

“Jack Kemp’s Huddled Masses”

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A formidable elite coalition has assembled behind “comprehensive immigration reform” (CIR). At the center of this coalition stands Big Business, the Obama Administration, and the entire Liberal Establishment. The rationale for these groups supporting CIR is easy enough to discern. CIR legalizes the current illegal immigrant population of 11-12 million¹ and doubles legal immigration for mostly low-skilled workers. For Big Business this means a continuing supply of low wage labor and for the Obama Administration and the Liberal Establishment it means, as liberal journalist T.A. Frank declared in the *New Republic*, a “massive new voting bloc of mostly left-leaning,” and hence, Democratic constituents.²

But there is an important group of genuine American conservatives (as opposed to corporate careerists) who support CIR, and whose rationale for doing so, is worth exploring in detail. We could call them neo-Kemp idealists who adhere to the high immigration stance articulated by the late conservative Congressman and 1996 Republican nominee for Vice President, Jack Kemp.

In 2006 Kemp wrote “[s]ome counsel that Congress should start with tougher enforcement and border security but wait to create a guest-worker program or address the illegal population.” Kemp rejects this approach arguing in favor of “a comprehensive solution” because enforcement first ignores “the need for future immigration to meet the demands of a growing economy.”³

¹ Jeffrey S. Passel, D’Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, “Population Decline of Unauthorized Immigrants Stalls, May Have Reversed – New Estimate: 11.7 Million in 2012.” Pew Research Center’s Hispanic Trends Project, September 23, 2013, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/09/23/population-decline-of-unauthorized-immigrants-stalls-may-have-reversed/>

² T.A. Frank, “Why Liberals Should Oppose the Immigration Bill: It’s about Low-Wage American Workers.” *The New Republic*, June 27, 2013, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/113651/liberal-opposes-immigration-reform>

³ Jack Kemp, “Immigration Reform will Help Keep this Nation Strong.” Townhall, Columnists, July 17, 2006, http://townhall.com/columnists/jackkemp/2006/07/17/immigration_reform_will_help_keep_this_nation_strong/page/full

The leading figure in this faction today is Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI), who was a protégé of Jack Kemp. The overall Kemp agenda of economic growth and individual opportunity is an attractive one that has broad support across the conservative spectrum.⁴ ⁵In a highly praised “civil society” speech late in the 2012 Presidential campaign in Cleveland, Ryan sketched out his neo-Kemp vision.

Ryan declared that at the core of the American regime is civil society:

“There’s a vast middle ground between government and the individual. Our families and our neighborhoods, the groups we join and our places of worship – this is where we live our lives. They shape our character...and help make us a self-governing people.... [G]overnment’s duty when it comes to the institutions of civil society...is to secure their rights, respect their purposes, and preserve their freedom.”⁶

Ryan’s civil society arguments have a long intellectual pedigree going back decades to thinkers like Michael Novak, Richard John Neuhaus, Peter Berger and ultimately Robert Nisbet and Alexis de Tocqueville. They are conservative gospel. So, how does civil society theory mesh with comprehensive immigration reform?

Ryan told the *Washington Examiner* in July “I always look at this [CIR] as an economic issue.”⁷ Immigration, Ryan contends, should be based on the needs of the economy, meaning employer-driven. He states employers need a large increase of both low-skilled and high-skilled workers. Hence, we should develop and expand new guest worker programs in various industries and legalize illegal immigrants (“so long as the border and the interior enforcement is actually

⁴ Rebecca Kaplan, “Ryan, Rubio Look to Jack Kemp for Inspiration: The Late Politician is a Role Model as Republicans Look to Recast Their Party after Last Month's Defeat.” *National Journal*, Politics, December 4, 2012, <http://www.nationaljournal.com/politics/ryan-rubio-look-to-jack-kemp-for-inspiration-20121204>

⁵ Robert Costa, “Paul Ryan’s Immigration Play: Like His Mentor Jack Kemp, He’s Pro-Immigration.” *National Review Online*, April 24, 2013, <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/346546/paul-ryan’s-immigration-play>

⁶ “Paul Ryan Delivers Chilling Speech on Poverty – ‘In This War on Poverty, Poverty is Winning.’” *Fox Nation*, October 24, 2012, <http://nation.foxnews.com/paul-ryan/2012/10/24/watch-paul-ryan-delivers-chilling-speech-poverty-war-poverty-poverty-winning>

⁷ Tim Mak, “Numbers Guru Paul Ryan Says Immigration is about Economics.” *The Washington Examiner*, Policy: Economy, July 23, 2013, <http://washingtonexaminer.com/numbers-guru-paul-ryan-says-immigration-is-about-economics/article/2533370>

implemented.”)⁸ The case for more low-skilled immigration, Ryan asserts, is “[they] bring labor to our economy so jobs can get done.”⁹ He states that if wages were raised “too much in certain industries,” they would go out of business. In the final analysis, he argues that the large increase in workers will spur economic growth.¹⁰

Obama-Progressive vs. Neo-Kemp Idealist visions

The end goals of the Obama Progressive Project and the neo-Kemp Idealist vision are diametrically opposed. Nevertheless, both frameworks envision large-scale immigration as a means of furthering their competing ends for the good society. One thing is for sure, Obama and Ryan can’t both be right.

President Obama has made it very clear that he wants to “fundamentally transform” America. “Transforming” the American regime has been a goal of the progressive-liberalism long before Obama, although the process has clearly accelerated during the current administration. More than fifty years ago, a founding *National Review* senior editor Willmoore Kendall wrote, “We stand, I am saying, in the presence of a Liberal Revolution, That revolution is a revolution *sensu stricto*, and one that means business: its purpose is to establish in America, in Machiavelli’s phrase, *new modes and orders*”¹¹ (*italics added*).

Most conservatives (including neo-Kemp idealists) are Tocquevillians, in the sense that they view ideal American society as consisting of politically equal citizens who join a wide range of voluntary associations that form civil society. These individuals (whose character has been shaped by the mediating institutions of civil society: churches, families, civic associations, clubs, etc.) participate in a free

⁸ Nancy Cook, “Paul Ryan: Immigrants ‘Bring Labor to Our Economy So Jobs Can Get Done’ – Paul Ryan, the House Budget Committee Chairman, Makes an Economic Case for Reform.” *National Journal*, July 25, 2013, <http://www.nationaljournal.com/magazine/paul-ryan-immigrants-bring-labor-to-our-economy-so-jobs-can-get-done-20130725>

⁹ Ibid., Nancy Cook, *National Journal*, July 25, 2013.

¹⁰ Ibid., Nancy Cook, *National Journal*, July 25, 2013.

¹¹ Willmoore Kendall, “What is Conservatism?” *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*, Vol. 6, Number 4, Fall 1962, pp. 353-365: p. 359, http://www.mmisi.org/ma/06_04/kendall.pdf

market economy with a strong cultural base that fosters economic growth and brings prosperity and well-being to the greatest number of Americans.

The progressives view American society through an entirely different lens. They see society as essentially binary, consisting of two main groups: marginalized (victim) groups and dominant (privileged) groups. Ethnic minorities, language minorities, women, and others, belong to marginalized groups and whites and males are members of privileged or dominate groups. The purpose of progressive politics is “substantive equality” for the various groups. This means not simply equality of opportunity, but *representational equality* (parity) among the groups in all segments of society. Thus, for example, if Latinos make up 20% of the local work force, 20% of all doctors in the area should be Latinos, if not, there is a problem of “underrepresentation” or “disparity” in the local medical profession. The progressive-liberals employ “coercive” diversity and its twin, multiculturalism, as weapons to implement their “*new modes and orders.*” These measures help subordinate the traditional institutions of civil society to the administrative state and progressive ideology.

It can not be emphasized enough that the “diversity” that American elites are constantly touting is not the genuine diversity that emerges from the activities of a free pluralistic society, but coerced “diversity” through federal government mandated ethnic and gender preferences in employment and education; numerical “goals” and de-facto quotas; and an official legal status of “protected classes” that undermines the American ideal of equality under law.

It is significant to note that even American national security is subject to coercive diversity mandates. A 2011 Pentagon report stated, “[r]acial/ethnic minorities and women still lag behind non-Hispanic white men in terms of *representative percentage* of military leadership positions held.”¹² The Pentagon promised to

¹² Military Leadership Diversity Commission, United States Department of Defense. *From Representation to Inclusion: Diversity Leadership for the 21st-Century Military: Final Report*. (Arlington, VA: Military Leadership Diversity Commission, 2011), p. vii. Available at <http://www.usafa.edu/superintendent/diversityoffice/links/AFD-110315-066.pdf>

work to eliminate these “disparities” among ethnic, racial, and gender groups in all units of American military services including Air Force pilots, commissioned Marine officers, Naval Reserve officers, Army civilian employees, active duty officers in tactical operations, etc.

Multicultural Assimilation Instead of Traditional Americanization.

Instead of traditional “Americanization” or patriotic assimilation into the American way of life, for the past several decades, immigrants have been assimilated into this system of coercive diversity and multiculturalism. Schools and universities have promoted an adversarial type of multiculturalism that tells young newcomers that they are belong to a victim group that has been oppressed by American society. In effect, immigrants to America are initiated into ethnic-linguistic group consciousness and loyalties through federal government programs such as bilingual and multicultural education, diversity training, and multilingual voting.

A vast administrative-legal bureaucracy both, public and private, implements multicultural assimilation including federal, state, and local officials; university and corporate diversity managers and activist lawyers. For example in Illinois, because of the influx of non-English speaking immigrants, a state government task force recommended the following: mandated [multi-] cultural competency training for all state employees¹³; the large scale hiring of bilingual employees¹⁴; and exploring the possibility of “Mexican national social workers coming to Illinois” to “train” Illinois government officials on “cultural” issues.¹⁵ Likewise in Massachusetts the governor’s office recommended creating “a bank of professionals who can provide [multi-] cultural competency training.”¹⁶ Under

¹³ State of Illinois, New Americans Interagency Task Force, Office of Governor Rod R. Blagojevich, *Immigrant Integration: Improving Policy for Education, Health and Human Services for Illinois’ Immigrants and Refugees* (December 2006), p. 16. Available at: <http://icirr.org/sites/default/files/interagency1.pdf>

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, State of Illinois, New Americans Interagency Task Force, pp. 14-15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, State of Illinois, New Americans Interagency Task Force, p. 25.

¹⁶ State of Massachusetts, Governor’s Advisory Council for Refugees and Immigrants, Office of Governor Deval Patrick, *Massachusetts New Americans Agenda* (October 1, 2009), p. 20. Available at: <http://www.mass.gov/eohhs/docs/ori/naa-report-2.pdf>

Governor Duval Patrick, Massachusetts explicitly rejects the idea of “pushing children to learn English as quickly as possible.”¹⁷

Unlike the Reaganites whose Justice Department (with people like Edwin Meese, Stephen Markman and Mark Levin) fought tooth and nail against group preferences, the Kempites have mostly ignored the insidious advance of preferences-multiculturalism, with the notable exception of Bill Bennett (who is also a Reaganite) at Empower America. In addition, Kempites tend to believe that immigrant assimilation occurs naturally. But assimilation was (and is), as Norman Podhoretz put it, “a brutal bargain.”¹⁸

The assimilation of the Ellis Island generation succeeded only because American elites (progressive at the time) insisted upon “Americanization” and because Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson crushed the proto-multicultural activists of their day led by Horace Kallen and Randolph Bourne. Further, like it or not, the immigration restriction legislation of the 1920s solidified the patriotic, socio-economic, and cultural assimilation of the Ellis Island immigrants.

Today assimilation, in the words of conservative *New York Times* columnist, Ross Douthat, is “stalling out.”¹⁹ Specifically, he noted that “a substantial body of literature” has revealed that socio-economic assimilation is “stalling” for third generation Hispanics “with lower household incomes than the second generation.” Douthat states that the “America’s leadership class...assumes that continued mass immigration is exactly what our economy needs.” And, in a follow up article, he asks provocatively, “whether an America whose native-born working class is facing a slow-burning socioeconomic crisis is really in an ideal position to

¹⁷ Sarah Karp, “A Makeover for Bi-Lingual Ed?” *Catalyst Chicago*, December 1, 2007, <http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/news/2008/02/11/makeover-bilingual-ed>

¹⁸ Peter Skerry, “Problems of the Second Generation: To be Young, Muslim, and American.” *The Weekly Standard*, Vol. 18, Number 39, June 24, 2013, http://www.weeklystandard.com/articles/problems-second-generation_735247.html

¹⁹ Ross Douthat, “When Assimilation Stalls.” *The New York Times*, Sunday Review | The Opinion Pages, April 27, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/28/opinion/sunday/douthat-when-the-assimilation-of-immigrants-stalls.html>

assimilate low-skilled immigrants at an increasing clip.”²⁰ The question, of course, is rhetorical and the answer is an obvious no.

Besides socioeconomic assimilation, the multicultural-diversity approach to “immigrant integration” appears to be having a negative affect on patriotic assimilation. A quantitative analysis of Harris survey data commissioned by the Bradley Foundation project on National Identity revealed that there is a huge gap in patriotic attachment between native-born and naturalized citizens with immigrant citizens much less patriotic than native-born citizens on a series of 15 probing questions. For example, by about 30 points (67% to 37%), the native – born are more likely to believe that the U.S. Constitution is a higher legal authority for Americans than international law. By roughly 31 points (81% to 50%), the native –born are more likely than immigrant citizens to believe that schools should focus on American citizenship rather than ethnic pride. The patriotic assimilation of immigrant citizens to American identity appeared to be weak and ambivalent.²¹ This is not the fault of the immigrants, but of American elites, progressive, corporate, and conservative (for not paying attention).

How does Comprehensive Immigration Reform affect Civil Society?

The coercive diversity project seeks to subordinate and subsume the *voluntary* institutions of civil society into the *ascribed* ethnic, gender, linguistic, and cultural categories that one is born into. This emphasis on *ascribed* hereditary status as opposed to what American citizens achieve irrespective of their birth, reveals the un-American (slightly reactionary, aristocratic) mindset of the proponents of the diversity project.

CIR exacerbates the assault on civil society. The Senate Schumer-Rubio bill almost doubles both legal immigration and the number of guest workers in the next

²⁰ Ross Douthat, “Immigration Reform and the Lessons of 2012.” *The New York Times*, The Opinion Pages, April 24, 2013, http://douthat.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/04/29/immigration-reform-and-the-lessons-of-2012/?_r=0

²¹ John Fonte, and Althea Nagai, “America’s Patriotic Assimilation is Broken.” Hudson Institute Briefing Paper. Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, Center for American Common Culture, and Nagai Lerner Consulting, April 2013, Executive Summary: p.1. Available at: www.hudson.org/files/publications/Final04-05.pdf

ten years. It legalizes current illegal immigrants by providing a probationary visa immediately. This means that approximately 33 million new green cards will be issued in the coming decade.²² Most of these new immigrants and guest workers will be low-skilled and members of a “protected class.” Hence, they will automatically be clients (wittingly or unwittingly) of the bureaucratic-legal coercive diversity machine. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) states that Schumer-Rubio will result in increased unemployment and falling wages for the next ten years for many Americans in the working class and middle class who have been the hardest hit during the recession.²³

According to the CBO, the so-called “border surge” Corker-Hoeven amendment would only reduce illegal immigration by “between one-third and one-half”²⁴ (that is, in the unlikely event of it ever being implemented). Chris Crane, the head of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) union testified before Congress that the Senate bill not only provides for “legalization first,” but “actually weakens and undermines interior enforcement,” which, in any case, along with border security, is not fully being enforced under current circumstance.²⁵

In the roughly 1,200 pages of the Schumer-Rubio bill, there are over 1,000 exceptions and waivers to enforcing immigration law in the hands of Obama’s

²² U.S. Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL), “Analysis of Future Flow in Gang of Eight Plan: More than 30 Million Immigrants Granted Legal Status in 10 Years, with the Ability to Bring their Relatives.” News Release, the Office of U.S. Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL), May 3, 2013, p. 4. Available at: http://sessions.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?Fuseaction=Files.View&FileStore_id=bcafe56d-31fc-4727-aefa-1b8b38939bbc

²³ Benjamin Page and Felix Reichling, “The Economic Impact of S. 744, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act.” Washington, DC: CBO Report, Congressional Budget Office, June 18, 2013. Available at: <http://cbo.gov/publication/44346>

²⁴ Douglas W. Elmendorf, Director, “Letter to the Honorable Patrick J. Leahy Chairman Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate: Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT): Analysis of S. 744, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act, as passed by the Senate on June 27, 2013.” Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office, U.S. Congress, July 3, 2013: p. 5. Available at <http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/s744passed.pdf>

²⁵ “Statement by Chris Crane, President, National Immigration and Customs Enforcement Council 118 of the American Federation of Government Employees before the Committee on the Judiciary.” May 22, 2013: p. 1. Available at: http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/113th/05222013_2/Crane%2005222013.pdf and http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/printers/113th/113-30_81174.PDF

political appointees at DHS.²⁶ In the past year the Obama Administration has consistently refused to enforce large sections of immigration law. According to ICE Union's Chris Crane, "interior enforcement has been gutted" since 2008.²⁷ Neither is there any indication that Obama would seriously enforce any new immigration law passed by Congress. Thus, there is no doubt that illegal immigration will continue for the next three years whether Congress acts or not. With this in mind, it is clear that there is nothing that House Republicans could do to reach an honorable "compromise." Killing CIR is the only reasonable alternative.

Instead of fostering the patriotic assimilation of immigrants within American civil society, the Senate bill provides federal funds for "advocacy" groups to promote "immigrant integration" (read multicultural integration). This money will be going to left-wing activists at MALDEF, La Raza, the CASA de Maryland (headed by a former Sandinista activist), and Obama's Chicago community organizing friends at the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR). When criticized by conservatives that Gang of Eight funding will be funneled to left-wing activists, Senator Rubio's spokesman naively suggested that conservative groups should apply to Obama's political appointees at DHS as well.

If comprehensive immigration reform passes Congress there will be – more multicultural education (less civic-patriotic education); more demands for preferential treatment of ethnic groups in employment and education; more professional "diversity" administrators in government, corporations, and universities; more demands for government multi-lingual services; more "disparate impact" litigation from the ACLU and MALDEF; more demands for "diversity" meaning *proportional representation* for groups whose members are among the "protected classes"; more low-income "Life of Julia" cradle to the grave type clients for the welfare state (female and male); more displacement for American blue collar and white collar workers; more cries of "discrimination" from Islamists

²⁶ Neil Munro, "New Immigration Bill Has More Waivers and Exceptions per Page than Obamacare." *The Daily Caller*, May 2, 2013, Politics section, <http://dailycaller.com/2013/05/02/new-immigration-bill-has-more-waivers-and-exceptions-per-page-than-obamacare/>

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Chris Crane, May 22, 2013: p. 3.

such as CAIR (Council on American Islamic Relations) as well as from the Left; and, finally much bragging from President Obama on how he orchestrated the great landmark achievement of “comprehensive immigration reform.”

All of the above is, of course, the antithesis of a healthy civil society as envisioned not just by neo-Kemp idealists, but by the entire American center-right. The stakes could not be higher. The enactment of CIR by Congress means the conquest and subordination of civil society by the Progressive Project, currently led by the most “progressive” President in American history.

Neo-Kemp Vision Needs Re-Thinking on Immigration Policy and Politics.

The idealist vision of Jack Kemp and his neo-Kempite successors have produced much good policy analysis for American conservatism. Along side Reagan they have also provided a needed optimistic tone to the American center-right. On immigration and assimilation, however, they should observe the reality of 2013 instead of being (naively) nostalgic for 1913. Like first year Marxist graduate students, the neo-Kempite immigration agenda (as Paul Ryan himself has argued) focuses almost exclusively on economics, without seriously addressing questions of politics, assimilation, culture, and ultimately of the American regime itself. The Obama-Progressive strategy on immigration is more astute because it is more “comprehensive” (ironically enough).

Obama and the Progressives believe in the “primacy of politics,” both low and high. With CIR they immediately gain in the world of low (partisan) politics with millions of new Democratic voters. In the more significant high politics of *regime change at home* CIR advances them on the road to “fundamentally transforming America” by subordinating civil society to the state and leftist ideology.

Many Kempites apparently sincerely believe that low-income (but culturally conservative) immigrants are “natural Republicans.” Overwhelming empirical evidence, however, including over four decades of electoral results suggest otherwise. True, upon entering, the middle class immigrants and their children often change political attitudes, but CIR’s unending massive flow of low-skilled labor favors the progressives in the long run. Latinos have been compared to

Italian immigrants in the past. Fair enough, but, as Michael Barone notes, it took about eighty years for Italians to become Republicans in large numbers.^{28 29} Even then, it wasn't simply the passage of time, but the immigration pause from the 1920s to the 1960s that stopped the influx of lower-skilled workers and helped facilitate this political change.

Kemp and his successors have always had trouble understanding that politics, including immigration politics is a zero-sum game (unlike some economic policies, which is why they prefer economics). In politics (high and low) there are winners and losers. If progressives are the winners, conservatives are the losers. Obama knows this and labels Republicans as villains (*e.g.*, Romney, vulture capitalist). The Kempites don't know this, and think John Lewis is their friend.

Most importantly, the Kempites have never really understood (and, therefore, not vigorously confronted) the regime-transforming nature of the coercive diversity cum adversarial multiculturalism project. This project is not an academic joke, but a direct, insidious, and, unfortunately increasingly successful, assault on the heart of civil society; on our Judeo-Christian heritage; and on our system of constitutional limited government.

Part of the problem for the Kempites may be the failure to understand the real nature of the progressive adversary. The progressives are not simply well-meaning activists who share the principles, values, and assumptions of American constitutionalism and our way of life with conservatives (as Kemp and his successors think) but are people (who *National Review's* founding fathers Willmoore Kendall, James Burnham, and Bill Buckley knew) reject limited government, and are deadly serious about, "transforming" our regime root and branch. Today, they want to overthrow the manners, mores, customs, and institutions of pre-Obama America and replace them with "*new modes and*

²⁸ Michael Barone, *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again* (Washington: Regnery, 2001): p. 148.

²⁹ Michael Barone, "'Race, Ethnicity, and Politics in American History,'" in Thernstrom, Abigail M., and Stephan Thernstrom, eds. *Beyond the Color Line: New Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 2002): pp. 343-358. Available at: http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/0817998721_343.pdf

orders.” “Comprehensive immigration reform” is simply a means to achieve their ultimate political ends.

In late August, President Obama’s closest advisor, Valerie Jarrett, told progressive allies “that when we look back fifty years from now,” CIR will rank alongside of health care as Obama’s two greatest accomplishments.³⁰ Jarrett, Obama, and the Liberal Establishment recognize the transformative nature of CIR. To wit, they understand how mass low-skilled immigration combined with the permanent powerful coercive diversity machine of the administration state will subordinate civil society and forever alter America’s limited government regime. The Left knows transformation when they see it. Unfortunately, some of our good friends do not. It is time for the Kempites to listen to their ur-hero Abraham Lincoln and begin to rethink their long-standing assumptions about immigration and assimilation policy.

“The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise – with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.”³¹

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³⁰ Neil Munro, “Jarrett Sees Immigration Rewrite, Obamacare, as Top Obama Achievements.” *The Daily Caller*, August 27, 2013, Politics section, <http://dailycaller.com/2013/08/27/jarrett-sees-immigration-rewrite-obamacare-as-top-obama-achievements/>

³¹ Abraham Lincoln, “Annual Message to Congress – Concluding Remarks, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1862,” in Abraham Lincoln, Basler, Roy P., ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (Springfield, IL: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1953). Available at: <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/congress.htm>