

## **Morality and Political Discourse**

Morality belongs to the individual. The individual acts according to his morals, and through his actions, he affects others and is thus political. Politics belongs to the public. The public's collective opinions determine policies, and through these policies, the individual is affected. Morality then, seems to connect the individual to politics. It drives the individual to contribute to public opinion, opinion that impacts back on the individual through policies. And indeed, morality dominates discussion on recent political issues. Previously "moral-light" areas such as foreign affairs, health care, economics and in particular high-end tax reductions, now join traditional moral flashpoints such as abortion, biological research, and gay rights. These issues and others are all framed in terms of morality, or at least appeal implicitly to moral undercurrents. Questions are raised. Is this morality-focused approach something new? What morally-charged language saturates recent political discourse? Why can morality dominate discussion in so many seemingly unrelated areas? Is this morality-driven exchange healthy for politics? This paper seeks to answer these discourse-based questions by examining morality's place in politics.

### **Morality as a long-established political element:**

Morality's involvement in politics can be traced back to the very beginnings of government. In antiquity, the non-despotic kings established their authority on personal charisma, ability, charity, and other qualities that their subjects found worthy and noble. People thought that such qualities, such morals, were essential to a wise and just king. Many such kingly figures passed through history. There were idealizations such as Plato's philosophical kings, biblical characters such as King Solomon, popular legends such as King Arthur, and other comparable figures from both Western and Eastern traditions. One can argue whether these kings are really political in the modern sense; one

can also charge that every real king was despotic and immoral to a degree. However, even as we concede the differences between ancient governance and modern politics, we can still safely establish that these kings, the most public of ancient figures, embodied qualities and upheld values that can be loosely called morality. Thus, morality played an essential part in the “politics” of antiquity.

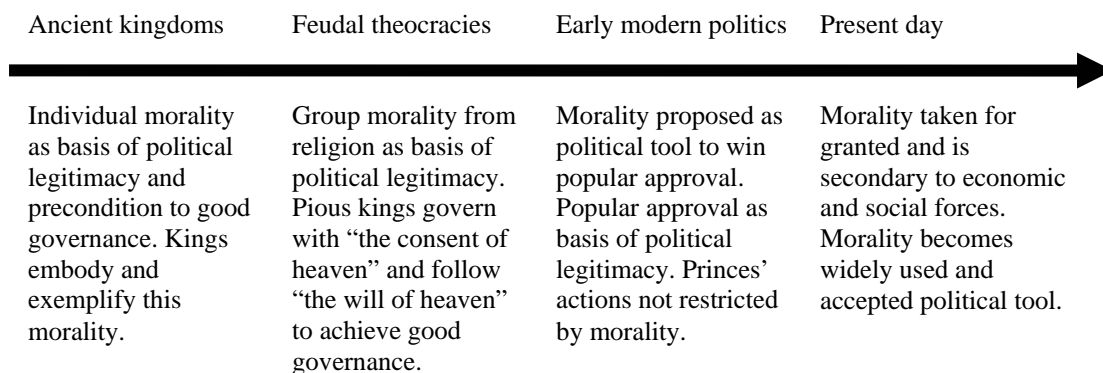
Over time, morality’s part in politics evolved as morality itself evolved. The individual morality of a king is supplanted by the group morality of a religion. Theocracies and pseudo-theocracies rose around the world. These states usually were still organized in a feudal fashion, but the feudal lords and kings now establish their authority upon “consent of the heaven”. These pious lords and kings supposedly follow “the will of the heaven”, a will that acts through the lords and kings to create a wise and just state. The best examples of such states include many European kingdoms of the Middle-Ages, as well as most dynasties of the Chinese Empire. True, one would have a hard time equating religion and morality. Without getting bogged down in morality versus religion distinctions, we will say that the organization of states and the authority of governments rested upon certain beliefs, practices, institutional principles and social norms that are a subset of religion and can be loosely called morality. It was in this fashion that morality continued to play an essential part in politics.

More recently, the birth of modern politics fundamentally changed morality’s role. There is no clear watershed event or defining text that marks the beginning of modern politics. However, one of the first works of modern politics was Nicollo Machiavelli’s *The Prince*. The hero of this text, a benevolent but despotic prince, used political methods that were blasphemous then but obligatory by today’s standards. This prince treats morality as neither the standard by which his actions are restricted nor the foundation of his authority and legitimacy. His authority, legitimacy, and power come from the people. Since the people judge a prince’s actions using moral standards, morality becomes a tool for winning the people’s approval and augmenting his power. This prince separates personal morality that founded what Machiavelli described as “imagined republics and

principalities”<sup>1</sup> from the political needs, the “reasons of state” that should found real republics and principalities. Morality is no long the ends of politics but merely one of many political means<sup>2</sup>.

Machiavelli did not live to see the birth of democracy and the rise of capitalism. Following these and other events, modern politics matured. For a while, political analysis and discourse is framed predominantly in terms of economic considerations, social forces, and other such logical “reasons of state”. Morality now takes “second place” as an accepted and widely used political tool. Social-economic arguments often find character appeals and *ad hominem* attacks as complements. The personal virtues such as honesty, charity and fairness that were essential to the ancient king now are taken for granted in the modern president. It is as if the modern president and the people signed an implicit “contract of confidence” that becomes explosively explicit when it is breached. Then, the unfortunate president becomes a political football, kicked around by his enemies, his former allies, the people, and the media, that supposed mouthpiece both of the people and to the people. More infamous examples of such political “ball games” include the Watergate scandal and the Monica Lewinski debacle.

Morality’s evolution as we described so far is summarized in Figure 1. This morality, which in its



**Figure 1.** Morality’s evolving place in politics

1. Chapter 15, Nicollo Machiavelli, *The Prince*  
 2. It is worth noting here that although many rulers before Machiavelli practiced statecraft with total disregard for morality, Machiavelli was the first to regard such political conduct as valid and indeed essential.

final form is secondary in relation to social and economic forces, fails to account for many present-day debates. In these debates, morality replaces social and economic considerations as the primary driving force.

### **Morality as a modern political divide:**

It hardly needs repeating that many of today's political flashpoints are focused on morality: abortion, biological research, gay rights, and even tax reduction, health care, and foreign affairs. The morality at the center of these sometimes acrimonious debates differs fundamentally from the morality discussed thus far. First, the morality discussed previously is personal; we can alternatively call this morality "positive personal traits". In contrast, the morality at the center of today's moral debates is social. This social morality manifests in considerations of social standards: In abortion—how much should society value life? In biological research—what should be the limitations on scientific endeavor? In gay rights—how should people live and to what extent should people's civil liberties be determined by the way they live? In health care—how should public goods be distributed? In tax reduction—what should society reward and encourage? In foreign affairs—how should a society spread its positive moral beliefs to other societies?

Second, the morality discussed previously is absolute. People more or less agree on what personal traits are positive. Any moral issue generally has overwhelming approval or overwhelming disapproval<sup>1</sup>. In comparison, the morality here is relative. In today's moral debates, people strongly disagree on what should be the social norms, even as they each try vehemently to impose on the other their own social norms. Disagreement means that viewpoints in these moral debates are organized according to political fault-lines, factions, and demographics. In a multi-party system, various parties may stake out various positions in these debates. Slight shifts in these positions enable compromises

---

1. Personal morality is so much an expectation today that overwhelming approval finds expression in nothing more than a silent nod from the public. For examples of overwhelming disapproval, see again Watergate and Lewinski.

to be made, and party alliances form and dissolve according to political need. In America’s two-party system, the various possible positions reduce to two opposing camps. No compromises are possible, and everyone is forced into choosing “us or them”. No moral issue can be settled to the satisfaction of all. For a glimpse of this “us or them” approach, see Table 1, a collage of charged phrases drawn from today’s political discourse.

**Table 1.** Common phrases seen in today’s major moral debates<sup>1</sup>

Abortion: Pro-choice Constitutional rights, rigid ideological restriction, cannot legislate by faith	Abortion: Pro-life Respect life, murdering fetus, unborn victims, brutal practice, welcome every child
Biological research: For stem cell research Ethically guided research possible, respect life by finding cure for diseases	Biological research: Against stem cell research Need to balance ethics and science, respect life by not destroying it
Gay rights: For gay marriage Homosexuality is not choice, discrimination not acceptable, uphold Constitutional rights	Gay rights: Against gay marriage Sanctity of marriage, protecting marriage as institution
Health care: For expanded coverage Affordable, accessible, coverage for all	Health care: Against expanded coverage Big government, fiscally insane
Taxes: Against high-end reductions Reductions for the wealthiest, fiscal responsibility, middle-class squeezed	Taxes: For high-end reductions Keep economy going, spur investment, taxes cost jobs and takes money out of people’s pockets
Foreign affairs: Doves Work with alliances, exhaust diplomatic alternatives, war as last resort, going through world bodies, credibility and legitimacy	Foreign affairs: Hawks Spreading freedom, duty to protect, pursuing terrorists, taking tough stands, be resolute, defeat ideology of hatred, need to stay on offensive

In some ways, the “us or them” approach is puzzling. One would expect that because social morality is relative, the myriad moral opinions would distribute according to the famous “bell curve”. In other words, one would expect to find the majority population locating around some sort of moderate moral position. A two-party system would “break up” the bell curve into two discrete moral political stands. But as the two major parties differentiate their stands, one would expect their

---

1. These phrases are taken from the 2004 Presidential Debates, with minor alterations. We select only this source because the Presidential Debates tend to define the topics of political discussion. Also, the “catch phrases” found in these debates tend to have a trend-setting effect on subsequent media reporting and scholarly analysis. It is also worth cautioning that the table intends neither to simplify each topic to its polarities, nor to identify any candidate with any particular view or set of views. The table aims only to illustrate the opposing phrases found in recent political discourse.

differences to be subtle and small. Both major parties are expected to aim for the center of the bell curve, and fight over one single group of politically juicy swing voters. Table 1 reveals that reality is the total opposite. There seems to be no moderate moral position, the two major parties stake out far apart positions, and the political base for these positions seems to be two static and well entrenched camps. There seems to be no swing voters for moral issues. One is either “us or them”.

What accounts for this great moral divide, this uncompromising attitude? One may be tempted to blame the “evil media”. But who can fault the media for exaggerating differences when there are great differences waiting to be exaggerated? Who can fault the media for sensationalizing confrontations if there are confrontations waiting to be sensationalized? The media cannot create a moral divide if one does not already exist. The media can only magnify it. Thus, the media cannot account for this moral divide alone.

Perhaps this moral divide reveals the limitations of the bell curve model for moral issues. The two major parties would not take far apart stands if there were no political advantage in doing so. Perhaps the bell curve model breaks down for moral issues, and the majority population concentrates around these far apart stands. Maybe the bell curve model holds, but the most politically active population concentrates around the far apart positions. Or maybe the bell curve approaches a constant distribution and becomes “flat”, with the politically active concentrating around the two party’s positions. The distribution dynamics issues mentioned here should definitely be examined in more detail<sup>1</sup>.

There is another model that explains why moral issues are so confrontational, as well as why the predominant moral stands are so far apart. This model, proposed by George Lakoff in his book *Moral Politics, How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, interprets confrontations in moral politics as conflicts of worldviews. In particular, Lakoff argues that two idealization of the family lead to two

---

1. It would be very difficult, though very rewarding, to develop quantitative methods such that morality issues are analyzed with the rigors of statistical analysis.

different idealizations of the nation as a family. Consequently, two different interpretations of the parents' roles as the head of the family lead to two different expectations of the government's role as the head of the nation<sup>1</sup>. Lakoff call these two predominant and widely different family ideals the "Strict Father model" and the "Nurturant Parent model", corresponding respectively to the Conservative and the Liberal views on moral issues<sup>2</sup>. In a two-party system, the major parties naturally align their predominant stands so as to mobilize the political base corresponding to each model. The seeming irreconcilability of the two models accounts for the confrontational nature of moral debates<sup>3</sup>.

The family model explains very well the dynamics of today's moral debates. However, the family model, by itself, does not explain why are so many issues framed in a moral fashion, i.e. why do people choose to view the nation as a family. Why morality?

### **Morality as Another "Reason of State":**

We can arrive at the answer by examining the success of the family model in analyzing moral debates. The relation between the family and morality is similar to that between morality and politics.

We attribute two main reasons to the success of the family model. First, the family is the chief mechanism through which moral values are created and renewed. Although we could argue whether the family encompasses morality or vice versa, the family experience certainly provides a major yardstick against which all morality issues are measured. Similarly, morality is a determinant of one's actions. Although we could argue whether morality is the chief determinant, moral

---

1. This understanding of the nation as a family is hardly new. In imperial China, the emperor referred to his subjects as "zi min", or literally "children people". The word for nation, "guo jia", translates literally to mean "state family". This term is still widely used in modern Chinese.

2. We omit here a detailed description of the two models, since Lakoff already does a great job. Also, the contents of these models are not the focus of analysis.

3. It would be highly enlightening to apply the family model in the context of a multi-party system, e.g. Western European countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, or France. There, the family model must be modified to account for the more complex political dynamics and the increased likelihood of moderate views and compromises.

considerations certainly create a worldview through which all experiences are evaluated. In particular, political experiences are evaluated using morality as yardstick. Seen in this fashion, morality joins economic data, social forces, and other such considerations as another “reason of state”.

Second, the family experience is something to which everyone can relate. The family model reduces the sometimes complex dynamics of moral issues down to something immediate and familiar. Similarly, morality is something to which everyone can relate. Morality provides a concrete and familiar frame that allows all political arguments and concepts to be grasped and understood. In contrast, economic data and social forces require a specialist to analyze and understand. Even then, the specialists are compelled to make assumptions and simplifications in their analysis. The political arguments made through such analysis are thus open to attack, re-interpretation, and misinterpretation. In times past, the average person could determine the validity and correctness of such arguments. Back then, the verifiable rigor of such arguments made them the predominant “reasons of state”. Over time, as economic data become more extensive and social forces become more complex, such arguments appear overwhelming, convoluted, and abstract to the average person. These arguments still retain their rigor, but now it is almost impossible for the average person and even professional politicians to evaluate an argument’s limitations. Few can survive a sustained barrage of economic data or sort through a dense list of social forces. Thus, moral arguments’ tangibility and understandability allow morality to replace social-economics as today’s predominant “reason of state”.

Even though everyone can understand morality and relate to morality, morality introduces several problems as the predominant “reason of state”. First, because moral arguments are easy to understand, over time the phrases that express moral ideas become identified as the moral ideas themselves. Consequently, the confrontational nature of morality-discourse will become intrinsic to moral ideas. Intrinsically confrontational moral ideas invite sensationalized discourse that magnifies the confrontation, and consequently, moral issues will never be resolved. In contrast, social-economic



arguments offer much room for finding the middle ground, even for widely different stands. The complex and more or less objective nature of empirical data opens social-economic arguments to various interpretations.

In addition, because everyone can relate to moral arguments, demagogues can easily abuse moral arguments and further personal ambitions at a public cost. These moral demagogues often inflame public support for ideological extremes. Throughout history, figures such as Joseph McCarthy seem to always enjoy a brief flourish of public support before being eternally damned for their extremist stands. These moral/ideological demagogues are particularly dangerous because while everyone can relate to their arguments, no one can effectively counter their claims at the height of their popularity. A moral argument is right if one believes that it is right. In comparison, the complex and empirical nature of social-economic arguments offer many opportunities for different interpretations and counter arguments.

These shortcomings aside, morality dominated politics, or at least morality dominated political discourse, has many positive aspects.

### **Morality as a Unifying Force:**

So far, we have seen how two seemingly irreconcilable family models lead to confrontational moral discourse. Yet, the reasons behind the confrontational divisiveness of morality politics will also make morality a potentially unifying force.

To begin, the two family models encompass the same set of moral principles, even as they assign different priorities to each principle. Lakoff acknowledged such, and showed how these subtle differences in each principle's priority lead to large differences in that principle's effect. It is these large differences in effect that accounts for the confrontational moral phrases. However, these confrontational moral phrases are merely a confrontation of discourse, rather than a confrontation of moral principles. That, would require the two family models encompass mutually exclusive sets of

moral principles. This is not the case. Thus, the two far-apart major moral stands are not without common ground. Common ground means resolution through compromise.

We find proof of this common ground from the phrases shown in Table 1. For example, both sides of the stem cell research debate agree on the need to balance ethics and science, and both sides respect life. Also, the left column uses “fiscal responsibility” to argue against high-end tax cuts; a similar fiscal argument appears in the right column, arguing against expanded health coverage. More subtly, the abortion pro-life camp reveals a sense of respect for every individual by arguing that every child should be welcomed. A similar sense of individual respect is used by the pro gay marriage camp to argue for acceptance of homosexuality. The common ground discussed here is not immediately obvious from today’s morality discourse. Only a systematic and concentrated effort can go beyond the discursive confrontations to reveal common moral principles.

Using these common moral principles to bridge the moral divide requires another systematic and concentrated effort. Because certain morality phrases are identified with certain morality stands, a proposal that isolates half the population requires little more than a deft discursive twist to appeal to all. A deft politician can, say, give conservative appeal to a liberal proposal by framing the liberal proposal in “conservative talk”. The understandability of morality arguments, which previously allowed divisive morality discourse to become divisive morality ideas, will now allow unifying morality discourse to become unifying morality ideas. The universal tangibility of morality arguments, which previously allowed demagogues to abuse morality arguments for popular support, will now enable political leaders to draw popular support behind unifying morality resolutions.

To date, there have already been many efforts to bridge the moral divide on a discursive level. But these efforts almost always failed. In his book, Lakoff gave examples of such failed efforts, and attributed their failure to a misunderstanding of the target audience’s morality language. We should not be discouraged by such failures. They indicate only the difficulty but not the impossibility of building this discursive morality bridge. To overcome this difficulty, scholars need to systematically

analyze existing morality discourse, identify and understand both “liberal talk” and “conservative talk,” and create new and less confrontational morality phrases, since all existing morality phrases more or less carry confrontational connotations<sup>1</sup>. In addition, we need selfless, ambitious, courageous politicians to make a sustained effort to tryout such new, untested morality discourse strategies. Despite the want of such politicians, and despite the difficulties facing the scholars, this discursive morality bridge must be built, for there seems to be no better or easier solutions. Unless some ingenious philosopher actually resolves the fundamental morality differences instead of only bypassing them through unifying morality discourse, the scholars and politicians who pull off this difficult and indeed courageous endeavor will be remembered as nothing less than the political heroes who closed the morality divide.

### **Morality as a Democratic Force:**

One may wonder why we should close the morality divide at all. After all, a political body, especially a democracy, functions properly only if there is healthy conflict of opinions. We argue not against health conflict but against too much conflict. Today’s morality debates generate so much conflict that it is extremely difficult to create and implement sustainable policy solutions to many pressing morality issues. This hinders government effectiveness. If we close the morality divide, the democratic mechanism ensures that the unity of the electorate results in a unified and effective government. Even if we cannot close the morality divide and can only prevent it from destabilizing society, morality dominated politics nevertheless offers greater chance of effective government than social-economics dominated politics.

Social-economics dominated politics deals mainly with empirical economic data and social forces that constantly change and evolve. If social-economic conditions fluctuate quickly, a

---

1. We refrain from trying to give examples of such new morality phrases, because any *ad hoc* phrases we come up here will be far from sufficient for our needs.

government elected on social-economics might be ousted on the same social-economics. The incoming government is likely to reverse or at least undo the policy effects of the ousted government. The policies of such governments fluctuate with social-economic conditions. However, many long term social-economic problems require sustained, long term policy solutions. Such solutions may never materialize if successive governments adopt policies that counteract one another.

In comparison, morality dominated politics deal with social-behavioral norms and moral principles that are more or less unchanging. It stands to reason that because social-behavioral norms and moral principles are unchanging rather than fluctuating, the popularity of moral positions changes more slowly than that of social-economics policies. Consequently, several successive governments may get elected and re-elected on similar moral stands. This will enable sustained policies efforts to solve long term problems, even social-economic problems framed in a moral context<sup>1</sup>. Visible government success in solving long term problems translates to a renewal of confidence in governmental institutions and democratic processes. This will in turn lead to an increase in political participation. Both confidence and participation are essential to democratic governments that represent the people and derive their legitimacy from the electorate.

Of course, incompetent governments may worsen problems instead of solving them. Increased possibility of sustained policy solutions translates to increased possibility of sustained policy blunders. Also, sustained policies that preferentially benefit certain groups will increasingly marginalize other groups. We trust the democratic mechanism to politically crucify any government that fails the test of competence. We rely on the slowly changing, but nevertheless changing morality political dynamics will punish governments that overly marginalize groups.

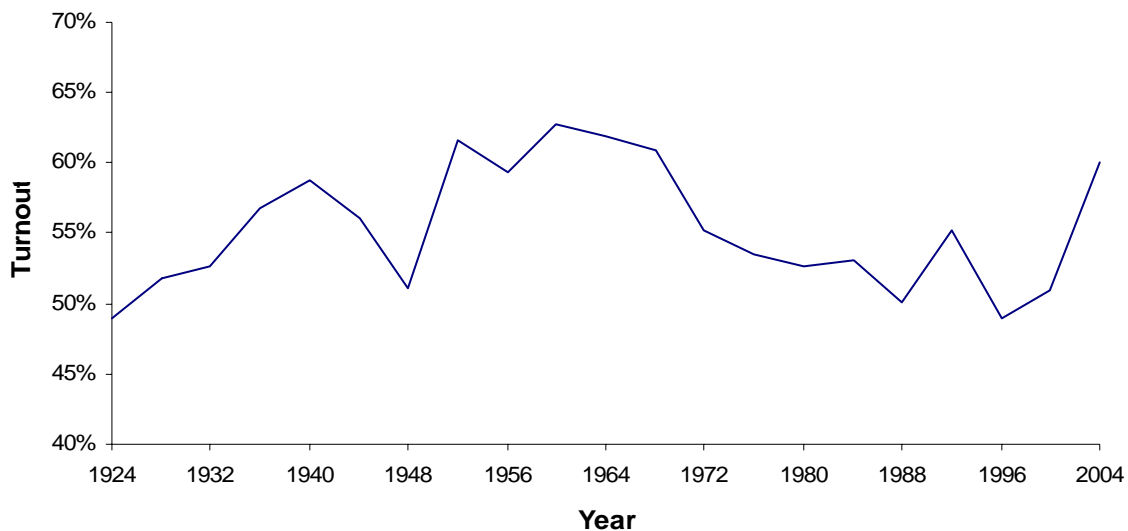
Even if “morality governments” fail to be effective, politics centered on morality will nevertheless lead to increased and more balanced political participation. Everyone understands

---

1. The limited scope of this essay prevents us from doing a detailed compare and contrast of past social-economic and moral policies. Also, it will probably take a few more years of morality dominated politics before any meaningful analysis of morality based policies can be done.

morality; everyone can relate to morality; everyone has moral views. Hence everyone has a clear “stake” in moral issues, and there is impetus for everyone to participate, even voters with little education and low income. This is in contrast to social-economics, where voters with good education and high income are more likely to participate. Only the wealthy and the educated understand the abstract social-economic concepts; only they can relate to the distant social-economic data; only the politically passionate few overcomes the intangibility to develop social-economic views<sup>1</sup>. One who fails to understand the prevalent political discourse is unlikely to participate in the political process. Even if he does participate, he has trouble articulating his views in the prevalent political discourse. Morality thus attaches the individual to the public and enables the voter to understand politics and articulate in the political arena.

Historical data support our argument. Figure 2 shows voter participation in Presidential elections since 1924<sup>2</sup>. We identify the elections of 1940, 1952, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 2004 as elections with



**Figure 2.** Voter turnout in Presidential Elections 1924-2004

- 
1. Again, the limited scope of this essay prevents us from supporting our point through a detailed analysis of voter demographics. That analysis should definitely be the subject of another study.
  2. Data taken from Federal Election Commission, the Center for Voting and Democracy, and Laurie Kellman writing for the Associated Press.

particularly high turnouts. In 1940 and 1952, the electorate respectively faced the rise of Nazi Germany and the former USSR. “Freedom versus Tyranny” rhetoric filled political discourse, and ideological concerns energized the electorate. In 1960 and 1964, issues dominating the election included civil rights and racial equality. These morality issues, framed in terms of Constitutional and social analysis, provided the basis for political activism. In 1968, President Nixon introduced a more subtle racial/moral approach. The “law and order” theme capitalized on “white working-class perception of an irresponsible black underclass”<sup>1</sup>. In 2004, massive and expensive electorate mobilization and voter registration drives resulted in the highest voter turnout in thirty-six years. Again, moral issues provided the nexus for these efforts to rally around. Thus, if voter turnout in Presidential Elections provides a good indicator for political participation, then historical data suggests at least a correlation between high political participation and politics dominated by morality issues.

In short, morality dominated politics lead to increased and more universal participation, as well as effective governments that can solve long term problems.

### **Conclusion and Caveats:**

We summarize the answers to the four questions posed in the introduction. Morality is not a new political element, even though the meaning of morality evolved from absolute personal morality to relative social morality. The moral phrases that dominate recent political discourse correspond to major political camps, carry confrontational connotations that originate from two seemingly irreconcilable family models, and possess a simplicity that allows confrontations in morality discourse to become entrenched as confrontation in morality ideas. Morality can dominate discussion in many issues because everyone can understand and relate to moral arguments, whereas only specialists can decipher and verify complex social-economic arguments. As the predominant “reason of state”,

---

1. Chapter 7, William E. Hudson, *American Democracy in Peril*

morality introduces a wide moral divide that hinders government effectiveness, as well as inviting demagogues to abuse morality debates to further their political ambitions. On the other hand, the common moral principles underlying morality discourse offers opportunities for closing the moral divide. In addition, morality dominated politics lead to effective governments that can solve long term problems, as well as increased and more balanced political participation.

Our analysis should be interpreted with care. In our discussion, we implicitly restricted our democracy model: an ideal government provides policy solutions to address a myriad of problems; an ideal electorate actively participates in politics. One may ascribe to a less egalitarian model of democracy that focuses less on voter participation, while taking a more *laissez-faire* view that limits the government's role to only ensuring the integrity of the free market. Fully dealing with these objections requires a debate in political science and democratic theory instead of just morality politics.

Also, we treated morality dominated politics as a replacement of social-economics. A more tempered view would treat morality not as a replacement, but as a complement. Social-economics remain valid and indeed essential political tools. They are now joined by morality, another "reason of state" that may divide the society and hinder government effectiveness, but at the same time another political tool that can bring about a more just society through a unified democracy.

## Bibliography

- Bush, George W. and Kerry, John F. *Presidential Debates 2004*. Commission on Presidential Debates, 2004. Retrieved 9 Jan 2005. <<http://www.debates.org/pages/debtrans.html>>
- Center for Voting and Democracy. *Presidential Election Voter Turnout 1924-2000*. Retrieved 15 Jan 2004. <<http://www.fairvote.org/turnout/preturn.htm>>
- CNN All Politics. "A Chronology: Key Moments in the Clinton-Lewinski Saga." *CNN* 1998. Retrieved 13 Jan 2005. <<http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1998/resources/lewinsky/timeline/>>
- Connolly, Judy et al. "The Way You See It, From Coast to Coast." Opinion Articles to *USA Today* 1/2/2005. Retrieved 3 Jan 2005. <[http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/2005-01-02-values-readers\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/2005-01-02-values-readers_x.htm)>
- Fallows, James. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1996.
- Federal Election Commission. *National Voter Turnout in Federal Elections: 1960-1996*. Retrieved 15 Jan 2005. <<http://www.fec.gov/pages/htmlto5.htm>>
- Hudson, William E. *American Democracy in Peril: Eight Challenges to America's Future*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2005.
- Kellman, Laurie. "Voter Turnout Highest Since 1968." News Article to *Associated Press* 1/15/2005. Retrieved 15 Jan 2005. <[http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20050115/ap\\_on\\_re\\_us/election\\_turnout\\_4](http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20050115/ap_on_re_us/election_turnout_4)>
- Lakoff, George. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Machiavelli, Niccollo. *The Prince*. New York: Bantam Dell, 2003
- Office of History Education. *History of Ancient China*. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1989.
- Plato. *The Republic*. Trans. Tom Griffith. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- U.S. Senate. *Censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy*. 83<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Senate Resolution 301, Washington D.C. 1954. Retrieved 13 Jan 2005. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/60.htm>>
- Wald, Kenneth D. et al. "Morality Politics vs. Political Economy: The Case of School-Based Health Centers". *Social Science Quarterly*. 82.2 June 2001: 221-234. Retrieved 2 Jan 2005. <[http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/BPL\\_Images/Journal\\_Samples/SSQU0038-4941~82~2~019/019.pdf](http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/BPL_Images/Journal_Samples/SSQU0038-4941~82~2~019/019.pdf)>
- *Watergate: The Scandal That Brought Down Richard Nixon*. Retrieved 13 Jan 2005. <<http://www.watergate.info/>>