

# Lone Star Study

A UNIT STUDY IN GOOD CITIZENSHIP



## INTRODUCTION

The Texas Home School Coalition (THSC) presents Lone Star Study (LSS).

The LSS was compiled with all three branches of state government in mind, with an emphasis on the Texas Legislature. It is an ideal supplement to the THSC Capitol Days experience, allowing your student to more deeply delve into the process of government. It is important for all citizens to have an understanding of the process of government so that they may be involved and fulfill their civic duties. A lack of action by citizens in the realm of government will lead to crises.

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## Introduction

### **Grade Key**

Some worksheets, activities, and projects in the LSS are geared toward specific grade levels. However, parents are encouraged to review the material and require completion of all aspects that will appropriately challenge their students, whether intended for lower or higher grades.

### **Online Research**

This unit study encourages research, much of which can be adequately done online. Helpful websites are listed as resources. Please monitor your student as he researches and finds answers to questions posed in this material. All websites referred to in the LSS are created and maintained by the state of Texas.

### **My Lone Star Notebook**

Elementary-age students will create a notebook throughout the study. Watch for the notebook sign beside items students should add as they complete their unit study.



### **Vocabulary**

All students can benefit from having strong vocabulary skills. Watch for vocabulary words at the beginning of each section. Elementary students should write these words on a separate sheet of paper and place them behind the Vocabulary Words tab of their Lone Star Notebook. Middle school and high school students should define any words that are not familiar.

### **The Report**

For students in grades seven and up, the report component is critical to the LSS. The report is intended to reinforce the process of how a bill becomes law and how to track and analyze legislation. It should be created throughout the process of completing the entire LSS. We recommend the report be five to seven pages in length. However, you may adjust the length requirement to best fit the ability of your student.

### **The Law**

Included at the end of the LSS is an article written in 1850 called, "The Law." We recommend that older students read the article, as it is applicable today and serves as a reminder of the purpose of government.

The hope of the Texas Home School Coalition is that this unit study will broaden the horizons of your student, enabling him to better understand what happens on a governmental level and to become an active part of the process.




## PROJECT: MAKE A LONE STAR NOTEBOOK

### Supplies Needed

3-ring binder  
4 subject dividers  
Lined notebook paper  
Bible  
Dictionary  
Pen or pencil

### Assemble your notebook

Place subject dividers in your three ring binder and label your tabs: Lone Star Study, Vocabulary Words, Who's in Office, My Lone Star State, and Bible Study.

While you are completing the lessons in your unit study, watch for the  symbol. Add the required item to your notebook in the appropriate place.

Remember to use your best handwriting!

# PROJECT: WRITE A REPORT

## Assignment:

1. Find a bill that interests you by searching for a bill at: [www.legis.state.tx.us/Search/BillSearch.aspx](http://www.legis.state.tx.us/Search/BillSearch.aspx)
  - a. Choose the bill based on topic or author.
  - b. It is not recommended that the bill be longer than five pages.
  - c. The bill you choose does not necessarily need to become a law, so do not think that for the purpose of this report it is required to pass.
2. Read the article “Principled Approach to Analyzing Legislation” on page 42.
3. Complete the “Principled Approach to Analyzing Legislation” worksheet on page 42.
  - a. This will help serve as the foundation of your report.
  - b. You will incorporate this into your report.
4. Compile your report with the following elements:
  - a. Biographical data for the bill
    - i. Bill number
    - ii. Author/co-author
    - iii. Sponsor/co-sponsor
    - iv. Where the bill is in the legislative process
    - v. Any additional biographical data
  - b. Your principle statement (the statement you wrote on your “Principled Approach to Analyzing Legislation” worksheet as a standard by which to judge a bill and to decide whether or not it should become law)
  - c. Summary of the bill
  - d. Compilation of whether or not the bill supports conservative principles
  - e. Comments from the author’s staff
  - f. Your analysis
    - i. Your opinion as to whether or not the bill should become law
    - ii. Your conclusion
  - g. Proper grammar
  - h. Opening and closing paragraphs



By completing this report, you will gain hands-on knowledge of how a bill becomes a law, how to appropriately analyze legislation, and how to thoroughly research a single bill.

## LONE STAR VOCABULARY

Assignment: Look up the definitions of the following terms in your handheld or online dictionary and write them out in your notebook.

Judge

Compulsory

Citizen

Political party

Philosophy

Primary

Civil

Campaign

Amend

Bill

Delegate

Justices

Majority

Legislation

Legislature

Statutory

Executive

Constitution

Reform

Federalists

Civil

Convention

Register

Lobbyist

Appeal

Cabinet

Judicial

Law

Veto

Rights

Convening

Reprieve

# LEGISLATION

## GOOD CITIZENSHIP

In the 1900s, law makers, also called legislators, passed a law that all students in private school had to be taught the study of “good citizenship.” They decided this because it was very soon after the Civil War and they did not want Texans to forget the importance of being involved in the government they had fought so hard to create.

A study of good citizenship is just what it sounds like, learning to be a good citizen. A good citizen’s job is to learn about and participate in government. You can learn about the government in several ways. You can read about it in a book. You can watch it happen through the news or on a movie, or you can be a part of it!

One way you can be a part of government is by helping to register people to vote. You can do this by encouraging them to fill out a form at the post office, driver’s license office, or by going to the Secretary of State’s website and printing a form.

Another way you can be a part of the government is by helping to elect lawmakers and officials. Find someone who has the same values as you and your parents, and ask them if you can help in their campaign. They will tell you what job they need you to do.

A third way to be a part of government is by helping a political party. All candidates have to say that they are a part of a political party. A political party is a group of people who write up a document to say what they believe. Parties have a convention, or a gathering, before every general election to adopt (or accept) the document. This then guides the party and its candidates.

There is one more thing that you can do! You can go to the Capitol building and talk to your Representative or Senator (also called Legislators). Tell them what you think about an issue and why. This is called lobbying. This person represents you and wants to know what you think.



# GOOD CITIZENSHIP WORKSHEET #1



1. Why did lawmakers in the 1900s make a law requiring private schools teach the study of good citizenship?

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2. What is the study of good citizenship?

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3. What can you do if someone is not a registered voter?

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4. Why is it important to vote for someone who has your values?

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5. What can you do for someone who is running for office and has your values?

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6. What is a political party?

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7. What is lobbying?

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8. What does it mean to campaign?

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## WHAT IS A STUDY OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP? ■

Since the material that you are completing is subtitled a Unit Study in Good Citizenship, it is important to note where the idea of good citizenship came from and what it can entail. This is a summary of the good citizenship curriculum requirement in Texas and some examples of what a homeschooled individual can do to complete the good citizenship requirement.

The Tarrant County judge who ruled in the *Leeper v. Arlington ISD* case that homeschools were indeed legal in Texas also required that students who were taught at home use a curriculum from any source that covers the “basic educational goals of reading, spelling, grammar, math, and a study of good citizenship.” He used the language of “good citizenship” because it was in the compulsory attendance statute that exempted students from public school if they were going to a private school.

The judge determined that such a course was a civics course or a study of government.

Why did Texas legislators in the early 1900s demand that private schools teach students about their government and how it works when they did not address any other academic issue? Perhaps it was because the Texas Constitution, adopted in 1876, was still relatively new and many still remembered the difficulties suffered by many Texas citizens during the years of Reconstruction after the Civil War.

Those who have been denied the right to take part in the governing of their state or country tend to have a greater degree of appreciation of the precious right of self-government. It is not uncommon to hear someone who has escaped the tyranny of a Communist country extol the virtues of taking part in their governmental process. There can be no doubt that in this country citizens have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. However, such a government is effective only when an informed electorate participates in it to the fullest degree.

While many states have a more centralized government, in which the governor appoints most of the governing officials, Texans continue to choose many of these offices by direct election of the people. Centralized government might be more efficient in terms of changing policy and procedure, but a decentralized government is better able to protect the people and their freedom from overzealous bureaucrats.

As an example, in the early 1970s, under the guise of an education reform measure by the Texas legislature, the Texas State Board of Education was reduced in size and changed to an appointed board. A decade later this appointed board sought to regulate homeschool families, and many experienced firsthand the need to have an elected board that would be more responsive to the people of Texas than to the bureaucracy of the Texas Education Agency or the governor of Texas who then appointed them.

The election of judges in the state also continues to be the object of reform measures supported by many legislators. They would like to see Texas' judges appointed by the governor and approved by the Texas Senate rather than elected by the people. However, most Texans continue to oppose changing their constitution in this way.

Homeschool families that lived through the legal battle over home education in the 1980s also have a great appreciation for the necessity of the study of good citizenship. These families learned the same lessons Texans learned as colonists of Mexico and during the years after the Civil War. If the people cannot—or do not—take part in the selection of representatives and operation of their local, state, and federal governments, they risk seeing freedoms that they hold dear restricted or lost outright to bureaucrats who do not respect the opinion of the people whom they serve.

Some time ago a homeschool mom was troubled by the fact that the city council in her city had adopted a daytime curfew that had the possibility of affecting her children as they pursued their educational activities. She was not aware of the issue and its importance until it was too late and the ordinance had gone into effect. This is a good example of how freedom can be lost and why it is important to be good citizens by being informed and taking part in government at every level.

Perhaps one reason that many do not better understand how their government works, or why they are not concerned, may be related to how they were taught civics or government. When many were in public schools in Texas, civics was a one-semester course that was taught the senior year of high school. For most that course was a dry recitation of numbers and structure of how government was organized and how it operated. The course was something to be endured with a passing grade on the way to graduation.

The advantage that Texas homeschool families have today in teaching good citizenship is the same advantage that they have in many other academic areas: They can teach in the real world. Rather than simply citing dry statistics and flow charts, parents can help their children learn through a hands-on method by taking part in actual governmental processes.

## **Voter Registration**

Learning about the process of government and getting involved are the first steps toward being a good citizen. For those under voting age, getting involved might include becoming active in a political party, in campaigns, and/or in the legislative process. Once you are of voting age, it includes becoming a registered voter. Some miss an opportunity to take part in historic elections that are vital to their freedoms simply because they are not registered to vote.

Every election is vital in making sure freedoms are protected. Texas law requires that people register to vote no later than thirty (30) days before an election. One may register to vote by simply filling out the voter registration card that is available in all US post offices and dropping it in the mail. One may also go to the voter registrar of the county in which he lives and register to vote in person or register when he renews his driver license. Finally, he may go to the website of the Texas secretary of state and print a registration form, complete it, and mail it to his county voter registrar.

A list of voter registrars is available for every county in Texas on this website. Almost anyone of voting age may become a deputy voter registrar and may then collect completed voter registration cards and deliver them to the voter registrar of his county.



## **Political Party Participation**

One area in which many Texas homeschool families have taken part in their governmental process is the political party process. Political parties developed early in the history of the country around differing philosophies related to issues of governance. In the early days of the United States, one of the first major issues was the adoption of the United States Constitution.

The Federalists became known for their belief that it was vital to have a strong central government, and thus they were supportive of the adoption of the Constitution. The Anti-Federalists, however, were much more concerned about the tyranny that a strong central government could exercise over the people, and they opposed the adoption of the US Constitution until the addition of the Bill of Rights, which outlined the limitations of the federal government.

Political parties thus outline their general philosophy and support candidates who will attempt to implement that philosophy through the adoption or opposition of laws and statutes. Every two years political parties in Texas hold primaries in March in which voters of each party choose nominees to represent the party on the ballot during the general election in November.

## **Primary Process**

Texas has open primaries, which means that any registered voter in Texas may vote for a candidate from any political party. However, he may only vote in one political party's primary that election year, and he may not vote in a run-off election of another political party. Registered voters who did not vote in any primary at all may vote in a run-off election of any party they choose.

In a primary, very few people vote compared with the number of those who vote in a general election. People sometimes complain that they have no good choices in the general election. Those who vote in the primary are choosing the nominee of their political party and therefore, with fewer voters involved, have a greater influence on the final outcome of the general election. Those who wish to be good citizens and enhance their impact on the government vote in the primary.

## **Convention Process**

Political parties outline their governing philosophy through a convention process that begins in Texas at the precinct or neighborhood level. On the night of the primary, each precinct has a convention that is open to anyone who voted either that day or in early voting in the party's primary. Two major things are done at that meeting. After the

election of a chairman for the meeting, the precinct convention elects a number of delegates to represent the precinct at the county or senatorial convention approximately two weeks later.

Each precinct can send a certain number of delegates. Once that is done, the floor is open for any delegate to offer a resolution on any topic for discussion and vote. All resolutions that are adopted will be forwarded to the resolutions committee at the next level, the county or senatorial convention. The resolutions adopted in each precinct reflect the philosophy of the majority participating at that convention.

Two weeks from the Saturday following the primary, county or senatorial conventions are held. Each county that is wholly contained in a Texas senatorial district has a county convention. Those counties that are split between more than one state senatorial district have senatorial district conventions. Delegates elected at precinct conventions attend to represent their precincts. At these county/senatorial conventions, delegates elect delegates and alternate delegates to represent their county/senatorial district at the political party's state convention and adopt resolutions that will be sent to the platform committee of the political party's state convention.

In the summer, the political parties meet at state conventions to elect party officers and adopt a platform based on resolutions that began in the precincts. Each political party's platform is a public statement of its governing philosophy. Thus, those who take part in this process choose who will lead that political party for two years and have a voice in expressing the philosophy of the party.

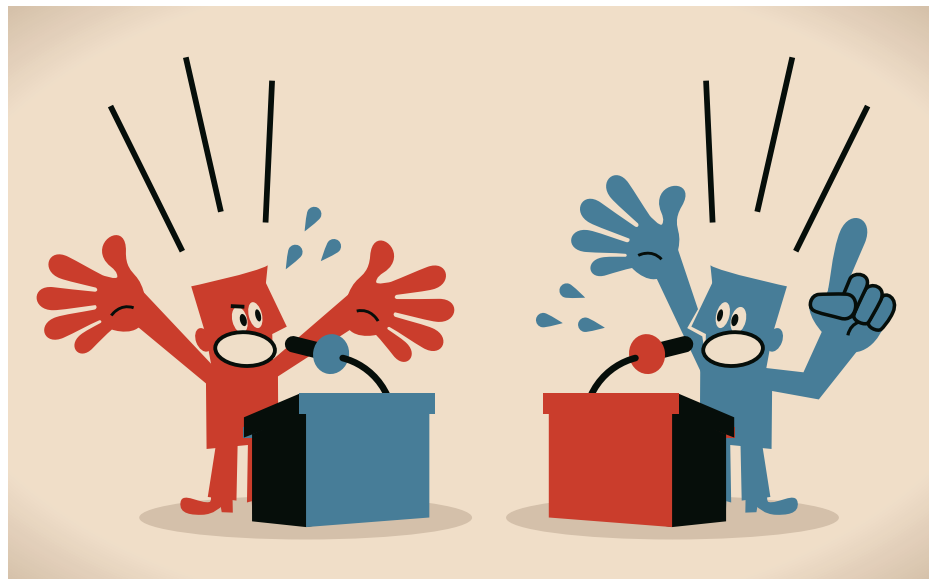
The political party is defined by those who participate in its convention process. Parties change over the years based on those who are participating in and defining that political party. Home school parents who wish to take part in this process and give their children that experience should get a copy of the political party's rules from the party's county or state headquarters and become familiar with parliamentary procedure. Each time one goes through this process is a great educational experience.

## Campaign Process

Political parties seek to implement their governing philosophy by electing their nominees to public office. Therefore, another area in which one may participate in his government is what might be called the campaign process. Many citizens become concerned when they are made aware that a governmental body is considering some measure that could curtail some freedom. They react correctly by seeking to influence that body—whether it is a city council, county commissioner's court or the Texas legislature—to stop the effort to restrict or eliminate the freedom in question.

Many veterans of this process have learned that the best possible time to educate an official is while he is running for office. While some argue that they do not want to be involved in politics but do want to influence public policy decisions, those with much governmental experience have found that success in impacting public policy is generally directly proportionate to the success in the campaign process.

Many homeschool families teach their children to be good citizens by becoming informed about candidates running for local, state, and national elected office and then working as volunteers in the campaigns of candidates



who have a governing philosophy that is consistent with the philosophy of the family. In this process, children learn about government and which philosophy of governance they support. They then become experienced in discerning the philosophy of a candidate by asking probing questions that reveal the candidate's philosophy.

Many homeschool families work for candidates in the primary and they have tremendous impact because they are helping a political party's nominee in an election with relatively few voters. If the candidate they support wins the primary and is therefore the political party's nominee, they then work for the candidate in the general election in November.

Students who take part in this process not only gain a wealth of experience in government and public relations but also develop good social skills as well. In addition, they help protect the freedom of home education by educating candidates and the public about home education in the course of their volunteer work. Many a Texas candidate for public office has been impressed by the maturity and expertise of homeschool students working in a campaign.

Once candidates become elected officials—whether it is as members of local school boards, city councils, county commissioner's courts, or the Texas legislature, they especially tend to be available to those who have had a part in their election to public office. Thus, when an issue arises that could impede the goals of homeschooling in Texas, elected officials who were educated about homeschooling during a campaign and supported by homeschool families have a natural tendency to be supportive of the homeschool community and its issues.

## Legislative Process

The final phase of government is the legislative process. Governmental bodies made up of elected officials make policy, ordinances, or laws and statutes in the process of governing in their respective arenas. Home school students across Texas have learned about this aspect of government by working with their parents to impact these bodies on issues of importance to the homeschool community or their families.

Homeschool students who have worked in this area know that often the greatest challenge is to get an opportunity to speak with an elected official about their concerns. Those who have been part of the campaign that elected the official generally have a contact that makes this challenge easier to overcome. Other homeschool families have learned that even when they have supported a candidate who was not elected to office, the official who was elected is often eager to satisfy a strong constituency so that they will not oppose him in future elections.



Either way, homeschool students should contact the official in question and seek to have a face-to-face meeting. In that meeting they should politely and respectfully lay out their concerns and ask for a commitment to support the position that would resolve the issue from the students' viewpoint.

Many times, especially if students are speaking to a representative of the official, the information is taken, but no commitment is given. At this point the students should enlist the help of their friends and others who support their position in contacting this official with the same general message. Very often the right information coupled with many letters, phone calls, and messages will be enough to sway an official to take the students' position.

That is, of course, unless the official has a governing philosophy that is in opposition to that of the students and is unwilling to compromise that position.

In this case, the citizen lobbyist documents the situation for possible use as a campaign issue in the next election cycle in supporting an opponent of the elected official in question. And so the cycle begins again.

# GOOD CITIZENSHIP WORKSHEET #2



1. What is one possible reason legislators in the early 1900s demanded that private schools teach students about government and how it works but did not address any other academic issues?

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2. How do centralized governments and decentralized governments differ? Which better protects citizens and their freedoms?

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3. Why are judges still elected in Texas today?

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4. What is the first step toward being a good citizen?

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5. What is required before voting in an election under Texas law?

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6. What is an open primary?

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7. If you have a friend who complains that there are no good candidates in the general election, what could you tell them?

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8. At which level is the first convention of the political party process held?

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9. What is a political party platform?

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10. If an individual would like to have a resolution introduced into a political party's platform, where should the individual first introduce his or her resolution?

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11. When is the best time to educate an elected official?

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12. Elected officials tend to be available to whom?

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13. Who makes policy, ordinances, laws, and statutes?

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14. What should you do if you have contacted an elected official regarding an issue but no commitment is given?

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# PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT



Romans 13:1-7 and Matthew 22:15-22 tell us what the purpose of government is and what a citizen's duty is regarding the government. Read the passages and answer the following questions:

What is the purpose of government?

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What is a citizen's duty in government? Do these things apply only to paying taxes? If not, to what else do they apply?

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Do you believe Christians should be involved in the political process? Why or why not?

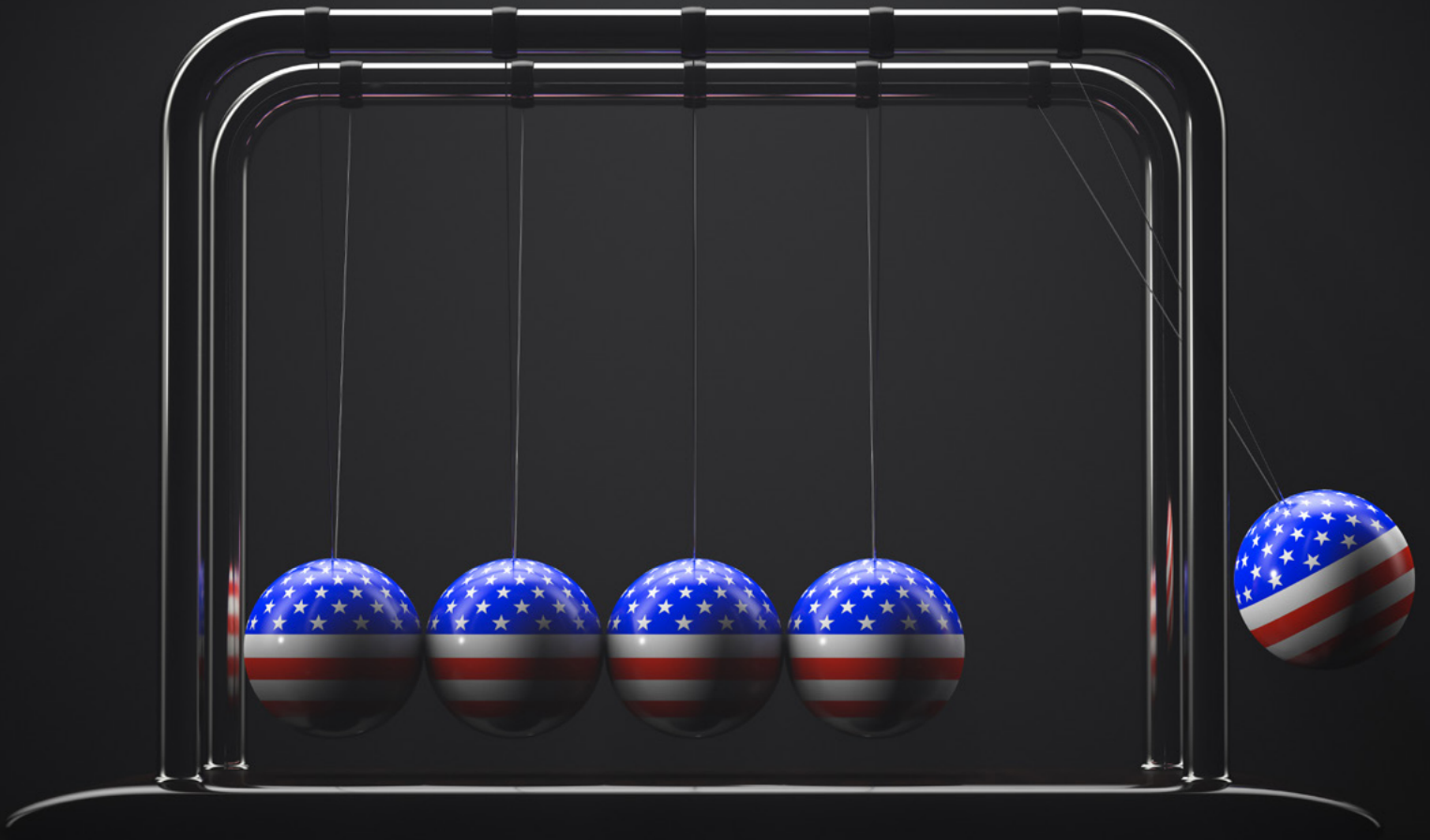
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Can you find another story in the Bible about taxes? Look in Luke 19:1-10. Draw a picture about this story and place it behind your Bible Study tab.



## SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT ▲

A government is an entity with authority and the power to restrain. There are three different spheres of government that are designated in the Bible:

1. Family (Ephesians 5:22-6:4)

Family is the form of government closest to you. Your parents decide everything from your education to your bedtime. Your parents take care of you and are responsible for keeping you safe and raising you.

2. Church (Ephesians 4:11-16)

Your church provides support, encouragement, and spiritual guidance to your family.

3. Civil (Romans 13:1; Colossians 1:16; 1 Peter 2:13-14)

Civil government is the authority of the people as a whole. The civil government functions to protect you from other people. For example, it is illegal for someone to murder or steal, and there are laws in place to punish those who do.

### Family

My Father: \_\_\_\_\_

My Mother: \_\_\_\_\_

My Church: \_\_\_\_\_

## Civil

### *Legislative*

My State Representative: \_\_\_\_\_

My State Senator: \_\_\_\_\_

### *Executive*

My Governor: \_\_\_\_\_

### *Judicial*

My Texas Supreme Court Justices:

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My Texas Criminal Court Justices:

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Find a picture of your mother and father and add it to your notebook. Can you draw a picture of your church? Great! Add both pictures to your notebook under the Lone Star Study tab.

# WHICH SPHERE?



Choose which sphere of government should be responsible for the following duties. Whose job is it to do each of the following? Is it your family's job? Is it the church's job? Is it the civil government's job?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Appointing pastors
- \_\_\_\_\_ Collecting taxes
- \_\_\_\_\_ Feeding and clothing children
- \_\_\_\_\_ Capturing criminals
- \_\_\_\_\_ Supporting poor widows and orphans
- \_\_\_\_\_ Disciplining children
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sending missionaries to other countries to preach the gospel
- \_\_\_\_\_ Deciding the age when a teenager is considered old enough to hunt
- \_\_\_\_\_ Defending us from terrorists
- \_\_\_\_\_ Deciding which school children should attend
- \_\_\_\_\_ Baptizing people
- \_\_\_\_\_ Collecting tithes and offerings, and spending the money
- \_\_\_\_\_ Defending our borders from invasion
- \_\_\_\_\_ Prosecuting criminals
- \_\_\_\_\_ Taking care of grandparents when they need care


# SCAVENGER HUNT!

Draw Texas. Circle the location of your town. Put a star where the state capitol is on the map.



In what year did Texas become a state? \_\_\_\_\_  
[www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/republic/index.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/republic/index.html)

Draw the state seal.  
[www.sos.state.tx.us/statdoc/seal.shtml](http://www.sos.state.tx.us/statdoc/seal.shtml)



Draw the Texas flag.  
[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html)



What do the colors of the flag mean?

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html)

Blue: \_\_\_\_\_

Red: \_\_\_\_\_

White: \_\_\_\_\_

What do the five points of the star mean?

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagdes.html)

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Who designed the flag?

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/flag-design.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/flag-design.html)

How many flags have flown over Texas?

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/index.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/index.html)

What countries have ruled Texas?

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/index.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/treasures/flagsandmaps/index.html)

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Write and memorize the state pledge.

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagpledge.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/flagpledge.html)

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Draw the state capitol building.

<https://tspb.texas.gov>



Who designed it? \_\_\_\_\_

[www.tspb.state.tx.us/spb/capitol/history/history.htm](http://www.tspb.state.tx.us/spb/capitol/history/history.htm)

In what year was it built? \_\_\_\_\_

[www.tspb.state.tx.us/spb/capitol/history/history.htm](http://www.tspb.state.tx.us/spb/capitol/history/history.htm)

What is the state motto? \_\_\_\_\_

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html)

What does it mean to you?

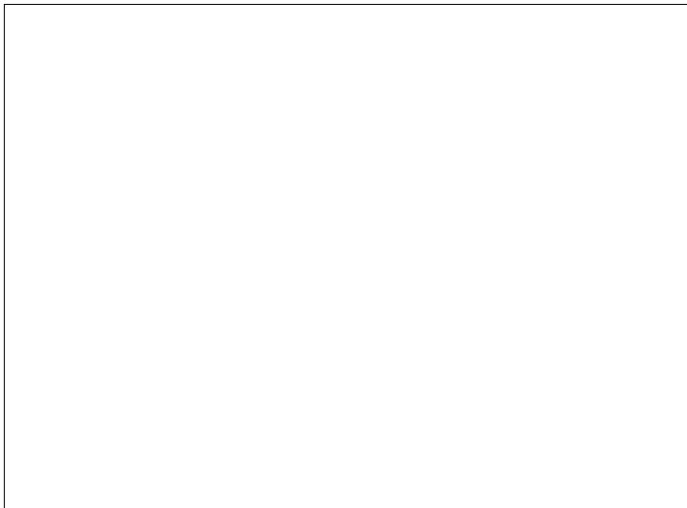
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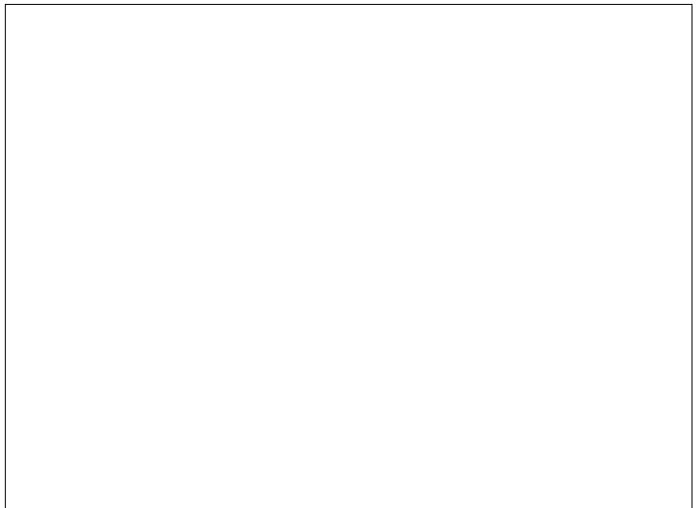
Draw the state bird.

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html)



Draw the state flower.

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/symbols.html)



What is the name of the state song? \_\_\_\_\_

[www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/statesong.html](http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/ref/abouttx/statesong.html)

# HISTORY OF THE TEXAS CONSTITUTION



Texas has been governed by five different constitutions during its history. There were two constitutional conventions (a gathering of individuals charged with the task of writing a new constitution) that failed to render a new constitution. Each constitution served a specific purpose in Texas' history.

***Constitution of 1836*** - Created the Republic of Texas. This made Texas into its own country in order to free it from Mexican rule.

***Constitution of 1845*** - Adopted so Texas could become the 28<sup>th</sup> state on December 29, 1845.

***Constitution of 1861*** - Written to join the Confederacy after Texas seceded from the United States.

***Constitution of 1866*** - Required by the United States in order for Texas to be re-admitted to the United States.

***Constitutional Convention of 1869*** - Wanted by the lawmakers in Washington, D.C., because they were not happy with the Constitution of 1866 and wanted a more radical constitution. This constitutional convention failed to adopt a new constitution, but the document was used for many amendments to the Constitution of 1866, some of which were not adopted by the citizens of Texas.

***Constitution of 1876*** - Currently in operation. This replaced the Constitution of 1866 and the hated amendments of 1869. After the Reconstruction period and the Constitution of 1866, delegates to the constitutional convention created this document to reflect their distrust of government. They limited the power of elected officials and their salaries. Because of this, this constitution is considered to be a limiting document that is restrictive.

***Constitutional Convention of 1974*** - Attempted to create a more modern and less restrictive document. Another failed constitutional convention.



# MY CONSTITUTION WORKSHEET



Use the information on the previous page and following websites to help you answer questions 3-7.

- [www.lrl.state.tx.us](http://www.lrl.state.tx.us) then click on "Texas Legislature Online"
- [www.statutes.legis.state.tx.us](http://www.statutes.legis.state.tx.us)

1. How many constitutions has Texas had? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Which constitution currently governs Texas? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Read Article 17 of the constitution. What is the process for amending the constitution? \_

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4. How many constitutional amendments were adopted in 2007?

5. How many times has the current Texas constitution been amended since its adoption?

6. Read the Bill of Rights. Which right is most important to you and why?

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7. What do you think the purpose of a constitution is?

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8. Why is it important for a state to be able to amend its constitution?

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## STATESMAN VS. POLITICIAN ▲

*“I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough to maintain what I consider the most enviable of all titles, the character of an ‘Honest Man.’” –George Washington*

*“Some men change their party for the sake of their principles; others their principles for the sake of their party.” –Sir Winston Churchill*

*“A politician fears man. A statesman fears God.” –John Adams*

Some would say that a statesman is a person who is guided by his principles and who exhibits great wisdom and ability in directing the affairs of a government and in dealing with important public issues. In contrast, some would also say that a politician is a seeker or holder of public office who is more concerned about winning favor or retaining power than about maintaining his principles.

1. What are some words that could describe a statesman?

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2. What are some words that could describe a politician?

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3. Which person follows what he believes, no matter what? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Which person makes decisions on what to believe in order to gain votes? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Which person demonstrates good character? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Which person cares more about public opinion? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Which person never compromises his beliefs? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Which person says one thing but does another? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Use a sentence to describe who you view as a statesman and why? (Choose an individual who currently holds office or who has held an office in the past.)

Ex: George Washington was a statesman because he demonstrated humility, wisdom, and faith. President Washington was a man of great courage and conviction.

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10. Use a sentence to describe who you view as a politician and why? (Choose an individual who currently holds office or who has held an office in the past.)

Ex: John Doe is a politician because he uses public polls to determine his vote and which issues he will support instead of making decisions based on his principles.

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## MY GOVERNMENT

In our state, there are three branches, or parts, of government. They are:

### The Legislative Branch

### The Executive Branch

### The Judicial Branch



**The Legislative Branch** is the part of the government that makes laws. It is made up of lawmakers in the House of Representatives and the Senate, and they work in the State Capitol Building. There are 150 representatives and 31 senators. You have to be a representative or senator to introduce a bill, which is an idea to change, take away, or add a law.

**The Executive Branch** is the part of government where the governor, or leader of our state, works. He is assisted by his cabinet, or assistants. They are the lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, comptroller of public accounts, and agriculture commissioner. They help him do his job. The governor is elected by the people of Texas every four years; he signs, bills making them into laws.

**The Judicial Branch** is the part of government that is made up of courts and judges. Someone who commits a crime would go before a judge in the Judicial Branch. The judges give punishment to criminals according to the law.



1. Which branch makes the laws? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Which branch is made up of courts and judges? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Which branch has the governor and his cabinet? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Who signs bills, making them into laws? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Who introduces bills? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Who decides the punishment for criminals? \_\_\_\_\_



## EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF TEXAS



### Duties of the Governor

The governor of Texas is the chief executive of the state and is elected by the citizens every four years. The governor must be at least thirty years old and a resident of Texas for the five years immediately before the election. The governor makes policy recommendations that lawmakers in both the state House and Senate chambers may sponsor and introduce as bills. The governor also appoints the secretary of state; heads of state agencies and departments, such as the Department of Family and Protective Services, the Texas Education Agency, etc.; as well as the members of boards and commissions who oversee them.

The constitutional and statutory duties of the governor include:

- Signing or vetoing bills passed by the legislature
- Serving as commander-in-chief of the state's military forces
- Convening special sessions of the legislature for specific purposes
- Delivering a report on the condition of the state to the legislature at the beginning of each regular session (State of the State Address)
- Estimating the amounts of money required to be raised by taxation
- Accounting for all public monies received and disbursed by him and recommending a budget for the next two years
- Granting reprieves and commutations of punishment and pardons upon the recommendation of the Board of Pardons and Paroles and revoking conditional pardons
- Declaring special elections to fill vacancies in certain elected offices
- Appointing qualified Texans to state offices/agencies that enforce the laws and direct the policies of state government. Some of these offices are filled by appointment only. Others are ordinarily elected by the people, but the governor must occasionally appoint individuals to fill vacancies. The governor also appoints Texans to a wide range of advisory bodies and task forces that assist him with specific issues.

# MY GOVERNOR WORKSHEET



Check out [this speech](#) and then answer the following questions.

When was the latest State of the State Address given? \_\_\_\_\_

What were three points of interest in the State of the State Address?

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

Go to [this outline of the Governor's appointments](#).

Find and list five appointments the Governor has made.

Name of Individual	Appointed to

Go to [www.governor.state.tx.us](http://www.governor.state.tx.us) and search for "pardon." Find and list two pardons the Governor has made.

Name of Individual	When was the pardon issued?	What crime was the individual convicted of?	Why was the pardon issued?

Go to [www.governor.state.tx.us/news/executive-order](http://www.governor.state.tx.us/news/executive-order) and choose one Executive Order that the governor has issued. Explain what it does.

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# JUDICIAL BRANCH OF TEXAS



The Texas Judiciary consists of different levels of courts and justices. Texas has two top courts—the Texas Supreme Court, which handles all civil cases at the top levels of the Texas justice system, and the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, which handles all criminal cases at the top level of the Texas justice system.

*The following chart is continued on the next page >*

## Local Trial Courts of Limited Jurisdiction

## County Trial Courts of Limited Jurisdiction

### Municipal Courts

**(916 Cities – 1,414 Judges)**

- Criminal misdemeanors punishable by fine only (no confinement)
- Exclusive original jurisdiction over municipal ordinance criminal cases
- Limited civil jurisdiction in cases involving dangerous dogs
- Magistrate functions

### Justice Courts

**(821 Courts – 821 Judges)**

- Civil actions of not more than \$10,000
- Small claims
- Criminal misdemeanors punishable by fine only (no confinement)
- Magistrate functions

### County- Level Courts

**(499 Courts – 499 Judges)**

#### Constitutional County Courts

**(254)**

- Original jurisdiction in civil actions between \$200 and \$10,000
- Probate (contested matters may be transferred to District Court)
- Exclusive original jurisdiction over misdemeanors with fines greater than \$500 or jail sentence
- Juvenile matters
- Appeals de novo (Lat. “anew”) from lower courts or on the record from municipal courts of record.

#### County Courts at Law

**(227)**

- All civil, criminal, and original and appellate actions prescribed by law for constitutional county courts
- In addition, jurisdiction over civil matters between \$200 and \$10,000 (some courts may have higher maximum jurisdiction amount)

#### Statutory Probate Courts

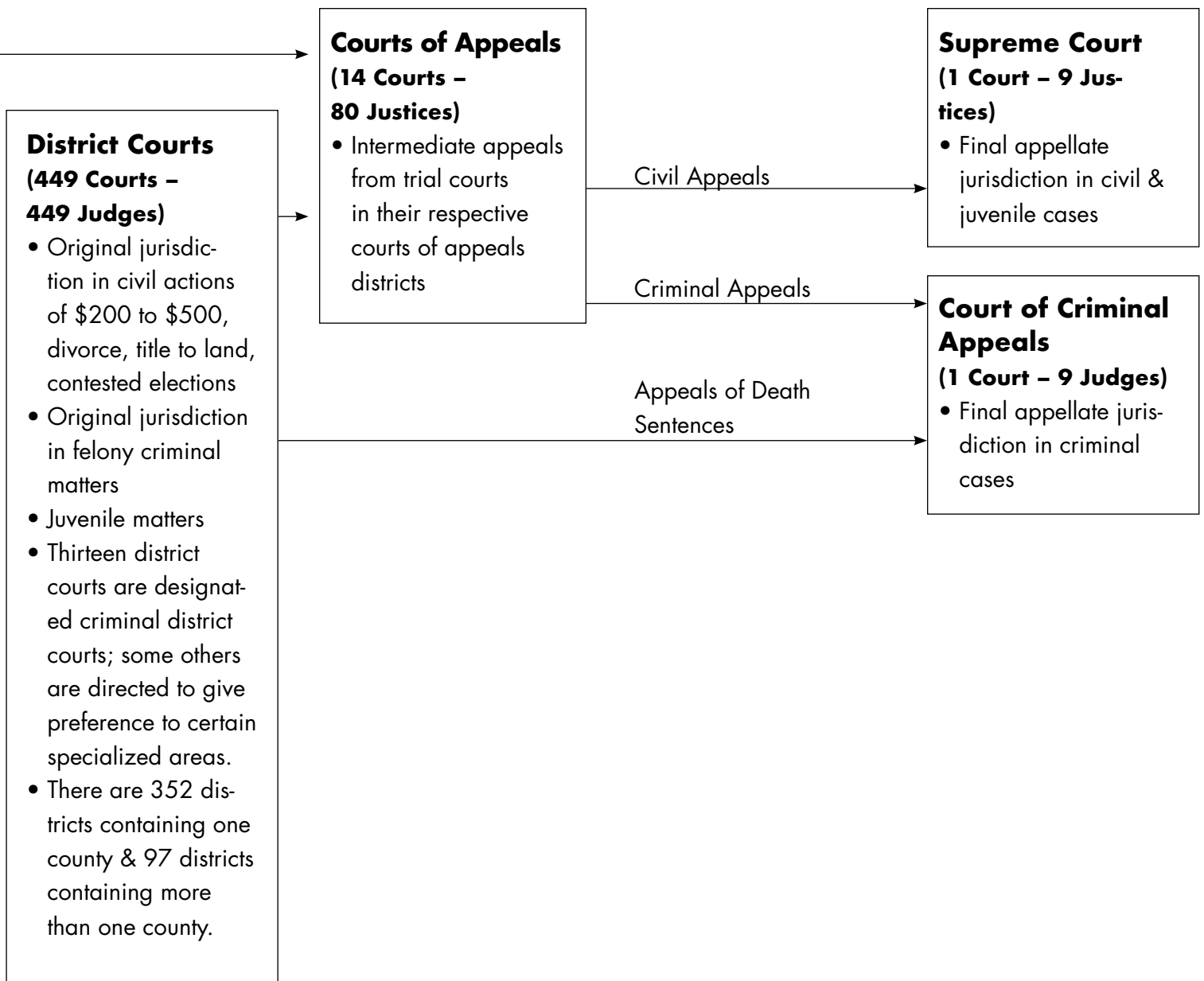
**(18)**

- Limited primarily to probate matters

**State Trial Courts  
of General and  
Special Jurisdiction**

**State Intermediate  
Appellate Courts**

**State Highest  
Appellate Courts**





## MY JUDICIARY WORKSHEET



1. Using a search engine, type in <name of your county>, Texas. Example: Dallas County, Texas. Find and list the answers to the questions below.

a.) My justice of the peace: \_\_\_\_\_

b.) My precinct number: \_\_\_\_\_

c.) My county judge: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Use <https://www.txcourts.gov/oca/> to find answers to the questions below.

a.) Does my county have a County Court at Law? \_\_\_\_\_

b.) Does my county have a Statutory Probate Court? \_\_\_\_\_

c.) My county has \_\_\_\_ (#) District Courts

3. Go to the map found at <https://www.txcourts.gov/about-texas-courts/> Find the answer to the question below:

If my county shares a District Court with another county, which other county or counties are those?

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4. Go to [www.courts.state.tx.us](http://www.courts.state.tx.us). Find and list answers to the questions below.

a.) My appeals district: \_\_\_\_\_

b.) The justices that serve on the court are \_\_\_\_\_

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c.) The Supreme Court justices are

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d.) The chief justice is \_\_\_\_\_

e.) When did the current chief justice begin serving as chief justice? \_\_\_\_\_

f.) The Court of Criminal Appeals justices are

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g.) The Presiding Judge is \_\_\_\_\_

h.) When did the current Presiding Judge begin serving as the Presiding Judge? \_\_\_\_\_

i.) What are the requirements for serving as a justice on the Texas Supreme Court or on the Court of Criminal Appeals?

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## LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF TEXAS



### **Requirements to be a Texas Senator:**

- Must be at least twenty-six years of age
- Must be a citizen of Texas for at least five years prior to election
- Must be a resident of the district to be represented for at least one year

Senators are elected to serve in four-year terms. Half of the Texas Senate is elected every two years (every election cycle).

### **The Senate Presiding Officers:**

Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate

Facts about and duties of the Lt. governor:

- Elected by the citizens of the state of Texas
- Successor to the governor; member of his cabinet
- Not a member of the Senate
- Constitutionally obligated to vote on legislation before Senate only in the case of a tie
- Appoints all chairmen of committees and committee members
- Assigns bills to committees

### President Pro Tempore (Pro Tem)

Facts about and duties of the president pro tem:

- Elected by the Senate
- Presides over the Senate in absence of Lt. governor
- Successor to the Lt. governor if he becomes governor, resigns, dies, or becomes incapacitated

### **Requirements to be a Texas Representative:**

- Must be at least twenty-one years of age
- Must be a citizen of Texas for two years prior to election
- Must be a resident of the district to be represented for at least one year

Representatives are elected to serve in two-year terms or every election cycle.

### **The House Presiding Officers:**

#### Speaker of the House

Facts about and duties of the speaker of the House:

- Elected by a majority of House members
- Has the right to vote on bills if he so chooses
- Appoints all chairmen of committees and committee members
- Appoints the speaker pro tempore
- Assigns bills to committees

#### Speaker Pro Tempore (Pro Tem)

Facts about and duties of the speaker pro tem:

- Appointed by the speaker
- Presides over the House in the absence of the speaker
- Successor to the speaker if the speaker resigns, dies, or becomes incapacitated

### **Miscellaneous Facts:**

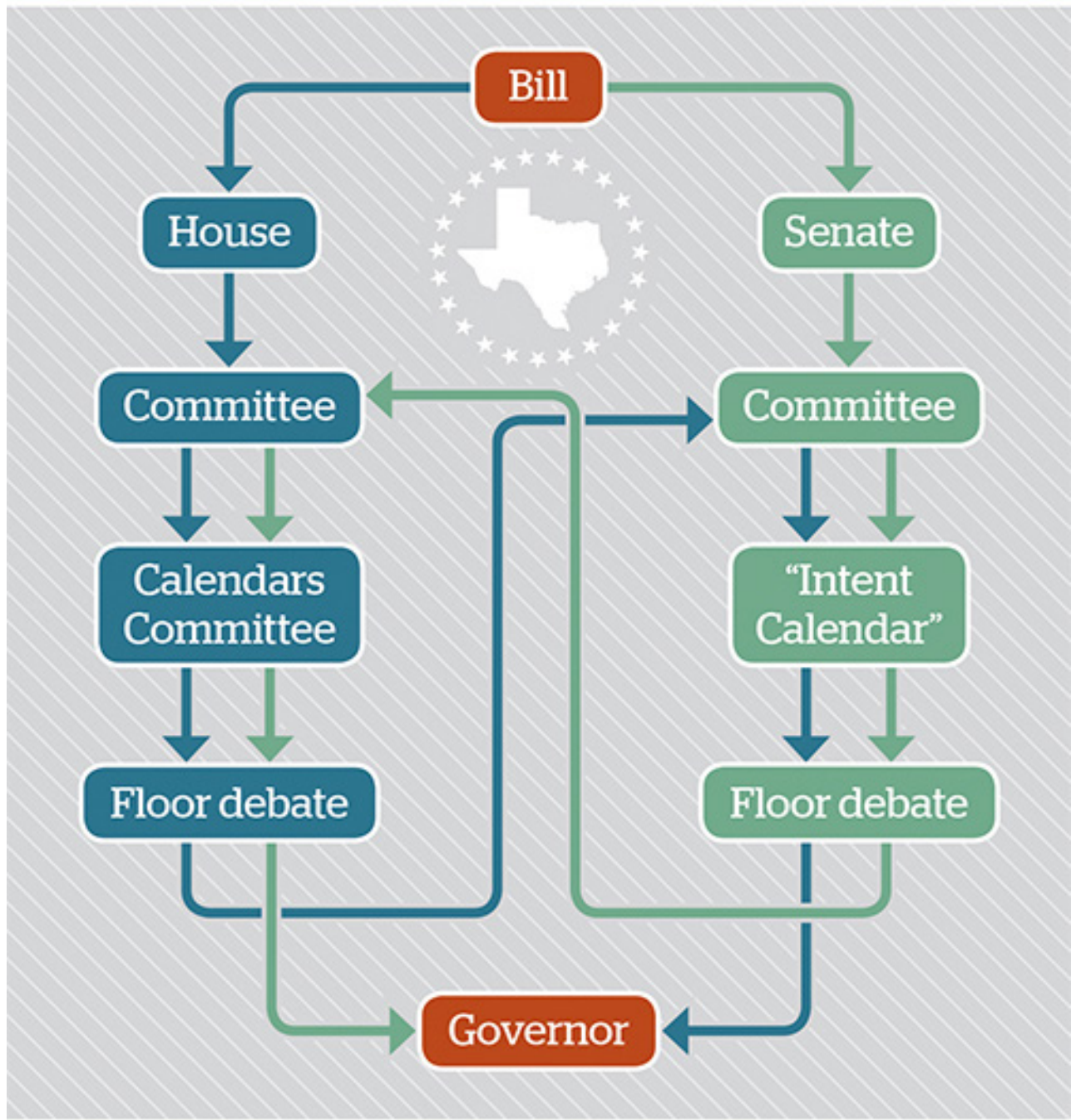
- Only the House may originate charges of impeachment of state officials, but these charges must be tried by the Senate
- All joint sessions of the Senate and House are held in the House Chamber.
- Only a member of the House or Senate may introduce a bill, but any individual may propose an idea for a bill.
- A bill is a proposal to change, remove, or add a law. A bill must be passed by both the House and Senate and be signed by the governor to become a law.

Learn more about how a bill becomes a law here.

# How a **bill** becomes a **law** in Texas

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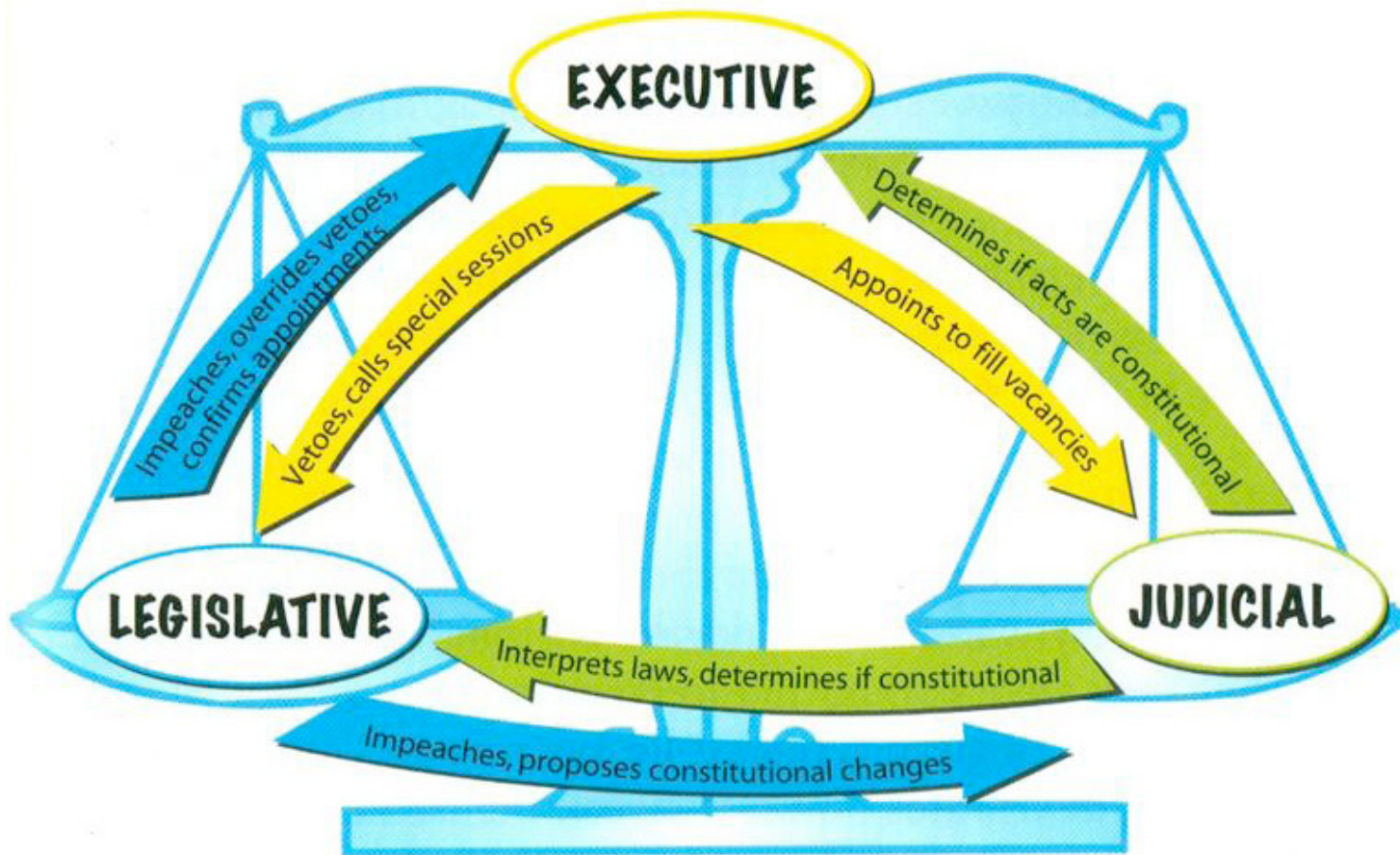
The Texas Legislature could pass as many as 1,000 new laws this session, with lawmakers working their way through a system designed to kill bills, not pass them.



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# System of Checks and Balances

## Among the Branches of Government



# CHECKS AND BALANCES WORKSHEET



The government was formed in such a way that no one individual or branch would have total control. Each branch can “undo” an action of another. Refer to the chart on the previous page and answer the following questions.

How does the Executive Branch balance the Legislative Branch?

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How does the Executive Branch balance the Judicial Branch?

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How does the Judicial Branch balance the Legislative Branch?

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How does the Judicial Branch balance the Executive Branch?

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How does the Legislative Branch balance the Judicial Branch?

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How does the Legislative Branch balance the Executive Branch?

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# WHO'S IN OFFICE?



## Worksheet Instructions:

Every two years, citizens have the choice to participate in elections to choose new leaders. Some offices are up for election every two years, others every four, and others every six.

Citizens need to know how to access information about their elected officials in order to know how to contact them about important issues. This information can change with each election cycle.

Find answers to the Who's in Office? worksheet questions by using the following websites:

- [www.fyi.legis.state.tx.us/Address.aspx](http://www.fyi.legis.state.tx.us/Address.aspx)
- [www.house.state.tx.us](http://www.house.state.tx.us)
- [www.senate.state.tx.us](http://www.senate.state.tx.us)
- [www.governor.state.tx.us](http://www.governor.state.tx.us)
- [www.ltgov.state.tx.us](http://www.ltgov.state.tx.us)
- [www.oag.state.tx.us](http://www.oag.state.tx.us)
- [www.sos.state.tx.us](http://www.sos.state.tx.us)
- [www.courts.state.tx.us](http://www.courts.state.tx.us)
- [www.supreme.courts.state.tx.us](http://www.supreme.courts.state.tx.us)
- [www.window.state.tx.us](http://www.window.state.tx.us)

## WHO'S IN OFFICE? WORKSHEET

- 1.) My senator: \_\_\_\_\_
- 2.) My representative: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3.) There are \_\_\_\_\_ (#) representatives in my state.
- 4.) There are \_\_\_\_\_ (#) senators in my state.
- 5.) The number of Democrats and Republicans in the House is \_\_\_\_\_ D to \_\_\_\_\_ R.
- 6.) The number of Democrats and Republicans in the Senate is \_\_\_\_\_ D to \_\_\_\_\_ R.
- 7.) My governor: \_\_\_\_\_
- 8.) My lt. governor: \_\_\_\_\_
- 9.) My attorney general: \_\_\_\_\_
- 10.) My secretary of state: \_\_\_\_\_
- 11.) My Supreme Court chief justice: \_\_\_\_\_
- 12.) My Court of Criminal Appeals presiding judge: \_\_\_\_\_
- 12.) My speaker of the House: \_\_\_\_\_
- 13.) My president of the Senate: \_\_\_\_\_
- 14.) I live in state House district number \_\_\_\_\_
- 15.) I live in state Senate district number \_\_\_\_\_

**Bonus Question:** There are two offices listed which are held by one person.

Which person is it? \_\_\_\_\_.

# WHO'S IN OFFICE? WORKSHEET

## My State Legislative/Executive Branch

Official	My Representative	My Senator	Lt. Governor	Governor
<i>Name</i>				
<i>Elected or Appointed</i>				
<i>District #</i>			N/A	N/A

## The Governor's Cabinet

Official	Secretary of State	Attorney General	Comptroller of Public Accounts	Agriculture Commissioner
<i>Name</i>				
<i>Elected or Appointed</i>				

## The Legislative Branch of Texas

Chamber	House of Representatives	Senate
<i># of Members</i>		
<i># Republicans</i>		
<i># Democrats</i>		
<i>Presiding Officer</i>		
<i>Title of Presiding Officer</i>		
<i>Leader Elected or Appointed</i>		
<i>Elected/Appointed by Whom</i>		

## The Judicial Branch of Texas

Court	Supreme Court	Court of Criminal Appeals
<i># of Justices</i>		
<i># Republicans</i>		
<i># Democrats</i>		
<i>Presiding Justice</i>		
<i>Justices Elected or Appointed</i>		

# A PRINCIPLED APPROACH TO ANALYZING LEGISLATION ★ ■

*Establish the basic principles upon which you will analyze legislation (such as “the free market makes better decisions than elected officials and bureaucrats, so government should not try to micromanage the economy or industry”)*

## READING AND UNDERSTANDING

*Read the content of the bill so that you understand the general purpose of the bill. Do not rely on the caption to explain the purpose.*

*Read the bill analysis to determine what it says the bill does.*

Determine whether you agree with how the bill analysis describes the bill. Determine whether the bill analysis is complete. Make sure it covers everything the bill will do.

*Read the summary of Committee Action.*

Determine if testimony was taken in committee.

Determine if the bill was substituted in committee, and determine how the substitute differs from the filed bill.

*Read the fiscal note for the cost of the proposal and how the bill is to be implemented.*

Determine if the methodology used appears to be realistic.

Determine if the cost of the proposed legislation has been inflated or deflated.

Consider the cost of the proposal beyond the years in the fiscal note.

Determine the number of new state employees that will be needed for implementation of the proposal.

## AFTER READING THE BILL

*Read the affected statutes referenced in the legislation.*

*Contact the author’s staff, committee staff, and/or agency staff for their understanding of the legislation.*

Why is the bill being filed?

What problem will it solve?

Is there a way to solve the problem without legislation?

What are the perceived “unintended consequences?”

*Contact both supporters and opponents of the bill.*

Look at the committee report to see if any legislators voted “no” in committee.

Check the witness list for people who testified for or against the bill.

Contact associations for background information on the bill.

## **FILTER THROUGH THE PRINCIPLES**

### ***Limited government***

Is the bill addressing a legitimate role of government within the framework of the Texas or U.S. Constitution?  
Is the proposal the most cost effective way of dealing with the issue?

### **Is the taxing structure used or proposed broad-based and low-rate?**

Is government control left at the local level unless the function absolutely cannot be achieved at that level?  
Is the bill proposing a program that is already in effect, or could it be done within existing law?  
Will the proposal result in future generations being encumbered by debt?  
Does the proposal create an entitlement? (in theory or practice)

### ***Individual liberties***

Does the bill promote self-responsibility?  
Does the bill promote self-sufficiency?  
Does the bill provide the equal protection of the law to all citizens?  
Does the bill protect an individual's property from theft, loss, or confiscation?  
Does the bill protect an individual's right to privacy?  
Does the bill undermine any constitutional rights guaranteed by the U.S. or Texas Constitutions?

### ***Free enterprise***

Does the bill promote the free market system?  
Are there minimum regulations on the industry in question?  
Does the bill avoid giving special privileges through monopoly or coercion?  
Are the terms of contracts let between consenting parties?  
Does the bill encourage private business to take over areas that the government has previously dominated?  
Does the bill prevent the government from competing with private business?  
Does the bill protect an individual's ability to make a living?

### ***Traditional values***

Does the bill protect citizens from subsidizing government expenditures for policies that violate their moral or religious beliefs?  
Does the bill reinforce the traditional (one mother, one father, children) family as the foundation of society?  
Does the bill reinforce parental rights over and responsibility for their children?  
Does the bill support traditional Judeo-Christian moral values?  
Does the bill avoid subsidizing behaviors that are contrary to traditional values?  
Does the bill protect the freedom of religion?

# A CITIZEN'S JOB



A citizen has the job of electing competent individuals to office. In addition, a citizen should be actively involved in the process of government. The more involved you are and the more you know your elected officials, the more weight your opinion carries with them. Being a citizen lobbyist is a perfect way to be involved.

A lobbyist is a person who tries to influence legislation on behalf of a special interest. Lobbyists provide to legislators information that greases the wheels of the legislative process. For example, someone who would like to see homeschoolers allowed to participate in UIL activities would *lobby* legislators and encourage them to see that point of view.

To be an effective citizen lobbyist, it is crucial to:

- Be organized with your message and materials.
- Be educated—know your stuff!
- Develop an effective message. Rehearse!
- Write a letter with your message to your legislator.
- Set up a face-to-face meeting with your elected officials. Give them information, and lobby them!
- Attend local events, and educate individuals about the issue. Encourage them to get involved.

In order to be organized, be educated, and develop an effective message, you must know what is important to you. List the top five issues of importance to you:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

Write a letter to your state representative and senator about the bill on which you are writing your report. Be sure to state the reason why you are for or against the bill.

In your letter:

- Be sure to introduce yourself
- Address the legislator as “The Honorable”
- State your facts and any supporting evidence.
- Have a concise and well-written letter. Limit yourself to one page.

# A CITIZEN'S JOB

## *Sample Letter*

March 15, 2020

The Honorable John Doe  
PO Box 123456  
Austin, Texas 78701

Dear Representative Doe:

Thank you for all that you do in Austin! I am Jane Smith, a thirteen-year-old homeschool student from Timbuktu. My parents and I have lived here all of our lives. I am very interested in space and am working toward becoming an astronaut.

I am writing today about the issue of placing a highway in Timbuktu. While I agree that the highway would bring more dollars to Timbuktu, I would like to see that the path of the highway be moved out of Main Street. There are many mom-and-pop stores that would be closed down to make way for the new highway. These stores are unique and are crucial to the character of Timbuktu.

I ask that you reconsider the current plan for the highway's location. I ask that you amend HB 9876 and move the highway to the outskirts of the town, where there is unincorporated land and where the character of the town will be preserved.

Sincerely,

*Jane Smith*

Jane Smith  
123456 ABC Street  
Timbuktu, Texas 78945



## A CITIZEN'S JOB

### *Meeting with your Legislator*

Set up a meeting with your elected officials in person or by phone to follow up about your letter and any other lobbying efforts.

When lobbying issues in person:

- Have an appointment.
- Dress neatly and professionally.
- Be on time.
- Be nice and friendly to the staff! (The staff can have the most sway with elected officials; be courteous and polite! They can really aid your cause!)
- Be honest—if you don't know an answer to a question, say so!
- Know the bill number that applies to your issue (if applicable).
- Ask for a commitment. ("May I count on you?")
- Thank them and their staff for their time. (Especially during session, they are very busy and have many appointments; their time is very valuable.)
- Don't have a lot of material to be read. They will not read it.
- Don't be afraid of them. They are people just like you. Be confident in your message.
- Engage them in conversation. Ask questions. Know their concerns on this issue or bill.

When lobbying issues over the phone:

- Be courteous to the staff! They will be the ones that you are talking to.
- Be concise in your comments. Explain that you are calling for/against HB/SB and then give the number. Tell them why you are for or against the bill (e.g., "It would be detrimental to my city;" "This bill undermines the traditional family role;" "This bill would hurt the economy by raising taxes;" etc.)

# MY JOB



You have a very important job in our state. Your job is to vote and put people in office who have the same beliefs as you have in office.

You also have the job of talking to your elected officials and telling them why you think a bill should or should not be passed. A person who does this is called a *citizen lobbyist*. For example, if you think that homeschoolers should be allowed to play in the band with students in public school, you would *lobby* your legislator—or try to tell them why this should happen.

To be a good citizen lobbyist, you need to:

- Be organized in what you want to tell your legislators.
- Be well informed.
- Write them a letter sharing your views.
- Meet with them.
- Tell other people in your town about the issue and why you believe it needs action.

To be organized, to know your stuff, and to help get you ready to write a letter to your legislator, list five issues that are important to you:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

## Activity:

Pick one of the important issues you listed above, and write a letter to your state representative and senator about that issue. Get your mom or dad to help you.

In your letter:

- Start your letter with “The Honorable,” and then put your legislator’s name (see the example on page 53)
- Tell them who you are
- Tell them your issue
- Tell them why you believe what you believe with regards to this issue
- Ask them to support any bills that help your issue and to vote against bills that do not
- Sign your name at the end



## THE LAW, Frederic Bastiat

***This document was published as a pamphlet in June 1850 by Frederic Bastiat, a French economist, statesman, and author.***

The law perverted! And the police powers of the state perverted along with it! The law, I say, not only turned from its proper purpose but made to follow an entirely contrary purpose! The law become the weapon of every kind of greed! Instead of checking crime, the law itself guilty of the evils it is supposed to punish!

If this is true, it is a serious fact, and moral duty requires me to call the attention of my fellow-citizens to it.

### **Life Is a Gift from God**

We hold from God the gift which includes all others. This gift is life—physical, intellectual, and moral life.

But life cannot maintain itself alone. The Creator of life has entrusted us with the responsibility of preserving, developing, and perfecting it. In order that we may accomplish this, He has provided us with a collection of marvelous faculties. And He has put us in the midst of a variety of natural resources. By the application of our faculties to these natural resources we convert them into products, and use them. This process is necessary in order that life may run its appointed course.

Life, faculties, production—in other words, individuality, liberty, property—this is man. And in spite of the cunning of artful political leaders, these three gifts from God precede all human legislation, and are superior to it.

Life, liberty, and property do not exist because men have made laws. On the contrary, it was the fact that life, liberty, and property existed beforehand that caused men to make laws in the first place.

## **What Is Law?**

What, then, is law? It is the collective organization of the individual right to lawful defense.

Each of us has a natural right—from God—to defend his person, his liberty, and his property. These are the three basic requirements of life, and the preservation of any one of them is completely dependent upon the preservation of the other two. For what are our faculties but the extension of our individuality? And what is property but an extension of our faculties?

If every person has the right to defend—even by force—his person, his liberty, and his property, then it follows that a group of men have the right to organize and support a common force to protect these rights constantly. Thus the principle of collective right—its reason for existing, its lawfulness—is based on individual right. And the common force that protects this collective right cannot logically have any other purpose or any other mission than that for which it acts as a substitute. Thus, since an individual cannot lawfully use force against the person, liberty, or property of another individual, then the common force—for the same reason—cannot lawfully be used to destroy the person, liberty, or property of individuals or groups.

Such a perversion of force would be, in both cases, contrary to our premise. Force has been given to us to defend our own individual rights. Who will dare to say that force has been given to us to destroy the equal rights of our brothers? Since no individual acting separately can lawfully use force to destroy the rights of others, does it not logically follow that the same principle also applies to the common force that is nothing more than the organized combination of the individual forces?

If this is true, then nothing can be more evident than this: The law is the organization of the natural right of lawful defense. It is the substitution of a common force for individual forces. And this common force is to do only what the individual forces have a natural and lawful right to do: to protect persons, liberties, and properties; to maintain the right of each, and to cause justice to reign over us all.

## **A Just and Enduring Government**

If a nation were founded on this basis, it seems to me that order would prevail among the people, in thought as well as in deed. It seems to me that such a nation would have the most simple, easy to accept, economical, limited, nonoppressive, just, and enduring government imaginable—whatever its political form might be.

Under such an administration, everyone would understand that he possessed all the privileges as well as all the responsibilities of his existence. No one would have any argument with government, provided that his person was respected, his labor was free, and the fruits of his labor were protected against all unjust attack. When successful, we would not have to thank the state for our success. And, conversely, when unsuccessful, we would no more think of blaming the state for our misfortune than would the farmers blame the state because of hail or frost. The state would be felt only by the invaluable blessings of safety provided by this concept of government.

It can be further stated that, thanks to the non-intervention of the state in private affairs, our wants and their satisfactions would develop themselves in a logical manner. We would not see poor families seeking literary instruction before they have bread. We would not see cities populated at the expense of rural districts, nor rural districts at the expense of cities. We would not see the great displacements of capital, labor, and population that are caused by legislative decisions.

The sources of our existence are made uncertain and precarious by these state-created displacements. And, furthermore, these acts burden the government with increased responsibilities.

## **The Complete Perversion of the Law**

But, unfortunately, law by no means confines itself to its proper functions. And when it has exceeded its proper functions, it has not done so merely in some inconsequential and debatable matters. The law has gone further than this; it has acted in direct opposition to its own purpose. The law has been used to destroy its own objective: It has been applied to annihilating the justice that it was supposed to maintain; to limiting and destroying rights which its real purpose was to respect. The law has placed the collective force at the disposal of the unscrupulous who wish, without risk, to exploit the person, liberty, and property of others. It has converted plunder into a right, in order to protect plunder. And it has converted lawful defense into a crime, in order to punish lawful defense.

How has this perversion of the law been accomplished? And what have been the results?

The law has been perverted by the influence of two entirely different causes: stupid greed and false philanthropy. Let us speak of the first.

## **A Fatal Tendency of Mankind**

Self-preservation and self-development are common aspirations among all people. And if everyone enjoyed the unrestricted use of his faculties and the free disposition of the fruits of his labor, social progress would be ceaseless, uninterrupted, and unailing.

But there is also another tendency that is common among people. When they can, they wish to live and prosper at the expense of others. This is no rash accusation. Nor does it come from a gloomy and uncharitable spirit. The annals of history bear witness to the truth of it: the incessant wars, mass migrations, religious persecutions, universal slavery, dishonesty in commerce, and monopolies. This fatal desire has its origin in the very nature of man—in that primitive, universal, and insuppressible instinct that impels him to satisfy his desires with the least possible pain.

## **Property and Plunder**

Man can live and satisfy his wants only by ceaseless labor; by the ceaseless application of his faculties to natural resources. This process is the origin of property.

But it is also true that a man may live and satisfy his wants by seizing and consuming the products of the labor of others. This process is the origin of plunder.

Now since man is naturally inclined to avoid pain—and since labor is pain in itself—it follows that men will resort to plunder whenever plunder is easier than work. History shows this quite clearly. And under these conditions, neither religion nor morality can stop it.

When, then, does plunder stop? It stops when it becomes more painful and more dangerous than labor.

It is evident, then, that the proper purpose of law is to use the power of its collective force to stop this

fatal tendency to plunder instead of to work. All the measures of the law should protect property and punish plunder.

But, generally, the law is made by one man or one class of men. And since law cannot operate without the sanction and support of a dominating force, this force must be entrusted to those who make the laws.

This fact, combined with the fatal tendency that exists in the heart of man to satisfy his wants with the least possible effort, explains the almost universal perversion of the law. Thus it is easy to understand how law, instead of checking injustice, becomes the invincible weapon of injustice. It is easy to understand why the law is used by the legislator to destroy in varying degrees among the rest of the people, their personal independence by slavery, their liberty by oppression, and their property by plunder. This is done for the benefit of the person who makes the law, and in proportion to the power that he holds.

### **Victims of Lawful Plunder**

Men naturally rebel against the injustice of which they are victims. Thus, when plunder is organized by law for the profit of those who make the law, all the plundered classes try somehow to enter—by peaceful or revolutionary means—into the making of laws. According to their degree of enlightenment, these plundered classes may propose one of two entirely different purposes when they attempt to attain political power: Either they may wish to stop lawful plunder, or they may wish to share in it.

Woe to the nation when this latter purpose prevails among the mass victims of lawful plunder when they, in turn, seize the power to make laws!

Until that happens, the few practice lawful plunder upon the many, a common practice where the right to participate in the making of law is limited to a few persons. But then, participation in the making of law becomes universal. And then, men seek to balance their conflicting interests by universal plunder. Instead of rooting out the injustices found in society, they make these injustices general. As soon as the plundered classes gain political power, they establish a system of reprisals against other classes. They do not abolish legal plunder. (This objective would demand more enlightenment than they possess.) Instead, they emulate their evil predecessors by participating in this legal plunder, even though it is against their own interests.

It is as if it were necessary, before a reign of justice appears, for everyone to suffer a cruel retribution—some for their evilness, and some for their lack of understanding.

### **The Results of Legal Plunder**

It is impossible to introduce into society a greater change and a greater evil than this: the conversion of the law into an instrument of plunder. What are the consequences of such a perversion? It would require volumes to describe them all. Thus we must content ourselves with pointing out the most striking.

In the first place, it erases from everyone's conscience the distinction between justice and injustice.

No society can exist unless the laws are respected to a certain degree. The safest way to make laws respected is to make them respectable. When law and morality contradict each other, the citizen has the cruel alternative of either losing his moral sense or losing his respect for the law. These two evils are of equal consequence, and it would be difficult for a person to choose between them. The nature of law

is to maintain justice.

This is so much the case that, in the minds of the people, law and justice are one and the same thing. There is in all of us a strong disposition to believe that anything lawful is also legitimate. This belief is so widespread that many persons have erroneously held that things are “just” because law makes them so. Thus, in order to make plunder appear just and sacred to many consciences, it is only necessary for the law to decree and sanction it. Slavery, restrictions, and monopoly find defenders not only among those who profit from them but also among those who suffer from them.

## **The Fate of Non-Conformists**

If you suggest a doubt as to the morality of these institutions, it is boldly said that “You are a dangerous innovator, a utopian, a theorist, a subversive; you would shatter the foundation upon which society rests.”

If you lecture upon morality or upon political science, there will be found official organizations petitioning the government in this vein of thought: “That science no longer be taught exclusively from the point of view of free trade (of liberty, of property, and of justice) as has been the case until now, but also, in the future, science is to be especially taught from the viewpoint of the facts and laws that regulate French industry (facts and laws which are contrary to liberty, to property, and to justice). That, in government-endowed teaching positions, the professor rigorously refrain from endangering in the slightest degree the respect due to the laws now in force.”\*

*\*General Council of Manufacturers, Agriculture, and Commerce, May 6, 1850.*

Thus, if there exists a law which sanctions slavery or monopoly, oppression or robbery, in any form whatever, it must not even be mentioned. For how can it be mentioned without damaging the respect which it inspires? Still further, morality and political economy must be taught from the point of view of this law; from the supposition that it must be a just law merely because it is a law.

Another effect of this tragic perversion of the law is that it gives an exaggerated importance to political passions and conflicts, and to politics in general.

I could prove this assertion in a thousand ways. But, by way of illustration, I shall limit myself to a subject that has lately occupied the minds of everyone: universal suffrage.

## **Who Shall Judge?**

The followers of Rousseau’s school of thought—who consider themselves far advanced, but whom I consider twenty centuries behind the times—will not agree with me on this. But universal suffrage—using the word in its strictest sense—is not one of those sacred dogmas which it is a crime to examine or doubt. In fact, serious objections may be made to universal suffrage.

In the first place, the word universal conceals a gross fallacy. For example, there are 36 million people in France. Thus, to make the right of suffrage universal, there should be 36 million voters. But the most extended system permits only 9 million people to vote. Three persons out of four are excluded. And more than this, they are excluded by the fourth. This fourth person advances the principle of incapacity as his reason for excluding the others.

Universal suffrage means, then, universal suffrage for those who are capable. But there remains this question of fact: Who is capable? Are minors, females, insane persons, and persons who have committed certain major crimes the only ones to be determined incapable?

## **The Reason Why Voting Is Restricted**

A closer examination of the subject shows us the motive which causes the right of suffrage to be based upon the supposition of incapacity. The motive is that the elector or voter does not exercise this right for himself alone, but for everybody.

The most extended elective system and the most restricted elective system are alike in this respect. They differ only in respect to what constitutes incapacity. It is not a difference of principle, but merely a difference of degree.

If, as the republicans of our present-day Greek and Roman schools of thought pretend, the right of suffrage arrives with one's birth, it would be an injustice for adults to prevent women and children from voting. Why are they prevented? Because they are presumed to be incapable. And why is incapacity a motive for exclusion? Because it is not the voter alone who suffers the consequences of his vote; because each vote touches and affects everyone in the entire community; because the people in the community have a right to demand some safeguards concerning the acts upon which their welfare and existence depend.

## **The Answer Is to Restrict the Law**

I know what might be said in answer to this; what the objections might be. But this is not the place to exhaust a controversy of this nature. I wish merely to observe here that this controversy over universal suffrage (as well as most other political questions) which agitates, excites, and overthrows nations, would lose nearly all of its importance if the law had always been what it ought to be.

In fact, if law were restricted to protecting all persons, all liberties, and all properties; if law were nothing more than the organized combination of the individual's right to self defense; if law were the obstacle, the check, the punisher of all oppression and plunder—is it likely that we citizens would then argue much about the extent of the franchise?

Under these circumstances, is it likely that the extent of the right to vote would endanger that supreme good, the public peace? Is it likely that the excluded classes would refuse to peaceably await the coming of their right to vote? Is it likely that those who had the right to vote would jealously defend their privilege?

If the law were confined to its proper functions, everyone's interest in the law would be the same. Is it not clear that, under these circumstances, those who voted could not inconvenience those who did not vote?

## **The Fatal Idea of Legal Plunder**

But on the other hand, imagine that this fatal principle has been introduced: Under the pretense of organization, regulation, protection, or encouragement, the law takes property from one person and gives

it to another; the law takes the wealth of all and gives it to a few—whether farmers, manufacturers, shipowners, artists, or comedians. Under these circumstances, then certainly every class will aspire to grasp the law, and logically so.

The excluded classes will furiously demand their right to vote—and will overthrow society rather than not to obtain it. Even beggars and vagabonds will then prove to you that they also have an incontestable title to vote.

They will say to you:

“We cannot buy wine, tobacco, or salt without paying the tax. And a part of the tax that we pay is given by law—in privileges and subsidies—to men who are richer than we are. Others use the law to raise the prices of bread, meat, iron, or cloth. Thus, since everyone else uses the law for his own profit, we also would like to use the law for our own profit. We demand from the law the right to relief, which is the poor man’s plunder. To obtain this right, we also should be voters and legislators in order that we may organize Beggary on a grand scale for our own class, as you have organized Protection on a grand scale for your class. Now don’t tell us beggars that you will act for us, and then toss us, as Mr. Mimerel proposes, 600,000 francs to keep us quiet, like throwing us a bone to gnaw. We have other claims. And anyway, we wish to bargain for ourselves as other classes have bargained for themselves!”

And what can you say to answer that argument!

## **Perverted Law Causes Conflict**

As long as it is admitted that the law may be diverted from its true purpose—that it may violate property instead of protecting it—then everyone will want to participate in making the law, either to protect himself against plunder or to use it for plunder. Political questions will always be prejudicial, dominant, and all-absorbing. There will be fighting at the door of the Legislative Palace, and the struggle within will be no less furious. To know this, it is hardly necessary to examine what transpires in the French and English legislatures; merely to understand the issue is to know the answer.

Is there any need to offer proof that this odious perversion of the law is a perpetual source of hatred and discord; that it tends to destroy society itself? If such proof is needed, look at the United States [in 1850]. There is no country in the world where the law is kept more within its proper domain: the protection of every person’s liberty and property. As a consequence of this, there appears to be no country in the world where the social order rests on a firmer foundation. But even in the United States, there are two issues—and only two—that have always endangered the public peace.

## **Slavery and Tariffs Are Plunder**

What are these two issues? They are slavery and tariffs. These are the only two issues where, contrary to the general spirit of the republic of the United States, law has assumed the character of plunder.

Slavery is a violation, by law, of liberty. The protective tariff is a violation, by law, of property.

Its is a most remarkable fact that this double legal crime - a sorrowful inheritance of the Old World - should be the only issue which can, and perhaps will, lead to the ruin of the Union. It is indeed impossi-

ble to imagine, at the very heart of a society, a more astounding fact than this: The law has come to be an instrument of injustice. And if this fact brings terrible consequences to the United States - where only in the instance of slavery and tariffs - what must be the consequences in Europe, where the perversion of law is a principle; a system?

## **Two Kinds of Plunder**

Mr. de Montalembert [politician and writer] adopting the thought contained in a famous proclamation by Mr. Carlier, has said: "We must make war against socialism." According to the definition of socialism advanced by Mr. Charles Dupin, he meant: "We must make war against plunder."

But of what plunder was he speaking? For there are two kinds of plunder: legal and illegal.

I do not think that illegal plunder, such as theft or swindling—which the penal code defines, anticipates, and punishes—can be called socialism. It is not this kind of plunder that systematically threatens the foundations of society. Anyway, the war against this kind of plunder has not waited for the command of these gentlemen. The war against illegal plunder has been fought since the beginning of the world. Long before the Revolution of February 1848—long before the appearance even of socialism itself—France had provided police, judges, gendarmes, prisons, dungeons, and scaffolds for the purpose of fighting illegal plunder. The law itself conducts this war, and it is my wish and opinion that the law should always maintain this attitude toward plunder.

## **The Law Defends Plunder**

But it does not always do this. Sometimes the law defends plunder and participates in it. Thus the beneficiaries are spared the shame, danger, and scruple which their acts would otherwise involve. Sometimes the law places the whole apparatus of judges, police, prisons, and gendarmes at the service of the plunderers, and treats the victim—when he defends himself—as a criminal. In short, there is a legal plunder, and it is of this, no doubt, that Mr. de Montalembert speaks.

This legal plunder may be only an isolated stain among the legislative measures of the people. If so, it is best to wipe it out with a minimum of speeches and denunciations—and in spite of the uproar of the vested interests.

## **How to Identify Legal Plunder**

But how is this legal plunder to be identified? Quite simply. See if the law takes from some persons what belongs to them, and gives it to other persons to whom it does not belong. See if the law benefits one citizen at the expense of another by doing what the citizen himself cannot do without committing a crime.

Then abolish this law without delay, for it is not only an evil itself, but also it is a fertile source for further evils because it invites reprisals. If such a law—which may be an isolated case—is not abolished immediately, it will spread, multiply, and develop into a system.

The person who profits from this law will complain bitterly, defending his acquired rights. He will claim that the state is obligated to protect and encourage his particular industry; that this procedure enriches

the state because the protected industry is thus able to spend more and to pay higher wages to the poor workingmen.

Do not listen to this sophistry by vested interests. The acceptance of these arguments will build legal plunder into a whole system. In fact, this has already occurred. The present-day delusion is an attempt to enrich everyone at the expense of everyone else; to make plunder universal under the pretense of organizing it.

## **Legal Plunder Has Many Names**

Now, legal plunder can be committed in an infinite number of ways. Thus we have an infinite number of plans for organizing it: tariffs, protection, benefits, subsidies, encouragements, progressive taxation, public schools, guaranteed jobs, guaranteed profits, minimum wages, a right to relief, a right to the tools of labor, free credit, and so on, and so on. All these plans as a whole—with their common aim of legal plunder—constitute socialism.

Now, since under this definition socialism is a body of doctrine, what attack can be made against it other than a war of doctrine? If you find this socialistic doctrine to be false, absurd, and evil, then refute it. And the more false, the more absurd, and the more evil it is, the easier it will be to refute. Above all, if you wish to be strong, begin by rooting out every particle of socialism that may have crept into your legislation. This will be no light task.

## **Socialism Is Legal Plunder**

Mr. de Montalembert has been accused of desiring to fight socialism by the use of brute force. He ought to be exonerated from this accusation, for he has plainly said: "The war that we must fight against socialism must be in harmony with law, honor, and justice."

But why does not Mr. de Montalembert see that he has placed himself in a vicious circle? You would use the law to oppose socialism? But it is upon the law that socialism itself relies. Socialists desire to practice legal plunder, not illegal plunder. Socialists, like all other monopolists, desire to make the law their own weapon. And when once the law is on the side of socialism, how can it be used against socialism? For when plunder is abetted by the law, it does not fear your courts, your gendarmes, and your prisons. Rather, it may call upon them for help.

To prevent this, you would exclude socialism from entering into the making of laws? You would prevent socialists from entering the Legislative Palace? You shall not succeed, I predict, so long as legal plunder continues to be the main business of the legislature. It is illogical—in fact, absurd—to assume otherwise.

## **The Choice Before Us**

This question of legal plunder must be settled once and for all, and there are only three ways to settle it:

1. The few plunder the many.
2. Everybody plunders everybody.
3. Nobody plunders anybody.

We must make our choice among limited plunder, universal plunder, and no plunder. The law can follow only one of these three.

Limited legal plunder: This system prevailed when the right to vote was restricted. One would turn back to this system to prevent the invasion of socialism.

Universal legal plunder: We have been threatened with this system since the franchise was made universal. The newly enfranchised majority has decided to formulate law on the same principle of legal plunder that was used by their predecessors when the vote was limited.

No legal plunder: This is the principle of justice, peace, order, stability, harmony, and logic. Until the day of my death, I shall proclaim this principle with all the force of my lungs (which alas! is all too inadequate).\*

*\*Translator's note: At the time this was written, Mr. Bastiat knew that he was dying of tuberculosis. Within a year, he had passed away.*

## **The Proper Function of the Law**

And, in all sincerity, can anything more than the absence of plunder be required of the law? Can the law—which necessarily requires the use of force—rationally be used for anything except protecting the rights of everyone? I defy anyone to extend it beyond this purpose without perverting it and, consequently, turning might against right. This is the most fatal and most illogical social perversion that can possibly be imagined. It must be admitted that the true solution—so long searched for in the area of social relationships—is contained in these simple words: Law is organized justice.

Now this must be said: When justice is organized by law—that is, by force—this excludes the idea of using law (force) to organize any human activity whatever, whether it be labor, charity, agriculture, commerce, industry, education, art, or religion. The organizing by law of any one of these would inevitably destroy the essential organization—justice. For truly, how can we imagine force being used against the liberty of citizens without it also being used against justice, and thus acting against its proper purpose?

## **The Seductive Lure of Socialism**

Here I encounter the most popular fallacy of our times. It is not considered sufficient that the law should be just; it must be philanthropic. Nor is it sufficient that the law should guarantee to every citizen the free and inoffensive use of his faculties for physical, intellectual, and moral self-improvement. Instead, it is demanded that the law should directly extend welfare, education, and morality throughout the nation.

This is the seductive lure of socialism. And I repeat again: These two uses of the law are in direct contradiction to each other. We must choose between them. A citizen cannot at the same time be free and not free.

## **Enforced Fraternity Destroys Liberty**

Mr. de Lamartine once wrote to me thusly: "Your doctrine is only the half of my program. You have stopped at liberty; I go on to fraternity." I answered him: "The second half of your program will destroy the first."

In fact, it is impossible for me to separate the word fraternity from the word voluntary. I cannot possibly understand how fraternity can be legally enforced without liberty being legally destroyed, and thus justice being legally trampled underfoot.

Legal plunder has two roots: One of them, as I have said before, is in human greed; the other is in false philanthropy.

At this point, I think that I should explain exactly what I mean by the word plunder.\*

*\*Translator's note: The French word used by Mr. Bastiat is spoliation.*

## **Plunder Violates Ownership**

I do not, as is often done, use the word in any vague, uncertain, approximate, or metaphorical sense. I use it in its scientific acceptance—as expressing the idea opposite to that of property [wages, land, money, or whatever]. When a portion of wealth is transferred from the person who owns it—without his consent and without compensation, and whether by force or by fraud—to anyone who does not own it, then I say that property is violated; that an act of plunder is committed.

I say that this act is exactly what the law is supposed to suppress, always and everywhere. When the law itself commits this act that it is supposed to suppress, I say that plunder is still committed, and I add that from the point of view of society and welfare, this aggression against rights is even worse. In this case of legal plunder, however, the person who receives the benefits is not responsible for the act of plundering. The responsibility for this legal plunder rests with the law, the legislator, and society itself. Therein lies the political danger.

It is to be regretted that the word plunder is offensive. I have tried in vain to find an inoffensive word, for I would not at any time—especially now—wish to add an irritating word to our dissension. Thus, whether I am believed or not, I declare that I do not mean to attack the intentions or the morality of anyone. Rather, I am attacking an idea which I believe to be false; a system which appears to me to be unjust; an injustice so independent of personal intentions that each of us profits from it without wishing to do so, and suffers from it without knowing the cause of the suffering.

## **Three Systems of Plunder**

The sincerity of those who advocate protectionism, socialism, and communism is not here questioned. Any writer who would do that must be influenced by a political spirit or a political fear. It is to be pointed out, however, that protectionism, socialism, and communism are basically the same plant in three different stages of its growth. All that can be said is that legal plunder is more visible in communism because it is complete plunder; and in protectionism because the plunder is limited to specific groups and industries.\* Thus it follows that, of the three systems, socialism is the vaguest, the most indecisive, and, consequently, the most sincere stage of development.

*\*If the special privilege of government protection against competition—a monopoly—were granted only to one group in France, the iron workers, for instance, this act would so obviously be legal plunder that it could not last for long. It is for this reason that we see all the protected trades combined into a common cause. They even organize themselves in such a manner as to appear to represent all persons who labor. Instinctively, they feel that legal plunder is concealed by generalizing it.*

But sincere or insincere, the intentions of persons are not here under question. In fact, I have already said that legal plunder is based partially on philanthropy, even though it is a false philanthropy.

With this explanation, let us examine the value—the origin and the tendency—of this popular aspiration which claims to accomplish the general welfare by general plunder.

## **Law Is Force**

Since the law organizes justice, the socialists ask why the law should not also organize labor, education, and religion.

Why should not law be used for these purposes? Because it could not organize labor, education, and religion without destroying justice. We must remember that law is force, and that, consequently, the proper functions of the law cannot lawfully extend beyond the proper functions of force.

When law and force keep a person within the bounds of justice, they impose nothing but a mere negation. They oblige him only to abstain from harming others. They violate neither his personality, his liberty, nor his property. They safeguard all of these. They are defensive; they defend equally the rights of all.

## **Law Is a Negative Concept**

The harmlessness of the mission performed by law and lawful defense is self-evident; the usefulness is obvious; and the legitimacy cannot be disputed.

As a friend of mine once remarked, this negative concept of law is so true that the statement, the purpose of the law is to cause justice to reign, is not a rigorously accurate statement. It ought to be stated that the purpose of the law is to prevent injustice from reigning. In fact, it is injustice, instead of justice, that has an existence of its own. Justice is achieved only when injustice is absent.

But when the law, by means of its necessary agent, force, imposes upon men a regulation of labor, a method or a subject of education, a religious faith or creed—then the law is no longer negative; it acts positively upon people. It substitutes the will of the legislator for their own wills; the initiative of the legislator for their own initiatives. When this happens, the people no longer need to discuss, to compare, to plan ahead; the law does all this for them. Intelligence becomes a useless prop for the people; they cease to be men; they lose their personality, their liberty, their property.

Try to imagine a regulation of labor imposed by force that is not a violation of liberty; a transfer of wealth imposed by force that is not a violation of property. If you cannot reconcile these contradictions, then you must conclude that the law cannot organize labor and industry without organizing injustice.

## **The Political Approach**

When a politician views society from the seclusion of his office, he is struck by the spectacle of the inequality that he sees. He deplores the deprivations which are the lot of so many of our brothers, deprivations which appear to be even sadder when contrasted with luxury and wealth.

Perhaps the politician should ask himself whether this state of affairs has not been caused by old conquests and lootings, and by more recent legal plunder. Perhaps he should consider this proposition: Since all persons seek well-being and perfection, would not a condition of justice be sufficient to cause the greatest efforts toward progress, and the greatest possible equality that is compatible with individual responsibility? Would not this be in accord with the concept of individual responsibility which God has willed in order that mankind may have the choice between vice and virtue, and the resulting punishment and reward?

But the politician never gives this a thought. His mind turns to organizations, combinations, and arrangements—legal or apparently legal. He attempts to remedy the evil by increasing and perpetuating the very thing that caused the evil in the first place: legal plunder. We have seen that justice is a negative concept. Is there even one of these positive legal actions that does not contain the principle of plunder?

### **The Law and Charity**

You say: "There are persons who have no money," and you turn to the law. But the law is not a breast that fills itself with milk. Nor are the lacteal veins of the law supplied with milk from a source outside the society. Nothing can enter the public treasury for the benefit of one citizen or one class unless other citizens and other classes have been forced to send it in. If every person draws from the treasury the amount that he has put in it, it is true that the law then plunders nobody. But this procedure does nothing for the persons who have no money. It does not promote equality of income. The law can be an instrument of equalization only as it takes from some persons and gives to other persons. When the law does this, it is an instrument of plunder.

With this in mind, examine the protective tariffs, subsidies, guaranteed profits, guaranteed jobs, relief and welfare schemes, public education, progressive taxation, free credit, and public works. You will find that they are always based on legal plunder, organized injustice.

### **The Law and Education**

You say: "There are persons who lack education," and you turn to the law. But the law is not, in itself, a torch of learning which shines its light abroad. The law extends over a society where some persons have knowledge and others do not; where some citizens need to learn, and others can teach. In this matter of education, the law has only two alternatives: It can permit this transaction of teaching - and - learning to operate freely and without the use of force, or it can force human wills in this matter by taking from some of them enough to pay the teachers who are appointed by government to instruct others, without charge. But in this second case, the law commits legal plunder by violating liberty and property.

### **The Law and Morals**

You say: "Here are persons who are lacking in morality or religion," and you turn to the law. But law is force. And need I point out what a violent and futile effort it is to use force in the matters of morality and religion?

It would seem that socialists, however self-complacent, could not avoid seeing this monstrous legal plun-

der that results from such systems and such efforts. But what do the socialists do? They cleverly disguise this legal plunder from others—and even from themselves—under the seductive names of fraternity, unity, organization, and association. Because we ask so little from the law—only justice—the socialists thereby assume that we reject fraternity, unity, organization, and association. The socialists brand us with the name individualist.

But we assure the socialists that we repudiate only forced organization, not natural organization. We repudiate the forms of association that are forced upon us, not free association. We repudiate forced fraternity, not true fraternity. We repudiate the artificial unity that does nothing more than deprive persons of individual responsibility. We do not repudiate the natural unity of mankind under Providence.

## **A Confusion of Terms**

Socialism, like the ancient ideas from which it springs, confuses the distinction between government and society. As a result of this, every time we object to a thing being done by the government, the socialists conclude that we object to its being done at all.

We disapprove of state education. Then the socialists say that we are opposed to any education. We object to a state religion. Then the socialists say that we want no religion at all. We object to a state-enforced equality. Then they say that we are against equality. And so on, and so on. It is as if the socialists were to accuse us of not wanting persons to eat because we do not want the state to raise grain.

## **The Influence of Socialist Writers**

How did politicians ever come to believe this weird idea that the law could be made to produce what it does not contain—the wealth, science, and religion that, in a positive sense, constitute prosperity? Is it due to the influence of our modern writers on public affairs?

Present-day writers—especially those of the socialist school of thought—base their various theories upon one common hypothesis: They divide mankind into two parts. People in general—with the exception of the writer himself—from the first group. The writer, all alone, forms the second and most important group. Surely this is the weirdest and most conceited notion that ever entered a human brain!

In fact, these writers on public affairs begin by supposing that people have within themselves no means of discernment; no motivation to action. The writers assume that people are inert matter, passive particles, motionless atoms, at best a kind of vegetation indifferent to its own manner of existence. They assume that people are susceptible to being shaped—by the will and hand of another person—into an infinite variety of forms, more or less symmetrical, artistic, and perfected.

Moreover, not one of these writers on governmental affairs hesitates to imagine that he himself—under the title of organizer, discoverer, legislator, or founder—is this will and hand, this universal motivating force, this creative power whose sublime mission is to mold these scattered materials—persons—into a society.

These socialist writers look upon people in the same manner that the gardener views his trees. Just as the gardener capriciously shapes the trees into pyramids, parasols, cubes, vases, fans, and other forms, just so does the socialist writer whimsically shape human beings into groups, series, centers, sub-centers, honeycombs, labor corps, and other variations. And just as the gardener needs axes, pruning

hooks, saws, and shears to shape his trees, just so does the socialist writer need the force that he can find only in law to shape human beings. For this purpose, he devises tariff laws, tax laws, relief laws, and school laws.

## **The Socialists Wish to Play God**

Socialists look upon people as raw material to be formed into social combinations. This is so true that, if by chance, the socialists have any doubts about the success of these combinations, they will demand that a small portion of mankind be set aside to experiment upon. The popular idea of trying all systems is well known. And one socialist leader has been known seriously to demand that the Constituent Assembly give him a small district with all its inhabitants, to try his experiments upon.

In the same manner, an inventor makes a model before he constructs the full-sized machine; the chemist wastes some chemicals—the farmer wastes some seeds and land—to try out an idea.

But what a difference there is between the gardener and his trees, between the inventor and his machine, between the chemist and his elements, between the farmer and his seeds! And in all sincerity, the socialist thinks that there is the same difference between him and mankind!

It is no wonder that the writers of the nineteenth century look upon society as an artificial creation of the legislator's genius. This idea—the fruit of classical education—has taken possession of all the intellectuals and famous writers of our country. To these intellectuals and writers, the relationship between persons and the legislator appears to be the same as the relationship between the clay and the potter.

Moreover, even where they have consented to recognize a principle of action in the heart of man—and a principle of discernment in man's intellect—they have considered these gifts from God to be fatal gifts. They have thought that persons, under the impulse of these two gifts, would fatally tend to ruin themselves. They assume that if the legislators left persons free to follow their own inclinations, they would arrive at atheism instead of religion, ignorance instead of knowledge, poverty instead of production and exchange.

## **The Socialists Despise Mankind**

According to these writers, it is indeed fortunate that Heaven has bestowed upon certain men—governors and legislators—the exact opposite inclinations, not only for their own sake but also for the sake of the rest of the world! While mankind tends toward evil, the legislators yearn for good; while mankind advances toward darkness, the legislators aspire for enlightenment; while mankind is drawn toward vice, the legislators are attracted toward virtue. Since they have decided that this is the true state of affairs, they then demand the use of force in order to substitute their own inclinations for those of the human race.

Open at random any book on philosophy, politics, or history, and you will probably see how deeply rooted in our country is this idea—the child of classical studies, the mother of socialism. In all of them, you will probably find this idea that mankind is merely inert matter, receiving life, organization, morality, and prosperity from the power of the state. And even worse, it will be stated that mankind tends toward degeneration, and is stopped from this downward course only by the mysterious hand of the legislator. Conventional classical thought everywhere says that behind passive society there is a

concealed power called law or legislator (or called by some other terminology that designates some unnamed person or persons of undisputed influence and authority) which moves, controls, benefits, and improves mankind.

## **A Defense of Compulsory Labor**

Let us first consider a quotation from Bossuet [tutor to the Dauphin in the Court of Louis XIV]:\*

*“One of the things most strongly impressed (by whom?) upon the minds of the Egyptians was patriotism.... No one was permitted to be useless to the state. The law assigned to each one his work, which was handed down from father to son. No one was permitted to have two professions. Nor could a person change from one job to another.... But there was one task to which all were forced to conform: the study of the laws and of wisdom. Ignorance of religion and of the political regulations of the country was not excused under any circumstances. Moreover, each occupation was assigned (by whom?) to a certain district.... Among the good laws, one of the best was that everyone was trained (by whom?) to obey them. As a result of this, Egypt was filled with wonderful inventions, and nothing was neglected that could make life easy and quiet”*

*\*Translator’s note: The parenthetical expressions and the italicized words throughout this book were supplied by Mr. Bastiat. All subheads and bracketed material were supplied by the translator.*

Thus, according to Bossuet, persons derive nothing from themselves. Patriotism, prosperity, inventions, husbandry, science—all of these are given to the people by the operation of the laws, the rulers. All that the people have to do is to bow to leadership.

## **A Defense of Paternal Government**

Bossuet carries this idea of the state as the source of all progress even so far as to defend the Egyptians against the charge that they rejected wrestling and music. He said:

### **“How is that possible? These arts were invented by**

Trismegistus [who was alleged to have been Chancellor to the Egyptian god Osiris]”.

And again among the Persians, Bossuet claims that all comes from above:

*“One of the first responsibilities of the prince was to encourage agriculture.... Just as there were offices established for the regulation of armies, just so were there offices for the direction of farm work.... The Persian people were inspired with an overwhelming respect for royal authority.”*

And according to Bossuet, the Greek people, although exceedingly intelligent, had no sense of personal responsibility; like dogs and horses, they themselves could not have invented the most simple games:

*“The Greeks, naturally intelligent and courageous, had been early cultivated by the kings and settlers who had come from Egypt. From these Egyptian rulers, the Greek people had learned bodily exercises, foot races, and horse and chariot races.... But the best thing that the Egyptians had taught the*

*Greeks was to become docile, and to permit themselves to be formed by the law for the public good.”*

## **The Idea of Passive Mankind**

It cannot be disputed that these classical theories [advanced by these latter-day teachers, writers, legislators, economists, and philosophers] held that everything came to the people from a source outside themselves. As another example, take Fenelon [archbishop, author, and instructor to the Duke of Burgundy].

He was a witness to the power of Louis XIV. This, plus the fact that he was nurtured in the classical studies and the admiration of antiquity, naturally caused Fenelon to accept the idea that mankind should be passive; that the misfortunes and the prosperity—vices and virtues—of people are caused by the external influence exercised upon them by the law and the legislators. Thus, in his Utopia of Salentum, he puts men—with all their interests, faculties, desires, and possessions—under the absolute discretion of the legislator. Whatever the issue may be, persons do not decide it for themselves; the prince decides for them. The prince is depicted as the soul of this shapeless mass of people who form the nation. In the prince resides the thought, the foresight, all progress, and the principle of all organization. Thus all responsibility rests with him.

The whole of the tenth book of Fenelon’s *Telemachus* proves this. I refer the reader to it, and content myself with quoting at random from this celebrated work to which, in every other respect, I am the first to pay homage.

## **Socialists Ignore Reason and Facts**

With the amazing credulity which is typical of the classicists, Fenelon ignores the authority of reason and facts when he attributes the general happiness of the Egyptians, not to their own wisdom but to the wisdom of their kings:

*“We could not turn our eyes to either shore without seeing rich towns and country estates most agreeably located; fields, never fallowed, covered with golden crops every year; meadows full of flocks; workers bending under the weight of the fruit which the earth lavished upon its cultivators; shepherds who made the echoes resound with the soft notes from their pipes and flutes. “Happy,” said Mentor, “is the people governed by a wise king.” . . .”*

Later, Mentor desired that I observe the contentment and abundance which covered all Egypt, where twenty-two thousand cities could be counted. He admired the good police regulations in the cities; the justice rendered in favor of the poor against the rich; the sound education of the children in obedience, labor, sobriety, and the love of the arts and letters; the exactness with which all religious ceremonies were performed; the unselfishness, the high regard for honor, the faithfulness to men, and the fear of the gods which every father taught his children. He never stopped admiring the prosperity of the country. “Happy,” said he, “is the people ruled by a wise king in such a manner.”

## **Socialists Want to Regiment People**

Fenelon’s idyll on Crete is even more alluring. Mentor is made to say:

*“All that you see in this wonderful island results from the laws of Minos. The education which he ordained for the children makes their bodies strong and robust. From the very beginning, one accustoms the children to a life of frugality and labor, because one assumes that all pleasures of the senses weaken both body and mind. Thus one allows them no pleasure except that of becoming invincible by virtue, and of acquiring glory.... Here one punishes three vices that go unpunished among other people: ingratitude, hypocrisy, and greed. There is no need to punish persons for pomp and dissipation, for they are unknown in Crete.... No costly furniture, no magnificent clothing, no delicious feasts, no gilded palaces are permitted.”*

Thus does Mentor prepare his student to mold and to manipulate—doubtless with the best of intentions—the people of Ithaca. And to convince the student of the wisdom of these ideas, Mentor recites to him the example of Salentum.

It is from this sort of philosophy that we receive our first political ideas! We are taught to treat persons much as an instructor in agriculture teaches farmers to prepare and tend the soil.

### **A Famous Name and an Evil Idea**

Now listen to the great Montesquieu on this same subject:

*“To maintain the spirit of commerce, it is necessary that all the laws must favor it. These laws, by proportionately dividing up the fortunes as they are made in commerce, should provide every poor citizen with sufficiently easy circumstances to enable him to work like the others. These same laws should put every rich citizen in such lowered circumstances as to force him to work in order to keep or to gain.”*

Thus the laws are to dispose of all fortunes!

Although real equality is the soul of the state in a democracy, yet this is so difficult to establish that an extreme precision in this matter would not always be desirable. It is sufficient that there be established a census to reduce or fix these differences in wealth within a certain limit. After this is done, it remains for specific laws to equalize inequality by imposing burdens upon the rich and granting relief to the poor.

Here again we find the idea of equalizing fortunes by law, by force.

In Greece, there were two kinds of republics, One, Sparta, was military; the other, Athens, was commercial. In the former, it was desired that the citizens be idle; in the latter, love of labor was encouraged.

Note the marvelous genius of these legislators: By debasing all established customs—by mixing the usual concepts of all virtues—they knew in advance that the world would admire their wisdom.

Lycurgus gave stability to his city of Sparta by combining petty thievery with the soul of justice; by combining the most complete bondage with the most extreme liberty; by combining the most atrocious beliefs with the greatest moderation. He appeared to deprive his city of all its resources, arts, commerce, money, and defenses. In Sparta, ambition went without the hope of material reward. Natural affection found no outlet because a man was neither son, husband, nor father. Even chastity was no longer considered becoming. By this road, Lycurgus led Sparta on to greatness and glory.

This boldness which was to be found in the institutions of Greece has been repeated in the midst of the degeneracy and corruption of our modern times. An occasional honest legislator has molded a people in whom integrity appears as natural as courage in the Spartans.

Mr. William Penn, for example, is a true Lycurgus. Even though Mr. Penn had peace as his objective—while Lycurgus had war as his objective—they resemble each other in that their moral prestige over free men allowed them to overcome prejudices, to subdue passions, and to lead their respective peoples into new paths.

The country of Paraguay furnishes us with another example [of a people who, for their own good, are molded by their legislators].\*

*\*Translator's note: What was then known as Paraguay was a much larger area than it is today. It was colonized by the Jesuits who settled the Indians into villages, and generally saved them from further brutalities by the avid conquerors.*

Now it is true that if one considers the sheer pleasure of commanding to be the greatest joy in life, he contemplates a crime against society; it will, however, always be a noble ideal to govern men in a manner that will make them happier.

Those who desire to establish similar institutions must do as follows: Establish common ownership of property as in the republic of Plato; revere the gods as Plato commanded; prevent foreigners from mingling with the people, in order to preserve the customs; let the state, instead of the citizens, establish commerce. The legislators should supply arts instead of luxuries; they should satisfy needs instead of desires.

## **A Frightful Idea**

Those who are subject to vulgar infatuation may exclaim: "Montesquieu has said this! So it's magnificent! It's sublime!" As for me, I have the courage of my own opinion. I say: What! You have the nerve to call that fine? It is frightful! It is abominable! These random selections from the writings of Montesquieu show that he considers persons, liberties, property—mankind itself—to be nothing but materials for legislators to exercise their wisdom upon.

## **The Leader of the Democrats**

Now let us examine Rousseau on this subject. This writer on public affairs is the supreme authority of the democrats. And although he bases the social structure upon the will of the people, he has, to a greater extent than anyone else, completely accepted the theory of the total inertness of mankind in the presence of the legislators:

*"If it is true that a great prince is rare, then is it not true that a great legislator is even more rare? The prince has only to follow the pattern that the legislator creates. The legislator is the mechanic who invents the machine; the prince is merely the workman who sets it in motion.*

*And what part do persons play in all this? They are merely the machine that is set in motion. In fact, are they not merely considered to be the raw material of which the machine is made?"*

Thus the same relationship exists between the legislator and the prince as exists between the agricultur-

al expert and the farmer; and the relationship between the prince and his subjects is the same as that between the farmer and his land. How high above mankind, then, has this writer on public affairs been placed?

Rousseau rules over legislators themselves, and teaches them their trade in these imperious terms:

*“Would you give stability to the state? Then bring the extremes as closely together as possible. Tolerate neither wealthy persons nor beggars.*

*If the soil is poor or barren, or the country too small for its inhabitants, then turn to industry and arts, and trade these products for the foods that you need.... On a fertile soil—if you are short of inhabitants—devote all your attention to agriculture, because this multiplies people; banish the arts, because they only serve to depopulate the nation....*

*If you have extensive and accessible coast lines, then cover the sea with merchant ships; you will have a brilliant but short existence. If your seas wash only inaccessible cliffs, let the people be barbarous and eat fish; they will live more quietly—perhaps better—and, most certainly, they will live more happily.*

*In short, and in addition to the maxims that are common to all, every people has its own particular circumstances. And this fact in itself will cause legislation appropriate to the circumstances.”*

*This is the reason why the Hebrews formerly—and, more recently, the Arabs—had religion as their principle objective. The objective of the Athenians was literature; of Carthage and Tyre, commerce; of Rhodes, naval affairs; of Sparta, war; and of Rome, virtue. The author of *The Spirit of Laws* has shown by what art the legislator should direct his institutions toward each of these objectives.... But suppose that the legislator mistakes his proper objective, and acts on a principle different from that indicated by the nature of things? Suppose that the selected principle sometimes creates slavery, and sometimes liberty; sometimes wealth, and sometimes population; sometimes peace, and sometimes conquest? This confusion of objective will slowly enfeeble the law and impair the constitution. The state will be subjected to ceaseless agitations until it is destroyed or changed, and invincible nature regains her empire.*

But if nature is sufficiently invincible to regain its empire, why does not Rousseau admit that it did not need the legislator to gain it in the first place? Why does he not see that men, by obeying their own instincts, would turn to farming on fertile soil, and to commerce on an extensive and easily accessible coast, without the interference of a Lycurgus or a Solon or a Rousseau who might easily be mistaken.

## **Socialists Want Forced Conformity**

Be that as it may, Rousseau invests the creators, organizers, directors, legislators, and controllers of society with a terrible responsibility. He is, therefore, most exacting with them:

*“He who would dare to undertake the political creation of a people ought to believe that he can, in a manner of speaking, transform human nature; transform each individual—who, by himself, is a solitary and perfect whole—into a mere part of a greater whole from which the individual will henceforth receive his life and being. Thus the person who would undertake the political creation of a people should believe in his ability to alter man’s constitution; to strengthen it; to substitute for the physical and independent existence received from nature, an existence which is partial and moral.\* In short, the would- be creator of political man must remove man’s own forces and endow him with others that*

*are naturally alien to him.”*

Poor human nature! What would become of a person’s dignity if it were entrusted to the followers of Rousseau?

*\*Translator’s note: According to Rousseau, the existence of social man is partial in the sense that he is henceforth merely a part of society. Knowing himself as such—and thinking and feeling from the point of view of the whole - he thereby becomes moral.*

## **Legislators Desire to Mold Mankind**

Now let us examine Raynal on this subject of mankind being molded by the legislator:

*“The legislator must first consider the climate, the air, and the soil. The resources at his disposal determine his duties. He must first consider his locality. A population living on maritime shores must have laws designed for navigation.... If it is an inland settlement, the legislator must make his plans according to the nature and fertility of the soil....*

*It is especially in the distribution of property that the genius of the legislator will be found. As a general rule, when a new colony is established in any country, sufficient land should be given to each man to support his family....*

*On an uncultivated island that you are populating with children, you need do nothing but let the seeds of truth germinate along with the development of reason.... But when you resettle a nation with a past into a new country, the skill of the legislator rests in the policy of permitting the people to retain no injurious opinions and customs which can possibly be cured and corrected. If you desire to prevent these opinions and customs from becoming permanent, you will secure the second generation by a general system of public education for the children. A prince or a legislator should never establish a colony without first arranging to send wise men along to instruct the youth....”*

In a new colony, ample opportunity is open to the careful legislator who desires to purify the customs and manners of the people. If he has virtue and genius, the land and the people at his disposal will inspire his soul with a plan for society. A writer can only vaguely trace the plan in advance because it is necessarily subject to the instability of all hypotheses; the problem has many forms, complications, and circumstances that are difficult to foresee and settle in detail.

## **Legislators Told How to Manage Men**

Raynal’s instructions to the legislators on how to manage people may be compared to a professor of agriculture lecturing his students: “The climate is the first rule for the farmer. His resources determine his procedure. He must first consider his locality. If his soil is clay, he must do so and so. If his soil is sand, he must act in another manner. Every facility is open to the farmer who wishes to clear and improve his soil. If he is skillful enough, the manure at his disposal will suggest to him a plan of operation. A professor can only vaguely trace this plan in advance because it is necessarily subject to the instability of all hypotheses; the problem has many forms, complications, and circumstances that are difficult to foresee and settle in detail.”

Oh, sublime writers! Please remember sometimes that this clay, this sand, and this manure which you

so arbitrarily dispose of, are men! They are your equals! They are intelligent and free human beings like yourselves! As you have, they too have received from God the faculty to observe, to plan ahead, to think, and to judge for themselves!

## **A Temporary Dictatorship**

Here is Mably on this subject of the law and the legislator. In the passages preceding the one here quoted, Mably has supposed the laws, due to a neglect of security, to be worn out. He continues to address the reader thusly:

*“Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the springs of government are slack. Give them a new tension, and the evil will be cured.... Think less of punishing faults, and more of rewarding that which you need. In this manner you will restore to your republic the vigor of youth. Because free people have been ignorant of this procedure, they have lost their liberty! But if the evil has made such headway that ordinary governmental procedures are unable to cure it, then resort to an extraordinary tribunal with considerable powers for a short time. The imagination of the citizens needs to be struck a hard blow.”*

In this manner, Mably continues through twenty volumes.

Under the influence of teaching like this—which stems from classical education—there came a time when everyone wished to place himself above mankind in order to arrange, organize, and regulate it in his own way.

## **Socialists Want Equality of Wealth**

Next let us examine Condillac on this subject of the legislators and mankind:

*“My Lord, assume the character of Lycurgus or of Solon. And before you finish reading this essay, amuse yourself by giving laws to some savages in America or Africa. Confine these nomads to fixed dwellings; teach them to tend flocks.... Attempt to develop the social consciousness that nature has planted in them.... Force them to begin to practice the duties of humanity.... Use punishment to cause sensual pleasures to become distasteful to them. Then you will see that every point of your legislation will cause these savages to lose a vice and gain a virtue.*

*All people have had laws. But few people have been happy. Why is this so? Because the legislators themselves have almost always been ignorant of the purpose of society, which is the uniting of families by a common interest.*

*Impartiality in law consists of two things: the establishing of equality in wealth and equality in dignity among the citizens.... As the laws establish greater equality, they become proportionately more precious to every citizen.... When all men are equal in wealth and dignity—and when the laws leave no hope of disturbing this equality—how can men then be agitated by greed, ambition, dissipation, idleness, sloth, envy, hatred, or jealousy?*

*What you have learned about the republic of Sparta should enlighten you on this question. No other state has ever had laws more in accord with the order of nature; of equality.”*

## The Error of the Socialist Writers

Actually, it is not strange that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the human race was regarded as inert matter, ready to receive everything—form, face, energy, movement, life—from a great prince or a great legislator or a great genius. These centuries were nourished on the study of antiquity. And antiquity presents everywhere—in Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome—the spectacle of a few men molding mankind according to their whims, thanks to the prestige of force and of fraud. But this does not prove that this situation is desirable. It proves only that since men and society are capable of improvement, it is naturally to be expected that error, ignorance, despotism, slavery, and superstition should be greatest towards the origins of history. The writers quoted above were not in error when they found ancient institutions to be such, but they were in error when they offered them for the admiration and imitation of future generations. Uncritical and childish conformists, they took for granted the grandeur, dignity, morality, and happiness of the artificial societies of the ancient world. They did not understand that knowledge appears and grows with the passage of time; and that in proportion to this growth of knowledge, might takes the side of right, and society regains possession of itself.

## What Is Liberty?

Actually, what is the political struggle that we witness? It is the instinctive struggle of all people toward liberty. And what is this liberty, whose very name makes the heart beat faster and shakes the world? Is it not the union of all liberties—liberty of conscience, of education, of association, of the press, of travel, of labor, of trade? In short, is not liberty the freedom of every person to make full use of his faculties, so long as he does not harm other persons while doing so? Is not liberty the destruction of all despotism—including, of course, legal despotism? Finally, is not liberty the restricting of the law only to its rational sphere of organizing the right of the individual to lawful self-defense; of punishing injustice?

It must be admitted that the tendency of the human race toward liberty is largely thwarted, especially in France. This is greatly due to a fatal desire—learned from the teachings of antiquity—that our writers on public affairs have in common: They desire to set themselves above mankind in order to arrange, organize, and regulate it according to their fancy.

## Philanthropic Tyranny

While society is struggling toward liberty, these famous men who put themselves at its head are filled with the spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They think only of subjecting mankind to the philanthropic tyranny of their own social inventions. Like Rousseau, they desire to force mankind docilely to bear this yoke of the public welfare that they have dreamed up in their own imaginations.

This was especially true in 1789. No sooner was the old regime destroyed than society was subjected to still other artificial arrangements, always starting from the same point: the omnipotence of the law.

Listen to the ideas of a few of the writers and politicians during that period:

*SAINT-JUST: "The legislator commands the future. It is for him to will the good of mankind. It is for him to make men what he wills them to be."*

*ROBESPIERRE: "The function of government is to direct the physical and moral powers of the nation toward the end for which the commonwealth has come into being."*

*BILLAUD-VARENNES: "A people who are to be returned to liberty must be formed anew. A strong force and vigorous action are necessary to destroy old prejudices, to change old customs, to correct depraved affections, to restrict superfluous wants, and to destroy ingrained vices.... Citizens, the inflexible austerity of Lycurgus created the firm foundation of the Spartan republic. The weak and trusting character of Solon plunged Athens into slavery. This parallel embraces the whole science of government."*

*LE PELLETIER: "Considering the extent of human degradation, I am convinced that it is necessary to effect a total regeneration and, if I may so express myself, of creating a new people."*

## **The Socialists Want Dictatorship**

Again, it is claimed that persons are nothing but raw material. It is not for them to will their own improvement; they are incapable of it. According to Saint-Just, only the legislator is capable of doing this. Persons are merely to be what the legislator wills them to be. According to Robespierre, who copies Rousseau literally, the legislator begins by decreeing the end for which the commonwealth has come into being. Once this is determined, the government has only to direct the physical and moral forces of the nation toward that end. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the nation are to remain completely passive. And according to the teachings of Billaud-Varenes, the people should have no prejudices, no affections, and no desires except those authorized by the legislator. He even goes so far as to say that the inflexible austerity of one man is the foundation of a republic.

In cases where the alleged evil is so great that ordinary governmental procedures cannot cure it, Mably recommends a dictatorship to promote virtue: "Resort," he says, "to an extraordinary tribunal with considerable powers for a short time. The imagination of the citizens needs to be struck a hard blow." This doctrine has not been forgotten. Listen to Robespierre:

*"The principle of the republican government is virtue, and the means required to establish virtue is terror. In our country we desire to substitute morality for selfishness, honesty for honor, principles for customs, duties for manners, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, contempt of vice for contempt of poverty, pride for insolence, greatness of soul for vanity, love of glory for love of money, good people for good companions, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, truth for glitter, the charm of happiness for the boredom of pleasure, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a generous, strong, happy people for a good-natured, frivolous, degraded people; in short, we desire to substitute all the virtues and miracles of a republic for all the vices and absurdities of a monarchy."*

## **Dictatorial Arrogance**

At what a tremendous height above the rest of mankind does Robespierre here place himself! And note the arrogance with which he speaks. He is not content to pray for a great reawakening of the human spirit. Nor does he expect such a result from a well-ordered government. No, he himself will remake mankind, and by means of terror.

This mass of rotten and contradictory statements is extracted from a discourse by Robespierre in which he aims to explain the principles of morality which ought to guide a revolutionary government. Note that Robespierre's request for dictatorship is not made merely for the purpose of repelling a foreign invasion or putting down the opposing groups.

Rather he wants a dictatorship in order that he may use terror to force upon the country his own principles of morality. He says that this act is only to be a temporary measure preceding a new constitution. But in reality, he desires nothing short of using terror to extinguish from France selfishness, honor, customs, manners, fashion, vanity, love of money, good companionship, intrigue, wit, sensuousness, and poverty. Not until he, Robespierre, shall have accomplished these miracles, as he so rightly calls them, will he permit the law to reign again.\*

*\*At this point in the original French text, Mr. Bastiat pauses and speaks thusly to all do-gooders and would-be rulers of mankind: "Ah, you miserable creatures! You who think that you are so great! You who judge humanity to be so small! You who wish to reform everything! Why don't you reform yourselves? That task would be sufficient enough."*

## **The Indirect Approach to Despotism**

Usually, however, these gentlemen—the reformers, the legislators, and the writers on public affairs—do not desire to impose direct despotism upon mankind. Oh no, they are too moderate and philanthropic for such direct action. Instead, they turn to the law for this despotism, this absolutism, this omnipotence. They desire only to make the laws.

To show the prevalence of this queer idea in France, I would need to copy not only the entire works of Mably, Raynal, Rousseau, and Fenelon—plus long extracts from Bossuet and Montesquieu—but also the entire proceedings of the Convention. I shall do no such thing; I merely refer the reader to them.

## **Napoleon Wanted Passive Mankind**

It is, of course, not at all surprising that this same idea should have greatly appealed to Napoleon. He embraced it ardently and used it with vigor. Like a chemist, Napoleon considered all Europe to be material for his experiments. But, in due course, this material reacted against him.

At St. Helena, Napoleon—greatly disillusioned—seemed to recognize some initiative in mankind. Recognizing this, he became less hostile to liberty. Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from leaving this lesson to his son in his will: "To govern is to increase and spread morality, education, and happiness."

After all this, it is hardly necessary to quote the same opinions from Morelly, Babeuf, Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier. Here are, however, a few extracts from Louis Blanc's book on the organization of labor: "In our plan, society receives its momentum from power."

Now consider this: The impulse behind this momentum is to be supplied by the plan of Louis Blanc; his plan is to be forced upon society; the society referred to is the human race. Thus the human race is to receive its momentum from Louis Blanc.

Now it will be said that the people are free to accept or to reject this plan. Admittedly, people are free to accept or to reject advice from whomever they wish. But this is not the way in which Mr. Louis Blanc understands the matter. He expects that his plan will be legalized, and thus forcibly imposed upon the people by the power of the law:

*"In our plan, the state has only to pass labor laws (nothing else?) by means of which industrial progress can and must proceed in complete liberty. The state merely places society on an incline (that is*

*all?). Then society will slide down this incline by the mere force of things, and by the natural workings of the established mechanism.”*

But what is this incline that is indicated by Mr. Louis Blanc? Does it not lead to an abyss? (No, it leads to happiness.) If this is true, then why does not society go there of its own choice? (Because society does not know what it wants; it must be propelled.) What is to propel it? (Power.) And who is to supply the impulse for this power? (Why, the inventor of the machine—in this instance, Mr. Louis Blanc.)

## **The Vicious Circle of Socialism**

We shall never escape from this circle: the idea of passive mankind, and the power of the law being used by a great man to propel the people.

Once on this incline, will society enjoy some liberty? (Certainly.) And what is liberty, Mr. Louis Blanc?

Once and for all, liberty is not only a mere granted right; it is also the power granted to a person to use and to develop his faculties under a reign of justice and under the protection of the law.

And this is no pointless distinction; its meaning is deep and its consequences are difficult to estimate. For once it is agreed that a person, to be truly free, must have the power to use and develop his faculties, then it follows that every person has a claim on society for such education as will permit him to develop himself. It also follows that every person has a claim on society for tools of production, without which human activity cannot be fully effective. Now by what action can society give to every person the necessary education and the necessary tools of production, if not by the action of the state?

Thus, again, liberty is power. Of what does this power consist? (Of being educated and of being given the tools of production.) Who is to give the education and the tools of production? (Society, which owes them to everyone.) By what action is society to give tools of production to those who do not own them? (Why, by the action of the state.) And from whom will the state take them?

Let the reader answer that question. Let him also notice the direction in which this is taking us.

## **The Doctrine of the Democrats**

The strange phenomenon of our times—one which will probably astound our descendants—is the doctrine based on this triple hypothesis: the total inertness of mankind, the omnipotence of the law, and the infallibility of the legislator. These three ideas form the sacred symbol of those who proclaim themselves totally democratic.

The advocates of this doctrine also profess to be social. So far as they are democratic, they place unlimited faith in mankind. But so far as they are social, they regard mankind as little better than mud. Let us examine this contrast in greater detail.

What is the attitude of the democrat when political rights are under discussion? How does he regard the people when a legislator is to be chosen? Ah, then it is claimed that the people have an instinctive wisdom; they are gifted with the finest perception; their will is always right; the general will cannot err; voting cannot be too universal.

When it is time to vote, apparently the voter is not to be asked for any guarantee of his wisdom. His will and capacity to choose wisely are taken for granted. Can the people be mistaken? Are we not living in an age of enlightenment? What! are the people always to be kept on leashes? Have they not won their rights by great effort and sacrifice? Have they not given ample proof of their intelligence and wisdom? Are they not adults? Are they not capable of judging for themselves? Do they not know what is best for themselves? Is there a class or a man who would be so bold as to set himself above the people, and judge and act for them? No, no, the people are and should be free. They desire to manage their own affairs, and they shall do so.

But when the legislator is finally elected—ah! then indeed does the tone of his speech undergo a radical change. The people are returned to passiveness, inertness, and unconsciousness; the legislator enters into omnipotence. Now it is for him to initiate, to direct, to propel, and to organize. Mankind has only to submit; the hour of despotism has struck. We now observe this fatal idea: The people who, during the election, were so wise, so moral, and so perfect, now have no tendencies whatever; or if they have any, they are tendencies that lead downward into degradation.

## **The Socialist Concept of Liberty**

But ought not the people be given a little liberty?

But Mr. Considerant has assured us that liberty leads inevitably to monopoly!

We understand that liberty means competition. But according to Mr. Louis Blanc, competition is a system that ruins the businessmen and exterminates the people. It is for this reason that free people are ruined and exterminated in proportion to their degree of freedom. (Possibly Mr. Louis Blanc should observe the results of competition in, for example, Switzerland, Holland, England, and the United States.)

Mr. Louis Blanc also tells us that competition leads to monopoly. And by the same reasoning, he thus informs us that low prices lead to high prices; that competition drives production to destructive activity; that competition drains away the sources of purchasing power; that competition forces an increase in production while, at the same time, it forces a decrease in consumption. From this, it follows that free people produce for the sake of not consuming; that liberty means oppression and madness among the people; and that Mr. Louis Blanc absolutely must attend to it.

## **Socialists Fear All Liberties**

Well, what liberty should the legislators permit people to have? Liberty of conscience? (But if this were permitted, we would see the people taking this opportunity to become atheists.)

Then liberty of education? (But parents would pay professors to teach their children immorality and falsehoods; besides, according to Mr. Thiers, if education were left to national liberty, it would cease to be national, and we would be teaching our children the ideas of the Turks or Hindus; whereas, thanks to this legal despotism over education, our children now have the good fortune to be taught the noble ideas of the Romans.)

Then liberty of labor? (But that would mean competition which, in turn, leaves production unconsumed, ruins businessmen, and exterminates the people.)

Perhaps liberty of trade? (But everyone knows—and the advocates of protective tariffs have proved over and over again—that freedom of trade ruins every person who engages in it, and that it is necessary to suppress freedom of trade in order to prosper.)

Possibly then, liberty of association? (But, according to socialist doctrine, true liberty and voluntary association are in contradiction to each other, and the purpose of the socialists is to suppress liberty of association precisely in order to force people to associate together in true liberty.)

Clearly then, the conscience of the social democrats cannot permit persons to have any liberty because they believe that the nature of mankind tends always toward every kind of degradation and disaster. Thus, of course, the legislators must make plans for the people in order to save them from themselves.

This line of reasoning brings us to a challenging question: If people are as incapable, as immoral, and as ignorant as the politicians indicate, then why is the right of these same people to vote defended with such passionate insistence?

## **The Superman Idea**

The claims of these organizers of humanity raise another question which I have often asked them and which, so far as I know, they have never answered: If the natural tendencies of mankind are so bad that it is not safe to permit people to be free, how is it that the tendencies of these organizers are always good? Do not the legislators and their appointed agents also belong to the human race? Or do they believe that they themselves are made of a finer clay than the rest of mankind? The organizers maintain that society, when left undirected, rushes headlong to its inevitable destruction because the instincts of the people are so perverse. The legislators claim to stop this suicidal course and to give it a saner direction. Apparently, then, the legislators and the organizers have received from Heaven an intelligence and virtue that place them beyond and above mankind; if so, let them show their titles to this superiority.

They would be the shepherds over us, their sheep. Certainly such an arrangement presupposes that they are naturally superior to the rest of us. And certainly we are fully justified in demanding from the legislators and organizers proof of this natural superiority.

## **The Socialists Reject Free Choice**

Please understand that I do not dispute their right to invent social combinations, to advertise them, to advocate them, and to try them upon themselves, at their own expense and risk. But I do dispute their right to impose these plans upon us by law—by force—and to compel us to pay for them with our taxes.

I do not insist that the supporters of these various social schools of thought—the Proudhonists, the Cabetists, the Fourierists, the Universitarists, and the Protectionists—renounce their various ideas. I insist only that they renounce this one idea that they have in common: They need only to give up the idea of forcing us to acquiesce to their groups and series, their socialized projects, their free-credit banks, their Graeco-Roman concept of morality, and their commercial regulations. I ask only that we be permitted to decide upon these plans for ourselves; that we not be forced to accept them, directly or indirectly, if we find them to be contrary to our best interests or repugnant to our consciences.

But these organizers desire access to the tax funds and to the power of the law in order to carry out their plans. In addition to being oppressive and unjust, this desire also implies the fatal supposition that

the organizer is infallible and mankind is incompetent. But, again, if persons are incompetent to judge for themselves, then why all this talk about universal suffrage?

## **The Cause of French Revolutions**

This contradiction in ideas is, unfortunately but logically, reflected in events in France. For example, Frenchmen have led all other Europeans in obtaining their rights—or, more accurately, their political demands. Yet this fact has in no respect prevented us from becoming the most governed, the most regulated, the most imposed upon, the most harnessed, and the most exploited people in Europe. France also leads all other nations as the one where revolutions are constantly to be anticipated. And under the circumstances, it is quite natural that this should be the case.

And this will remain the case so long as our politicians continue to accept this idea that has been so well expressed by Mr. Louis Blanc: "Society receives its momentum from power." This will remain the case so long as human beings with feelings continue to remain passive; so long as they consider themselves incapable of bettering their prosperity and happiness by their own intelligence and their own energy; so long as they expect everything from the law; in short, so long as they imagine that their relationship to the state is the same as that of the sheep to the shepherd.

## **The Enormous Power of Government**

As long as these ideas prevail, it is clear that the responsibility of government is enormous. Good fortune and bad fortune, wealth and destitution, equality and inequality, virtue and vice—all then depend upon political administration. It is burdened with everything, it undertakes everything, it does everything; therefore it is responsible for everything.

If we are fortunate, then government has a claim to our gratitude; but if we are unfortunate, then government must bear the blame. For are not our persons and property now at the disposal of government? Is not the law omnipotent?

In creating a monopoly of education, the government must answer to the hopes of the fathers of families who have thus been deprived of their liberty; and if these hopes are shattered, whose fault is it?

In regulating industry, the government has contracted to make it prosper; otherwise it is absurd to deprive industry of its liberty. And if industry now suffers, whose fault is it?

In meddling with the balance of trade by playing with tariffs, the government thereby contracts to make trade prosper; and if this results in destruction instead of prosperity, whose fault is it?

In giving protection instead of liberty to the industries for defense, the government has contracted to make them profitable; and if they become a burden to the taxpayers, whose fault is it?

Thus there is not a grievance in the nation for which the government does not voluntarily make itself responsible. Is it surprising, then, that every failure increases the threat of another revolution in France?

And what remedy is proposed for this? To extend indefinitely the domain of the law; that is, the responsibility of government.

But if the government undertakes to control and to raise wages, and cannot do it; if the government undertakes to care for all who may be in want, and cannot do it; if the government undertakes to support all unemployed workers, and cannot do it; if the government undertakes to lend interest-free money to all borrowers, and cannot do it; if, in these words that we regret to say escaped from the pen of Mr. de Lamartine, "The state considers that its purpose is to enlighten, to develop, to enlarge, to strengthen, to spiritualize, and to sanctify the soul of the people"—and if the government cannot do all of these things, what then? Is it not certain that after every government failure—which, alas! is more than probable—there will be an equally inevitable revolution?

## **Politics and Economics**

*[Now let us return to a subject that was briefly discussed in the opening pages of this thesis: the relationship of economics and of politics—political economy.\*]*

*\*Translator's note: Mr. Bastiat has devoted three other books and several articles to the development of the ideas contained in the three sentences of the following paragraph.*

A science of economics must be developed before a science of politics can be logically formulated. Essentially, economics is the science of determining whether the interests of human beings are harmonious or antagonistic. This must be known before a science of politics can be formulated to determine the proper functions of government.

Immediately following the development of a science of economics, and at the very beginning of the formulation of a science of politics, this all-important question must be answered: What is law? What ought it to be? What is its scope; its limits? Logically, at what point do the just powers of the legislator stop?

I do not hesitate to answer: Law is the common force organized to act as an obstacle to injustice. In short, law is justice.

## **Proper Legislative Functions**

It is not true that the legislator has absolute power over our persons and property. The existence of persons and property preceded the existence of the legislator, and his function is only to guarantee their safety.

It is not true that the function of law is to regulate our consciences, our ideas, our wills, our education, our opinions, our work, our trade, our talents, or our pleasures. The function of law is to protect the free exercise of these rights, and to prevent any person from interfering with the free exercise of these same rights by any other person.

Since law necessarily requires the support of force, its lawful domain is only in the areas where the use of force is necessary. This is justice.

Every individual has the right to use force for lawful self-defense. It is for this reason that the collective force—which is only the organized combination of the individual forces—may lawfully be used for the same purpose; and it cannot be used legitimately for any other purpose.

Law is solely the organization of the individual right of self-defense which existed before law was formalized. Law is justice.

## **Law and Charity Are Not the Same**

The mission of the law is not to oppress persons and plunder them of their property, even though the law may be acting in a philanthropic spirit. Its mission is to protect persons and property.

Furthermore, it must not be said that the law may be philanthropic if, in the process, it refrains from oppressing persons and plundering them of their property; this would be a contradiction. The law cannot avoid having an effect upon persons and property; and if the law acts in any manner except to protect them, its actions then necessarily violate the liberty of persons and their right to own property.

The law is justice—simple and clear, precise and bounded. Every eye can see it, and every mind can grasp it; for justice is measurable, immutable, and unchangeable. Justice is neither more than this nor less than this.

If you exceed this proper limit—if you attempt to make the law religious, fraternal, equalizing, philanthropic, industrial, literary, or artistic—you will then be lost in an uncharted territory, in vagueness and uncertainty, in a forced utopia or, even worse, in a multitude of utopias, each striving to seize the law and impose it upon you. This is true because fraternity and philanthropy, unlike justice, do not have precise limits. Once started, where will you stop? And where will the law stop itself?

## **The High Road to Communism**

Mr. de Saint-Cricq would extend his philanthropy only to some of the industrial groups; he would demand that the law control the consumers to benefit the producers.

Mr. Considerant would sponsor the cause of the labor groups; he would use the law to secure for them a guaranteed minimum of clothing, housing, food, and all other necessities of life.

Mr. Louis Blanc would say—and with reason—that these minimum guarantees are merely the beginning of complete fraternity; he would say that the law should give tools of production and free education to all working people.

Another person would observe that this arrangement would still leave room for inequality; he would claim that the law should give to everyone—even in the most inaccessible hamlet—luxury, literature, and art.

All of these proposals are the high road to communism; legislation will then be—in fact, it already is—the battlefield for the fantasies and greed of everyone.

## **The Basis for Stable Government**

Law is justice. In this proposition a simple and enduring government can be conceived. And I defy anyone to say how even the thought of revolution, of insurrection, of the slightest uprising could arise against a government whose organized force was confined only to suppressing injustice.

Under such a regime, there would be the most prosperity—and it would be the most equally distributed. As for the sufferings that are inseparable from humanity, no one would even think of accusing the government for them. This is true because, if the force of government were limited to suppressing injustice, then government would be as innocent of these sufferings as it is now innocent of changes in the temperature.

As proof of this statement, consider this question: Have the people ever been known to rise against the Court of Appeals, or mob a Justice of the Peace, in order to get higher wages, free credit, tools of production, favorable tariffs, or government-created jobs? Everyone knows perfectly well that such matters are not within the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals or a Justice of the Peace. And if government were limited to its proper functions, everyone would soon learn that these matters are not within the jurisdiction of the law itself.

But make the laws upon the principle of fraternity—proclaim that all good, and all bad, stem from the law; that the law is responsible for all individual misfortunes and all social inequalities—then the door is open to an endless succession of complaints, irritations, troubles, and revolutions.

### **Justice Means Equal Rights**

Law is justice. And it would indeed be strange if law could properly be anything else! Is not justice right? Are not rights equal? By what right does the law force me to conform to the social plans of Mr. Mimerel, Mr. de Melun, Mr. Thiers, or Mr. Louis Blanc? If the law has a moral right to do this, why does it not, then, force these gentlemen to submit to my plans? Is it logical to suppose that nature has not given me sufficient imagination to dream up a utopia also? Should the law choose one fantasy among many, and put the organized force of government at its service only?

Law is justice. And let it not be said—as it continually is said—that under this concept, the law would be atheistic, individualistic, and heartless; that it would make mankind in its own image. This is an absurd conclusion, worthy only of those worshippers of government who believe that the law is mankind.

Nonsense! Do those worshippers of government believe that free persons will cease to act? Does it follow that if we receive no energy from the law, we shall receive no energy at all? Does it follow that if the law is restricted to the function of protecting the free use of our faculties, we will be unable to use our faculties? Suppose that the law does not force us to follow certain forms of religion, or systems of association, or methods of education, or regulations of labor, or regulations of trade, or plans for charity; does it then follow that we shall eagerly plunge into atheism, hermitary, ignorance, misery, and greed? If we are free, does it follow that we shall no longer recognize the power and goodness of God? Does it follow that we shall then cease to associate with each other, to help each other, to love and succor our unfortunate brothers, to study the secrets of nature, and to strive to improve ourselves to the best of our abilities?

### **The Path to Dignity and Progress**

Law is justice. And it is under the law of justice—under the reign of right; under the influence of liberty, safety, stability, and responsibility—that every person will attain his real worth and the true dignity of his being. It is only under this law of justice that mankind will achieve—slowly, no doubt, but certainly—God’s design for the orderly and peaceful progress of humanity.

It seems to me that this is theoretically right, for whatever the question under discussion—whether religious, philosophical, political, or economic; whether it concerns prosperity, morality, equality, right, justice, progress, responsibility, cooperation, property, labor, trade, capital, wages, taxes, population, finance, or government—at whatever point on the scientific horizon I begin my researches, I invariably reach this one conclusion: The solution to the problems of human relationships is to be found in liberty.

## **Proof of an Idea**

And does not experience prove this? Look at the entire world. Which countries contain the most peaceful, the most moral, and the happiest people? Those people are found in the countries where the law least interferes with private affairs; where government is least felt; where the individual has the greatest scope, and free opinion the greatest influence; where administrative powers are fewest and simplest; where taxes are lightest and most nearly equal, and popular discontent the least excited and the least justifiable; where individuals and groups most actively assume their responsibilities, and, consequently, where the morals of admittedly imperfect human beings are constantly improving; where trade, assemblies, and associations are the least restricted; where labor, capital, and populations suffer the fewest forced displacements; where mankind most nearly follows its own natural inclinations; where the inventions of men are most nearly in harmony with the laws of God; in short, the happiest, most moral, and most peaceful people are those who most nearly follow this principle: Although mankind is not perfect, still, all hope rests upon the free and voluntary actions of persons within the limits of right; law or force is to be used for nothing except the administration of universal justice.

## **The Desire to Rule over Others**

This must be said: There are too many “great” men in the world—legislators, organizers, do-gooders, leaders of the people, fathers of nations, and so on, and so on. Too many persons place themselves above mankind; they make a career of organizing it, patronizing it, and ruling it.

Now someone will say: “You yourself are doing this very thing.”

True. But it must be admitted that I act in an entirely different sense; if I have joined the ranks of the reformers, it is solely for the purpose of persuading them to leave people alone. I do not look upon people as Vancauson looked upon his automaton. Rather, just as the physiologist accepts the human body as it is, so do I accept people as they are. I desire only to study and admire.

My attitude toward all other persons is well illustrated by this story from a celebrated traveler: He arrived one day in the midst of a tribe of savages, where a child had just been born. A crowd of soothsayers, magicians, and quacks - - armed with rings, hooks, and cords—surrounded it. One said: “This child will never smell the perfume of a peace pipe unless I stretch his nostrils.” Another said: “He will never be able to hear unless I draw his ear-lobes down to his shoulders.” A third said: “He will never see the sunshine unless I slant his eyes.” Another said: “He will never stand upright unless I bend his legs.” A fifth said: “He will never learn to think unless I flatten his skull.”

“Stop,” cried the traveler. “What God does is well done. Do not claim to know more than He. God has given organs to this frail creature; let them develop and grow strong by exercise, use, experience, and liberty.”

## **Let Us Now Try Liberty**

God has given to men all that is necessary for them to accomplish their destinies. He has provided a social form as well as a human form. And these social organs of persons are so constituted that they will develop themselves harmoniously in the clean air of liberty. Away, then, with quacks and organizers! Away with their rings, chains, hooks, and pincers! Away with their artificial systems! Away with the whims of governmental administrators, their socialized projects, their centralization, their tariffs, their government schools, their state religions, their free credit, their bank monopolies, their regulations, their restrictions, their equalization by taxation, and their pious moralizations!

And now that the legislators and do-gooders have so futilely inflicted so many systems upon society, may they finally end where they should have begun: May they reject all systems, and try liberty; for liberty is an acknowledgment of faith in God and His works.

*Translated by The Foundation for Economic Education. Permission to reprint granted without special request.*

## Further Resources for Learning about the History of the United States and More About How Government Works:

[Lone Star: A History Of Texas And The Texans](#) (by T.R. Fehrenbach) Here is an up-to-the-moment history of the Lone Star State, together with an insider's look at the people, politics, and events that have shaped Texas from the beginning right up to our days. Never before has the story been told with more vitality and immediacy.

[PragerU Resources for Educators & Parents \(PREP\)](#) will give you the resources, support, and tools to learn about America's blessings and limitless opportunities.

[WallBuilders](#) is an organization dedicated to presenting America's forgotten history and heroes, with an emphasis on the moral, religious, and constitutional foundation on which America was built.

[Hillsdale College Online](#) helps your student pursue an education in character, faith, and freedom necessary for self-government and happiness. These courses are free.

[A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus's Great Discovery](#) (by Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen) to America's Age of Entitlement is the definitive objective history of our country, presented honestly and fairly. Schweikart and Allen don't ignore America's mistakes through the years. Instead, they put them back in the proper perspective, celebrating the strengths of the men and women who cleared the wilderness, abolished slavery, and rid the world of fascism and communism.

[The Patriot's History Reader: Essential Documents For Every American](#) (by Larry Schweikart, Michael Allen and Dave Dougherty) has become a modern classic for its defense of America as a unique country founded on principles of justice, equality, and freedom for all, going back to the original sources—the documents, speeches, and legal decisions that shaped our country into what it is today.

[Plain, Honest Men: The Making of the American Constitution](#) (by Richard Beeman) takes readers behind the scenes to show how the world's most enduring constitution was forged through conflict, compromise, and fragile consensus.

[The Mayflower and the Pilgrims' New World](#) (by Nathaniel Philbrick) is adapted from the *New York Times* bestseller *Mayflower* specifically for younger readers, this edition includes additional maps, artwork, and archival photos.

[The Blood of Heroes: The 13-Day Struggle for the Alamo—and the Sacrifice That Forged a Nation](#) (by James Donovan) is exhaustively researched, drawing upon fresh primary sources in U.S. and Mexican archives, making it the definitive account of this epic battle. Populated by larger-than-life characters—including Davy Crockett, James Bowie, William Barret Travis - this is a stirring story of audacity, valor, and redemption.

[The Right Side of History: How Reason and Moral Purpose Made the West Great](#) (by Ben Shapiro) illustrates how as a society, we are forgetting that almost everything great that has ever happened in history happened because of people who believed in both Judeo-Christian values and in the Greek-born power of reason. In *The Right Side of History*, Shapiro sprints through more than 3,500 years, dozens of philosophers, and the thicket of modern politics to show how our freedoms are built upon the twin notions that every human being is made in God's image and that human beings were created with reason capable of exploring God's world.



You have successfully completed the Lone Star Study!

Now that you have an understanding of the Texas government, get involved!  
Our future depends on the participation of individuals like you.

Just remember, as Ronald Reagan said:

***“Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn’t pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same.”***

THSC hosts Capitol Days three times during each Texas legislative session. The Texas Legislature is in session for six months of every odd-numbered year. Capitol Days attendees learn firsthand how a bill becomes law, learn about important pending legislation, and lobby the legislature.



Don't miss your opportunity to experience the Texas Legislature and to make a difference! See you at Capitol Days!