentucky University in Highland Heights;

Five-week long summer program;

Students may choose from over 20 subjects, including; engineering and cultural anthropology;

Students selected attend the program free of cost.

Kentucky Governor's School for the Arts:

Provides hands-on instruction for Kentucky's dancers, actors, and musicians;

No charge to students because it is paid for by the State;

Open to sophomores and juniors in high school.

Missouri Scholars Academy:

Three-week academic program for Missouri's gifted students;

330 students attend each year;

Held on the campus of University of Missouri-Columbia;

Administered by the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, in cooperation with University of Missouri officials;

Funds to support the Academy are appropriated by the Missouri Legislature following state Board of Education recommendations;

Academy focuses on liberal arts and numerous extra-curricular activities.

A GLANCE AT TENNESSEE GOVERNOR'S SCHOOLS

GOVERNOR'S SCHOOLS

Background

The Governor's School concept and practice began in North Carolina in 1963 when Governor Terry Sanford established the first one at Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The first school was initially funded through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Later it came under the auspices of the North Carolina Board of Education of the North Carolina Department of Education.

Upon the establishment of the first school, several states, including Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee established similar schools. As of 1996, there were approximately 100 schools in 28 states.

TENNESSEE GOVERNOR'S SCHOOLS

Background

The 1984 Extraordinary Session of the Tennessee General Assembly mandated the Governor's School program as a way of meeting the needs of Tennessee's top students. For many years this program has been included in the Appropriation Bill of the General Assembly.

The Governor's Schools started with 3 schools (100 students each) in 1985:

1. Humanities at U.T. Martin increased to 150 (2000 = 123; 2001 = 113).

2. Sciences at U.T. increased to 150 (2000 = 119; 2002 = 107).

3. Arts at M.T.S.U. increased to 300 (2000 = 226; 2001 = 226).

Added in 1986 International Studies at U. of Memphis originally served 150 (2000 = 115; 2001 = 106).

Added in 1987 Tennessee Heritage at E.T.S.U. originally served 80 (2000 = 57; 2001 = 51).

Added in 1991 Prospective Teachers at U.T. Chattanooga originally served 30 (2000 = 25; 2001 = 22).

Added in 1996 Manufacturing at U.T. originally served 30 (2000 = 26; 2001 = 21).

Added in 1998 Hospitality and Tourism at TSU originally served 60 (2000 = 60; 2001 = 0).

Added in 1999 Health Sciences at Vanderbilt originally served 25 (2000 = 20; 2001 = 0).

Discontinued in 2001 Hospitality and Tourism (per legislature).

Discontinued in 2001 Health Sciences (per legislature).

Added (but not held) in 2002 Information Technology Leadership at T.T.U. originally served 30.

Suspended for 2002 All Governor's School Programs.

During the 2001 Governor's Schools session 646 students attended.

2001 total amount allotted to the Governor's Schools: \$1,411,000.00 (1999 = \$1,981.08 per student; 2000 = \$2,037.61 per student; 2001 = \$2,180.83 per student)

Governor's Schools today

Today, there are 8 Governor's Schools across the state, serving several hundred students and teachers each year. Although funding for the schools was cut last year during a budget crisis, support has been restored this year.

As stated earlier, there are currently 8 Governor's Schools across the state. Each school is held on a college campus during the summer months. Listed below is a table of all of the schools, including subject area that is taught, the location, and the dates for the 2003 session.

The School for the Arts—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the Middle Tennessee State University campus in Murfreesboro, and located only 30 miles from Nashville and the Tennessee Performing Arts Center.

The School for the Sciences—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, near the Oak Ridge National Laboratories, Tremont Environmental Center, and in the heart of TVA.

The School for the Humanities—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of the University of Tennessee at Martin, in the center of Shiloh Battleground and the sociological cultures of the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers.

The School for International Studies—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of The University of Memphis, in the heart of Tennessee's growing international corporate center, home to Federal Express, Holiday Inns, and Schering-Plough.

The School for Tennessee Heritage—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of East Tennessee State University in Johnson City—surrounded by the area where Tennessee's history began and only a few miles from Jonesborough, the state's oldest existing city.

The School for Prospective Teachers—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga—with access to many schools throughout the area.

The School for Manufacturing—June 15–July 12, 2003—held on the campus of the University of Tennessee in Knoxville—focuses on the importance of manufacturing as an integral part of the culture and economy of Tennessee.

President's School for Information Technology and Leadership—June 15–July 12, 2003—this self-funded school will be held on the campus of Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville. It focuses on developing a complete business plan for an information technology-based business and enhancing student's knowledge of information technology and business leadership.

The Tennessee Governor's Schools offer selected gifted and talented high school students intensive learning experiences in the Humanities, Math and Science, Arts, International Studies, Tennessee Heritage, Prospective Teaching, Manufacturing and Information Technology Leadership. Admission to the various programs are highly competitive, as 1,250 applications have been received thus far for the 2003 year for The School for the Arts, and only 300 spots are available. Additionally, The School for the Sciences has received 800 applications thus far, for 125 spots.

Students in the 10th and 11th grades who are interested in participating in the programs receive information from their school's guidance counselor and then proceed with the application process.

Students selected to attend these highly competitive schools are provided housing and meals for the duration of the program, which is about a month long. Students participate in a variety of courses that are offered. For example, there were 14 academic

courses offered to the 115 scholars at the Governor's School for the Humanities in 2001. All of the scholars were enrolled in courses at 9 a.m. and 10:15 a.m. This particular curriculum was designed to expose the scholars to a rich selection of humanities courses including literature, philosophy, religion, ethics, poetry, history and media studies. In addition to the required morning classes, the scholars were given the opportunity to participate in afternoon electives, such as the yearbook staff and the student newspaper. In the evening hours at the Governor's School for the Humanities, students were offered a broad-range of humanities-related speakers and activities.

Governor's Schools make a difference

The scholars' satisfaction with the 2001 Governor's School for the Humanities program is reflected in the overall rating of the program, with 94% of the scholars rating the program as either "excellent" or "very good."

This satisfaction is also evident from the feedback the students were asked to write upon completion of the 2001 Governor's School for the Humanities program. Some examples of the feedback from the program are as follows:

"I had the fortunate chance of coming here, and I am glad I came. The cool thing about the people here is that I got along with everyone, and I especially got along very well with my roommate. My favorite class was Lord Chamberlain's Men. I better developed my acting skills and overall understanding of what goes on in a play production. This campus is so beautiful. The people, activities, and atmosphere are unbelievable. I have had the time of my life here, and I would especially come to this campus again for a future GS, but I doubt that is possible. I love the freedom I get from being here. The classes were challenging for me and I believe I am prepared for my classroom experience now. There are some very strange people that came here who I wouldn't even think would be accepted to Governor's School. I have learned to accept all different types of people and their views and lifestyles since coming to GS. I love the fact that Tennessee is rewarding me and everyone here that is smart with the opportunity to become a better person. This experience was wonderful. I speak for a lot of people when I say that I don't want to leave!"

"I honestly would have to say that Governor's School has been one of the best experiences I have ever had. By coming here, I have met so many people from different backgrounds, and I learned to grow as a person. I learned so much in and out of class, both from the staff and students. I really enjoyed all the activities because I had fun and because I was able to be myself. The atmosphere was so receptive and nurturing, and the teachers showed that they wanted us to learn and grow. I feel that the variety of electives offered allowed each person to pick what he/she was interested in and enabled each person to show their talents and abilities. The time in which I was here flew by, but so many wonderful things happened. It sounds funny, but every time I would write or call home, I couldn't help but smile as I told my parents about the fun I was having. This may or may not seem relevant to the Governor's School experience, but it helped me to see that I can go off to college in a year and I will be fine. Overall, I feel that this was a positive growing experience, and I can't wait to take back home all that I have learned. Thank you all so much!"

Other Governor's Schools around the country

The Arkansas Governor's School is a 6-week summer residential program for gifted students who are upcoming high school sen-

iors and residents of Arkansas. State funds provide tuition, room, board, and instructional materials for each student who attends the six-week program on the site of a residential college campus, leased by the State. The Arkansas Governor's School is a non-credit program. Students are selected on the basis of their special aptitudes in one of eight fields: choral music, drama, English/language arts, instrumental music, mathematics, natural science, social science, or visual arts.

The Virginia Governor's School Program provides some of the state's most able students academically and artistically challenging programs beyond those offered in their home schools. With the support of the Virginia Board of Education and the General Assembly, the Governor's Schools presently include summer residential, summer regional, and academic-year programs serving more than 7,500 gifted students from all parts of the commonwealth. There are three types of Governor's Schools that provide appropriate learning endeavors for gifted students throughout the commonwealth: Academic-Year Governor's Schools, Summer Residential Governor's Schools, and the Summer Regional Governor's Schools. The Virginia Department of Education and the participating school divisions fund the Governor's School Program.

The Georgia Governor's Honors Program is a six-week summer instructional program designed to provide intellectually gifted and artistically talented high school juniors and seniors challenging and enriching educational opportunities. Activities are designed to provide each participant with opportunities to acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes to become life-long learners. The program is held on the campus of Valdosta State University, in Valdosta, Georgia. The GHP teacher-to-student ratio is usually 1:15.

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER AND AMERICA'S GOVERNMENT: USING THE AMERICAN CREED TO MAKE DECISIONS

(Professor Lamar Alexander, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Spring 2002)

OBJECTIVE OF THE COURSE

To help future decision-makers use the principles of the American Creed to solve difficult, contemporary public policy problems. Students will first explore America's "exceptionalism": how an idea-based national ideology makes the United States different from other countries—including other Western democracies. Then, each session will analyze one value of the "American Creed"—and how it conflicts with other values and/or creates unrealized expectations—in the solving of a specific problem. Students will simulate realistic policy-making situations and produce professional products as assignments: concise memos, outlines and briefings.

RATIONALE FOR THE COURSE

In Thanksgiving remarks President Bush praised the nation's response to September 11. "I call it," he said, "the American Character". At KSG Al Gore said, "We should [fight] for the values that bind us together as a country". Both men were invoking a creed of ideas and values in which most Americans believe. "It has been our fate as a nation," Richard Hofstadter wrote, "not to have ideologies but to be one." This value-based national identity has inspired both patriotism and division at home, both emulation and hatred abroad. For terrorists as well as for those who admire America, at issue is the United States itself—not what we do, but who we are.

Yet Americans who unite on principle divide and suffer disappointment when using

their creed to solve policy problems. This is because the values of the creed conflict (e.g., liberty vs. equality, individualism vs. community) and because American dreams are loftier than American reality (e.g., "all men are created equal", "tomorrow will be better than today"). Samuel Huntington has said that balancing these conflicts and disappointments is what most of American politics and government is about. That is also what this course is about.

AUDIENCE

The Course is designed for future policy makers, civil servants, and journalists. A general knowledge of American politics is helpful but not required. It should be useful for both U.S. and international students seeking to learn more about the American system of government and how it differs from that of other countries.

INSTRUCTOR

Lamar Alexander, The Roy M. and Barbara Goodman Family Visiting Professor of Practice in Public Service, has been Governor of Tennessee, President of the University of Tennessee, and U.S. Education Secretary. He co-founded Bright Horizons Family Solutions, Inc., now the nation's largest provider of worksite day care. His seven books include *Six Months Off*, the story of his family's trip to Australia after eight years in the Governor's residence. In 1996 and 2000 he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President of the United States. For more see www.lamaralexander.com. Office: Littauer 101; Telephone: (617) 384-7354; E-mail: lamar_alexander@ksg.harvard.edu.

OFFICE HOURS

Office hours will generally be on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. A sign up sheet will be posted outside Professor Alexander's door. Appointments may also be made by e-mailing kay@lamaralexander.com

COURSE ASSISTANT

Matt Sonnesyn will be course assistant for PAL 223 and may be reached by email at matthew_sonnesyn@ksg02.harvard.edu.

EXPECTATIONS

This is a graduate level professional course and will have the corresponding standards and assignments: attendance at all scheduled classes, assignments completed on time, and evaluation according to students' preparation of professional products—crisp and realistic decision memos, memo outlines, and policy briefings. All briefings are conducted in class and all decision memos and weekly outlines are due at the beginning of the corresponding class session. There is no final exam, but there will be a final paper.

GRADING

Briefings (2): team exercise 20 percent. Two times during the course each student will participate in a team briefing on that week's subject.

Memos (2): team exercise 20 percent. Two other times during the course each student will participate in a team preparing a three-page decision memo on that week's subject. The student may select these from among the class topics.

Weekly Outlines (6): 20 percent. Six other times during the course each student will prepare a one-page analysis of the week's problem. (This will be during those weeks when the student is not involved in preparing a team briefing or team memo.) As a result, for ten of the twelve class sessions, each student will have an assignment (other than reading) that requires preparation outside of class—either a team briefing, a team memo, or an individual weekly memo outline.

Class participation and attendance: 15 percent.

Final Paper: 25 percent.

Final grades will be determined by students' overall position in the class as measured by performance on each of the assignments and will conform to the Kennedy School of Government's recommended range of grading distribution.

MATERIALS

The course relies primarily on course packets to be made available for sale at the Course Materials Office. There will be 125–150 pages of reading each week. There are three required textbooks:

(1) Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated and edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, The University of Chicago Press, 2000.

(2) Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, W.W. Norton & Co., 1997 (paperback).

(3) Samuel P. Huntington, "American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony", The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1981.

All three books are available for purchase at the Harvard Coop. Copies of all three books are on reserve in the KSG library.

Note: Readings from the three required textbooks or readings which are readily available online are not included in the course packet. (Hypertext links to the online readings may be found within the syllabus that is posted on the KSG website.)

ENROLLMENT

The course has a limited enrollment. Auditors are permitted with permission of the instructor.

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READINGS

2/5: My "ism" is Americanism—American Exceptionalism. One hundred and one ways Americans are different. So what?

Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, pp. 3–15, 90, 585–587, 225–226.

G.K. Chesterton, *What I Saw in America*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1922, pp. 6–12.

Daniel J. Boorstin, "Why a Theory Seems Needless", *The Genius of American Politics*, 1953, The University of Chicago Press, p. 8–35.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The American Creed and National Identity," *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*, 1981, pp. 13–30.

Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, 1991, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp. 46–58.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, Simon and Schuster, 1996, pp. 40–55, 68–78, 301–308.

Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 17–34.

2/12: "... where at least I know I'm free..."—Liberty. Should Congress repeal President Bush's executive order allowing non-citizens suspected of international terrorism to be detained and tried in special military tribunals?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 239–242, 246–249, 301, 639–640.

U.S. Constitution and amendments, 1787. <http://memory.loc.gov/const/constquery.html>.

John Stuart Mill, "The Authority of Society and the Individual", *On Liberty*, 1859, Hackett Publishing Co. edition, 1978, pp. 73–91.

Carl Brent Swisher, *American Constitutional Development*, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1954, pp. 276–292, 1017–1025.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The American Creed vs. Political Authority," *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*, 1981, pp. 31–60.

Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time*, The Free Press, pp. 232–246, 1988.

An Executive Order of President George W. Bush, "Detention, Treatment and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War against Terrorism", November 13, 2001.

Jeffrey Rosen, "Testing the Resilience of American Values", *The New York Times Week in Review*, Sunday, Nov. 18, 2001, pp. 1 and 4.

Laurence H. Tribe, Statement before U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, December 4, 2001.

"American Attitudes Toward Civil Liberties", public Opinion survey, by Kasier Foundation, National Public Radio and Kennedy School of Government, December 2001. <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/civil libertiespoll/011130.poll.html>.

2/19: In God We Trust . . . but we don't trust government with God—Christianity, pluralism and the state. Should Congress enact President Bush's faith-based charity legislation?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 278–288.

John Locke, "A Letter Concerning Toleration", Diane Ravitch and Abigail Thernstrom, *The Democracy Reader*, NY: HarperCollins, 1992., *ibid.*, pp. 31–37.

Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia", Ravitch and Thernstrom, *ibid.*, pp. 108–109.

James Madison, "Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments", 1785, *The Writings of James Madison*, NY: Putnam, 1908.

"Separation of Church and State in America Bought about by the Scotch-Irish of Virginia", Charles. A. Hanna, *The Scotch Irish*, Vol. II, 1985, Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, pp. 157–162.

Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of its Political, Social and Religious Character*, 1961, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, pp. 72–83.

Engel vs. Vitale, 370. U.S. 421 (1962).

Marvin Olasky, "The Early American Model of Compassion", *The Tragedy of American Compassion*, Regnery Publishing, Washington, D.C., 1992, pp. 6–23.

Lamar Alexander, "Homeless, not hopeless", *We Know What to Do*, William Morrow, New York, 1995, pp. 35–51.

Two Executive Orders of President George W. Bush, "Establishment of White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives" and "Agency Responsibilities with respect to Faith-based Community Initiatives". January 29, 2001.

2/26: "Leave no child behind"—Equal Opportunity. Should the federal government pay for scholarships that middle and low-income families may use at any accredited school—public, private or religious?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

Horace Mann, "Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1848" in Daniel J. Boorstin, *An American Primer*, Meridian, 1995, pp. 361–375.

Charles Leslie Glenn, Jr. *The Myth of the Common School*, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, pp. 146–158.

Lamar Alexander, "The GI Bill for Kids", *The John Ashbrook Lecture*, presented at Ashland (O.) University, 9/12/92. <http://www.lamaralexander.com/articles.htm>.

Thomas J. Kane, "Lessons from the Largest School Voucher Program", *Who Chooses? Who Loses?*, edited by Bruce Fuller and Richard F. Elmore, Teachers College Press, 1996, pp. 173–183.

Michael W. McConnell, "Legal and Constitutional Issues of Vouchers", *Vouchers and the Provision of Public Schools*, The Brookings Institution, 2000, pp. 368–391.

Eliot M. Minberg and Judith E. Schaeffer, "Grades K–12: The Legal Problems with Public Funding of Religious Schools", *Vouchers*

and the Provision of Public Schools, pp. 394–403.

Diane Ravitch, "American Traditions of Education", Terry M. Moe, *A Primer on America's Schools*, Hoover Institution Press, 2001, pp. 1–14.

Paul Peterson, "Choice in American Education", *A Primer on America's Schools*, pp. 249–283.

Diane Ravitch, "Ex Uno Plures", *Education Next*, Fall 2001, pp. 27–29

3/5: Equal at the starting line . . . but what about those with shackles?—Individualism. Should the federal government pay for race-based college scholarships?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 326–334, 347–348; 482–488.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776. <http://memory.loc.gov/const/declar.html>.

Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address (1865). <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres32.html>

Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" http://douglass.speech.nwu.edu/doug_a10.htm.

Martin Luther King, Jr., address at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963. http://douglass.speech.nwu.edu/king_b12.htm

Excerpts from University of California Regents v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).

Testimony of Lamar Alexander, U.S. Education Secretary, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 2nd session, Feb. 20, 1992, pp. 39–46, 82–89, 99–102.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Two Americas", *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 113–150.

Abigail Thernstrom and Stephen Thernstrom, *America in Black and White*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1997, pp. 530–545.

Cornel West, "Malcolm X and Black Rage", *Race Matters*, Random House, Vintage Books, New York, 2001, pp. 135–151.

3/12: A nation of immigrants . . . but all Americans—E Pluribus Unum. Should illegal aliens have Illinois driver's licenses? discounted tuition at state colleges? free medical care? should their children attend public schools?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 29–30. 32. 34–37, 268.

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, "What is an American", *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782, Penguin Books edition 1986, pp. 67–90.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1991, pp. 9–43.

Carlos E. Cortes, "Limits to pluribus, limits to unum", *National Forum*, Baton Rouge, Winter, 1992, pp. 6–10.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, Simon and Schuster, 1996, pp. 198–206.

J. Harvie Wilkinson, "The Medley of America", *One Nation Indivisible*, Addison Wesley, 1997, pp. 3–21.

Griffin Bell, "The Changing Role of Migrants in the United States", Address to the International Leadership Issues Conference of State Legislative Leaders Foundation, Budapest, October 4, 2001.

David Cohen, *Chasing the Red, White and Blue*, New York, 2001. St. Martin's Press, pp. 218–236, 250–260.

Morris P. Fiorina and Paul E. Peterson, *The New American Democracy*, Longman, 2002, pp. 99–108.

3/19: Suspending the constitution in order to save it—Rule of Law. Should the governor-elect seize office three days early to prevent the incumbent governor from selling pardons for cash?

Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 229-231.
 US Constitution, 25th Amendment. <http://memory.loc.gov/const/constquery.html>.
 Tennessee Constitution Article 3, Section 12. <http://www.state.tn.us/sos/bluebook/online/section6/tncconst.pdf> (p. 12).
 Tennessee Acts Section 8-1-107.
 Lon Fuller, "The Morality that Makes Law Possible", *The Morality of Law*. Yale Law School Press, 1964. pp. 33-44.
 John D. Feerick, *The Twenty-Fifth Amendment: Its Complete History and Earliest Applications*. Fordham University Press, 1976. pp. 3-23, 193-206.
 Bush v. Gore, 2000. <http://www.supremecourt.us/florida.html>.
 Al Gore, address to the nation, December 13, 2000. <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2000/transcripts/121300/t651213.html>.
 Paul F. Boller, Jr., "Picking the Day", *Presidential Inaugurations*, Harcourt, Inc., 2001. pp. 23-31.
 James W. Torke, "What Is This Thing Called the Rule of Law?" *Indiana Law Review*. Volume 34, 2001. pp. 1445-56.
 Dotty Lynch, "Back to Abnormal", Sept. 28, 2001, from CBS News Site. <http://www.cbsnews.com/now/story/0,1597,312915-412,00.shtml>.
 Tim McGirk, "Wahid's In, Megawati's Out", Dec. 8, 2001, from Time Asia. <http://www.time.com/time/asia/news/interview/0,9754,168569,00.html>.
 Gordon Silverstein, "Globalization and the Rule of Law", mimeo, The University of Minnesota, 2001.
 3/26: Harvard break.
 4/2: "Ask not what your country can do for you . . ."—Community. Should all high school graduates perform one mandatory year of community service?
 Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 56-58, 577-78, 489-92.
 Robert N. Bellah, et al, *Habits of the Heart*, University of California Press, 1985, pp. vii-xxxv, 275-296.
 Daniel Boorstin, "From Charity to Philanthropy", *Hidden History*, Vintage, New York, 1989, pp. 193-209.
 Barry Alan Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism*, Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. xiii-xix.
 Lamar Alexander, "What's Wrong With American Giving and How to Fix It," *Philanthropy*, Summer 1997. http://www.lamaralexander.com/articles_03.htm.
 Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, Simon & Schuster, 2000, pp. 15-28, 48-64, 116-133, 402-414.
 4/9: Why Americans don't trust Washington, D.C.—A government of, by and for the people. Should the U.S. create a citizen congress: cut their pay and send them home six months a year, adopt term limits and two-year federal budgets?
 Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.* pp. 53-55.
 Aristotle, "Politics", from Ravitch and Thernstrom, pp. 9-12.
 Edmund Burke, "On Election to Parliament", Ravitch and Thernstrom, *ibid.* pp. 50-51.
 Samuel P. Huntington, "The American Creed and National Identity," *American Politics: the Promise of Disharmony*, 1981, pp. 36-41.
 E.J. Dionne, "The Politics of the Restive Majority", *Why Americans Hate Politics*, Touchstone, New York, 1991, pp. 329-355.
 Lamar Alexander, "Cut Their Pay and Send Them Home," 1994, address to The Heritage Foundation.
 Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 35-46.
 Joseph S. Nye, et al, *Why People Don't Trust Government*, Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 253-281.

Mark Kim, David King, Richard Zechhauser, "Why State Governments Succeed", mimeo, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2001.
 4/16: "Work! For the night is coming . . ."—Laissez Faire. Should the federal government pay all working Americans "a living wage"?
 Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.* pp. 506-08, 555-557, 606-608.
 Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, 1909, Northeastern University Press, pp. 1-26.
 Kevin Phillips, "The Triumph of Upper America", *The Politics of Rich and Poor*, Harper, 1991, pp. xvii-xxiii.
 C. Vann Woodward, "The Pursuit of Happiness", *The Old World's New World*, Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 40-62.
 Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economy, Religion and Welfare", *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 53-76.
 David Neumark and William Washer, "Using the EITC to Help Poor Families: New Evidence and a Comparison with the Minimum Wage", *NBER Working Paper #7599* March 2000, pp. 1-4, 24-27. <http://papers.nber.org/papers/W7599>.
 Charles Handy, "DeToqueville Revisited: The Meaning of American Prosperity", *Harvard Business Journal*, January 2001, pp. 5-11.
 David Neumark, "Living Wages: Protection For or Protection From Low-Wage Workers", *NBER Working Paper #8393*, July 2001, pp. 1-7, 25-27. <http://papers.nber.org/papers/W8393>.
 David Cohen, *Chasing the Red, White and Blue*, New York, 2001. St. Martin's Press, pp. 52-80.
 Harvard Living Wage Statements. <http://www.hcecp.harvard.edu/report.htm> and <http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~pslm/livingwage/portal.html>.
 4/23: "Pay any price, bear any burden . . ."—Exporting American Values. Putin shuts down last remaining independent Russian TV station (owned 25% by Ted Turner), expels 100 foreign journalists for "inaccurate reporting" including all Fox News personnel. What does U.S. do?
 Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 217-220.
 George Washington's Farewell Address, 1795. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>.
 John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 1961. <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres56.html>.
 Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: the Promise of Disharmony*, pp. 240-262.
 Graham T. Allison, Jr. and Robert P. Beschel, Jr., "Can the United States Promote Democracy", *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 107, No. 1, 1992, pp. 81-89.
 Henry Kissinger, "The Hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson", *Diplomacy*, New York Simon & Schuster, 1994, pp. 29-55.
 Lamar Alexander, "In War and Peace", *We Know What to Do*, pp. 95-107.
 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, pp. 309-321.
 Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide", *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2000, pp. 84-108.
 Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*, Alfred A Knopf, New York 2001, pp. xv-xviii, 3-29.
 4/30: Anything is possible—Unbridled optimism. Should there be a \$1000 limit on individual federal campaign contributions?
 Alexis de Toqueville, *ibid.*, pp. 187-189.
 Larry J. Sabato, "PACs and Parties" *Money, Elections and Democracy: Reforming Congressional Campaign Finance*, 1990, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press.
 Todd Eardensohn, *A Review of the Alexander for President Campaign Budget (1995-1996)*.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, Simon and Schuster, 1996, pp. 308-321.
 Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 51-52, 267-292.
 Lamar Alexander, "Should Tom Paine Have Filed with the FEC?", January 21, 1998, address to The Cato Institute.
 Andrew Del Banco, *The Real American Dream*, 1999, Harvard University Press, pp. 103-118.
 Lamar Alexander, "Put More Money Into Politics", August 27, 1999, *The Wall Street Journal*. http://www.lamaralexander.com/articles_01.htm.
 Alexander, "Keeping the Dream Alive", *We Know What to Do*, *ibid.* pp. 165-180.
 Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader for this time. I yield the floor.
 The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Hampshire.
 Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I rise to say I believe the speech the Senator from Tennessee has given today was an extraordinary speech, which was his first speech on the floor. Actually, it was not his first speech on the floor, but we are calling it his maiden speech. He gave a speech last week that had a huge impact relative to the Estrada nomination, which is the pending business. But this statement today by the Senator from Tennessee highlights effectively and poignantly the importance of teaching civics and history in classes in America. His bill, which he has proposed, of which I am a cosponsor, is a step which is long overdue.
 As he so effectively pointed out in his speech, we, as a nation, need to teach our children about our roots and our purpose as a country if we are to continue our creed of bringing one out of many.
 So I thank him for his statement. I think it was a superb statement. And I thank him for his legislation, which I hope we will be able to act on promptly and pass and put into operation so we can pass on to our children, through our public school system, the importance of the American culture and history.
 The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair, in his capacity as a Senator from the State of Alaska, asks unanimous consent that he be added as a cosponsor.
 Without objection, it is so ordered.
 The Senator from Wyoming.
 Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator from Tennessee on an outstanding and inspiring speech. I feel tremendously more patriotic now than when I came in the Chamber. And there is no way one can come into this Chamber without feeling patriotic.
 I am just hoping that classrooms across America do not wait for the legislation; that they go ahead, get on the Internet, get a copy of the Senator's speech, get a copy of the materials that accompany it, and get busy on this right away.
 The Senator is absolutely right. This is a country that began unifying on September 11. It is in a huge process of reunifying, of finding the commonality between the people who have united

the American people and made this the kind of country that it is.

I congratulate the Senator for his inspiring speech and the work he has done on this bill. I have heard the Senator speak on this bill and have seen his passion on it before.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CORNYN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ENZI. I thank the Senator for all his efforts.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, I also join in thanking the Senator from Tennessee for his very inspiring comments. I am part of the new class of Senators. I will have an opportunity to give my maiden speech, though obviously I have spoken on the floor before.

I thought this was an important maiden speech. This was the first of the speeches of the new Senators of the 108th, and I think it was the right speech. We are going to discuss a lot of issues in these very challenging times—a time when we are on the edge of war, a time in which the values we hold so dear are challenged by terrorists, are challenged by oppression, and challenged by hate.

We live in a time of great uncertainty about the economy, about jobs, with moms and dads who worry about their economic futures.

So we are going to debate a lot of issues. We are worried about the future of health care and the future of prescription drugs for seniors. We are worried about baby boomers who are going to get old—and do we have a national policy dealing with long-term care?

But at the core of all that we debate is this very fundamental concept that the Senator from Tennessee has raised; that is, What does it mean to be an American? What does it mean to celebrate freedom, to celebrate opportunity, and to be an optimist and have a hopeful spirit?

So I applaud the Senator from Tennessee for, in his maiden speech, setting forth the seminal concept that binds us.

I have noticed, with a little bit of sadness, the very partisan tone of so much of what we do. And I have always believed if we spent more time focusing on the things upon which we agree, rather than things on which we disagree, we would get through those. I think there is great agreement in this body on what we agree on, and that is what it is to be an American.

I think it is important to transmit those values to the next generation so that the next generation can reinforce that to our generation because sometimes we forget.

So, again, I add my voice of thanks to the Senator from Tennessee for raising this issue. It is so appropriate at this point in time.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that I be added as a cosponsor on the Senator's legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COLEMAN. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I congratulate my colleague, through the Chair, for his words of inspiration. This concept of unity, this concept of patriotism, this concept of the essence of what being an American is all about, has been a real focus for all of us throughout our lives.

September 11, as my distinguished colleague mentioned, gave us a time to rethink. I think what he has done today by introducing this bill is give us a real focus in this body, to allow us to shine the light on what we feel but which we do not articulate and spell out and communicate to the American people very well because we debate small issues, big issues, discreet issues, and a lot of rhetoric flies back and forth.

So I appreciate the Senator taking the time to put together this piece of legislation, as well as spelling it out in his maiden speech.

I especially appreciate, in his comments, mentioning the importance of teachers and setting up, in a structured fashion, a forum with which he has direct experience, by which we can give some discipline to and cultivate and encourage and show the national importance of its support.

He mentioned the Pledge of Allegiance. It was not that long ago in this body that we made a decision to revive having the Pledge of Allegiance recited at the opening of each session. That was really just several years ago.

It shows, by somebody taking an initiative, such as my colleague from Tennessee has done, that by giving it definition, you, indeed, can advance down the field and make progress.

In this legislation we have an opportunity to continue with and to, indeed, capture what we know this great Nation is all about, and perpetuate it in a more organized, systematic way.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I, too, be added as a cosponsor of this legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, my friend, the junior Senator from Tennessee, has this morning introduced legislation that I think is extremely important. I was happy to join with him as the lead cosponsor in that legislation. Certainly the Senator from Tennessee has the qualifications to offer legislation relating to education. He has been Governor of a State. He has been the secretary of education for our country. So when I saw this legislation come across my desk, I thought it was something in which I was interested. After reviewing it more closely, I am happy to be the lead cosponsor on this legislation, the American History and Civics Education Act.

First of all, I agree with the Senator from Tennessee that civics or the duties of citizenship need to be stressed more. The best place it can be stressed is through educating our children, K through 12. It is the same with history. Mr. President, I love the study of history. I read fiction only occasionally. I read nonfiction all the time. I am presently engaged in a tremendously interesting book, written by Evans and Novak, the conservative reporters. Evans has passed away. Novak is still writing, as he has for many years. He is an excellent writer. I didn't realize, until I had occasion to visit with Bob Novak a few weeks ago, that he and Evans had written a history book in 1967 dealing with the life of Lyndon Johnson. I am in the process of reading that book. I am probably about halfway through the book. It is tremendously interesting. For those of us who read the Caro work, I recommend the book by Novak. It is very readable. They were there at the time. The things that went on, for example, in the Civil Rights Act of the late fifties—our colleague Strom Thurmond debated that matter. He stood up himself in a filibuster. Senator HATCH, my friend from Utah, talks about real filibusters. That was a real filibuster. Senator Thurmond alone spoke for more than 24 hours.

It really threw the southern coalition off because they, in effect, made a deal with Lyndon Johnson and Strom Thurmond. It threw a monkey wrench into the so-called deal. Anyway, it is very interesting.

History is living what took place in the past. For us, it is the ability to learn from what has happened in the past to try to do a better job in the future.

My friend from Tennessee, wrote this legislation, and I am happy to work with him on it; it is great. The legislation sets up academies. It sets up programs on the Internet for best teaching practices. The education of America's children must be one of our top priorities.

Our schools have several important goals, including providing students with a foundation for higher education, helping them develop individual potential, and preparing them for successful careers.

America has been a nation of immigrants for hundreds of years, and our schools have helped instill in our diverse population a sense of what it means to be an American and prepare our youth for the responsibilities of citizenship. We need to reaffirm the importance of learning American history and acquiring civic understanding. That is what this legislation is all about.

As I work to make sure Nevada schoolchildren are connected to the Internet and the future, I also want them to be connected with America's past and know the common values in history, binding together all who live in our great Nation.

I commend and applaud the junior Senator from Tennessee, LAMAR ALEXANDER, for offering this legislation. It is important legislation. He said in his statement that Senator GREGG, who chairs the committee of jurisdiction on this legislation, will move the bill to the Senate floor quickly. I hope that happens. I do hope my Republican colleagues will join with me in adequately funding this program so we can establish in grades K through 12 these academies where teachers can go to summer workshops and learn history and how better to teach history. It will only improve our country and our educational system in particular.

Under the previous order, the second 30 minutes shall be under the control of the Senator from Alaska, Ms. MURKOWSKI, or her designee.

The Senator from Alaska.

EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk and ask unanimous consent that it be held at the desk.

Before the Chair rules, I add that it is my hope, and the hope of many Members on this side of the aisle, that we can get this resolution cleared for adoption today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be held at the desk.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I am pleased to be joined by the Republican whip, Senator MCCONNELL, in introducing a resolution disapproving last week's Pledge of Allegiance ruling by the full Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The full court refused to review a three-judge panel ruling that bars children in public schools from voluntarily reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

Last week's decision is symptomatic of a court that has become dysfunctional and out-of-touch with American jurisprudence, common sense, and constitutional values. The full Ninth Circuit decision on the pledge represents a type of extremism carried out by individuals who want to substitute their values in place of constitutional values. What they want to do is simply eradicate any reference to religion in public life. That is not what the First Amendment mandates.

In his dissent from the court's decision, Judge O'Scannlain, writing for six judges, called the panel decision "wrong, very wrong—wrong because reciting the Pledge of Allegiance is simply not a 'religious act' as the two-judge majority asserts, wrong as a matter of Supreme Court precedent properly understood, wrong because it set up a direct conflict with the law of another circuit, and wrong as a matter of common sense."

He went on to say: "If reciting the pledge is truly 'a religious act' in violation of the Establishment Clause, then so is the recitation of the Constitution

itself, the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, the National Motto or the singing of the national anthem," verse of which says, 'And this is our motto: In God is our trust.' I believe the reasoning of Judge O'Scannlain is absolutely correct.

One should not be surprised that the full Ninth Circuit refused to reconsider this ill-conceived decision. The recent history of the Ninth Circuit suggests a judicial activism that is close to the fringe of legal reasoning.

During the 1990s, almost 90 percent of cases from the Ninth Circuit reviewed by the Supreme Court were reversed.

In fact, this is the court with the highest reversal rate in the country. In 1997, 27 of the 28 cases brought to the Supreme Court were reversed—two-thirds by a unanimous vote.

Over the last 3 years, one-third of all cases reversed by the Supreme Court came from the Ninth Circuit. That's three times the number of reversals for the next nearest circuit and 33 times higher than the reversal rate for the 10th Circuit.

Last November, on a single day, the Supreme Court summarily and unanimously reversed three Ninth Circuit decisions. In one of those three cases, the Supreme Court ruled that the circuit had overreached its authority and stated that the Court "exceed[ed] the limits imposed on federal habeas review . . . substitut[ing] its own judgment for that of the state court."

One of the reasons the Ninth Circuit is reversed so often is because the circuit has become so large and unwieldy. The circuit serves a population of more than 54 million people, almost 60 percent more than are served by the next largest circuit. By 2010, the Census Bureau estimates that the Ninth Circuit's population will be more than 63 million.

According to the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, the Ninth Circuit alone accounts for more than 60 percent of all appeals pending for more than a year. And with its huge caseload, the judges on the court just do not have the opportunity to keep up with decisions within the circuit, let alone decisions from other circuits.

In a New York Times article last year it was pointed out that judges on the court said they did not have time to read all of the decisions issued by the court. According to a 1998 report, 57 percent of judges in the Ninth Circuit, compared with 86 percent of Federal appeals court judges elsewhere, said they read most or all of their court's decisions.

Another problem with the Ninth Circuit is that it never speaks with one voice. All other circuits sit as one entity to hear full-court, or en banc, cases. The Ninth Circuit sits in panels of 11. The procedure injects randomness into decisions. If a case is decided 6 to 5, there is no reason to think it represents the views of the majority of the court's 24 active members.

Last week, some legal experts suggested that the Ninth Circuit's unique

11 member en banc panel system may have contributed to the courts' decision on the pledge. It has been suggested that even a majority of the 24 members of the court might have disagreed with the pledge decision but feared that a random pick of 11 members of the court to hear the case might have resulted in the decision being affirmed.

That is not the way the law should be interpreted by the circuit courts of this country. I believe this decision highlights the need for this Congress to finally enact legislation that will split the Ninth Circuit. It has just become dysfunctional.

Later this week I will be introducing such legislation, and I hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will join me in that legislation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleague, the Senator from Alaska, in raising my voice in concern and dismay about the recent decision of the 24-judge U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit declaring the phrase "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance to be unconstitutional. You have to ask yourself: What is the problem? Is the problem the pledge or is the problem the Ninth Circuit?

The distinguished Senator from Tennessee today in his maiden speech talked about what it is to be an American and made reference to this particular issue. The Pledge of Allegiance does speak to what is great about America, our sense of unity and—to quote the Senator from Tennessee—our sense of faith, our value of freedom. It is who we are as Americans that joins us.

If we reflect on the prayer that opened the session today, the pastor talked about prayer and whether it is Allah or whether it is Jesus, whether it is Yahweh, we are joined with a common sense in faith. Walking through the doors to the Chamber across from where the Presiding Officer sits is the phrase: "In God We Trust." We acknowledge that. We accept that. We understand it is not the State saying this is State-sponsored religion. It is simply our recognition of faith as being part of who we are and that it is OK.

If I would take out a dollar bill, if I had one in my pocket, we would see reference to God. This decision defies common sense. It is because we have a court that substitutes its judgment, its own perhaps personal political perspective in ruling from the bench, and that is not what courts are supposed to be.

I speak as a former Solicitor General of the State of Minnesota. I understand the Constitution. I respect the Constitution. I revere the Constitution. Clearly, our Founders and Framers, in their brilliance, in their foresight, and I believe in their being divinely inspired, understood that it was in God we trust. A decision somehow that says it is unconstitutional truly defies common sense.