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FBI: Groups With Terror Ties Work in N.C.

Feds says identifying benign groups from those with terrorist intent not always easy

By RICHARD WAGNER
Editor

RALEIGH
Individuals involved in domestic and international terrorism not only have infiltrated American society, but also have initiated some of their activities in North Carolina, a top federal law-enforcement official in Charlotte and experts on radical Islam say.

Other groups with Islamic connections work diligently through various means to expand their civic and political



Dr. Hamdy A. Radwan (left), president of the Raleigh chapter of the Muslim American Society, says MAS is a charitable, religious and social organization. See Page 6.

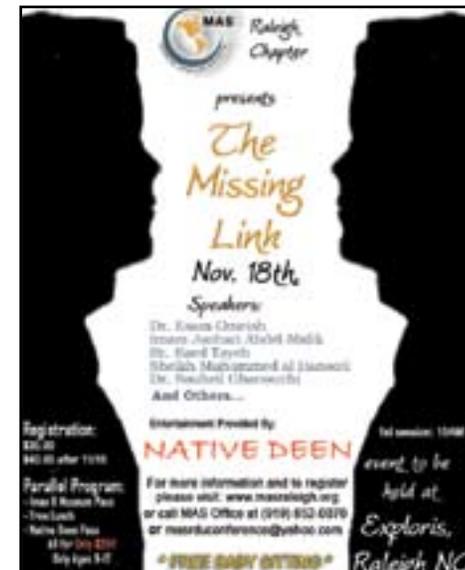
clout and ultimately to influence state and national policy, an investigation by *Carolina Journal* shows.

The Muslim American Society — which has a chapter in Raleigh — is one of those organizations. Its Web site describes MAS as “a charitable, religious, social, cultural, and educational, not-for-profit organization. It is a pioneering Islamic organization, an Islamic revival, and reform movement that uplifts the

individual, family, and society.”

The site does not mention that MAS evolved from the notorious Muslim Brotherhood, which was founded in Egypt in the 1920s. The Brotherhood also spawned other fundamentalist Islamic organizations that have links to North Carolina.

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Poster of a conference sponsored by the Raleigh chapter of the Muslim American Society earlier this year. The event was held in the Exploris Museum in Raleigh.

Refugee From Sudan Experienced Brutal Side of Islam

Editor's note: Persecuted by Islamic radicals in Sudan, Malaika (not her real name) told the following story to *Carolina Journal*, which offered her and her family anonymity.

By RICHARD WAGNER
Editor

RALEIGH
Christian since birth, Malaika knows all about oppression in a nation beset with Muslim-Christian strife. She carries extensive scars on her left side as a painful reminder of her former life in her native Sudan.

Today the mother of seven children and her husband are rebuilding their



lives in North Carolina. Both she and her husband are employed as custodians at educational institutions. Her spouse also works part-time at a food store.

Still, wracked with heartache for her homeland and family members left behind, Malaika struggles to complete the transition from Africa to America.

Her face and voice burdened by sorrow, Malaika sat at a rickety, bare-wood table in her small, dilapidated

house and told of her family's exodus. A member of the Dinka tribe by birth, she labored to speak in the language of her new country.

“They killed members of my family,” she said. “Muslims killed my brother and many uncles who were killed. When they come to get my children, and I said my children are not to go, they say they come and kill me.”

Come they did late one night to her home outside Wau, in southern Sudan. About midnight they climbed over the walls surrounding Malaika's house.

“My children were asleep,” Malaika said. “They knocked on the door and they said, ‘Malaika, Malaika.’ I say,

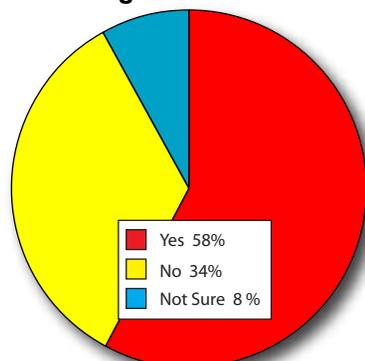
Yeah? Three people came into my house and pushed me while I was carrying hot water from the fire. The hot water covered my face. I fell into the fire and burned my side.

“I have some big scars on my side. For two months, I couldn't sleep on my side.”

Before barging into Malaika's house, a few days earlier Muslim soldiers had abducted her husband, a clothes salesman. Since the family had no car, he had been walking as usual to the city to do business. The soldiers detained

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Do you still think President Bush will do what's right for America?



John William Pope Civitas Institute Poll, November 2006

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FBI: Terror Groups Work in N.C.

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MAS officials say their operations are peaceful. But in an interview with *Carolina Journal*, the president of the Raleigh chapter, Winston-Salem State University professor Hamdy Radwan, said he considers Hamas to be "freedom fighters, in other countries." Many nations and international human-rights groups have labeled Hamas a terrorist organization.

Hamas, which controls the government of Palestine, recently was implicated in the Dec. 11 Gaza City drive-by shooting in which three children of a Palestinian intelligence officer were killed. The officer is thought to have been targeted for his role in a Palestinian Authority crackdown on Hamas.

On Nov. 8 the military wing of Hamas called on Muslims around the world to attack American targets. "America is offering political, financial and logistic cover for the Zionist occupation crimes.... Therefore, the people and the nation all over the globe are required to teach the American enemy tough lessons," Hamas said in a statement sent to The Associated Press.

At the Exploris Children's Museum in Raleigh on Nov. 18, MAS sponsored a conference in which an Islamic leader who had associations with convicted terrorists, and who himself was interviewed by the FBI in connection with the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, was invited as a speaker.

The Raleigh chapter of MAS also invited an imam known for delivering fiery anti-Semitic and revolutionary speeches at other conferences around the nation. Two of the hijackers of Sept. 11, 2001, also attended the mosque in Falls Church, Va., the largest in the nation, where Imam Johari Abdul-Malik was a spokesman, a story in the June 21, 2004, edition of *U.S. News & World Reports* said. The imam did not return the magazine reporters' phone calls.

Most of the U.S. terrorists, rather than engaging in violence, raise money through various illegal activities to support their allies overseas, according to the FBI.

"While we typically think of terrorists as 'bomb throwers,' most of the terrorist activity in the United States is nonviolent, though illegal, such as terrorist fund-raising, procurement of equipment, and general criminal activity used to raise money to support terrorist operations worldwide," said Michael D. Resnick, supervisor of the N.C. Joint Terrorism Task Force for the Charlotte Division of the FBI.

"This type of activity does exist in North Carolina and the FBI, through its partnership with other federal agencies and state and local law enforcement, is actively investigating those matters," Resnick said. The N.C. Joint Terrorism Task Force is a multi-agency entity spon-

sored by the FBI, with the sole mission of conducting terrorism investigations.

It's difficult to predict potential attacks in North Carolina, Resnick said. Such attacks are "not highly likely," he said. Rather, New York, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles would be prime targets because they are major population, government, and financial centers.

However, terrorists could be attracted to high-profile assets in North Carolina, the FBI said. "Charlotte is the second-largest banking center in the U.S. and possesses significant critical infrastructure, educational institutions, and sports venues. Additionally, within North Carolina's borders, there are significant military complexes," Resnick said. The FBI reportedly has no information, however, that suggests terrorists are planning to attack any targets in the state.

One of the fund-raising groups that had connections to North Carolina was the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, which formerly was based in Richardson, Texas. The Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets named the charity a specially designated terrorist organization and shut it down in 2001.

The foundation was a front organization for Hamas and sponsored offices and fund-raisers nationwide, including in Charlotte. The foundation was one of the largest Islamic charities in the United States, raising about \$13 million annually.

"One key point is that many times, individuals giving to apparently respectable charities are unaware that a portion of the monies they donate really go to terrorist organizations," Resnick said.

Some authors investigated and found terrorist cells operating in North Carolina.

In July 2000, the FBI charged 18 people with smuggling contraband cigarettes from North Carolina to Michigan and money laundering. According to authorities, author Steve Emerson says in his book *American Jihad*, what the smugglers were really doing was "providing currency, financial services, training, false documentation and identification, communications equipment, explosives, and other physical assets to Hezbollah, in order to facilitate its violent attacks."

Violent Islamic groups such as Hezbollah and Palestinian Islamic Ji-

had operate underground in Charlotte and Raleigh, respectively, Emerson reported.

On the first page of his book, *Holy War on the Home Front: The Secret Islamic Terror Network in the United States*, author Harvey Kushner reported that the network in the United States didn't begin in 2001 when the World Trade Center and

Pentagon were attacked. Nor did it originate with the 1993 attack on the Twin Towers. "It began in the mid-1980s when a tightly knit group of Islamic radicals attended the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in Greensboro," he said.

Twenty years later, Americans discovered the network built by Sami al-Arian, a professor in computer engineering;

his brother-in-law, Mazen al-Najjar; and Khalid "Shaikh" Mohammed, Kushner wrote. Mohammed used the knowledge he gained in engineering at North Carolina A&T allegedly to mastermind the Sept. 11 attacks. He also is suspected of plotting other atrocities, such as the bombing of the USS Cole, the murder of journalist Daniel Pearl, and the 1993 World Trade Center attack with his nephew, Ramzi Yousef.

Al-Najjar was deported in 2002. Mohammed was arrested in 2003 in Pakistan. He remains in U.S. custody. Al-Arian, who later became a professor at South Florida University in Tampa, pleaded guilty in 2006, after an extended judicial process, to conspiracy to provide services to Palestinian Islamic Jihad. He was sentenced to 57 months in prison. He is to be deported after serving his prison term.

In the "Charter of the Center of Studies," dated 1981 and found by FBI agents at Al-Arian's house, Kushner wrote, was a militant Islamic organizational plan for terrorism. Investigators also found a separate sheet of paper with a hand-drawn map of the United States and Canada, "more proof," according to Kushner, "that Militant Islam has been building the secret terror network inside North America for decades. The map is divided into four sections."

Among the cities on the map was Raleigh. Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad continue to operate in the city, Kushner wrote. Other cities listed are Boston; New York; Philadelphia;

"America is offering political, financial and logistic cover for the Zionist occupation crimes.... Therefore, the people and the nation all over the globe are required to teach the American enemy tough lessons."

Hamas statement
to Associated Press

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FBI: Some Terror Groups Operate From North Carolina

Continued from Page 2

Washington, D.C.; Miami; New Orleans; Detroit; Indianapolis; Cincinnati; St. Louis; Houston; Denver; San Francisco; and Los Angeles.

Each of the FBI's 56 field offices across the nation has a working Joint Terrorism Task Force, Resnick said. Local and state law-enforcement agencies, such as the SBI in North Carolina, are deputized and work with the FBI; Secret Service; the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms; the Department of Homeland Security; the Intelligence Community; and the Department of Defense. The IRS also assists the task forces.

Their terrorism-related investigations include a wide range of cases, from individuals operating in small groups or alone, to businesses. Resnick declined to comment on specific individuals or organizations that the task force is investigating.

FBI investigations have found terrorists working for Fortune 500 companies, small companies, and the government. Terrorists have attempted to gain employment with the U.S. intelligence, law-enforcement agencies, and the military, the FBI reports.

"Traditionally, terrorists find refuge in communities or organizations where they can blend in," Resnick said. Such institutions could be places of worship, universities or schools, sporting events, or even grocery stores throughout the state.

Opportunities for refuge abound in North Carolina. According to the Is-

lamiCity.com Web site, 26 mosques and Islamic centers have been founded in North Carolina. Most of the mosques are in the state's largest cities. Others, however, are situated in smaller cities, such as Dudley, Greenville, Gastonia, Matthews, Newell, Morganton, and Conover.

Six Islamic schools and four chapters of the Muslim Student Association are listed on the Web site. Numerous other Islamic organizations — charitable, civic, and political, for example — have been established in North Carolina.

"A terrorist doesn't need a formal 'base of operation' to be effective," he said. "They can operate from a basement of a home. Bottom line, there is no common location where you can find terrorists."

Resnick confirmed that Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah operate in the United States.

Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in the early 1920s by Egyptian Hassan al Banna. The Brotherhood was

"A terrorist doesn't need a formal 'base of operation' to be effective. They can operate from a basement of a home. Bottom line, there is no common location where you can find terrorists."

Michael D. Resnick
N.C. Terrorism Task Force
Charlotte FBI office

driven by one of the most violent and aggressive of Islamic doctrines — Wahhabism. Adopted by the rulers of Saudi Arabia and fueled by their vast wealth, Wahhabism began to grow in the 1950s.

Winston S. Churchill III, in a speech to the John Locke Foundation on Feb. 10, 2006, in Raleigh told of his grandfather's concerns about extremist Islam, particularly Wah-

habism, and warned of its spread in Europe and the United States:

"Those who have declared jihad against the West, and Western values, such as freedom of speech, are doing all in their power to mobilize against us the large Muslim communities living in our midst," Churchill said in his speech.

Author Bat Ye'or, in *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis*, detailed the gradual transformation of Europe over the last 30 years into an appendage of the Arab-Muslim world. "Eurabia is fundamentally anti-Christian, anti-Western, anti-American, and anti-Semitic," she wrote. Pro-Islamic politics in Europe reflects the depth of the revolution, and only a few European leaders have begun to awaken to its far-reaching consequences.

The radical Islamic movement now extends far beyond Europe and the United States, Churchill said:

"The consequence has been that the Wahhabis have been able to export their exceptionally intolerant brand of Islamic fundamentalism from Mauritania and Morocco on Africa's Atlantic shores, through more than two dozen countries including Bosnia, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Middle East, to as far afield as the Philippines and East Timor in the Pacific. This is the stark challenge that today confronts the Western world and I fear it will be with us, not just for a matter of years, but perhaps even for generations."

Author Walid Phares, in his book *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies Against America*, wrote that Wahhabism has multiple strategies.

"The Wahhabi state logic was perhaps the most perfect one: Float with the world, release the teachings without violence, let the teachings plant the seeds, wait for their growth, irrigate them with money, and make sure to mollify any abrupt reaction from the other side. The rich oil state maximized its advantages to the highest: oil and religious proselytizing," he wrote.

Phares wrote that the "Muslim Brothers," as the Brotherhood was often called, created the model for modern-day jihadists, who aimed to spread at the grassroots level outside the control of government: "When weak, the network lies low and expands slowly. When strong, or when events favor it,

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Refugee From Sudan Experienced Brutal Side of Islam

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her husband for two weeks for no other purposes than to deny him business and to prevent his Christian customers from benefiting from his goods, she said.

His absence, and the lack of income to buy necessities aggravated the family's hardship. "For 14 days I don't have anything," Malaika said. "My neighbor come and say the Muslims take your husband."

"In the Sudan, you shop for one day, you buy for one day. It's not like here. Here, you can go and buy food for seven days, and you can put it in the refrigerator. In the Sudan, you don't have a refrigerator. Today you go buy, you come and cook. Tomorrow you go back again and cook."

An uncle who worked for an international charitable organization brought food to Malaika and her family while her husband was held captive.

As a Christian, Malaika said, she suffered persecution from the Muslim-controlled government all her life. But she and her family weren't alone. "They

came to all Christians' homes to kill them and take anything. Now, they're still killing people in the Sudan. There are people, see, Christians, get out of the city. Christians go into hiding."

"They kill old people, little children. Those people had guns, but people [Christians] in the Sudan didn't have guns," she said. "They would kill little boys, and take the little girls. They use the girls like slaves. They use them like wives when they grow up. They sell some of them to other countries."

"They kill little boys because when they grow up, they will fight the Muslims," she said.

"They kill old people, little children. Those people had guns, but [Christians] in the Sudan didn't have guns. They would kill little boys, and take the little girls."

"Malaika"
Refugee from Sudan

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1956, Sudan has been torn by civil war. The northern and more heavily populated part of the country has been predominantly Arab and Muslim. Southern Sudan is predominantly black, with a mixture of Christianity and Animism, according to the Web encyclopedia Wikipedia.

Islamic jihadists, in a campaign to expand Salafist Arabic fundamentalism, supplied the North with money and weapons. A 10-year period of peace came in 1972, with the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement.

In 1983 President Gaafar Nimeiry abrogated the agreement and attempted

to create a Federated Sudan, to include southern states, under Muslim, or Sharia Law.

In 1989, Umar al Bashir and the National Islamic Front, headed by Dr. Hassan Turabi, toppled Nimeiry's government, and instituted their own Sunni fundamentalist government — drawing most of their ideology from the fanatical Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.

Genocide followed. The Muslims bombed and incinerated villages with napalm, killing 2.2 million Christians and creating 4.5 million refugees and widespread starvation, according to Wikipedia.

"Before the Muslims took over, I have a big church. In 2001, the Muslims came and destroyed the church," she said. "The pastor ran away."

Kidnappings and torture were common. Malaika was among the victims.

A few days after her husband had disappeared, a neighbor came to

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FBI: Some Terror Groups Operating Out of North Carolina

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the group accelerates its activity and pursues its goals mercilessly."

"The 'brothers' are keen to inculcate deep ideological teaching before engaging in the political struggle — but when they do, they are ruthless. They are neither intimidated by oppression nor swayed by causes greater than theirs."

Created in 1987 as an offshoot of the Brotherhood, Hamas is known for suicide bombings and other attacks directed against Israeli civilians, as well as military and security forces targets.

But Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad have a different strategy for the United States, Phares wrote:

"These two groups were extremely careful not to engage U.S. targets worldwide or within the U.S. mainland. There are two reasons for this Palestinian-centered battlefield strategy. One was that both Hamas and Islamic Jihad had decided to build a network of fundraisers within the West in general and the United States in particular. It would have been difficult and counterproductive to attack American targets under a 'Palestinian Jihad' label while sitting comfortably on U.S. campuses and in American neighborhoods, collecting money almost openly for the war against Zionism and America. Many in the United States and the West could not understand why Hamas and PIJ would not conduct attacks or suicidal killings in American cities and towns. The main reason is that they have chosen to fight one infidel at a time and to concentrate their resources on America's main ally in the region, Israel, hence ultimately

weakening the United States."

In 1993 after contentious debate, leaders of the Brotherhood in the United States changed the group's name to the Muslim American Society. A *Chicago Tribune* series of articles in 2004 headlined "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America" offers a glimpse into the organization's transformation:

"Some of the leaders wanted the Brotherhood to remain underground, while others thought a more public face would make the group more influential. Members from across the country drove to the regional meeting sites to discuss the issue."

Muslim American Society

MAS has 53 chapters nationwide, Radwan, the Raleigh chapter president, said. Nationally, the organization has about 10,000 members, while the Raleigh chapter reports an active membership of 40, about 100 associate members, and an undetermined number of adjunct members.

MAS national headquarters in Alexandria, Va., reported on its 2004 IRS tax return, the most recent report available, that the organization had assets of \$3.44 million and total revenue of \$2.21 million. MAS reported expenses of \$2.25 million. The Raleigh chapter had an operating budget in 2006 of about \$50,000, according to Radwan.

Dr. Souheil Ghannouchi, who spoke at the Raleigh chapter's "The Missing Link" conference Nov. 18, was listed on the IRS return as executive director of the national chapter of MAS. Other members of the MAS board of directors

"[MAS]'s goal in the United States, he says, 'is to serve and develop the Muslim community and help Muslims to be the best citizens they can be of this country.'"

Shaker Elsayed
MAS official
quoted in a report
in the *Chicago Tribune*

were Dr. Imad Damaj, a trustee; Dr. Jihad Qaddour, trustee; and Dr. Esam Omeish, president. Omeish also was a speaker at the conference.

Shaker Elsayed, a top MAS official and imam at Dar al-Hijrah, said MAS "does not believe in creating an Islamic state in America but supports the establishment of Islamic governments in Muslim lands," the *Chicago Tribune* reported. "The group's goal in the United States, he says, 'is to serve and develop the Muslim community and help Muslims to be the best citizens they can be of this country.' That includes preserving the Muslim identity, particularly among youths."

In a story by the Associated Press, Elsayed said, "Islam forbids you to give allegiance to those who kick you off your homeland, and to those who support those who kick you off your homeland,"

he told worshippers. "We do have license to respond with all force necessary to answer our attackers."

Elsayed explained after the sermon that opposition to U.S. policy in the Middle East is different from viewing the American people as the enemy.

Asked his views on militant groups such as Hamas, Elsayed compared Hamas to Nelson Mandela's African National Congress — organizations that resorted to violent resistance only after decades of injustice, the AP reported.

"Everybody jumps on Hamas," Elsayed said. "When did Hamas first emerge? 1990 or so? Look at how long Israel has occupied [Palestinian lands]. How long did it take to say enough is enough?"

Still, he said support for Hamas' objectives does not mean he always supports the group's tactics, which have included suicide bombings, the AP reported.

While MAS officials said their mission is like that of many other legitimate political activists, skeptics — including some in the Muslim community — question that claim.

Kamal Nawash, president of the moderate Free Muslims Coalition in Washington, D.C., told *Carolina Journal* that even though MAS claims to be nonviolent, its objective is to mix politics and religion to spread Islamic influence across America by the most effective means. MAS "controls" most mosques in the United States and a majority of Muslims, he said.

According to the *Chicago Tribune* se-

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Refugee From Sudan Experienced the Brutal Side of Islam

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Malaika's home and said that he had found the place where the captors were keeping her spouse.

Soon a band of Muslims returned and seized Malaika. "They didn't do anything to my children," she said. "In the morning, when they [her children] wake up, they don't see me. They see my shoes, gown, and clothes."

"They [the Muslim intruders] put me in a car and took me somewhere, I don't know where...", she said. "They put a mask over my eyes. They questioned me for three days. They tortured me. They beat me with a whip. They stuck me with something small like a pin."

"They brought me back after three days. They put something black in my eyes. They pushed me down. So, I don't know who took me," Malaika said.

"When they brought me back, my neighbors told me they might be coming back," Malaika said. "They said I should leave."

A Muslim interrogator did return to Malaika's house. "Someone come in the morning and started talking to me a little bit, a little bit: 'I need you to be Muslim. I need to know the difference between the Bible and the Quran?'"

"I say, I don't know the Quran," Malaika said. "And he keeps talking, talking, talking. They didn't kill me because I didn't say anything bad. I didn't say anything, I just listened."

Malaika said she never considered converting to Islam, even though she remained silent during the interrogation.

"I don't want to change my life to become Muslim, because I'm Christian. I'm Christian! They kill you," she said. "They kill you when you say, 'No, I don't want to change my life. I don't need to change my life to become Muslim.' That's when they take a gun and they kill you."

After the interrogator left, Malaika's uncle, who worked for a charity, and members of her church told her she should move her family out of the

country.

That's when the family's flight to freedom began.

The uncle "came and got me and my children and put us in a big church for seven days," she said. "They take our pictures for visas and we filled out paperwork. My husband didn't come with us."

The family fled to Alexandria, Egypt. Malaika's husband rejoined the family four months later. They remained in Alexandria for 1 1/2 years until their documents were finally processed and they were interviewed by U.N. authorities in Cairo.

From there, the family flew to North Carolina in 2001. "When immigration people in Raleigh see you come in at the airport, they see your papers, they say, 'Oh, welcome, welcome to America!'" she said.

The family stayed at the home of a church sponsor for about three weeks before moving into a three-room rental.

Continued as "Refugee", Page 5

SUDAN FACT SHEET

Location: Northern Africa, bordering the Red Sea, between Egypt and Eritrea

Geographic coordinates: 15 00 N, 30 00 E

Area: total: 2,505,810 sq km; land: 2.376 million sq km; water: 129,810 sq km

Area — comparative: slightly more than 1/4 the size of the US

Land boundaries: total: 7,687 km

Border countries: Central African Republic 1,165 km, Chad 1,360 km, Democratic Republic of the Congo 628 km, Egypt 1,273 km, Eritrea 605 km, Ethiopia 1,606 km, Kenya 232 km, Libya 383 km, Uganda 435 km

Source: CIA Fact Book

FBI: Some Terror Groups Work Out of North Carolina

Continued from Page 4

ries, by 1990, U.S. Brotherhood members had made headway on a strategy "that reflected a longstanding belief: First you change the person, then the family, then the community, then the nation." The Brotherhood did that "by helping establish many mosques and Islamic organizations. Some of those efforts were backed financially by the ultraconservative Saudi Arabian government, which shared some of the Brotherhood's fundamentalist goals," the *Tribune* reported.

The Web site of Nawash's organization says, "The Free Muslims' efforts are unique; it is the only mainstream American-Muslim organization willing to attack extremism and terrorism unambiguously. Unfortunately most other Muslim leaders believe that in ter-

rorist organizations, the end justifies the means." Nawash has appeared on several news programs on network TV as an expert on Islamic issues.

The global War on Terror is an ideological struggle, not a military battle, Nawash said. "Political Islam's goal is to pick up emotional issues and use them cleverly," he said, and MAS is effective doing that. "If you want to know where

they really stand, ask them [MAS] what they think of Hamas."

Another speaker invited by the Raleigh chapter to its conference was Sheikh Muhammed Al-Hanooti, who has been the head of various Islamic centers in the United States since 1978.

"[I]f one doesn't approve of the government's policies, they can sympathize with the terrorists' message. However, there is a significant difference between beliefs, discussion, and criminal acts. Our Constitution doesn't punish the first two, but our laws punish the criminal actors."

Michael D. Resnick
Charlotte FBI Office

Al-Hanooti, according to a *Times Union* (Albany, N.Y.) investigation, had "a complex history of association with convicted terrorists and organizations that U.S. authorities believe to be fundraising fronts for terrorist groups. A 1995 memorandum filed in federal court by former U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White named Al-Hanooti — along with scores of others, including Osama bin Laden — as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing that killed six people and injured thousands."

Although invited, Al-Hanooti did not attend the Raleigh conference because of illness, Radwan said.

Al-Hanooti said FBI agents came to his home in Jersey City twice to interview him about the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the *Times Union* reported. "No criminal charges have ever been filed against Al-Hanooti, and federal court records do not outline how he allegedly

participated in any conspiracy or terrorist attacks," the newspaper said.

Abdel-Malik, a frequent critic of America's Mideast policy at Muslim events around the nation, also spoke at the Raleigh conference. Abdel-Malik formerly was the Muslim chaplain at Howard University. Currently, he is the director of community outreach for the Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center — which two of the Pentagon attackers, Khalid Almihdar and Nawaf Alhazmi — attended in Falls Church, according to the *U.S. News & World Reports*. Abdel-Malik also is president of the Muslim Society of Washington, Inc.

At the time, the FBI was investigating Anwar al-Awlaki, the spiritual adviser of the hijackers at the Islamic Center, the magazine reported. Al-Awlaki left the country for Yemen in 2002, briefly returned, and then left again. He reportedly remains under FBI investigation.

At a rally at The University of California at Irvine, Abdel-Malik reportedly said he would fight for Islam in America and: "We ain't gonna lose. We must implement Islam as a totality in which Allah controls every place — the home, the classroom, the science lab, the halls of Congress!" The university Muslim Students Union organized the UC-Irvine event.

In an anti-terrorism press conference July 25, 2005, Abdul-Malik said, "People who would go out and kill anyone, of any religion, from any country, of any age, for no reason other than the fact they are angry, isolated and upset is against God by whatever name you call [him]," according to the Web encyclopedia Wikipedia.

"When looking at what motivates a terrorist, many times it is ideology or religious beliefs," Resnick said. "It

is not uncommon to find individuals who share similar beliefs to terrorists. For instance, if one doesn't approve of the government's policies, they can sympathize with the terrorists' message. However, there is a significant difference between beliefs, discussion, and criminal acts. Our Constitution doesn't punish the first two, but our laws punish the criminal actors."

As part of the MAS mission in Raleigh, Radwan proposed a "revolution of the status quo." "I can mobilize the community and get voter registration," he said. "Use the same laws that we can change here, yes, I can do that."

"...But if you tie revolution with violence, that's not my act. My act is revolution with the law of the land. To utilize it. To get to the proper situation that you need to be in," Radwan said.

According to the U.S. State Department, Hamas is funded by Iran, Palestinian expatriates, and private benefactors in Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. In a 2002 report, Human Rights Watch said that Hamas' leaders "should be held accountable for the war crimes and crimes against humanity" that have been committed by its members.

Palestinian Islamic Jihad, based in Damascus, Syria, not only seeks the destruction of Israel but also opposes many other Arab governments, which the group considers moderately Islamic and pro-Western.

Hezbollah was founded in 1982 in Lebanon. Hezbollah's manifesto calls for the destruction of Israel, the eradication of Western imperialism in Lebanon, and the transformation of Lebanon into a complete Islamic state. Human rights organizations Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch accused Hezbollah of committing war crimes against Israeli civilians. CJ

Refugee Experienced Brutality

Continued from Page 4

Later, the family moved into another rental, a small, wood-frame house nearby. Since then they have lived a meager existence in Wake County.

The suffering subsided in time for Christmas this year. Malaika and her family moved into their own new home given to them by a nonprofit organization.

Funded and built by volunteers of a local church over a period of about a year, the home sparkles amid beams of sunlight radiating through the tall trees of a modest neighborhood.

Although grateful and comfortable in her new haven, Malaika vows to persevere on what she considers her Christian mission: easing the suffering of others in her homeland.

"I need to do something to help my family back in the Sudan. Because children grow up with no school and

no church," she said. "People go sit down to pray in the shade—no house, no anything, no book, no school for children. Desert."

"Now, in Darfur, no food, no food, no anything. People are dying," she said.

"For me, I bring my children here. I feel good here, but bad for the children there. They have Bibles, but they don't have the power to build a church or a school" because of Muslim oppression, Malaika said.

She concludes a story whose depth belies translation and offers a warning for her newfound compatriots:

"Now, in Darfur, they tell Christians they can't go to America, or Canada, or somewhere. I say after many years Americans will see something no good because those people (Muslims) might be talking something good here, but in their hearts they're not. They lie." CJ



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Interview

Dr. Hamdy Radwan Discusses Raleigh MAS With *Carolina Journal*

Dr. Hamdy A. Radwan, president of the Raleigh chapter of the Muslim American Society and professor of physical therapy at Winston-Salem State University, was interviewed by *CJ* Editor Richard Wagner. The interview was conducted Nov. 29 at MAS's office on Western Boulevard.

Wagner: Could you explain the mission of MAS in Raleigh?

Radwan: The Muslim American Society, MAS, is one of the chapters of about 53 chapters nationwide in each city, and it is a charitable, religious organization, social, mainly involved with the social activity. It is not involved mainly in the mosque. It is like office space like you see here. We share activities that engage the Muslim community to serve the general community. That's what the mission of MAS is to develop, educate, train Muslim American to be a good Muslim and at the same time to be a good citizen in all the countries that we live in. That is simply the mission of MAS.

Wagner: It sounds like a civic organization more than anything, but yet it's religious as well.

Radwan: Yeah, you can call it civic. You can call it religious. You can call it social, societal, educational.

Wagner: Any governmental interest?

Radwan: Any governmental interest? What do you mean of this question?

Wagner: Any influence on government that you would like to have.

Radwan: You mean the local government?

Wagner: And state government...

Radwan: State or federal. Definitely. Yes. We need to have some influence, because we do have our nonprofit status and we engage the people like we do with voter registration. We mobilize the community when there is some participation needed, and we sponsor several events that increase the awareness of the general public, Muslims and non-Muslims. And we engage in interfaith dialogue many times. We have actually last Ramadan. You know what Ramadan is? The month of fasting. We host here in this office many Christian, Jewish organizations that came in here...

Wagner: You do? Here?

Radwan: Yes, we did that here. It was published in *The News and Observer* several times. And we are working with a Triangle Tikkun group. I don't know if you are familiar with that?

Wagner: No.

Radwan: Tikkun is a group that is peace-oriented. And they have a Catholic, Protestant, Jewish...and we are with them. We meet like, regularly, every month or so.

Wagner: What is your long-term



*Dr. Hamdy Radwan, president of the Raleigh chapter of the Muslim American Society, during an interview with *CJ* Editor Richard Wagner. (CJ photo by Don Carrington)*

mission?

Radwan: The long-term mission ...?

Wagner: Say, a decade, two decades, three decades, where would you like to be?

Radwan: That's very good. When I teach my students about short-term and long-term goals because I am a physical therapist, we don't usually exceed eight weeks. [Laughter] They won't reimburse us if we go beyond that. So my mind is limited to eight weeks.

Wagner: But, obviously, your organization has long-term goals?

Radwan: That is a good question. Our long-term goal is definitely to develop generations that will be — as the previous conference was about "The Link." To link the coming generation of youth, Muslim youth, to understand Islam properly and to live in this country properly. This is our long-term mission. I need to see in a decade from now a very good American citizen. That they are very familiar with all federal, state laws and they are fully involved in it. And they are at the same time good Muslims.

Wagner: Do you envision that law as being American law or do you envision the law as being Sharia Law?

Radwan: American law. The law of the land.

Wagner: How many members do

you have in your organization here?

Radwan: In Raleigh, about 40, about 40 members.

Wagner: Active members?

Radwan: Because the membership that we have is several layers. We have an associate member. We have an adjunct member, and we have a full member. The associate members, we have many of them. I don't know how many of them...

you can say 100 or so. The adjunct members, those who are willing to be involved in the educational programs of the MAS. MAS has some requirements for the membership. It's more than just filling out a form. The requirements are to go through an educational program for at least a year or two, and regularly attend classes, and participate — and these classes are not just religious

classes — yes, it includes the teachings of the Quran, the explanation of it. But we also talk about — you talk about Sharia Law — how Sharia Law is applicable in this country and how you live in the country that you live in with your Islamic law.

Wagner: How is it applicable in this country?

Radwan: It is fully applicable.

Wagner: In what ways?

Radwan: I think in every way, every way, because most of the laws here that are against, if you call it against, the Sharia Law, are optional. Like, if you like

to buy a house with interest, that's your option. Right? Really, nobody's forcing you to do it. Right?

Wagner: Yes, it's against Sharia Law to charge interest.

Radwan: It's against Sharia Law. Because it's your option to obey that law or not.

Wagner: How about some of the more stringent measures, such as those that pertain to women?

Radwan: Like what?

Wagner: Wearing of the burka or wearing a veil?

Radwan: I see it as in this country freedom of religion, is not freedom from religion. It's two different terminologies. There are some countries where you need freedom from religion completely, but this is a religious country. And we really appreciate the religious country. And it is a freedom of religion. So you can practice your religion respectfully. If you respect others, too. And we have our women, they are free, they are covered, and they are free to go anywhere. Yeah, after September 11, there are some here and there, but there are no putting of restriction on them.

Wagner: In the United States, we have a secular arrangement. We have the government, and then we have the church. But Sharia Law, there is no difference, correct?

Radwan: Yeah, if you are living in a majority country, that all elected themselves to be ruled by the Sharia Law, that's their option. Right?

Wagner: Such as up in Michigan, where the Muslim community would like to be ruled under Sharia Law?

Radwan: I'm not familiar with that.

Wagner: There's a community in Dearborn that would like to have that. Do you think that they should be allowed to live within their own community only under Sharia Law?

Radwan: The Sharia Law is a completely wide term. What is the Sharia Law that we are talking about? The interest we just talked about is Sharia Law. It is optional to them whether to pay it or not. It is their option. But it is the Sharia Law when contradicting with the law of the land, this is where we have to stop it. Is it mandatory to do it or not? Can you live without it? Like some people they hear, and this actually you hear this mainly from indigenous Muslims in this country, not from the immigrants — they say voting is nonsense, don't get involved in it. When I do the voter registration, most of the opposition comes from the indigenous population, from those who are here. They say, 'We tried that before, and the system is not working. We are telling you. You are an immigrant.' If you talk about Sharia Law, Sharia Law is a very

Continued as "Interview", Page 7

Interview: Dr. Hamdy Radwan of Raleigh Chapter of MAS

Continued from Page 6

wide term, and I'm not sure what they are looking for in Michigan. I am not familiar with that.

Wagner: But here in Raleigh, MAS does not believe that there should be an invoking overall of Sharia Law, in fact, the entire principles of Sharia Law, you're not looking for that, in the long term?

Radwan: If you are asking me if I am living by the Sharia Law, then I tell you, yes I am. I'm living with the Sharia Law. The Sharia Law means not to eat pork, and the law of the land is not going to force me to eat pork...

Wagner: That is more of a personal Sharia Law that you're talking about. I'm talking about a societal Sharia Law, such as invoking penalties, like the Department of Justice in the United States — such as stoning.

Radwan: I'll give you an example. One of the examples is to marry more than one. This is a Sharia Law. It is allowed, this is Sharia, Islamic Law, it is allowed. Now, I elected to live in this country where the law of the land is not allowing you to marry more than one. If I need to practice that way, I should not be here. I should practice that somewhere else. We have to abide by the law of the land.

Wagner: Are you an American citizen?

Radwan: Yes, I am.

Wagner: Where are you from originally?

Radwan: From Egypt.

Wagner: And whereabouts in Egypt?

Radwan: In Cairo.

Wagner: When did you come to the U.S.?

Radwan: I came in 1990.

Wagner: Let me ask you a little about the organization here. When was this chapter established?

Radwan: We were here, but we did not open this office until 2003.

Wagner: When did you actually invoke your charter?

Radwan: I was not here before then, because I actually moved to Raleigh in 2001. So, I've been here for about five years. But it started like in 1999.

Wagner: Could you tell me what your annual budget is?

Radwan: Our annual budget... that's a good question. Because we're just getting a little of the budget when we just did our annual conference. I would say like in the vicinity of \$50,000.

Wagner: And how many staff members does that include?

Radwan: We're looking to hire staff right now. All that we have are volunteers. We don't have employed members yet.

Wagner: So, basically, you're a staff of one, which is you, the president?

Radwan: No, no, no. Are you talking about the volunteers, or paid



Above is a screen capture of the Web site of the Raleigh chapter of the Muslim American Society.

employees?

Wagner: Paid employees.

Radwan: No, we don't have paid employees. I'm not paid for that job.

Wagner: Who are your primary donors?

Radwan: Our primary donors are two things. One is our membership. We are participating ourselves in that. I believe in that work. And the Muslim community, we participate from our own budgets as individuals and this is one of the requirements of the membership is to participate in the activities of the society. So we participate in membership dues and we do an annual fund-raiser. We didn't do it this year. And we do this annual dinner, fund-raising.

Wagner: That's separate from the conference?

Radwan: We didn't do a fund-raiser at the conference. The conference is usually an educational setup and entertainment at the end. But we didn't do any fund raising.

Wagner: Any other exterior funds?

Radwan: Exterior? What do you mean by exterior?

Wagner: From outside groups, outside the United States.

Radwan: No.

Wagner: Saudi Arabia is a huge contributor to a lot of Muslim organizations, but you are not one of those?

Radwan: The local Raleigh chapter did not receive any funds from any country. I hope we can, because we're looking to build a youth center and we need some funds. If you find a way, let me know about it. [Laughter]

Wagner: I understand that quite a few mosques in the United States have been built with Saudi money.

Radwan: I'm sure that the one here in Raleigh at the university was built

with Saudi money. That was about 20 years ago.

Wagner: What do you like about America, since you've been here?

Radwan: That's a good question. I moved here because I need to practice my freedoms, so I'm free to do whatever I need to do. Whether that's religious or unreligious, you're free to do whatever you want to.

Wagner: You couldn't do that in Egypt?

Radwan: Yeah, I can, but to the extent of the limited resources there. I'm here getting more involved in the community. In Egypt I have to work days and nights to get the support, that's what the difference is. Here you can work and also donate your time and efforts. There, you can just work and work and work. There's no more than that.

Wagner: What is it that you dislike about America?

Radwan: Dislike about America. [laughter]. That's another good question. I really lived a lot of really good years. The change of society after September 11 is kind of a little bit of concern. It is not a dislike, but a concern. And that urged me to do more to raise the awareness of the general public, of the American community. And this is my biggest worry. I am a teacher, I am a professor, and I have graduate students. The graduate students, when I have friendly discussions with them, they are very, very shallow-minded. They are not educated. They are not involved within the general affairs of the immigrants I have interaction with. They know more about world affairs, 100 percent, many, many, many more things than the general public. And that's really a worry.

Wagner: Which is why I'm writing these stories, to educate the public. That's why I want to see where you're

coming from. Let me ask you some tough questions.

Radwan: Yeah, go for it.

Wagner: It's been widely reported by others and even by Muslim groups that MAS is related to, and you've heard this before, the Muslim Brotherhood. Is this true?

Radwan: We've never denied that. There's never been any denial that MAS was started by interested people that carried this kind of thinking and ideology of the Brotherhoods. But when they came here, and that was many years ago, that was completely changed and now we are an independent organization that has no relation with any other organization outside.

Wagner: Well, the Brotherhood also has some notorious offspring. Such as Hamas, PIJ, and Hezbollah.

Radwan: Is Hezbollah also from the Brotherhood?

Wagner: From what I understand. But any way, the other two are well-known. How do you reconcile your difference as an offspring of the Brotherhood from these other two groups?

Radwan: It's really every independent organization that takes a turn in life that puts you to the proper place and environment, and this is the thing I like about my religion. It is very adaptable to the place and to the time, for any time. Islam is very adaptable to the place that you live in and to the time that you live in. There is no contradiction at all. So I am here as a Muslim American organization, not related to any other organizations. And my vision and mission are in line with this country. So for example the Brotherhood in Egypt, they are not public. They do not know who are the members.

Wagner: They have a bad reputation there.

Radwan: There is not a bad reputation. I disagree with that. Actually, if you go to the general public, they will tell you different than what the government will tell you about them.

Wagner: They've attempted a couple of assassinations in Egypt.

Radwan: Which ones are that? I don't know.

Wagner: I didn't write it down, but from the research that I did there were a couple of assassination attempts. In fact, they were outlawed in Egypt.

Radwan: Yeah, they are. But outlaw, that's not really the law. I would love to establish the law of the Lord. You can go outlaw, but the Egyptian government is not the law of the land. They are of different worlds. That is completely different. Do you know what the Divine Revolution is? What is revolution?

Wagner: What is revolution? It's a change of the government.

Radwan: No, the change of the status quo. Of the status quo. Now, I can give you revolutionist...

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Interview: Dr. Hamdy Radwan, President of Raleigh MAS Chapter

Continued from Page 7

Wagner: There are different types of revolutions, Sure, I'll grant you that.

Radwan: Sure. So I can make changes in the ... Democratic or the Republican to the Democrat by revolution. I can mobilize the community and get voter registration. Use the same laws that we can change here, yes, I can do that.

Wagner: So you're saying that what your role is is to revolutionize the thinking of the individual, perhaps first, then the family, and later society?

Radwan: Yeah. To the extent that that's acceptable. But if you tie revolution with violence, that's not my act. My act is revolution with the law of the land. To utilize it. To get to the proper situation that you need to be in.

Wagner: As determined by Sharia Law?

Radwan: As determined by the law of the land. I see that you are alluding about the Sharia Law several times and I'm telling you that now, because I need that to be clear, if you publish that ... We are here as a nonprofit organization, a legal organization that we established by the law of the land and we follow the law of the land.

Wagner: OK. But the revolution that you're talking about is the revolution that I mentioned. Of the individual, then the family, and perhaps the society after that. In other words, a peaceful type of a revolution vs. a violent revolution?

Radwan: Of change, yeah.

Wagner: That seems to be the same goal that some of the more radical groups have, except their means are violent means. Is that not true?

Radwan: And isn't that true of any religious organizations: Catholic, the Baptist, the Protestant, that they all would like to change the individual, the family, and the society? Isn't that the same?

Wagner: Perhaps. Perhaps. I think the concern, though, is that around the world Muslim nations have shown a proclivity for launching violence when the peaceful means have failed. Such as the Sudan, and the Philippines, just about any trouble spot that you'd like to look at, where we have the clash between civilizations. This is not true?

Radwan: I don't see a clash of civilizations. I only see a clash of ignorance. I don't see a clash of civilizations. Those are the people who act ignorant, who act in an ignorant manner, whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims, or that they are radical or nonradical if they act in an improper way, away from the way that is peaceful change, resistance, consistence. We are in a society, we like to do things abruptly, without patience. We have no patience to accomplish our goals.

Wagner: You mean in America?

Radwan: Globally. Like Sadat in Egypt. Since that time. I was in col-

lege. He was such an ignorant man. Because he would do more harm than he would do benefits. Because he was looking for fast change. And guess what we have? We have another president for 30 years. So, they didn't do anything. They didn't do any change.

Wagner: Well, you're talking about ideology. Ideology doesn't change overnight.

Radwan: Yep.

Wagner: It's a long period of persuasion. And that's what your mission here is all about. Is that not true?

Radwan: My mission is to persuade who?

Wagner: As you told me, you're trying to bring your philosophy to the United States and converts in the process. It's a long-term thing, is that not true?

Radwan: To raise the Muslim-American good citizens? Yes, that's my mission. Does that mean we need the Muslim-American to change society? Definitely yes, we need them to change the society. We need to come to a common ground, all of us. If you are supporting a good cause, I will support you. And that's what we do in here. We come in together as Christians, as Jews, and we talk about social issues, educational issues, about family issues, and we agree and we disagree.

Wagner: So, accomplishing that together?

Radwan: Yeah.

Wagner: What were the attendance figures at your "Missing Link" conference?

Radwan: It was not well-attended. We did not do a good job in publicity. We had about 100 people.

Wagner: It was open to the public at large?

Radwan: Yeah.

Wagner: What does MAS do with the money from its fund-raisers?

Radwan: We actually don't have much money. But we run a weekend school, a Sunday school for the children. We do activities like outreach. We did the gift programs. We give gifts to the teachers in public schools to promote good communication, to teach them about Ramadan and other materials, we do communication with the ACLU sometimes. Activities, that's what we

"I don't see a clash of civilizations. I only see a clash of ignorance. ... Those are the people who act ignorant, who act in an ignorant manner, whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims, or that they are radical or nonradical if they act in an improper way, away from the way that is peaceful change, resistance, consistence."

Dr. Hamdy Radwan
MAS Chapter President

do with all the money.

Wagner: A couple of the speakers that you had at your conference showed up in some of the research that I did. Troubling reports that had been written. Specifically, The Times Union of Albany, N.Y., reported that their, and I quote, "investigation reveals a complex history of association by Al-Hanooti with convicted terrorists and organizations that U.S. authorities believe to be fund-raising fronts for terrorist groups. And a 1995 memorandum filed in federal court by former U.S. Attor-

ney Mary Jo White names Al-Hanooti — along with scores of others, including Osama bin Laden — as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 1993 bombing of the WTC that killed six people and injured thousands." Al-Hanooti himself conceded to the newspapers that he was interviewed by the FBI in the bombing. How do you respond to this?

Radwan: I am not Al-Hanooti. I don't know about that rumor. When the name was introduced to the conference, there was some dispute to get him off, but not for this reason, but because of his old age and not able to travel that much. And they said exactly what he did. "He's going to cancel on you at the last minute," and this is what he did, he was not here. He did not come.

Wagner: But you invited him, knowing his background?

Radwan: Yeah, we invited him. But I don't know about that background that you're telling me about.

Wagner: Laura Ingraham and Michelle Malkin, I guess you know are well-known conservatives. They're on the Fox News Channel frequently. But in the *Independent Conservative* they reported that Dr. Esam Omeish, the president of MAS, is a "cover man" (this is what they said) to turn America into an Islamic state. How do you respond to that?

Radwan: You'll have to ask Dr. Esam to respond to that.

Wagner: You're the president of his chapter here.

Radwan: Yeah, I'm the president of this chapter, and I'm not aware of what you're talking about: He wanted to change America into an Islamic state? Is America a Christian state?

Wagner: No, but it's founded on Christian principles.

Radwan: We are in the freedom of religion country, so you need to practice your religion the way that you want to practice it. And we understand that, the law of the land, we go with the law of the land. To change America ... ruling by Sharia, that never came to anyone's mind, not even Dr. Esam. I have known him for a very short period when I saw him the last two years and I met him about 10 years ago when I was working in Washington, D.C. And he was the MSA president, the Muslim Student Association, so he was fully involved with the American society. He's a well-respected surgeon. He's a good man, a good American citizen. For two conservative people to go on the Fox News, that really does not concern me at all.

Wagner: What is your view of Hamas?

Radwan: View of Hamas? They can come and express their views. I'm not concerned with any other organization outside the one I'm working with. I do feel that we have enough here to work with to get involved with any other affairs at this time.

Wagner: So you don't feel any affiliation or any sentiment with Hamas?

Radwan: We are not affiliated with any outside groups, period.

Wagner: Do you consider Hamas a terrorist organization?

Radwan: Myself, I don't.

Wagner: You do not?

Radwan: No, I do not. Not as a MAS member, but as myself.

Wagner: How do you see them, how do you see Hamas?

Radwan: Freedom fighters, in other countries.

Wagner: Are you aware that there's a presence of Hamas in North Carolina?

Radwan: Presence of Hamas in North Carolina...if there is, I don't know them.

Wagner: How about Palestinian Islamic Jihad?

Radwan: They are here?

Wagner: It's been reported by various authors, several books.

Radwan: Same names like you mentioned, the conservative people?

Wagner: No, no. Many different authors. One of those would be Harvey Kushner, professor at Long Island University. He mentioned that in one of his books. And at least two or three other books I've read on that subject.

Radwan: If there is, we do have the FBI office, and it is right outside my door down the street. They are my friends, and we can ask them about that.

Wagner: You are friends with the FBI?

Radwan: Yeah. We always come together and invite them to our office here and to all our activities. It's a very open relationship. CJ

Finding Space for Students Of Burned School Not Easy

By SAM A. HIEB
Contributing Editor

GREENSBORO
More than a month after the fire that destroyed Eastern Guilford High School on Nov. 1, Guilford County school officials are still trying to determine how to get its 1,000 students back together under one roof.

Eastern students are divided between temporary campuses at Guilford Technical Community College and the former School for the Deaf in Browns Summit. Keeping the students at two locations for the 2007-08 school year was an option, but Guilford County Schools would not know until February whether GTCC would be available. If GTCC were unavailable, it would be too late to formulate an alternate plan

for the 2007-08 school year, GCS Superintendent Terry Grier told the Guilford County Board of Education.

But split campuses are the least-desirable option for parents and students, who want everyone under one roof next year. Toward that goal, parents lobbied GCS to purchase the Carolina Corporate Center in McLeansville. At 100,000 square feet, the center, formerly an office for Lucent Technologies, would be more than adequate space.

Proposals from real estate developers to either buy or lease the building were put before the school board during a recent meeting. Grier told the board it would cost \$40 million to buy the building and an additional \$94 million to renovate it. The projected cost to rebuild Eastern is \$51 million.

The \$40 million purchase is also considerably higher than the building's \$24 million tax value.

"Somebody's trying to get rich off the school system," said school board member Anita Sharpe.

So while it quickly became apparent that buying the building was out of the question, leasing it became a matter of debate. Michael McCloskey of Florida Realty Investments, the company that owns the building, told GCS that renovations under a lease agreement would come in at \$20 per square foot. That figure, combined with an \$837,000 annual lease, would cost GCS \$4.67 million over two years.

But both Grier and facilities consultant Joe Hill were skeptical of the \$20 per-square-foot figure, given the stringent school safety codes mandated by the state.

They, along with school board Chairman Alan Duncan, thought the

cost to be \$50 per square foot, bringing the total cost to \$9 million.

"I'm not sure [McCloskey] understands the North Carolina safety standards," Grier said.

While the board considered the cost of leasing the Lucent building, Grier made one other recommendation, which would be to house students in temporary modular classrooms next to the construction site of the new Eastern.

That option did not guarantee that ninth-graders would be able to join the rest of the students at the temporary

school, which was dubbed the "Village at Eastern." Safety concerns were raised about students coming and going to school next to a construction site, especially since the majority of ninth-graders ride the bus to school.

Another major problem is ninth-graders are required to take physical education classes, but the "village" wouldn't have a gymnasium. Students could use outdoor facilities in nice weather, but an indoor health-education curriculum would have to be developed for bad weather days.

Putting ninth-graders on the site would also be more expensive — \$3.1 million, as opposed to \$2.7 million to house grades 10 through 12.

While the option of placing ninth-graders at the village, even at the greater expense, was left open for a December meeting, the board passed Sharpe's motion to place grades 10 through 12 in the modular classrooms.

Hanging over discussion of where to temporarily place students was the issue of paying for the new Eastern. Duncan was in favor of rolling the dice and placing it on a bond referendum that hopefully will be on the ballot next spring.

"I don't mean to hold Eastern Guilford hostage to whether or not a bond referendum passes," Duncan said. "But I think it's appropriate to finance it in the best possible way, and that's a bond referendum."

But the majority of the board disagreed with Duncan, voting 7-4 to seek approval for \$41 million in certificate of participation funds to supplement \$10 million in insurance money to pay for the new high school.

Under a normal construction schedule, the new school would be ready by fall 2009, sooner if at all possible.

"People are working very hard to find every possible way that time can be expedited," Duncan said. "But we don't know for a certainty that it can." CJ

"Somebody's trying to get rich off the school system."

Anita Sharpe
Guilford School Board

Commentary

Schools as Psychiatrists

Ensuring children are mentally and emotionally well is serious business. Most of us can agree on that. More divisive, however, are issues of what constitutes mental illness and who gets to make the determination.

In states across the country, advocates of universal mental health screening are increasingly marginalizing parents. Schools are stepping in as the new gatekeepers, turning K-12 campuses into the venue of choice for taxpayer-funded mental health screening. But parents and some pediatric health professionals are crying foul, claiming universal screening usurps parental authority and is a Trojan horse for unprecedented pharmaceutical coercion. This promises to be a battle of epic proportions.

All of the newfound focus on pediatric mental health comes thanks to President Bush's New Freedom Commission on Mental Health, established in 2002. The commission's findings, released in 2003, claim schools are in a "key position to identify mental health problems early" through routine and comprehensive screening of the nation's 52 million public school students. In 2004, Congress appropriated \$20 million to fund the commission's recommendations. Lured by the carrot of federal grant money, states are quickly falling into line.

One of the more popular mental health screening tools employed by schools is TeenScreen, developed by Dr. David Shaffer, chief of the Department of Child Psychiatry at Columbia University. In 2005, TeenScreen's computer-based, subjective, 10-minute questionnaire was used by schools in 43 states. Interestingly, up to one-third of student test-takers are found to evidence mental health problems.

There's no question that children and teens afflicted with mental illness need help. The consequences of undiagnosed, untreated mental health problems are sobering, sometimes fatal. But mandatory screening, especially without parental consent, is fraught with its own ethical and long-lasting ramifications.

In addition to abrogating parental rights, mandatory evaluations and their subsequent diagnoses are often followed by

recommendations to use powerful pharmaceutical drugs. U.S. Rep. Ron Paul, a physician for more than 30 years, is an outspoken critic of school-based screening and its link to increased drugging. "Federally funded universal or mandatory

mental-health screening in schools without parental consent could lead to labeling more children as 'ADD' or 'hyperactive,' and thus force more children to take psychotropic drugs like Ritalin against their parents' wishes," Paul said.

What's a parent to do? Above all, learn the facts. The Protection of Pupil Rights Act safeguards the rights of parents to inspect

instructional materials used in conjunction with surveys. The act also requires schools to obtain written parental consent before conducting evaluations assessing mental health or other privileged information.

Parents would also do well to monitor schools closely. Even in states (like North Carolina) that do not yet have mandatory mental health screening, schools still sometimes conduct their own evaluations. Schools may also circumvent the standard written permission process, sending home "passive consent" forms instead. Passive consent forms specify that a school will screen all students unless parents return forms saying they do not want their child to participate. During my tenure with the Mecklenburg Board of Education, a local elementary school used passive consent to screen students for mental health problems. This continued unabated until angry parents notified the Board of Education.

Debate on this issue is sure to rage on. In the meantime, here's what we know for sure: Pediatric mental illness is a matter for serious concern. But in our zeal to alleviate children's suffering, we dare not trample on the rights of those who care most. Parents, not schools, are best equipped to navigate the often murky and uncharted waters of a child's mental illness. No law will ever change that. CJ



Lindalyn
Kakadelis

Lindalyn Kakadelis is director of the North Carolina Education Alliance.

School Reform Notes

CMS shifts personnel

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools will transfer about two dozen employees from the central office to teach in schools still struggling with classroom vacancies, the *Charlotte Observer* reports.

They're the first of what eventually will be a "significant number" of central office staff who get reassigned to schools, Chief Academic Officer Ruth Perez said Dec. 11.

More details will emerge in coming months, as CMS leaders continue planning to shift power from the central office.

The initial transfers dissolve most of the Instructional Excellence Department, created by ex-Superintendent James Pughsley to help mentor the growing ranks of inexperienced instructors. More than one in three of the district's teachers have been in CMS four years or fewer.

Starting in January, most of the department will be reassigned to cover shortages in high-poverty schools. Many will work in elementary schools and classes for special education or gifted students.

Department Director Rosebud Turner was disappointed. She said that since the department was launched in 2003, it has helped CMS improve its retention rate for less-experienced teachers by at least 10 percentage points, to more than 80 percent.

At the start of the month, CMS still had about 100 teaching vacancies.

Tougher standards

North Carolina high school students could soon face tougher graduation standards that would require them to complete coursework necessary to attend a four-year college, the *Associated Press* reports.

State education leaders want to implement the plan, which would require more foreign language and math courses, for students entering high school next fall. They say a more challenging curriculum and additional course requirements would help North Carolina students have more options after graduating.

The requirements would apply to students regardless of whether they apply to a college.

North Carolina's proposal would allow students, with a recommendation by a team of educators, to choose alternatives to math beyond algebra II and foreign language.

Several board members said they favor more discussion about the proposal, which could affect more than 30,000 students by 2008. *CJ*

State Board of Education

'Expansion Budget' Request Adds \$370 Million

By JIM STEGALL

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

The State Board of Education is asking the General Assembly to spend \$370 million more on public schools in 2007 than the legislature did last year.

The total, which represents an increase of 5 percent over last year's budget, was the maximum allowed under the guidelines issued by the State Budget Office. It does not include money for teacher pay raises, which will be considered in a separate part of the budget.

The "expansion budget request" approved at the board's regular meeting Dec. 7 lists 24 programs or projects the board would like funded, and another dozen smaller items requested by the Department of Public Instruction.

Board Chairman Howard Lee described the budget request as "tight and responsible" and emphasized that the priorities chosen by the board reflect a strong commitment to moving the state forward, particularly in technology and teacher mentoring.

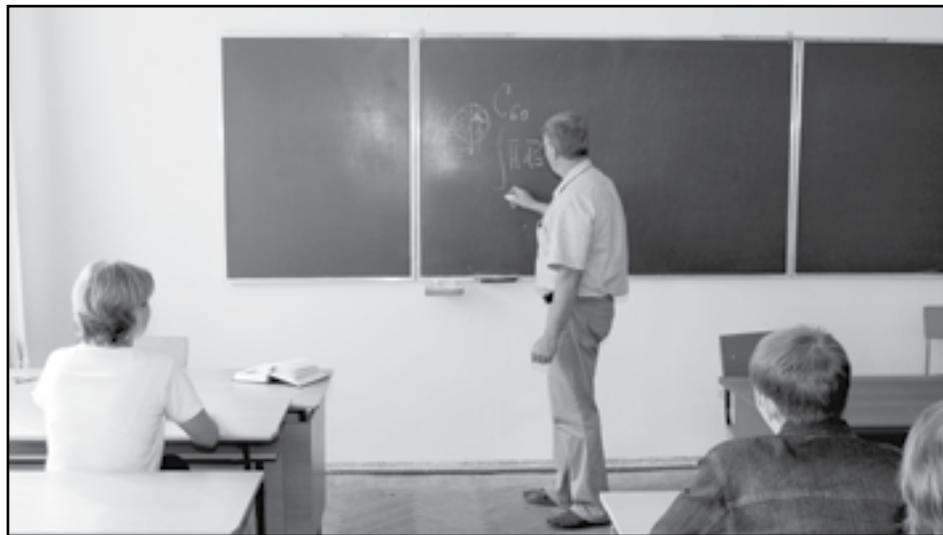
"It's a very strong budget that positions the board to carry out what the governor wants," he said. The board was "asking for stronger accountability from local school districts, as we demand stronger accountability from ourselves."

The most expensive item on the board's list is an ambitious effort to outfit nearly 17,000 classrooms across the state with high-tech equipment such as digital whiteboards, data projectors, and document cameras. The "21st Century Classrooms," as they are called, would be installed in 406 selected schools in 41 school districts. Others would follow in future years. The board has asked for nearly \$122 million to implement the plan.

Digital whiteboards have a dry-erase whiteboard writing surface that can capture writing electronically. A teacher using this technology can illustrate concepts on the board, and send the images directly to students, computers, or print out paper copies as needed. Using a data projector in conjunction with the whiteboard allows a teacher to present lessons that incorporate Power Point presentations, complete with imbedded video. It's estimated that each 21st Century Classroom will cost more than \$7,200 to install.

The board also requested \$24 million to ensure that all schools in North Carolina have high-speed broadband Internet connections. Under the prodding of Lt. Gov. Beverly Perdue, the General Assembly started to do that last year, but appropriated \$6 million in nonrecurring funds. DPI estimates that it will take \$24 million to finish the job.

Gov. Mike Easley's fingerprints



If the "21st Century Classroom" legislation is passed, the green board above will become a digital whiteboard that can communicate with students' computers. (File photo)

are also evident in the budget request, as three of his signature programs made the cut. The board asked for \$23 million for More at Four, a pre-kindergarten program for at-risk 4-year-olds, which the governor has long championed. Another Easley initiative, Learn and Earn, is earmarked to receive \$10 million. Learn and Earn is a program that allows high school students the chance to earn a high school diploma and an associate's degree over five years, by taking some classes at community colleges in conjunction with their regular studies.

Easley also won the board's support for expanding his literacy coaches program to 100 more middle schools. Last year's budget established the literacy coaches program in 100 middle schools with high at-risk, student populations. The board is recommending doubling that number, at a cost of \$6 million.

One item the board insisted on was money to hire full-time mentors for new teachers. School districts have struggled for years to keep new teachers on the job, and one reason often cited by those who give up on teaching is a lack of professional support. The state has tried to remedy this in the past by paying experienced teachers a small bonus to act as mentors for their new colleagues, but the program has had limited success because the mentors typically still have a full classload of their own, plus extra duties.

The board's proposal is to give districts money to hire one full-time mentor for every 15 "initially licensed" (less than three year's experience) teacher.

Other big-ticket items include nearly \$40 million for the Disadvantaged Student Supplemental Fund, a

program that provides extra funding to school districts based on the number of children from poor families they serve, and \$25 million in increased funding for children who have special needs. With school violence and security becoming more of an issue, the board asked for \$6.2 million to pay for resource officers (local police detailed to schools) in middle schools.

Continuing a trend in public education of paying market rates for educational talent, the board requested

\$10 million to pay some principals more than others, based on the greater time demands of their jobs. Under the proposal middle-school principals would receive 10 percent more than elementary school principals, while high school principals would be paid 15 percent

more than their elementary-school counterparts. Also, the board asked for nearly \$3 million to pay signing bonuses and to establish higher salary increments for principals in certain hard-to-staff schools.

With their request capped at \$370 million, the board could not fund everything it wanted. One major item the board considered but left out was a proposal designed to enable elementary schools to comply with the "teacher planning time" law passed last session.

The law, sponsored by Rep. Maggie Jeffus of Guilford County, directed school improvement teams to develop a plan for making five hours of duty-free planning time available to all teachers by the 2007-08 school year, but appropriated no funds to make it happen.

The legislature will take up the board's request when it convenes Jan. 24. *CJ*

"It's a very strong budget that positions the board to carry out what the governor wants."

**Howard Lee
Chairman
State Board of Education**

Wilson Charter Uses Travel as Educational Focus

By HAL YOUNG
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH
Sallie B. Howard, a native of Wilson and a black schoolteacher, was once stopped at the border of Saddam-era Iraq. The guards demanded to know why she was trying to enter the country without a visa. Undeterred, she explained she wanted to see the Hanging Gardens of Babylon; she had made several journeys to visit the Seven Wonders of the World, and this was next on her list. She managed to talk her way in.

The Wilson charter school that bears her name has adopted some of her philosophy and boldness as its own. From its inception in 1997, Sallie B. Howard School of the Arts and Education, one of the first charter schools in North Carolina, has placed educational travel as the centerpiece of its programs. Study from books and audiovisual resources is useful, but it is an entirely different matter to actually walk in the land and be among its people, said the school's principal, Dr. JoAnne Woodard.

"This is one of the components of the school, one of its pillars," said Dr. Woodard. "It isn't a second thought; it's part of the school's budget. That's why we only do it every other year, to keep a balanced budget."

While other schools may sponsor trips to Florida, New York City, or even a senior cruise for their high school students, Sallie B. Howard School just took 10 middle-school students and six chaperones 7,000 miles to China.

The school serves a largely disadvantaged population of more than 600 students. About 60 percent are black, and most of the rest are Hispanic. "Just a smattering of students are white," Woodard said, and 90 percent receive



Students, teachers and chaperones from Sallie B. Howard School of the Arts and Education pose beside the Great Wall on their recent trip to China. (Submitted photo)

free or reduced lunch.

That makes these trips even more remarkable. That's the point of them.

"In other schools, most of the children come with some sense of their own value, and a sense of their future. They bring that from their families. You may take it for granted, but for the most part, our kids don't have that. We're a school of choice, and our students are here because they have not done well in the other schools.

"Our task is to convince these children that they have a future. The real motive of the study-abroad program is to get these kids to enlarge their scope of what's possible," she said. Alumni of earlier trips have found the confidence to succeed in college or prestigious boarding schools after the experience.

The school picks up the entire cost for the students. The adults pay their own way. A former teacher who owns an import business and has family and associates in many nations helps make arrangements that stretch the school's travel budget.

Dr. Woodard said that space on the trip is reserved for the top 10 entrants in

the research project on the target country, and it does not automatically go to the honor roll students. "The judges read the projects 'blind', and it's not just the A and B students who make it in," she said. "I like that aspect of it. The ones who get to go are the ones who really, really wanted to go."

The recent 16-day trip was not the school's first; that was a three-country visit to Kenya, Tanzania, and Egypt in 2000. That trip was also the longest, at 30 days. But compared to previous visits to Mexico and India, this was the most exotic.

"The China trip went far beyond anything we've experienced," she said. While other journeys were in countries where English is commonly spoken, in China, there was no way to even read the street signs. "This was the most fantastic trip we've taken; it was a really strange land."

The students flew in to Beijing and traveled more than 2,000 miles by chartered bus, overnight train, and internal Chinese airlines to visit Shanghai and Xi'an. The train was something of a trial, Woodard said, because Americans didn't

fit well into the narrow, three-berth sleepers used on Chinese railways. The crowding on the trains took its toll on other conveniences too, so they opted to return by plane on that trip.

However, she said the students and the Chinese took to each other very well. Dr. Woodard said that wherever they went, they attracted crowds of interested Chinese. "We'd stop to visit a rest room and when we came out, people were lined up taking pictures with the students who waited outside. I think they were fascinated with all these dark-skinned people." She observed that their interpreter was actually a native of Cameroon who had learned Chinese as a student there, an interesting crossing of cultures.

The young people were undaunted by the unfamiliar food — or eating with chopsticks. That surprised even Dr. Woodard. Students on earlier trips have sometimes been finicky about the food, but, she said, this group enjoyed the Chinese and Indian cuisine they sampled.

While in Beijing they took part in an open meeting for local people and students to practice their English. The children were an instant hit, and Dr. Woodard said she was interested at the freedom that many showed in speaking about Mao Zedong and even the Tian'anmen Square incident. "It did not meet our expectation of what Communist China was supposed to look like," she said. "We didn't feel any repression from the people."

The group stayed in the dormitories of the high school at East China University in Shanghai and took part in activities at a nearby school. "We always take time with like-aged children and their schools." CJ

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Course of the Month

Questions at Duke

This course comes to CM's attention from KC Johnson, professor of history at Brooklyn College and the City University of New York Graduate Center. Johnson writes the "Durham-in-Wonderland" blog (durhamwonderland.blogspot.com) in which he reports on the latest information surrounding the Duke University lacrosse scandal.

It's a new "cultural anthropology" course at Duke for Spring 2007 titled "Hook-Up Culture at Duke." From the synopsis:

What is "hook-up culture"? What does it have to do with power and difference? Is the concept useful for framing gendered, raced, classed, and sexualized experiences at Duke?

Already you can see CM favorites including the reductio ad marxiam, the social-guilt re-direction, and the barrage of silly questions. More silly questions follow:

We will ask: how has the history of university attendance in the US (in terms of race, class, and gender) impacted campus culture? Are new technologies changing intimate or familial relationships between people? How are distinctions between "at home" and "at work" (or public and private) linked to new kinds of subjectivity and sociality? ... And finally, what does the lacrosse scandal tell us about power, difference, and raced, classed, gendered and sexed normativity in the US?

On his blog, Johnson noted a few questions that course instructors were avoiding. Here are two:

- *What does the lacrosse scandal tell us about racialized politics, and how a district attorney can sell his soul and abandon all legal ethics, pander to a portion of the electorate by appealing to symbolic justice, and gain office?*

- *And, finally, what does the lacrosse scandal tell us about, to use [cultural anthropology professor Anne] Allison's language, "the institutional setting of Duke itself," a university where 88 professors could sign a rush-to-judgment public denunciation, while the president publicly responded to the arrest of two of his students by telling local business leaders, "If they didn't do it, whatever they did is bad enough."*

Naturally, a "substantial portion" of the course material will be "drawn from popular media, film, or ethnography," and as for tests? "Exams: None." CJ

Jon Sanders, research editor for the John Locke Foundation, each month tracks down a college course of dubious value.

Pope Center made offer

NC State Faculty Challenge Potential Donation

By JANE S. SHAW
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH
Outspoken faculty members with a strong political agenda have once again interfered in discussions about a potential donation to a North Carolina university.

Toby Parcel, dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at North Carolina State University, had quietly approached the Pope Foundation to explore funding for academic programs. But in a stormy public meeting in early December, some faculty members loudly and rudely made it clear that they don't want their college to get any money from Pope.

Apparently opposing the Pope Foundation for its conservative political philosophy, several faculty members used over-the-top language, calling the money "dirty money" and saying that to accept funds would be "a very dangerous step." The discussions had involved support of a study abroad program and French and German language programs.

J. Arthur "Art" Pope responded with a column in the *Raleigh News & Observer* on Dec. 13. He said that, contrary to the implication of "dirty money," the foundation's funds had come from "decades of general merchandise retailing in North Carolina and beyond that have provided thousands of jobs and served millions of satisfied customers."

He said he found it puzzling that the attacks were made by N.C. State faculty even though the overtures had been made by the university, not by the Pope Foundation.

This incident eerily echoed the hostile faculty reaction in late 2004 at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The administration had asked the Pope Foundation to consider a gift to support a Western civilization program. Some faculty members objected. The Pope Foundation has not given money for such a program, but it did provide support for university athletic programs.

According to press reports, the hostility at UNC-Chapel Hill encouraged Dean Toby Parcel to see a window of opportunity and thus to contact the Pope Foundation. She presumably did not expect the reaction she received from her faculty.

Resistance by faculty to traditional liberal arts education is not limited to North Carolina, of course. (See the article on Page 14 about the proposed Alexander Hamilton Center at Hamilton College in Clinton, N.Y.) That such opposition can succeed is evidence that "shared governance" in American universities often means faculty control.

In addition to attacking the foundation at the meeting in December, several

N. C. State faculty members directed invective toward the Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, of which the author of this article is executive vice president. The center is separate from the foundation, but both were founded by John William Pope.

A trustee of the UNC-Chapel Hill, Pope was frustrated by what he saw as an increasingly close-minded and "politically correct" campus. He saw that students were failing to experience the intellectual diversity that is supposed to be a hallmark of universities. He formed the center in 1996 to improve the quality of higher education, especially in North Carolina.

Since 1996, the Pope Center has issued at least 25 formal studies and many articles that have informed North Carolina citizens about their state university system. In 2005 the center pointed out that speech codes on 13 campuses were unlikely to withstand judicial scrutiny — and at least one campus changed its code. The center has issued two studies comparing faculty salaries in the UNC system with salaries of their peers. A study of UNC governance proposed changes in the selection of the board of governors.

But these were not the studies that the professors focused on. Catherine Warren, director of women's and gender studies at N.C. State, fumed about a Pope Center study of women's studies programs that she said was "inane" and full of inaccuracies.

The 2005 study, which is on the Pope Center's Web site (www.popecenter.org), reviewed the women's studies programs on five campuses, including the program that Warren directs at N.C. State. The author, Melana Zyla Vickers, pointed out that the field of women's studies tends to be polemical and doctrinaire, that it is not a popular major, and that it is financed primarily by public (i.e., taxpayer) funds, with little private support.

At N.C. State, for example, only nine majors graduated in women's studies in 2004 (out of a total undergraduate

population of 22,971), and the department received no private funds.

"Their [the programs'] sickly state can be measured in a variety of ways," wrote Vickers in her report, "ranging from the fact that these programs have sought and attracted very little independent funding and are on life-support from

taxpayer-backed university operations budgets, to the intellectually biased and repetitive material presented in their courses, to the negligible and ever-declining number of students interested in actually majoring or minoring in women's studies."

At the same time, the study did recognize some modest strengths of the N.C. State program. Vickers found at least two courses, "Women and Music" and "Gender Law and Policies," that showed promise of being other than

simply rehashes of outdated feminist diagnoses of social conditions.

Vickers has said that she is willing to participate in a forum with Warren on the merits of women's studies programs in North Carolina. Vickers is a former member of the editorial board of *USA Today*. She has worked at the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and the *Globe and Mail*, and

has a master's degree from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Responding to the faculty criticisms, George Leef, vice president for research for the Pope Center, said, "The center has often criticized what we see as frivolous, academically weak courses and programs like women's studies. That is not at all the same as 'denigrating women,' as one faculty member says.

"Attacks like that, impugning motives rather than dealing with the substance of arguments, ought to be beneath faculty members at a major (or any) university." CJ

Jane S. Shaw is executive vice president of the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy in Raleigh.



Apparently opposing the Pope Foundation for its conservative political philosophy, several faculty members used over-the-top language, calling the money "dirty money" and saying that to accept funds would be "a very dangerous step."

Private Colleges, Universities Want Part-Timers to Get Grants

By SHANNON BLOSSER
and JANE S. SHAW
Contributing Editors

RALEIGH

The state's association of private, nonprofit colleges is pushing to extend the state's Legislative Tuition Grant program to part-time students. Hope Williams, president of the North Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities, made the appeal at a meeting of the Joint Legislative Education Oversight Committee in December.

The legislative tuition grant is a popular state program that has been in effect since 1975. In 2006, the General Assembly raised the maximum grant per student from \$1,800 to \$1,900 per year.

The program originated in efforts to "strengthen the academic, management, and financial quality and viability of the private higher education sector," education researcher Nat Fullwood said. In the 1970s, the University of North Carolina system was expanding rapidly and it was evident that private colleges and universities would lose students to the state system.

The purpose of the grant program was to bolster private schools more than to provide financial aid. The General Assembly had already adopted a need-based financial grant program for private education in 1971. That program, the State Contractual Scholarship Fund, also continues today.

Whether the grant actually changes decisions of students about where they attend is difficult to determine. The \$1,900 cap does not begin to cover the difference between public and private tuition at most schools. Full-time tuition at North Carolina State, for example, is \$4,783 per year. Tuition at private colleges is frequently more than \$20,000. For example, tuition is \$21,200 at Meredith and \$19,690 at Catawba.

The grant program does, however, give some schools significant subsidies. In the 2005 academic year, the tuition grant program paid \$48.1 million to private universities and colleges in the state, supporting 31,022 students, the North Carolina State Education Assistance Authority said. This exceeded the cost of the need-based aid program, the State Contractual Scholarship Fund, which supported 13,755 students at a cost of \$33.7 million.

For some schools the grant was substantial. For example, Campbell University received \$4.6 million; Gardner-

Webb, \$2.6 million; Shaw, \$2.48 million; and Meredith, \$2.3 million.

Expanding the program to include part-time students would add about \$4.2 million, according to the figures that Williams presented to the committee. Currently, 7,500 students from North Carolina are enrolled part-time in one of the state's 36 nonprofit, private colleges and universities. Many are nontraditional students, usually defined as older than age 25. They might have family and work commitments that prevent them from carrying a full-time course load, Williams said.

"We want to help all the students at all of our colleges."

Hope Williams
President
NCICU

"[Part-time students] shouldn't be excluded from receiving the grant just because they are only taking two courses," Williams said. "We want to help all the students at all of our colleges."

Although it is popular, the tuition grant receives mixed reviews among advocates of limited government. Some oppose any subsidies to private organizations, especially since the market for higher education is a competitive one.

But others argue that the state university system, with a budget of \$2.2 billion, competes unfairly with private schools, and help to those schools might be warranted. In addition, the grants lighten the burden of taxpayers who send their children to private schools but who must still help finance the state system. Roy Cordato, vice president for research at the John Locke Foundation, said that he would feel more comfortable with the grants if each dollar in grant money given to schools were linked to a reduction of a dollar from other programs in the state university budget.

The part-time issue might be discussed in the upcoming legislative session, especially since there is a precedent. In the 2006-07 budget adjustments, legislators approved an increase in both state grant programs, the Legislative Tuition Grants and the State Contractual Scholarship Fund, to include some part-time students.

Recipients must be students taking courses in order to move into teaching from another job or nurses seeking additional certification. The change cost \$1.5 million, according to the budget report. CJ

Shannon Blosser is a staff writer and Jane S. Shaw is executive vice president of the J.W. Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

Commentary

Skills College Grads Really Need

One of the phrases we hear over and over again from the American higher-education establishment is that it's "the envy of the world."

I have never actually seen evidence to back up that contention, like a statement from the German Prime Minister saying, "We Germans are so envious of your wonderful higher-education system in America." I have, however, seen quite a lot of evidence that Americans aren't terribly impressed with the results of our colleges and universities.

On Oct. 2, 2006, the Conference Board, an organization of American businesses, released a survey, "Are They Really Ready for Work?" The report, which was based on responses from 431 employers, hardly gives a ringing endorsement of our education system. Only 10 percent of the employers said that they find graduates of two-year colleges "excellent" in terms of their overall preparation for work and only 24 percent rated graduates of four-year colleges as "excellent."

The greatest area of deficiency identified by the business respondents was in communications. About half of new workforce entrants with two-year degrees and more than one-fourth with four-year degrees are rated as "deficient" in their ability to write and understand written material. That finding is not surprising, given the results of last year's National Assessment of Adult Literacy, which concluded that literacy among college graduates was shockingly low—and falling.

What makes that so disturbing is that when asked to name the most important skills for new workers to have, business leaders said that those same communication skills were the most important. Nearly 90 percent of the respondents said that those skills were "very important." (Understanding math was said to be "very important" to 64 percent, science was "very important" to 33 percent, and smaller percentages listed foreign languages, government/economics, history/geography, and humanities/arts.)

Those results underscore an important point. Most jobs don't call for deep academic background. Employers, for the most part, are

looking for people who are readily trainable and can work with others. Good language skills are of the greatest importance in that respect, but many graduates entering the workforce are weak there.

How can it be that people who have gone through their K-12 years and then at least two years of college could be "deficient" in the use of English? A few are children who grew up in households where English wasn't the main language, but even then you'd expect that they would be at least reasonably proficient in English if they've graduated from college. The problem starts early in our educational system.

Reading and writing have been degraded in many schools. Try asking a teacher how much time is spent on diagramming sentences and you're apt to get a blank stare.

Tests don't often include essays because grading them takes much more time than running a true-false test through a scanner. Careful reading of books has been replaced to a great extent by videos; papers have been replaced with artsy projects. It's little wonder that many incoming college students have an aversion to the sort of work that builds reading and writing skills.

Quite a few students do improve their communication skills somewhat in college, but many others coast through on much the same weak foundation they had as freshmen.

Professors often complain that getting their students to read assignments is like pulling teeth. Many of them have thrown in the towel and have adjusted their reading and writing demands downward to keep students happy.

A perfect example of that is found in the book *Generation X Goes to College* by Peter Sacks, who writes about his "sandbox experiment" to lower academic standards and increase the "fun" quotient in his courses in order to keep his job.

If we want to improve the usefulness of college, the place to start is with English skills. CJ



George C. Leef

George C. Leef is vice president for research at the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

Bats in the Belltower**The Top 10 Nuttiest
Campus Events in 2006**

Tis the season for traditional fare, and here it's been tradition to take one last, not-so-fond look back at 10 campus events of the expired year that made us blush, cringe, or otherwise experience unpleasantness. Such as:

10. Inclusion by invitation only. A conference at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill titled "The Politics of Inclusion: Higher Education at a Crossroads" turned out to illustrate academe's idea of inclusion by being a highly scripted, by-invitation-only affair.

9. The First Ammhmph. An audit of speech codes with the UNC system found that 13 of the 16 campuses had overly restrictive speech policies that could not be upheld in court. The report said that UNC schools were "failing miserably" to uphold speech rights.

8. Athletics tail wags the dogs. NC State fires its head basketball coach and offers one potential successor, Rick Barnes, up to \$2.2 million annually (it wasn't enough). UNC-Chapel Hill fires its head football coach and hires successor Butch Davis for \$1.86 million annually, with a retention bonus worth up to \$1.1 million for staying for five years.

7. But in Bizarro world, that means we won! In 2004, the Christian outreach fraternity Alpha Iota Omega sued UNC-Chapel Hill for derecognizing it since it required members to subscribe to the beliefs of the group. During the legal wrangling, UNC-CH changed its policies governing student groups to allow belief-based groups to choose membership according to agreement with those beliefs. Therefore, the judge ruled that the issue was now moot — at which point, UNC-CH officials congratulated themselves publicly for their "victory."

6. Haven't jihad enough? A cartoonist for *The Daily Tar Heel* depicts Muhammad musing over terrorism done in the name of Islam as showing him from his "worst" side. The Muslim Student Association registered its offense, and shortly afterward UNC-Chapel Hill Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Margaret Jablonski called the cartoon "hurtful" and Chancel-

lor James Moeser said the paper should apologize.

5. So many cities, so little time. The UNC system sets its sights on the N.C. Wesleyan College as a potential "UNC-Rocky Mount." Justifications of the idea include (1) Rocky Mount is the largest N.C. city without a UNC institution and (2) that part of the state is like a Third World country and needs "UNC-RM" for economic development.

4. Hey, even Third World "countries" need dentists. Legislators approve funding for another dental school in the UNC system, this one at East Carolina University, saying there aren't enough dentists in eastern North Carolina. Strangely enough, several U.S. states don't

have any dental schools but still manage to find dentists.

3. They want to give us money? What's next — lynching? Asked about the prospect of accepting funding from the Pope Foundation, which also funds several other university programs as well as the John Locke Foundation and the Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, a few N.C. State humanities professors went ballistic. Philosophy professor David Auerbach called the grant funds "dirty money."

2. Allah-dega nights. A Muslim student from Iran runs over nine students in the Pit at UNC-Chapel Hill, saying he did it for Allah. Naturally, the big issue for the administration was ... not to call the jihadist's attack on innocent students "terrorism."

1. Guilt by reason of whiteness. Duke lacrosse: everyone knows what happened. And everyone save, apparently, Durham District Attorney Mike Nifong knows what likely didn't happen. But only some race-pimping professors at Duke could blame "violent, white, male, athletic privilege" and say the "spirit of the lynch mob lived in that house on Buchanan Boulevard, regardless of the truth of the most serious charges." CJ



Jon Sanders

Jon Sanders is research editor for the John Locke Foundation.

**Hamilton College Refuses Funds
For Western Civilization Center**

By SHANNON BLOSSER
Contributing Editor

Hamilton College, a private liberal arts college in New York, opted not to accept a \$3.6 million gift to support a center focusing on the successes and failures of Western civilization. Faculty members had complained about the program's autonomy.

The center was to be called the Alexander Hamilton Center for the Study of Western Civilization in honor of Founding Father Alexander Hamilton, after whom the college is named. Robert Paquette, who was to direct the center, wrote about his plans in the December *Carolina Journal*.

But plans were derailed when faculty members complained about the "unprecedented and unacceptable" levels of autonomy the center allegedly desired. That led administrators to pull support for the program, after agreeing to support it in October.

In an email interview, Paquette, who is a professor of American history at Hamilton, described the center as a typical faculty "programmatic initiative." It would not have created new curriculum and would not have sought administrative support, such as money or secretarial assistance. He said that was not the case with other groups on campus such as the Kirkland Project, now known as the Diversity and Social Justice Project, which receive assistance from the school.

The Kirkland Project was the focal point of controversy at Hamilton College when it attempted to bring outspoken and ultimately disgraced University of Colorado professor Ward Churchill to campus in 2005. Paquette was a vocal critic of the Churchill speech as well as the school's attempt to hire Susan Rosenberg, a 1960s activist, radical, and felon. Rosenberg was to serve as an "activist-in-residence." Paquette told the *Utica, N.Y., Observer Dispatch* that the faculty backlash against the center was likely "payback" for his opposition to Churchill and Rosenberg.

As the center raised more funds, Paquette said, the cries from the faculty became louder. The center has even more money than the \$3.6 million donation from alumnus Carl Menges. Hamilton College officials have offered to return money donated to the center, Paquette

said.

"Perhaps with so much money so quickly we became too successful in the eyes of some folks who could accept a center directed by an outspoken conservative but only if it was circumscribed and marginal," Paquette said in an email. "I certainly predicted the hostility to the initiative by politicized faculty and prepared for it with back-up plans."

Paquette would not say what those back-up plans were, but did say that there have been at least two inquiries about moving the center to other campuses. "Since I have taught at Hamilton College for 25 years and on no other college campus, I would prefer, of course, to keep the center here."

"I certainly predicted the hostility to the initiative by politicized faculty and prepared for it with back-up plans."

Robert Paquette
Director-designate
of proposed Hamilton Center

There is a chance the center could still open at Hamilton College. The statement by school officials left the door open for future negotiations between the center and the college. But, said Paquette, "I'm not optimistic that our differences can be easily resolved." He is insistent that he will not support efforts by other faculty to have a say in the center's programming.

"The point was emphasized over and over again with the administration during the negotiations that led to the initial agreement," Paquette said. "Any attempt to impose on the center what's now being called 'faculty primacy' is an instant deal breaker and should suggest to many observers a level of intrusiveness in a faculty programmatic initiative that is extraordinary by the standard of most college campuses."

The center was scheduled to open with a focus on abolitionist Gerrit Smith, an alumnus of Hamilton College. Smith ran unsuccessfully for president in 1848 and served in the U.S. House. He was also a member of the Secret Six, a group of wealthy businessmen who funded John Brown's actions in the 1850s. In the second year of the center, the plan was to study property rights, including how the Founding Fathers understood them during the country's creation.

The center's charter said the center would be devoted to a "reasoned study of Western civilization, its distinctive achievements as well as its distinctive failures" and would foster "an educational environment of the highest standard in which evidence and argument prevail over ideology and cant." CJ

Students only marginally interested

What Is the National Survey on Student Engagement Telling Us?

By GEORGE C. LEEF

Concern that American college students might not be learning much during their years in school is not new. Back in 1999, the Pew Charitable Trusts made a grant to Indiana University to develop a means of gauging student achievement. What emerged was the National Survey of Student Engagement, a program designed to measure the extent to which students are active participants in their education. If there is evidence that students are really engaged in their college work, that is at least indicative of educational progress, and vice versa.

The survey accumulates data by sending a questionnaire to a large number of college freshmen and seniors. For the 2006 survey, more than one million were sent to students in the United States and Canada. The schools those students attend range from the most prestigious to the least. Institutions, however, have to choose to participate, and not all do. In North Carolina, all of the UNC campuses participated, along with 24 of the independent colleges and universities. Results are based on about 260,000 randomly selected responses.

The questions cover a wide range of school-related matters. One set of questions deals with the level of academic challenge and asks students, among other things, about the amount of written work they have to do, the number of books assigned, the intellectual depth of the coursework, and the amount of time they devote to their studies.

Another set of questions seeks to find out how much active and collaborative learning students do, asking for example how often they make class pre-

sentations or discuss course ideas outside of class. Another set of questions deals with faculty-student interaction—for example, how often students discuss class material with instructors out of class. The last two sets of questions ask whether students have enriching educational experiences and whether they regard the campus environment as supportive.

The most revealing question asked students how many hours per week they spent preparing for class. Most students apparently don't spend much time studying. The question breaks the amount of study time into five-hour increments.

On the whole, 66 percent of freshmen and 64 percent of seniors say they devote 15 or fewer hours to class preparation per week. (The results are broken down by type of school, but there is surprisingly little difference in the amount of studying reported by students at top research universities and students at colleges offering only a baccalaureate degree.) Only 18 percent of freshmen and 20 percent of seniors report that they study 21 hours per week or more.

The average amount of study time is roughly half the amount that professors think is necessary for adequate progress. Students find that college is a fun-filled environment and most of them decide that they don't want class preparation to get in the way of other activities.

Another key question asked about writing assignments. The decline in the



assignment of major papers seems confirmed in the student replies: 82 percent of freshmen and 48 percent of seniors say that they never have to write papers of 20 pages or more. Shorter papers are

far more common, but more than a third report that they never or less than five times a year have to write papers of five pages or less.

What we don't know is how demanding those papers are—do they call for a good deal of research, or mostly personal feelings?—and how carefully they are graded. Even so, the survey's figures show that many college students get little practice in writing. The weakness in writing ability among American graduates has been the subject of much criticism among employers, as the National Commission on Writing has reported.

Student engagement or lack thereof is reflected in the degree to which they discuss course ideas and material outside of class. Those who are mentally "plugged in" to their studies are likely to get into discussions outside of class often.

Sadly, the survey data appear to show that large numbers of students are only marginally interested in their coursework since they say that they only "sometimes" or never discuss it. Even at top research universities, 45 percent of freshmen and 38 percent of seniors give those responses.

In this respect, liberal arts colleges have the highest level of student engage-

ment, with 62 percent of freshmen and 69 percent of seniors saying that they "often" or "very often" discuss course ideas outside of class.

Similarly, the data show that few students engage faculty members outside of class, with the great majority of them reporting that they never (43 percent for freshmen and 28 percent for seniors) or only "sometimes" (39 percent for freshmen and 45 percent for seniors) discuss class ideas with faculty members outside of class.

All in all, the survey gives a picture of American college students that tells us that many appear to coast through their courses without putting in a great deal of effort. This view is entirely consistent with the data in the National Assessment of Adult Literacy showing low and declining levels of literacy among college graduates.

In his revelatory book *Beer and Circus*, Murray Sperber quoted a University of Missouri student: "Most students here, except for the journalism majors, feel they don't need to try hard [in classes] and they can get by and get their degree. You find that when you walk into your first class here.... Most Mizzou students are satisfied with easy schoolwork because other things are more important to them, mostly partying and following the Tigers."

The survey confirms that that attitude toward college work is widespread. CJ

George C. Leef is vice president for research at the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

North Carolinians for Home Education

The MISSION of NCHHE is to:

- PROTECT the right to homeschool in North Carolina.
- PROMOTE homeschooling as an excellent educational choice.
- PROVIDE Support to homeschoolers with conferences, book fairs, and other resources.



The IDEALS of NCHHE are:

- Educational excellence.
- Parental authority and responsibility for education.
- Protection and promotion of the family.
- Diligence in moral and ethical instruction.
- Responsible citizenship.
- Freedom of choice among educational alternatives.
- Defense of Constitutional rights.

Over 9000 people will attend the annual conference and book fair in Winston-Salem May 26-28. For more information about NCHHE, you can call the office at **919-790-1100** or visit the website at www.nche.com

As of January 2005, there were over 68,000 homeschoolers registered in the state of North Carolina.



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Town and County

Asheville annexations

Asheville is not expected to annex aggressively in 2007, the *Asheville Citizen-Times* reports. Instead, the city will focus on smaller fill-in additions while continuing its policy of avoiding taking in industrial sites.

City staff presented three options to city council: aggressive annexation, fill-in annexation only, or no annexation. No specific areas were discussed.

"I support filling in the gaps," said Mayor Terry Bellamy. "I don't think aggressive annexation is required right now."

Planning Director Scott Shuford also recommended that the city reconsider its policy of not annexing manufacturers. City council members, however, indicated that they were not inclined to go along until the city had a policy in place to provide incentives.

Complicating matters is that the higher property taxes that come with annexation aren't partially offset by lower rates for water. Control of the local water system has been a controversial issue between Asheville and Buncombe County in recent years.

State law prohibits Asheville from charging higher rates to customers outside the city than those inside the city.

Limiting portable storage

Durham recently limited how long portable storage units can be kept on-site.

"It's fine for them to be there for a short time," Ellen Reckhow, chairwoman of the Durham County Board of Commissioners, said to *The News & Observer* of Raleigh. "But on occasion, people are having them camp out on their lots, and they're becoming a nuisance."

Under the new rules, a mobile storage unit can be at a location for three days. After that, a homeowner must obtain a free permit, which is good for a month. Beyond that, there's a \$500 a day fine if the storage unit remains on site. County officials said they get about 25 or 30 complaints a day about the units.

"One of the nice things about the portable units is that they can take their time packing it," Lynn Yarboro, co-owner of a company that rents the units, said to the newspaper. "But then, I can see how neighbors might feel about seeing it out there week after week after week."

Yarboro expects the new regulations to hurt her business. CJ

Counties Undecided on Medicaid Swap Idea

By PAUL CHESSER
and MITCH KOKAI

Associate Editors

RALEIGH

Legislative leaders, in an agreement to relieve North Carolina's counties of their Medicaid budget burdens, might try to use "sleight of hand" and a series of political deals to raise taxes by nearly \$1 billion, an analyst for the John Locke Foundation says.

Lawmakers, most notably State Senate Majority Leader Tony Rand, have discussed with local government leaders in the past year the possibility of the state picking up the portion of Medicaid expenses that counties pay, in exchange for reducing the amount of sales tax the counties receive by one cent.

Currently counties (except for Mecklenburg) receive 2.5 cents of the total 6.75-cent sales tax consumers pay for goods. North Carolina is the only state in the country that requires counties to pay a portion (15 percent) of the nonfederal cost of administering the Medicaid program.

The state portion of the sales tax is scheduled to drop by another one-quarter percent next summer.

As an incentive for accepting the deal, state lawmakers would give counties the option of raising their sales tax by one cent (after the give-back to the state). Some revenue-starved local governments would be hard-pressed to avoid the opportunity to exact that levy, although county commissioners could be the ones to suffer any political fallout.

Joseph Coletti, fiscal policy analyst for the John Locke Foundation, said in a December report that the proposed swap would be part of an effort to raise taxes by nearly \$1 billion.

"Legislative leaders hope taxpayers won't notice the tax hike," Coletti said. "The state would give local governments the option to raise the sales tax rate by another cent."

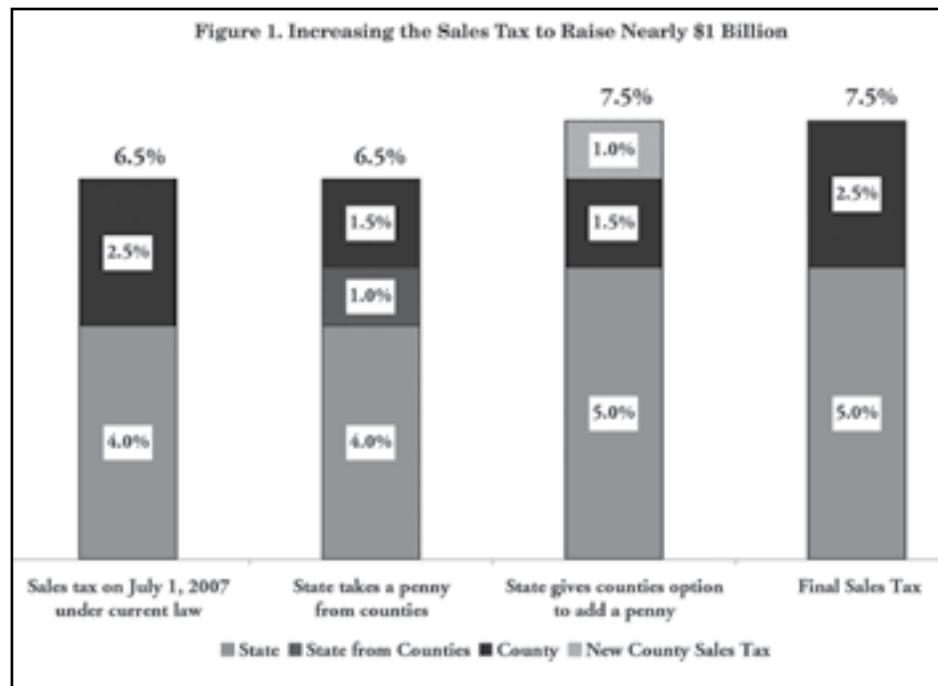
The end result would be a higher sales tax rate that takes \$940 million more from taxpayers, Coletti said. "That would mean a new 7.5 percent general sales tax rate for most counties and 8 percent in Mecklenburg," he said. "Unlike the last sales tax increase in 2001, this increase would be permanent."

A lot still has to be settled, but it's not a foregone conclusion that all counties would jump at the deal. Poorer rural counties, hit the hardest by Medicaid expenses, have been desperate for years to see that responsibility lifted from their budgets.

Some governments, many with more than 30 percent of their population eligible for Medicaid, dedicate nearly one-third of their property tax rate to cover Medicaid costs.

But to add another one cent in sales tax would create an additional burden upon poorer citizens, some say.

"If me and you are going to trade



The chart above is from page 2 of the John Locke Foundation Spotlight Report titled "Billion-Dollar Tax Hike." The report, issued in December, was written by John Locke Foundation fiscal policy analyst Joseph Coletti.

on something, in the end, both you and I need to feel like we gained something," said Jim Varner, Columbus County's manager. "But it looks like we're going to put more pressure on the local taxpayers."

Thirty-two percent of Columbus's population is Medicaid-eligible, and last year the county allocated 13.2 percent of its budget for the program.

Twenty-nine percent of its property tax was required to pay for Medicaid expenditures.

"We're the low men on the totem pole," Varner said. "Our folks don't need any more (taxes). They need some relief."

North Carolina already has a higher state and local tax burden than any other state in the region, Coletti said. "The proposed sales tax increase would expand the gap between North Carolina and its neighbors," he said. "The Tar Heel state would also have the 12th highest state and local sales tax rate in the country."

Lawmakers might try to win support for their plan by combining the sales tax switch with other spending and tax changes, Coletti said. The state would take over counties' \$470 million Medicaid burden, offer an earned-income tax credit for low-income workers, and cut the corporate income tax rate. Even with the corporate rate cut, the net tax increase would total \$840 million.

"This type of scheme would attempt to buy off interest groups while giving the appearance of addressing these critical areas," Coletti said. "Without being part of meaningful tax reform, these deal sweeteners would do little to improve the lot of working people or spur economic growth."

Coletti's report recommends avoiding any tax increase while taking other steps to address legitimate state funding concerns. Those steps include

searching for Medicaid savings, improving the state's road-funding formula, and increasing the efficiency of the school construction process.

A commission on modernizing state finances and its tax code is currently studying ideas, and its findings will be presented to the General Assembly next year.

Coletti advocates tax and spending reform. "North Carolina's reliance on a progressive personal income tax and a regressive sales tax on goods leave government revenues vulnerable to economic cycles," Coletti said.

David Thompson, executive director for the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, said his members are divided on the Medicaid-sales tax swap idea. His organization has not taken an official position, but if it gains traction next year, members will vote on it.

"I think there's going to be a lot of discussion and a lot of different plans floated," Thompson said. "Eventually we will (vote), but we'll have to do a lot of work with our members and legislators before that would happen."

"But I think this idea has some strength to it."

If counties were given the option to raise the sales tax, their elected commissioners might be the ones to bear political ramifications of an increase. But Thompson said that weight might not be so heavy, considering the alternative.

"I think they have such a tough situation now with Medicaid growing exponentially," he said, "that that would outweigh any political fallout they would have."

Legislators won't escape the responsibility of a tax increase, Thompson said.

"The state would have to deal with the political reality also," he said. "I think it will be fairly transparent." CJ

Kinston's Air Loss Not Unusual

By MICHAEL LOWREY
Associate Editor

Kinston might be the site of the Global TransPark, but travelers won't be able to get there easily by air anymore.

Delta Air Lines officials said Nov. 3 that the airline will discontinue flights to Kinston from Delta's Atlanta hub after Jan. 6. The move came despite \$200,000 in local funds and other incentives that were raised to promote the service.

Kinston's loss of all daily air service highlights the difficulty many smaller communities have attracting and retaining air service.

Raising the bar

Although there is some demand for air travel from smaller communities, there often aren't enough flyers going to any particular place at any one time to fill up a plane profitably. To get around that, airlines operate hubs, flying passengers going from various points ("spokes") to a central station (a "hub") to connect to a different flight to their final destination. This arrangement allows easy transfers to a large number of destinations, effectively placing much of the nation and beyond only a single connection away.

While the basic model remains as it was 10 or 20 years ago, the tools — the types of planes used — have changed in recent years. The aircraft of choice for serving smaller communities throughout the 1990s, 19-seat turboprops, are generally no longer economically viable today. Instead, larger aircraft, especially 50-seat regional jets, are used. The bigger aircraft require a greater amount of passenger demand to support. Several communities can't consistently generate that level of demand.

As recently as 1999, 14 North Carolina communities had daily scheduled air service. Now there are nine: Charlotte, Raleigh-Durham, Greensboro, Asheville, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Jacksonville, New Bern, and Greenville.

Delta comes — and goes

Among the locales losing service to US Airways' Charlotte hub, then their only regularly scheduled flights, were Kinston and Hickory. The other three dropped cities were Rocky Mount, Winston-Salem, and Southern Pines. In

early 2005, though, Delta officials said the airline would start service to both cities. Flights would be three times a day nonstop from its Atlanta hub, the world's largest, to both communities. Kinston and Hickory each provided incentives to help attract the service.

Flights to Hickory lasted less than a year. Delta pulled out in January 2006. Hickory proved to be too close to Charlotte to attract enough passengers willing to pay a higher fare in Hickory needed to cover the greater seat-mile costs of regional jet service.

Service to Kinston lasted only a little longer. Early this year, Delta cut service back to two flights a day before dropping the route entirely.

"What it gets down to is that the route is not economically viable for Delta in the long run with all of the intensive competition from surrounding airports," Delta spokeswoman Gina Laughlin said to *The Free Press* in Kinston. "Delta has to ensure that all of its planes are dedicated to routes that are going to be profitable."

John Marshall, co-chairman of the Lenoir Committee of 100's Air Services Committee, attempted to put a positive spin on the situation to the newspaper. "Armed with the same grit and determination, we will now work hard to attract

another air carrier to our airport," he said. "Given our track record, we feel confident of success."

As officials of the aviation-consulting firm the Boyd Group recently said, "The core drivers of enplanement growth are, and will continue to be, population and economic growth." For Kinston, the problem is it is near other cities that have air service, and Kinston's economy is stagnant.

Part of Kinston's problem is geographical. It is situated within 40 miles of three other, larger communities — New Bern, Greenville, and Jacksonville — that have air service. The 2005 populations of Greenville, 68,852, and Jacksonville, 73,121, each exceeds that of all of Lenoir County, 58,278, in which Kinston sits. Kinston's population is 23,068. While New Bern's population is much like Kinston, Craven County's, 92,670, is significantly larger than Lenoir County.

Kinston still will have scheduled air service of a sort. Allegiant Air recently began twice-a-week service, on Mondays and Fridays, between Kinston and Orlando. *CJ*



Commentary

Bureaucrats' Survival Tips

Intel founder Gordon Moore coined a phrase in 1965 now known as "Moore's Law," which essentially stated that computer power, or speed, doubled roughly every year.

The modern version, blessed by Moore himself, now says it doubles every 18 months. We see this every day as computers become faster and cheaper. Look at the new iPods and you get a feel for how much we incorporate the new advances daily into our lives.

I'd like to add to Moore's Law and coin a phrase known as Adams' Axiom (I might as well attempt to be remembered for something). The axiom goes like this: For all government programs, as the original intent and need for it dissipates there is an equal increase in the corresponding defenders of the program. That is to say, when we no longer need a given governmental creation, the volume of those wishing to keep it increases in legislative halls at budget time.

For example, civic centers dotted throughout the state lose money every year. They are used from time to time. There are even wonderful events conducted within them. But it would also be fair to say that the taxes used to support them, namely hotel-motel taxes, could be better used to promote tourism for the area.

It could also be argued that events conducted at private establishments, instead of at civic centers, contribute more to the local economy than do civic centers. But the minute someone attempts to ask such questions in public, swarms of supporters will decry the move, the volume of their collective voices will echo in the chambers of the elected.

The same could be said for municipal golf courses, which are essentially middle-class welfare and have no role in government. When any query arises about the justification of a public golf course, individuals will invariably talk about their memories of the course or the expense of an adjacent course.

All in all, subsidizing a golf course simply isn't right. Competing golf courses are paying property taxes to subsidize the existence of their competition. The course in question should be generating property taxes, not spending them.

The second axiom would be that though a program might no longer be necessary, making it too complex to understand will help to

ensure its long-term existence. Here, the ground becomes more fertile. This state has dozens of "economic incentive" programs, and the public has very little, if any, understanding of how they all work. Elected officials, likewise, understand very little of the various intricacies of the Lee Act, Golden LEAF, tax credits, industrial

training programs, Community Development Block Grants, and countless others. Keeping them complex protects them from scrutiny or revision. It took a colossal breakdown of ethics and a full-scale audit of the Northeast Regional Partnership to figure out it was rife with abuse and had to be shut down.

One has to wonder how much more problematic these programs truly are. As the State Auditor's Office probes more deeply we might yet see countless other issues surface with these partnerships.

In the end, state and local government should provide core services in an efficient and timely way, be simple and understood by the public, and be continually evaluated.

Complexity ensures the perpetuity of bureaucracy, and citizens become frustrated attempting to understand their government. If you think I'm lying, try to figure out whom to call the next time you need a pothole repaired. *CJ*

Chad Adams is vice chairman of the Lee County Board of Commissioners, director of the Center for Local Innovation, and vice president for development of the John Locke Foundation.



Complexity ensures the perpetuity of bureaucracy.

Local Innovation Bulletin Board

Urban Sprawl or Urban Myth?

High-altitude photos combined with satellite images show that modern U.S. cities are just bigger versions of older American cities, according to a new study.

University of Toronto economist Matthew Turner and his colleagues quantified one component of change in American cities: urban sprawl. They compared satellite images of the entire continental United States in 1976 and 1992, the most recent year complete data were available, and divided the country into 8.7 billion 98-foot squares to examine the question in unprecedented detail.

Photo evidence showed that the United States has grown. Nearly 2 percent of the country was paved by 1992, a third more than in 1976. However, the percentage of growth that is sprawl is not increasing. Although there is more development, on average, it isn't any more scattered.

Observations of individual cities are also surprising. Miami, for example, is about one-third more compact than either New York or San Francisco. Pittsburgh sprawls more than Atlanta or Washington.

Turner attributes about 25 percent of the difference to topographical factors such as groundwater accessibility, weather, and mountains.

The rest is pure human influence: Cities constructed during the automobile era are more scattered, while cities where employment is centralized and taxpayers shoulder more infrastructure costs tend to build on a relatively cheaper and more compact scale.

Trading spaces

Fast-growing U.S. metropolitan areas are beginning to shift toward a European housing pattern, with wealth concentrating in inner cities and inner-ring suburbs becoming home to many lower-income residents, Jay Bookman says in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

There are several reasons for the shift, Bookman says. U.S. suburbs have been popular with families that have children, but today fewer U.S. households include children. Fewer than 50 percent of U.S. households include a married couple.

Traffic is another reason. Affluent people are willing to pay a premium for in-town housing to

avoid long commutes, forcing the less-wealthy into outlying areas.

One prime example has been Atlanta and its surrounding suburbs. In fact, one of the city's biggest challenges in the next 10 to 20 years will be holding on to low- and middle-income workforce housing, as \$400,000 lofts and \$700,000 homes become more prevalent.

In Atlanta and elsewhere, the shift has been mainly along demographic lines, with whites predominantly moving back into urban centers and minorities moving out into the surrounding suburbs. As a result, problems that have been typically described as urban are gradually becoming suburban. Gangs, for example, have long been considered an urban phenomenon, but are now a more serious issue in suburban areas outside Atlanta.

Carless evacuations

Who has a car and who doesn't has taken on greater significance in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. The Census Bureau is producing detailed demographic profiles annually instead of every 10 years, enabling cities and counties to update evacuation plans based on transportation needs, *USA Today* reports.

In Washington, D.C., more than one-third of households in the city and more than 10 percent in the region don't have a car. The city has drafted a "walkout" plan to evacuate people on foot, and if rail service isn't running transfer points have been designated where people can wait for buses to take them to safety.

Houston is building a database of residents who would need transportation — residents who don't have vehicles or would need help can call 311 to register.

Officials have installed "hurricanes" to monitor traffic choke points up to 150 miles away and are allowing gasoline stations to keep their tanks filled at up to 90 percent capacity during emergencies instead of the usual 30 percent.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, cars might be of little help in the region, where the most likely emergency is one that can't be predicted: a major earthquake. That's why local planners welcome the increase in the share of households that don't have vehicles (29 percent in 2000 to 31 percent in 2005).

CJ

From Cherokee to Currituck**EMT Overtime Pay Upheld**

By MICHAEL LOWREY

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

A judge has thrown out a challenge to how Brunswick County compensates its emergency medical technicians for overtime. U.S. District Judge Louise W. Flanagan's ruling came in a class-action lawsuit filed on behalf of 39 EMTs last year, the *Wilmington Star-News* reports.

The county pays its EMTs based upon a "fluctuating week."

"A lot of counties do this with EMTs and firefighters," Norwood P. Blanchard, a lawyer representing the county, said to the newspaper. "They pay EMTs a salary and all of the hours they work over 40 [hours], they pay them an overtime premium based on their regular pay rate."

Brunswick County EMTs typically work 48 or 72 hours a week. The overtime premium is one-half their hourly rate. The EMTs contended they were entitled to time-and-a-half, as generally required by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Flanagan noted, however, that the fluctuating week was a legally recognized exception to the requirement for time-and-a-half pay for overtime.

Ironically, the 14 county EMTs not taking part in the lawsuit actually came out ahead of those who sued. The county compensated them and about 185 other county employees a total of about \$370,000 for pay "misclassifications."

Brunswick County Attorney Huey Marshall said the county couldn't compensate those who sued. "The judge said they were paid correctly," he said.

Development rule challenged

Developers have filed two lawsuits challenging Union County's new adequate-public-facilities ordinance. The lawsuits contend the provision, adopted in October, is discriminatory and that the county does not have the authority to impose the associated fee, the *Charlotte Observer* reports.

The public facility the ordinance addresses is classroom space. Union County has more than 7,000 students in trailers. In response, the county commission adopted a requirement that homebuilders pay a fee of up to \$15,000 for every new home they build in certain parts of the county or wait until the county has adequate classroom space.

Union County is not among the few counties that have the authority from the General Assembly to impose

an impact fee for school construction. Adequate-public-facilities ordinances are widely seen as an attempt to get around that lack of authority.

Mike Carpenter, executive vice president and general counsel of the N.C. Home Builders Association, described the ordinance as the most burdensome in the state. The association is a plaintiff in one of the lawsuits.

"The more people consider something like this, the more you're going to see challenges," County Manager Mike Shalati said of the lawsuits.

The suits also contend that the ordinance places an unfair burden on developers who are building on more than five lots, and that it is arbitrary and vague.

Wake Forest gets incentives

Local governments offering incentives to help lure for-profit companies is hardly a new development. Winston-Salem and Forsyth County, though, are taking the use of incentives to a new level with \$11.5 million going to Wake Forest University, a non-profit institution.

"It hasn't been tried before. Typically, when government looks at subsidies, they look at job creation," said Tony Plath, a finance professor at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, to the *Winston-Salem Journal*. "The private sector is more capable of generating jobs."

Under the agreement Forsyth County will provide \$6.7 million, and Winston-Salem will kick in \$4.8 million over 20 years. The money will be used for infrastructure improvements at the Piedmont Triad Research Park in downtown Winston-Salem, which is where Wake Forest University Health Sciences is planning to expand.

In exchange for the infrastructure improvements, Wake Forest has pledged not to seek tax-exempt status for two buildings and a parking deck. The university's willingness to have its property taxed is based upon a perverse incentive in federal grant regulations. Universities are allowed to pass along the cost of research facilities to the federal government. This includes property tax payments.

Officials estimate that the incentives would be about equal to up to 85 percent of the property taxes the university would pay on the properties. Wake Forest projects that the expansion will create 75 to 100 new private-sector jobs.

CJ

"A lot of counties do this with EMTs and firefighters."

**Norwood P. Blanchard
Attorney for
Brunswick County**

Claims of Streetcar Advocates Don't Live Up to Reality

By RANDAL O'TOOLE

Contributing Editor
BANDOW, Ore.

The so-called "modern streetcar" has become the latest urban planning fad, with cities from Albuquerque, N.M., (<http://www.cabq.gov/transit/modernstreetcar.html>) to Madison, Wisc., (<http://www.cityofmadison.com/streetcar/index.cfm>) considering new streetcar construction. Leaders from these cities often make pilgrimages to my hometown of Portland, Ore., which opened the nation's first modern streetcar line in 2001.

Commentary

There they learn that the streetcar has gotten people out of their automobiles and promoted economic development. After drinking the Portland Kool-Aid, the officials return home all fired up to build streetcar lines in their cities. Unfortunately, Portland tour guides typically feed these officials only half the story.

Portland's streetcar line extends from the Pearl District, north of downtown, to the South Waterfront District, south of downtown. Both districts have seen huge booms in the construction of condominiums, apartments, offices, and shops, which Portland officials are quick to credit to the streetcar.

What they don't tell you is that the developers of both districts have also enjoyed huge tax subsidies in the form of tax waivers, infrastructure subsidies, and direct grants. Portland taxpayers have paid or are shelling out more than \$250 million in subsidies to these districts, not counting the cost of the streetcar or the 10 years of property tax waivers that the city routinely grants to new construction



A streetcar makes a stop in Portland, Ore. (Photo courtesy www.railwaypreservation.com)

along the streetcar line.

In short, the streetcar had nothing to do with the new construction. Without the subsidies but with the streetcar, virtually no new construction would have taken place. With the subsidies but no streetcar, virtually all of the new developments would have been built anyway.

If the streetcar is not promoting economic development, does it at least help get people out of their automobiles? In a word, "no." An annual census of downtown businesses showed that in 2001, when the streetcar opened, 1 percent of downtown employees took the streetcar to work. By 2005, it was still only 1 percent (see <http://www.portlandalliance.com/pdf/2005census.pdf>).

At the same time, however, the number of downtown commuters who took other forms of transit to work declined by more than 20 percent, while the number who drove to work increased. One reason for this is that the large subsidies required for the streetcar and the developments along the streetcar line led to

budget and service cuts in Portland's bus and light-rail schedules (see <http://www.portlandalliance.com/pdf/2005census.pdf>). Because of those cuts, Portland's total transit ridership has been flat despite high gasoline prices.

The clear lesson is that if you pay huge amounts of money for what amounts to a Disneyland ride, you end up hurting the average transit rider. And not just transit riders: Portland schools, firefighting, police, public health, and other essential services have all experienced budget squeezes even as the city continues to give huge subsidies to developers along the streetcar line.

The full scope of these subsidies was uncovered in 2004, when a Portland newspaper revealed that former Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, considered the father of Portland's rail transit system, had raped a 14-year-old girl when he was mayor. His disgrace allowed local papers to divulge, for the first time, that Goldschmidt led what reporters called a "light-rail mafia" that existed mainly to direct public subsidies to Goldschmidt's friends and clients.

This mafia developed after Goldschmidt left public office and set up a consulting firm. He soon arranged for Bechtel to receive a no-bid contract to build a light-rail line; put a close friend — who happened to be a developer — in charge of Portland's transit agency, where he directed millions of

dollars of subsidies to his company's developments; and personally lobbied for the \$250 million in subsidies for the Pearl and South Waterfront Districts, most of which would go to his clients (see <http://ti.org/vaupdate60.html>).

On Sept. 17, Portland took a page out of Dickens when Goldschmidt client Homer Williams, the developer responsible for most of the subsidized developments along the streetcar line, sat down to dinner at an outdoor restaurant near the streetcar. A few feet outside the restaurant, he witnessed police subdue a schizophrenic man named Jim Jim Chasse.

Five years ago, Portland had a community policing system, a crisis triage center, and other resources that would have allowed the police to help this man (see <http://ti.org/vaupdate66.html>). But those services were cut while the city continued giving Williams and other developers hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies to develop properties along the streetcar line. Instead of helping Jim Jim, the police simply kicked him to death.

Most cities that fall for the streetcar hoax will not be lucky enough to have a Goldschmidt-style sex scandal, so taxpayers will never know where all their money went. The best solution for those cities is not to waste money on a streetcar line in the first place. CJ

If the streetcar is not promoting economic development, does it at least help get people out of their automobiles? In a word, "no."

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Whiteville	WTXY	AM 1540	Tuesdays	10:00 AM
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From the Liberty Library

• A judge for more than 20 years, Robert Dierker enjoyed a distinguished legal career. But now he is “breaking the code of silence” that has long kept judges from speaking out to present a withering account of how liberals run roughshod over the Constitution, waging war on the laws of nature, the laws of reason, and the law of God. Those outraged by America’s courts will be shocked by Dierker’s story of activist judges, deep-pocketed special-interest groups, pandering politicians, and others who claim to stand for tolerance, equal rights, and social justice, but actually stand for something quite different — something closer to totalitarianism. Citing not only Dierker’s own experiences but dozens of other recent court cases, *The Tyranny of Tolerance: A Sitting Judge Breaks the Code of Silence to Expose the Liberal Judicial Assault* shows how the courts enable left-wing activists to ram their agenda down the throats of Americans. Learn more at www.randomhouse.com/crown.

• In *The Cure: How Capitalism Can Save American Health Care*, Dr. David Gratzter looks at ways to infuse the health-care system with choice and competition, giving families more control over their health care, insuring millions without coverage, revamping Medicaid and Medicare, and making the FDA work better so that pharmaceuticals are safer and more affordable. Gratzter also considers the often-touted “solution”: government-run health care. Far from providing meaningful solutions, public systems are rife with politics and ever-intrusive bureaucracies, Gratzter says. Available at www.encounterbooks.com.

• On Wall Street, in the culture of high tech, in American government: Libertarianism has become an extremely influential strain of thought. But while many books talk about libertarian ideas, none until now has explored the history of this uniquely American movement — where and who it came from, how it evolved, and what impact it has had on our country. In *Radicals for Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement*, Brian Doherty traces the evolution of the movement through the life stories of its most influential leaders — Ludwig von Mises, F.A. Hayek, Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, and Milton Friedman — and through events that altered its course. At www.publicaffairsbooks.com. CJ

Book Review

America Alone: Fun Read, Frightening Message

• Mark Steyn: *America Alone: The End Of The World As We Know It*; Regnery Publishing; 2006; 224 pp; \$27.95 hardcover.

By MITCH KOKAI

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

If asked to rank every subject one might label “amusing,” most people could compile a pretty long list before reaching this topic: the decay of Western civilization.

An aspiring comedian is not likely to risk plagiarizing Jerry Seinfeld or Chris Rock if he cracks jokes suggesting the world as we know it stands on its last legs.

That’s what makes Mark Steyn’s latest book interesting. It’s funny — sometimes laugh-out-loud funny. But the subject matter lies as far from the field of comedy as a reader could expect.

Here’s the basic thesis: Western society is engaged in a life-or-death struggle with radical Islam, and all available evidence suggests the West is set up to lose. America might stand as the final fortress protecting liberal thought and democratic government from disaster.

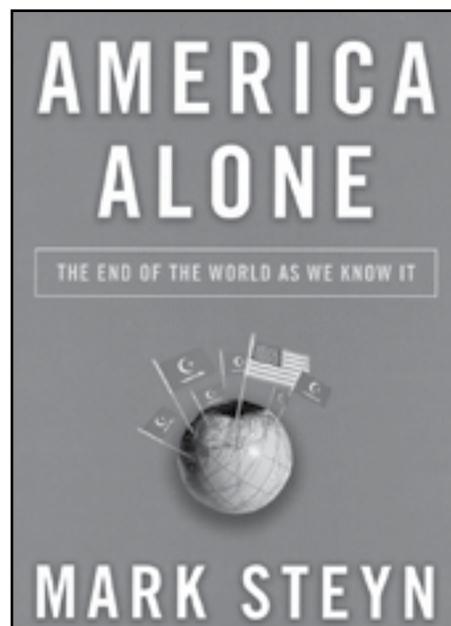
You’ve read the theory before if you’ve seen Steyn’s column as *National Review*’s “Happy Warrior,” or if you’ve read his work in *New Criterion* or the *Atlantic Monthly*. Now he stretches the argument to book length, splicing humor with harrowing observations about the challenges this society faces.

Steyn bases his theory partly on numbers. Simply put, the West is not fielding a large enough team to win a civilizational struggle. “Canada, Europe, and Japan are getting old fast, older than any functioning society has ever been and faster than any has ever aged,” he writes.

A fertility rate of 2.1 live births per woman means a stable population. “That’s what America has: 2.1, give or take,” Steyn notes. “Canada has 1.48, an all-time low and a more revealing difference between the Great Satan and the Great White North than any of the stuff (socialized health care, fewer handguns, more U.N. peacekeepers, etc.) that Canucks usually brag about. Europe as a whole has 1.38; Japan, 1.32; Russia, 1.14. These countries — or, more precisely, these people — are going out of business.”

Contrast those rates with those of the most fertile countries. “[T]he global fertility leader, Niger, is 7.46; Mali, 7.42; Somalia, 6.76; Afghanistan, 6.69; Yemen, 6.58,” Steyn reports. “Notice what those nations have in common? Starts with an *I*, ends with a *slam*. As in: slam dunk.”

The demographics could have major implications, Steyn suggests. “So if a population ‘at odds with the modern world’ ... is the fastest-breed-



“We’ve elevated the secondary impulses over the primary ones: national defense, self-reliance, family, and, most basic of all, reproductive activity. If you don’t ‘go forth and multiply’ you can’t afford all those secondary-impulse programs...”

Mark Steyn
In *America Alone*

ing group on the planet, how safe a bet is the survival of the ‘modern world’?” he asks. “The principal challenge to the United States in the years ahead is to avoid winding up the loneliest gal in town.”

“Go to any children’s store in Amsterdam or Marseilles or Vienna or Stockholm,” he adds. “Look at the women in headscarves or full abaya. That’s the future.”

Numbers tell only part of Steyn’s story. He also contends most European countries lack “civilizational confidence” that would help them preserve traditional values and governmental structures as Muslims continue to filter into the Western population.

“The question for today’s Europe is whether the primary identity of their fastest-growing demographic is Muslim or Belgian, Muslim or Dutch, Muslim or French,” Steyn writes. “[I]f ‘Dutchness’ or ‘Frenchness’ seems a weak attenuated thing, then the stronger identity will prevail.”

Steyn already sees negative signs in

European reactions to the Madrid bombings and the Dutch cartoon controversy. But he’s not surprised.

“To understand why the West seems so weak in the face of a laughably primitive enemy it’s necessary to examine the wholesale transformation undergone by almost every advanced nation since World War Two,” he explains. “Today, in your typical election campaign, the political platforms of at least one party in the United States and pretty much every party in the rest of the West are all but exclusively about ... secondary impulses: government health care (which America is slouching toward, incrementally but remorselessly), government day care (which was supposedly the most important issue in the 2006 Canadian election), government paternity leave (which Britain has introduced).

“We’ve elevated the secondary impulses over the primary ones: national defense, self-reliance, family, and, most basic of all, reproductive activity,” Steyn says. “If you don’t ‘go forth and multiply’ you can’t afford all those secondary-impulse programs, like lifelong welfare, whose costs are multiplying a lot faster than you are.”

Europeans who rely increasingly on their welfare states will not have the will to fight a challenge to their way of life, Steyn argues. “The populations of wealthy democratic societies expect to have total choice over their satellite TV packages, yet think it perfectly normal to allow the state to make all the choices in respect to their health care,” he writes. “It’s a curious inversion of citizenship to demand control over peripheral leisure activities but to contract out the big life-changing stuff to the government.

“And it’s hard to come up with a wake-up call for a society as dedicated as latter-day Europe to the belief that life is about sleeping in.”

By focusing on the more disturbing elements of Steyn’s narrative, this reviewer has shortchanged discussion of his biting wit. An example might help address the deficiency.

In lambasting “ecochondriacs” who ignore political realities to focus on environmental issues, Steyn considers the people likely to survive the supposed natural disasters that threaten the Western world.

“I think we can all agree which people would be ‘needed’ — Al Gore, the board of the Sierra Club, perhaps Scarlett Johansson in a fur-trimmed bikini paddling a dugout canoe through a waterlogged Manhattan foraging for floating curly endives from once fashionable eateries.”

Passages like this one make it possible for a reader to enjoy this book, even though the overriding message is frightening. CJ

Hostility to Taxes and Mismanagement of Revenue Not New

An American dislike of taxes is nothing new. As early as 1665, North Carolinians despised taxes — even if deemed necessary — and they especially loathed abuse of power and mismanagement of revenue. In particular, North Carolinians' irritation with the quitrent, basically a land tax, intensified during the early 1700s, when the new provincial government tried collecting back taxes and the Assembly and royal officials debated the proper role of the government and its use of the quitrent.



Dr. Troy Kickler

During the early 1700s, the quitrent system and the sale of land in the Proprietary caused disagreements among Lords Proprietors of North Carolina, their governors, the Assembly, and denizens. The Lords Proprietors demanded quitrents paid in sterling, but many Tar Heels could pay only with marketable commodities. Before 1715, agents seized land for nonpayment of taxes. But in 1715

the Albemarle Assembly forbade agents from assessing seized property and allowed commodities as payment. Quitrents were no longer profitable for the Proprietary, for the tax went strictly to paying officials' salaries. During the 1720s, the Proprietors lost more control over their colony, and almost 10,000 pounds of quitrents were in arrears. Except for Lord Carteret, the frustrated Proprietors happily sold their claims to the Crown in 1729.

North Carolina colonists' frustration with the quitrent increased during the administration of the first royal governor, George Burrington, an enemy of the Proprietors and ironically a former friend of liberty. After the Proprietors sold their land in 1729 and until Burrington arrived from England to take office in early 1731, North Carolinians lived basically without a government. Once in office, Burrington's chief concern was the government's existence and the collection of taxes. If the royal government canceled North Carolinians' back taxes under the Proprietorship, Burrington declared (the Crown had paid the Lord Proprietors 5,000 pounds for unpaid quitrents), then the Albemarle Assembly must provide a list of all registered land holders — a tactic

to obtain a list of taxpayers — and require quitrents from thereafter to be paid in coin.

The chief concern of the 1731 Albemarle Assembly, however, was defending liberty. The body told the governor that claiming such a small amount of back quitrents was a petty endeavor and that payment of current quitrents would be done as it had been since 1715. But perhaps more importantly, the legislative body reminded the new governor that only it possessed the authority to set fees. Burrington replied, however, that the king's current instructions trumped traditional practices. The Assembly responded by invoking their English rights as expressed in the Carolina charter of 1663. Until the end of Burrington's term in 1734, the Assembly and the governor never reached an agreement.

More political skill was displayed during Gov. Gabriel Johnston's administration (1734-52). After obtaining a tax list from the Assembly and securing the executive's right to set land values, Johnston allowed colonists to pay quitrents in sterling, provincial paper money, or in commodities.

Even so, land and quitrent

disputes marked his administration. When Johnston and his officials worked feverishly to collect taxes and determine land ownership, land disputes abounded, and colonists refused to pay quitrents for disputed land. Johnston threatened to increase taxes and expedite their recovery. After hearing reports that government officials started seizing land, the Assembly ordered the arrest of Johnston's agents. So Johnston closed the Assembly — the people's voice. The Crown, however, in 1741 eventually decided in favor of the landowners, who Johnston had argued illegally owned land.

Nowadays defenders of liberty and critics of government intervention in North Carolina are often labeled unfairly as unthinking reactionaries, and at times even un-American (America has to be achieved, you know). But our history has many stories such as the Albemarle Assembly that prove disliking taxes and questioning government power and management of revenue is an American and North Carolinian birthright. CJ

Troy Kickler is director of the North Carolina History Project.

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Short Takes on Culture

'Monet' Worth the Crowds

• "Monet in Normandy"
North Carolina Museum of Art,
Raleigh
Oct. 15, 2006 — Jan. 14, 2007

For connoisseurs of impressionists, "Monet in Normandy" provides a one-of-a-kind experience at a great price (between \$5 and \$15).

The exhibition features the work of Impressionism pioneer Claude Monet and includes a variety of his paintings that center on the various natural and architectural aspects of Normandy, France. The exhibit has benefited from a local media splash, but the content matches the hype. There is plenty here to satisfy the art enthusiast.

Of the 50 paintings featured in the exhibition, two of the most brilliant are "A Seascape, Shipping By Moonlight," which Monet completed in 1866, and "La Chapelle de Notre Dame de Grace," completed two years earlier in 1864. The first work depicts several sailing vessels adrift at sea, with beautiful play of light along the edges of clouds set in a tumultuous nighttime sky. The second, equally stunning, uses light brush strokes to create the illusion of wind movement in a clump of dark green trees across from an architecturally rich chapel.

The display's major downside is doubtless considered an upside by the museum — it is quite popular and crowded, even during morning hours on a weekday. Purchasing tickets in advance is a must. If you don't mind fighting crowds during flu season, "Monet in Normandy" is well worth your time.

— DAVID BASS

• "Casino Royale"
Sony Pictures Entertainment
Directed by Martin Campbell

"Casino Royale," the latest James Bond movie, is smarter and funnier than the past two installments in the series. The goofy one-liners, while still present, are more tongue-in-cheek than serious. Daniel Craig brings back the gritty, brooding Bond that Sean Connery popularized in "Dr. No."

In "Casino Royale," a young, blond Bond has just achieved his "00" status — and makes the rookie mistakes to prove it. It's a fun contrast to earlier films in the series in which Bond effortlessly seduces every woman in sight, maintains a perfect coiffeur and vanquishes his enemies, all without spilling a drop of his vodka martini (shaken, not stirred, of course.)

This movie creates a new angle on 007; in "Casino Royale," Bond is

still learning the ropes. And the movie is funnier and more suspenseful as a result.

"Casino Royale" also provides a 21st century update to 007's usual Cold War missions: Bond must stop a banker from winning a casino tournament and using the prize money to fund terrorist activities. However, some suspension of disbelief is needed to connect Bond's rookie mission, set in 2006, to the 20 Bond films spanning from the Cold War to the present.

"Casino Royale" revitalizes a series that was oversold and predictable. I can't wait to see the next one.

— JENNA ASHLEY
ROBINSON

• "The Unit"
CBS
Tuesdays at 9 p.m.

"The Unit" is the most refreshingly politically incorrect show on television. It's centered around a super-secret special forces unit accountable only to the president. They fly to foreign countries at a moment's notice, usually to blow something up or rescue someone. A bunch of people usually get killed in the process.

On a recent show, for instance, the unit's leader, played by Dennis Haysbert (best known as President David Palmer on "24" and from his Allstate commercials), is captured and tortured by Georgian rebels. His unit comrades come to his rescue and, without official permission from higher-ups in Washington ("We're off the clock," is how they put it), they capture a notorious Georgian assassin and set up a prisoner exchange.

As the Georgians drive away after the exchange, one unit member asks another if he has notified Washington. He says he hasn't, but adds: "I told the Air Force." The camera then cuts to a jet fighter that swoops in and promptly blows up the Georgians driving away in their vehicle. The unit members nod in approval, get into their own vehicle and drive away as the credits roll. Now that's an ending.

"The Unit" is unapologetically pro-military, portrays the men and their dependents (that's military talk for wives and kids) fairly, and gives those unfamiliar with the military some glimpse into what makes these special people tick. As a military brat myself, I have one minor quibble, though: The base housing these folks live in is much nicer than any I ever saw on any base I ever lived on. But that's a small point that doesn't detract from one of the best shows on television.

— JON HAM CJ

Book Review

Mavericks at Work Goes Beyond Conventional How-To Books

• William C. Taylor and Polly LeBarre: *Mavericks at Work: Why the Most Original Minds in Business Win*; HarperCollins Publishers; 2006; 316 pp; \$26.95 hardcover

By KAREN MCMAHAN
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

William Taylor, cofounder and founding editor of the magazine *Fast Company*, and Polly LeBarre, former senior editor of *Fast Company*, have captured the essence of creativity in business — disruptive strategies that alter the business landscape and transform companies from merely best-in-class to "better than best in class." In a marketplace known for mimicry, mediocrity, and stale corporate buzzwords, Taylor and LeBarre brilliantly delineate uncommon principles that enable upstarts as well as industry giants to differentiate themselves from and outclass their competition.

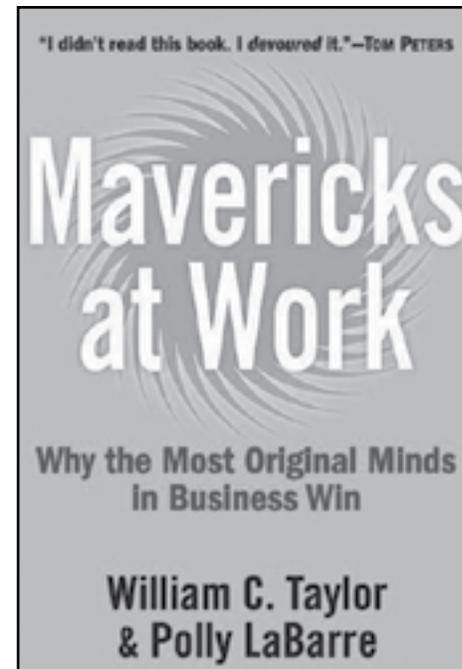
Mavericks at Work extends beyond conventional business how-to books that merely instruct or inform readers. This book vividly demonstrates the what-if thinking of mavericks in their fanatical quest to create distinctive companies, cultures, and products. The authors succeed in evoking within the reader the spirit, imagination, and passion of the unconventional leaders they profile.

This book invites readers inside the companies that are revolutionizing how business thinks and executes strategy. From banking, technology, and investment services to advertising and construction design, these mavericks offer practical and refreshing strategies for rethinking and reimagining business.

The notion of outfoxing the competition is replaced by the notion of rethinking the competition through "disruptive points of view." With almost missionarylike zeal, leaders of companies such as Anthropologie, Cirque du Soleil, Craigslist, Google, ING Direct, Jones Soda, and Starbucks are reinventing innovation, reconnecting with customers, and redesigning work.

Mavericks believe passionately that the foremost principle of business is to set the rules of the game, not play by existing ones; to be different from instead of mimicking your competitors. So how do executives, would-be entrepreneurs, and aspiring business leaders create a truly original competitive strategy? They start with a clearly defined purpose.

Distinctive companies purposefully cultivate a culture based on a sense of shared values. The evidence that companies are truly original, according to Taylor and LeBarre, is that they create



an "authentic homegrown vocabulary that captures how a company competes, how its people work, why it expects to succeed, and what it means to win." The Seattle-based gaming company Cranium, like the others profiled, thinks and talks about its business differently than its competitors. Where else would one find a senior executive called "CHIFF Champion," which stands for "Clever, High-quality, Innovative, Friendly, and Fun?"

Distinctive businesses do not sell products; they sell an emotional experience — a sense of identity. The success of companies such as Southwest Airlines, Starbucks, and Google can be explained largely by their ability to create a visceral, emotional experience for their customers. Customers are not just loyal, they're evangelistic.

Mavericks look for talented individuals who are insatiable learners, who want to work with the best and brightest, and who have challenging, meaningful projects.

Long-term business success depends on attracting people with the right fit, not just those with the best credentials. They must believe in the company's values and strategy. Maverick companies actively "scout great talent ahead of the need for it."

Many of the leaders, like their strategies, are both unconventional and even controversial, but there's no doubt they are transformational. What set this book apart is its penetrating questions, insight, and practical strategies for those who want to transform how they think about and conduct business. The appendix itself is unconventional, with extensive resources to help the reader explore and learn how to "out-think, out-innovate, out-sell, and out-work the competition."

CJ

Reason a Pathetic Product from Supposed Intellectual

• Robert Reich: *Reason: Why Liberals Will Win the Battle for America*; Knopf; 2005; 257 pp; \$24

By **GEORGE LEEF**
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH Robert Reich, Brandeis University law professor and former secretary of labor in the Clinton administration, fancies himself to be a public intellectual and with his latest book, *Reason: Why Liberals Will Win the Battle for America*, offers his views on the state of affairs in America.

Reich says he's frightened by the rise to power of the broad coalition that doesn't like left-interventionist policies. He labels the entire group "Radcons" (radical conservatives), thus placing under the same imaginary tent Rush Limbaugh and Milton Friedman, Robert Bork and Ron Paul, the Moral Majority and Cato Institute.

All the Radcons, you see, have villainous designs on America, but Reich is here to save the day by exposing their ideas to the light of reason. Once people have been shown the true way—kindly "liberal" laws and regulations that help people and bring about fairness—they will abandon the Radcons and the nation will again be safe.

That's how Reich wants people to see things. I dissent. *Reason* has precious little reason in it. Rather than confronting Radcon positions with argumentation, Reich is content to pound away at straw men. By painting all his opponents with a wide, coarse brush, Reich avoids confronting serious adversaries. For an intellectual, this book is an embarrassment—or should be.

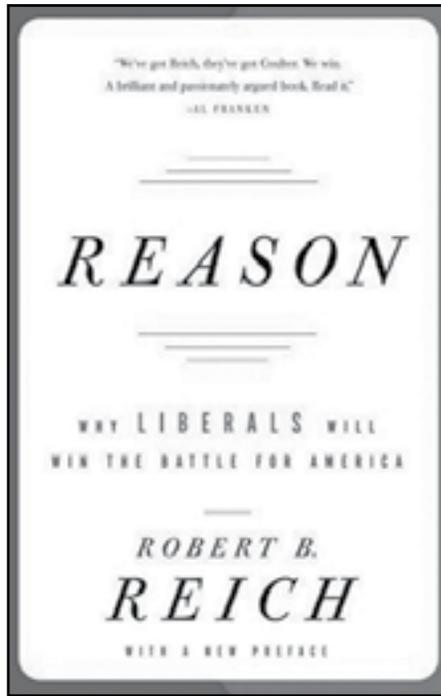
First, Reich whines that Radcons have distorted "liberalism" (i.e., interventionism of the FDR - LBJ sort) and

have "demonized" their opponents in order to gain the upper hand. They win by cheating, in other words. Of course, some opponents of Reich's liberalism resort to language tricks. Plenty of its defenders do the same. The point Reich deliberately obscures is that many opponents of his political agenda use nothing except impeccably honest, scholarly arguments that don't distort anything.

The battle of ideas has always had its hatchet men, but in a book that purports to confront the opposing case, they're irrelevant. In fact, Reich is guilty of the very thing he accuses Radcons of—trying to make easy points by demonizing those who disagree with him.

Reich's tactic of putting all his opponents in one easily sinkable boat is especially annoying. He writes that Radcons are in favor of launching pre-emptive wars, stifling dissent, and restricting civil liberties. That's true about some of the people Reich wants to discredit, but is he so ill-informed as to be unaware that libertarians (and some conservatives) consistently oppose foreign military escapades and all laws that interfere with free speech and civil liberties?

Speaking of civil liberties, I can't resist mentioning that as secretary of labor, Reich once said that during strikes,



labor unions need to be able to "strap their members to the mast"—that is, prevent them from returning to work if they conclude that the strike is not in their best interest. How's that for a restriction on civil liberty? To "liberals" like Reich, freedom is a good thing when they favor the result (e.g., opposing a war they don't like), but not when the result isn't to their liking (e.g., undermining "labor solidarity").

One of Reich's complaints is that the Radcons have degraded political discourse by their use of nasty language. He admits that the United States has a long history of political vitriol and that liberals are not guiltless, but he contends that the Radcons have taken political mudslinging to new lows. One example he gives (get ready for this) is the comment one columnist made about Anita Hill during the Clarence Thomas confirmation battle, saying that she "was a little nutty, a little slutty." Oh, how terrible!

Conveniently, Reich fails to mention the far worse things that were said by many opponents of Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas.

Reich labels those who favor a limited state that only protects life, liberty, and property "free-market fundamentalists." It's a put-down, implying an irrational attachment to economic liberty.

You'd think it child's play, then, for so brilliant a thinker as Reich to crush the arguments of the fundamentalists against his beloved left-interventionism, but in one of the very few instances where he deigns to mention a serious free-market thinker, Friedman, here's how it goes. He quotes Friedman as saying that the trouble with governmental welfare is that it "has a bad effect on the fabric of society."

Does Reich provide a counter-argument to prove that politicizing the support of the indigent actually has no harmful effects on the social fabric? No. Instead, he delivers this little pep talk to his faithful readers: "To [Friedman] and his followers, the free market has the same intoxicating quality that religion has to born-again Christians. Facts aren't especially relevant. The perfection of the market has to be accepted as a matter of faith." That's it. No refutation, but just an inaccurate generalization pretending to be a refutation.

Reich simply won't admit that his "liberal" paradise might be flawed. When discussing the defeat of Clinton's plan to take the nation irretrievably into government-run health care, he blames it on an evil cabal of Republican politicians who merely wanted to hand Clinton a political defeat. The great volume of scholarly work that was produced showing that the plan would have many bad effects is never mentioned. Nor does he devote any space to the problem of confining big government to doing only the kinds of good things he approves of.

Reason is a pathetic book from someone who regards himself as an intellectual. CJ

George C. Leef is vice president for research at the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

BOOKS AUTHORED BY JLF STAFFERS



By John Hood
President of the
John Locke Foundation

Selling the Dream Why Advertising is Good Business



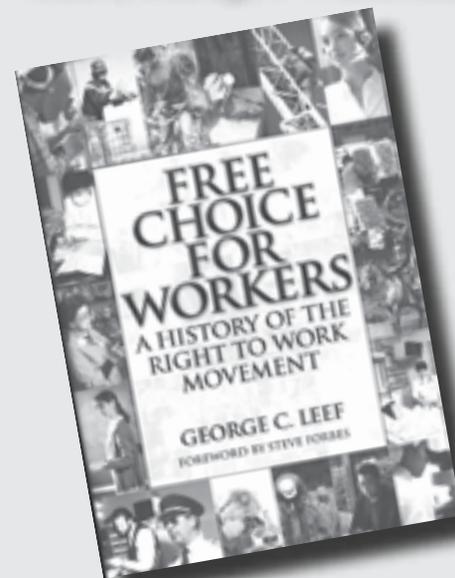
"[Selling the Dream] provides a fascinating look into the world of advertising and beyond ... Highly recommended."

Choice
April 2006

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BOOKS AUTHORED BY JLF STAFFERS

Free Choice for Workers: A History of the Right to Work Movement



By George C. Leef
Vice President for Research at the
John William Pope Center for Higher
Education Policy

"He writes like a buccaneer... recording episodes of bravery, treachery, commitment and vacillation."

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Commentary

Tolls Won't Fix Poor Policy

The appeal of toll roads is simple enough. In effect, toll receipts act as an addition to existing highway funding, allowing more roads to be built. Tolls are appropriate for expensive new road projects that would be heavily traveled, as these can be built much more quickly than they otherwise would by issuing bonds against future toll revenues.

Leave it to North Carolina to foul up the concept, though. While the General Assembly established a turnpike authority a few years ago, the selection and scope of projects continues the state's trend of being unable to prioritize road needs while playing budgetary games. In effect, toll roads in the state will often amount to nothing more than a stealth tax increase, with the General Assembly asking drivers desperate to get where they want to go to pay at the toll booth for roads the state promised to be paid for by a previous tax increase. To make matters worse, the legislature and Gov. Mike Easley have proven quite willing to take highway money to close state budget gaps.

A case in point is the proposed U.S. 74 bypass around Monroe. When the General Assembly raised the gasoline tax and various fees in 1989, one of the projects the extra funds generated was supposed to pay for was improving U.S. 74 from Charlotte all the way to Wilmington.

The project has been held up by a combination of local politics and environmental permit problems. Eventually, a toll connector was envisioned between the proposed U.S. 74 bypass and nearby Interstate 485, the Charlotte Outer Belt. Early this year, the plan was revised to make most, if not all, of the bypass a toll road.

The legislature also changed state law to make a portion of I-540, Raleigh's Outer Loop, now under construction, into a toll road. The change was necessary to generate enough toll revenue to build the next section of the road a few years sooner.

Then there's the case of using tolls as a means to bump a new project up the state's priority list.

Toll roads' primary initial backer was Sen. David Hoyle, D-Gaston, who had a specific project in mind: the Gaston East-West Connector, also known as the Garden Parkway.

The proposed 22.3-mile long highway would serve as a third major artery across the Catawba River between Mecklenburg and Gaston counties before continuing as a sort of loop road around southern Gastonia. If built as a toll road, portions could be open by 2015, far sooner than otherwise possible.

There's only one problem, though: Tolls alone won't cover the cost of building the highway, the cost of which is now estimated at up to \$1.5 billion.

Tolls won't even come close, in fact, and a considerable

portion of the road is now envisioned as being toll free.

To make up for the funding gap, the project was quietly added in recent years to the list of the Highway Trust Fund's projects.

It's difficult, though, to make the case that the connector, even with some toll receipts, is among the state's top highway needs. While the Charlotte region in general is growing rapidly, that does not extend to Gaston County.

The county's population is estimated to have increased by less than 2 percent between the April 2000 census and July 2005. By comparison, North Carolina's overall population was up 7.9 percent between 2000 and 2005. Mecklenburg County's population grew by 14.5 percent over the same period.

The request to build the Gaston East-West Connector comes just as the state is delaying many road projects. The NCDOT is having a hard time finding \$40 million to widen a seven-mile stretch of an existing urban loop, Charlotte's I-485, where it is notoriously congested on a daily basis near Pineville.

North Carolina's road problems come from poor policies and planning. Tolls won't fix that. *CJ*



Michael
Lowrey

Michael Lowrey is an associate editor of Carolina Journal.



Editorial

New Speaker Must Seek Reforms

Pundits, news crews, and political junkies will focus their attention on Jones Street later this month. They will watch closely as the N.C. House chooses its first new speaker in eight years.

But once the cameras disappear, the House will make another important decision. That decision could have as great an impact on the future of North Carolina public policy as the identity of the person holding the House gavel.

One of the first actions the newly constituted House will take is to set rules for conducting business over the next two years. If the past is any guide, there won't be much debate about those rules. That would be a shame, since the new year brings a major opportunity for rules reform.

The House spent a lot of time last year talking about reform: new ethics rules, new lobbyist restrictions, new campaign guidelines. But House members did nothing to change the rules process that generated some of the fiercest criticism of outgoing Speaker Jim Black.

Now Black has dropped out of the speaker's race. No potential rules reformer must worry about stepping on his toes. There's also a void of power in the key position of Rules Committee chairman.

Bill Culpepper used that post for years to advance Black's agenda, but he left the House before the 2006 session to serve on the N.C. Utilities Commission. Three representatives split the Rules chairmanship last year, so no one person has consolidated its power.

A new speaker will appoint new Rules Committee leadership. Let's hope that speaker will also make much-needed changes in the rules themselves.

The following ideas are not new. A group of Republican representatives outlined them last year. Their impact would

be nonpartisan. With a 68-52 majority in the House, Democrats would still control the outcomes of House debate.

Among the most important ideas: A three-term limit on any future House speaker. For decades, tradition limited the speaker to one term. Any speaker who abused power knew that abuse would come back to haunt him after the next election.

It's not necessary to return to that old system, but it's clear that a speaker limited to no more than two terms, or four years, in office would have less opportunity for mischief and more incentives to deal fairly with colleagues.

A second major rules reform would ban from the state budget any legislation that's unnecessary for spending or taxing purposes. No mandatory eye exams for school kids.

No special tuition deals for out-of-state athletes. No special lottery rules. If lawmakers want to approve those measures, they should vote for them in stand-alone bills that face normal legislative scrutiny.

Third, lawmakers should ban from the final budget document, the so-called "conference report," any items that were not included in the House and Senate versions of the budget plan. The conference report has served as a vehicle for dubious budget provisions in the recent past.

The House can adopt other simpler reforms: limiting late-night debates by banning the speaker from turning off the House clock, forcing the speaker to allow any representative to debate bills and offer proper motions, allowing a simple House majority to overturn the speaker's rulings.

A new face will lead the House for the next two years. Let's hope the new speaker takes time to give these and other ideas the proper consideration. *CJ*

Make Trust Fund Regional

Water quality is a good place to start when thinking regionally

North Carolina's Clean Water Management Trust Fund was a good idea at its creation 10 years ago. For the most part, it remains a good idea — spending tens of millions of tax dollars a year on a legitimate state function, protecting water quality, by buying land from property owners rather than just confiscating it or regulating it into worthlessness.

Unfortunately, like so many similar initiatives, it has proved to be less praiseworthy in practice than in theory. Spending tax money to purchase wetlands or reduce runoff may constitute environmental protection, but it also constitutes payouts to landowners. Those who get the money, or live near those who get it, will be happy. Those who don't, or don't, won't.

Furthermore, while the original idea may have been to bank sensitive land so it wouldn't be developed, the trust fund also makes grants to local water and sewer authorities to make system improvements. This is not as good an idea.

While faulty systems do affect communities downstream, bailing them out with funds collected from taxpayers statewide reduces the incentive to keep water and sewer facilities in good working order and to charge accurate prices

for water and sewer service. Keeping the price artificially low creates incentives for still more development, and more demand for water and sewer.

According to an excellent report in *The Fayetteville Observer*, politics appears not only to have intruded in the operation of the Clean Water Management Trust Fund, but also to have contributed to the departure of Bill Holman, until recently the executive director of the fund. Holman doesn't seem to have been willing to play ball with the appropriate politicians.

Policymakers should consider breaking up the statewide trust fund into regional funds, based around river basins, each with its own board and deriving its revenue from taxes levied within each region. Water-quality concerns, rather than politics or economic development, should still be the criteria for making expenditures. But a regional approach has the added advantages of bringing decisions closer to the affected communities and reducing the subsidy of development in sensitive areas.

There's been lots of talk lately about how North Carolina's communities should think and act more regionally when addressing common problems that spill over their borders. Water quality would be a good place to start. CJ

Cut Pork, Then Let's Talk

Spending on boondoggles should come second to real needs

As legislators and other state leaders continue to discuss reforming North Carolina's tax code and revisiting the job responsibilities of state and local government, it would be nice to see a greater willingness to set priorities with the existing flow of government revenues.

Few would question that a growing state will inevitably put pressure on public authorities to keep up with needs for schools, roads, water and sewer capacity, and other basic infrastructure. The system for financing these services — be it primarily state or primarily local, based on taxation by income flows or accumulated assets — should ensure that growth pays for itself over time. Some of these services, such as public education, are under our state constitution deemed entitlements and as such are properly paid for with broadly applicable taxes. Other services, such as water and sewer, are essentially government-franchised enterprises that should charge accurate prices based on usage.

State highways and streets are sort of in-between — they aren't entitlements, like law enforcement or public education, and users should pay accurate prices. But for technical reasons, it has been impractical to charge drivers

in real-time except in the case of limited-access highways. So states opted for a broadly applicable tax that nevertheless bears some relationship to usage, such as a per-gallon gas tax.

Just in the past decade, North Carolina localities have spent hundreds of millions of dollars subsidizing sports stadiums, convention centers, performing-arts venues, and other projects that should be funded by customers, users, or private patrons. The state government has also plowed sizable sums, easily topping \$1 billion within the period, into subsidizing such projects, often at the discretion of powerful legislative leaders or governors, as well as private corporations receiving incentive packages.

Before telling North Carolinians once again that we are keeping too much of our own hard-earned money to spend as we wish, the politicians should demonstrate a willingness to set priorities.

No more foolish convention centers in Raleigh, trolleys in Charlotte, and concert arenas in Fayetteville. No more city-owned golf courses. No more state-subsidized movie houses and country-music theaters. Asheville, sell your civic center. Then let's talk schools and roads. CJ

Commentary

The Problem With Freedom

The problem with freedom is that other people may do things that trouble, annoy, or even anger you. In a free society, you have no authority to stop them.

Strictly speaking, that's not a problem. It's a solution. Throughout most of human history, much suffering has derived from a lack of freedom. One faction obtained government power, wielded it to impose its moral, social, or political values on others, and then either successfully or unsuccessfully made its imposition stick with violence or intimidation. Another faction, aggrieved, eventually obtained power of its own, and the cycle of strife recurred.

Freedom is a solution in a world of conflicting values — which is, in fact, the only world we've got. If you are free to worship Baal and I am free to worship God, one of us is likely to be in dire moral peril. But at least I am not also fearful of being tyrannized or killed for acting on my beliefs, and you can say the same. Moreover, in a free society I have more than just the right to worship as I please. I also have the right to attempt to evangelize you, just as you have the right to try to sell me the full Baal-Believers benefits package, complete with free Ginsu knives for ritual sacrifice.

Of course, in a free society, there's nothing that says one has to listen. Therein lies the problem. In my experience, liberty lovers fail to appreciate how difficult it is for most human beings to handle not being listened to, and to be confronted with the fact that others are doing something self-destructive or wrong but can't be enjoined from continuing. Such psychic pain is also an inalienable facet of human nature. It can be excruciating. Yielding to the temptation to use government coercion to make this pain go away is wrong, but surely one can understand why it happens.

It has become fashionable in modern society to attribute this behavior primarily to religious conservatives, typically portrayed as puritanical busybodies or hypocrites. For example, some North Carolina activists are waging a spirited battle against a proposal to allow people to hunt on state-regulated land on Sundays. Opponents

believe that because the God of Exodus commands us to remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, activities such as hunting, shopping, or consuming alcoholic beverages should be discouraged on Sundays. Fair enough. They also believe government should do the "discouraging." That's unfair and too much.

But I find at least as much willingness among groups on the political Left to use governmental coercion to impose their beliefs at the point of a gun. They favor the passage of laws making it illegal to refuse to rent a garage apartment to, say, gays and lesbians. They enact speech codes on public-university cam-

puses. They seek restrictions on advertising, either because they don't like the products being sold or they don't think consumers are smart enough to understand the claims made. They assert the right to impose restrictions on wages, prices, working hours, and other conditions of employment regardless of what the parties to an employment contract may seek or think is fair. They think it's okay to force taxpayers with strongly held moral or religious views to pay for obscene art. They want to ban smoking (but wouldn't accept the label of puritanical prohibitionists).

Freedom isn't easy. It requires us to be grown-ups, to settle for living in a society in which some people, no matter how hard we try, just aren't going to do what we say or believe what we believe. It requires hippies to respect the rights of Southern Baptists, and those with less material wealth or earning potential to respect the rights of those with more, and gays to respect the rights of straights, and pacifists to respect the rights of hunters. Yes, it also means the reverse in each case. It works in both directions, all directions.

Yielding to the temptation to coerce inevitably creates a more serious problem than the problem of learning to live with daily annoyances and outrages — just as yielding to a strong temptation to drink or overeat can make one feel good in the short run but cause severe harm in the long run. Guess it's time for a new 12-step program. CJ

Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation.



John Hood

Editorial Briefs

Ethanol harms environment?

In the rush to promote ethanol as environmentally friendly, proponents are ignoring the fact that ethanol consumes more resources than it saves, says John A. Baden, chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment.

In the cover story of the October *Consumer Reports*, ethanol was compared with gasoline and diesel to see how well the alternative fuel actually conserved resources.

While diesel contains about 140,000 British thermal units per gallon, and gasoline 115,000 Btu, denatured ethanol contains only 78,000 Btu per gallon, these numbers translate into low fuel mileage.

For example, *CR* tested a new Chevy Tahoe and found that in highway driving (on 85 percent ethanol), gas mileage decreased from 21 to 15 miles per gallon.

In city driving, it dropped from nine to seven. Two old diesel ranch trucks that weigh a ton more than the new Tahoe each get more than 20 mpg on the highway.

Government subsidies contribute to wasting resources. Flex-fuel vehicles are designed to run on either gasoline or a blend of 85 percent ethanol and 15 percent gas, E85. Automotive manufacturers receive generous fuel-economy credits for each flex-fuel vehicle built, even if it never runs on E85.

HSAs slow to catch on

Studies have shown that Health Savings Accounts have been slow to catch on with consumers. A survey by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that only about 4 percent of covered workers are enrolled in such plans last year, a rate statistically no different from 2005.

While many experts see this model as the wave of the future for employee benefits, workers need to be better educated about the plans, and the rules need some improvements, the *Dallas Morning News* reports.

But the use of the accounts could rise with two recent announcements by Wal-Mart. Starting this month, Wal-Mart's primary health insurance offering for new employees will be a high-deductible health plan with premiums as low as \$11 per pay period in some areas.

After employees are enrolled in Wal-Mart's coverage for a year, they can pair the high-deductible plan with a health savings account, plus a contribution of up to \$2,400 from Wal-Mart.

Because of Wal-Mart's size, its move is "very significant," says John C. Goodman, president of the National Center for Policy Analysis.

What's more, Wal-Mart's recent announcement that it's expanding its offer of \$4 prescriptions for some generic drugs will enable consumers to use HSAs better, said Devon Herrick, a senior fellow at the NCPA.

"Wal-Mart gives price transparency," Herrick said. "You would immediately know what the price is. With a drug plan, you have to call the drugstore, you have to ask them how much does this drug cost, and they would ask you who insures you." CJ



Is Manufacturing Still Alive and Kicking?

The numbers are scary: 150,000 jobs lost since 1970, two-thirds of these since just 2000. From a sector that employed one-third of all workers a generation ago, it now is the workplace for only one in seven workers. The end isn't in sight. Forecasters expect the sector to continue to shed jobs for the foreseeable future.

What am I talking about? I'm talking about manufacturing. The above job numbers are for North Carolina. A similar pattern has occurred for manufacturing in the nation. Fewer people get up in the morning and go to work at the factory. Many observers conclude that manufacturing in North Carolina and the nation is barely alive today—its pulse is faint.

Or is it? Whereas years ago we could perhaps make a one to one correspondence between workers in an industry and production in that industry, this is no longer the case. Consider the example of agriculture. Seventy years ago almost one-third of North Carolinians worked on the farm. Today it's 2 percent. Yet farm production is five times greater today compared to the 1930s.

How could this happen? Improvements in farmer productivity, or production per work hour, are the answer. Each farmer today can run rings around his or her predecessors in output produced because of the marvels of modern farm equipment and technology. More acres can be plowed, more cows milked, and more chickens raised per farmer because today's farm workers have greater know-how and better machinery than ever before.

It's the same story in manufacturing. Factory workers today are matched with space-age equipment and tools and computer technology, and so each worker gets much more produced in an eight-hour day than workers in factories of 50, 100, or even five years ago. In North Carolina, one factory worker today can accomplish what took three workers a generation earlier.

Despite all the changes in the economy even in this decade, manufacturing is still on the up-

swing. Since the national recession ended in 2001, production is up from both U.S. and North Carolina factories.

Also, we're no slacker when it comes to comparisons with other manufacturing countries in the 2000s. Among 15 leading manufacturing nations in the world, the United States ranked sixth in growth in manufacturing output and third in improvement in manufacturing productivity.

However, just like the revolution in agricultural production caused thousands of workers to leave the farm for other jobs—in North Carolina, in the textile mills, furniture factories, and cigarette firms—so too has skyrocketing manufacturing productivity displaced thousands of factory workers.

Here lies the rub. Where are the workers to go who are no longer needed in factories? Without new training, they can't take higher-paying jobs in technology, the professions, or the health-care and education industries. Studies show that many end up in service jobs, where their pay may be 20 percent to 30 percent lower.

So today's picture of manufacturing is complicated. It's not correct to say that U.S. and North Carolina manufacturing output is shrinking. It's not. It's growing faster than in many other countries. Certainly the composition of our manufacturing production has changed. In North Carolina, we're producing more computers, tech equipment, vehicle parts, pharmaceuticals, and processed food and fewer cigarettes, tables and chairs, and clothes.

But we are using fewer workers in today's manufacturing. Those that remain are better-skilled and better-paid, while those who have been cut might be in economic limbo for years to come. This is the manufacturing problem. CJ



Michael
Walden

Dr. Michael Walden is a William Neal Reynolds distinguished professor at North Carolina State University and an adjunct scholar of the John Locke Foundation.

Students Defend Gov's School, an Afghan Warning

To the editor,

In response to November *CJ's* "Views Diverge on Whether Governor's School Has an Agenda":

I was a student at Governor's School West in Winston-Salem this summer. I am extremely familiar, then, with charges of liberal bias.

We learned about the complaints of the Burrows family after they showed up on campus halfway through the program to hand out propaganda to our parents. The intention of these critics was to fool us into thinking this information concerning their case came straight from Governor's School itself.

Actions like this are exactly what we are taught to question at Governor's School. If a class ever had a liberal bias, it was because of the free expression of the students within it.

Your article cites the speaker Svi Shapiro, whose lecture had a liberal tone to it. In the days and weeks following Shapiro's talk, Governor's School students debated intensely his claims. Most students were critical of his ideas, in fact. We were never told to agree with Shapiro. On the contrary, we were told prior to his speech that his talk would encourage plenty of healthy debate, and that we should remember to be critical of his ideas and his rhetoric.

At Governor's School this summer I never heard the phrase "Your truth is not my truth." Reading it now, though, I wholeheartedly agree with the principle. To assert that there is any inherent bias in that sentiment speaks of a basic misunderstanding.

If rationality and compassion are liberal values exclusively, then Governor's School surely provided me with a sound liberal education.

Ben Shaver
Charlotte, N.C.

Letters
to the
Editor

To the Editor,

Networking is one of the most important tools people can use to spread information and gather resources. The network that I helped to create this summer has been one of the most beneficial that I am a part of. This past summer I attended Governor's School West, and when a

recent [alumnus] of mine sent me the link to your recent article about Governor's School, I decided that I needed to share with you what the school is really about.

My best guess would be that every

article that your journal has published bashing this program was probably always written by someone who had never had the experience of Governor's School.

This program is structured to allow its attendees to get what they want out of it. It is the students' choice whether they want to go to the optional seminars, be involved with

Publications or Government, or to play the club sports. While our TACS and Supervisors encouraged us to be active and do some of these things, they never made us or persuaded us to do anything we were uncomfortable with.

Governor's School is a vibrant atmosphere, overflowing with teens who have their own opinions and own thoughts. Teachers on campus were merely gateways to opening up our minds and letting us express how we truly feel by helping us feel comfortable and secure.

There were many things that the students on my campus did that teachers never asked us to do, such as raving for Darfur and raising hundreds of dollars, or the Walk for Cancer which helped raise a lot of money, or having a Bible group for those who missed that connection from home and needed it where they were.

All of these things came from the students, and if your journal wants to blame any one or any program for the opinions or the changes in the children of the state of North Carolina, your journal should blame yourself for creating an idea of how teenagers should think and act.

Casey Ferguson
South Mills, N.C.

To the Editor,

Careful historians may record that neither President Ronald Reagan, nor his ramped-up military spending policies of the 1980s won the Cold War. Instead, in this writer's opinion, they may very well note that a little known province or country in Central Asia — Afghanistan — did bankrupt the mighty power of the Soviet Union.

Afghanistan, (unknown by many American school children until after 9/11), is rich in heritage, albeit a heritage and pride foreign to Western culture. When the Russians invaded, the Afghans hunkered down and repelled the air and ground assault with a tenacious zeal. The proud Afghan culture demanded they defend their ancient homeland to the end. And they prevailed.

Today the proud USSR is reduced to poverty. Many Russians are without food and clothing, and others are without basic shelter. The proud Soviets witnessed a fall they never envisioned and watched a decline they never envisioned.

In the opinion of this writer, the Soviet people had one basic problem: blind allegiance. They were blinded by their own arrogance and were willfully misguided by their political leaders, and as a result, robbed of their wealth and treasure through a series of unnecessary military interventions.

While their political leaders boasted of invincibility and got drunk on vodka and vanity, the proud Soviets were hoodwinked into a no-win war. Rudyard Kipling's remarks in his poem, "The Young British Soldier," may apply:

*When you're wounded and left on
Afghanistan's plains,
And the women come out to cut up
what remains,
Jest roll to your rifle and blow out
your brains
An' go to your Gawd like a soldier.*

Is America making the same mistake as the former USSR? Will Iraq and Afghanistan bankrupt a proud nation?

In one respect, the arrogance of the one mirrors another, and much like the former, the American Congress is drunk on power. The people too may be drunk, but not on hard drink. Their stupor is attributed to a mental mind-set that I call "paralysis-analysis."

The American people are paralyzed by news analysis, 24-hour radio and TV talk-show psychobabble, iPods, Blackberry, and complacency. While the people eat, drink, and be merry, the best and brightest are sacrificing life and limb.

Will Afghanistan and Iraq be America's Waterloo? It may if we do not get our priorities in order.

In my opinion, if the War on Terror is legitimate, then to succeed our whole democratic society demands personal sacrifice. Like the one-half of 1 percent of America in uniform, it is imperative the whole civilian population get on a war footing. Sacrifices may include, but not be limited to, a special war tax, and/or the rationing of goods and services. And it surely must include a mindset change with respect to securing ports and borders. And too, leadership must convince the nation that it cannot win the war "on the cheap."

"War is hell..." said William T. Sherman. And again, if the war is legitimate and the security of the West depends upon America's effort, all of our nation's assets must be employed. But finally, and more importantly, I ask: "Is the preservation of the West solely America's responsibility, and must the American soldier and the American taxpayer bear the cross alone?"

It seems to me the whole West ought to become "fully vested." Fully vested means the Europeans and Asians too must put themselves on a war footing. As a starter may I suggest the 3-M armament program: manpower, money, and machine?

Jack Dawsey
Salemberg, N.C.



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What we believe

The John Locke Foundation believes that our society must return to our founding principles:

We are a land of liberty where natural rights of individuals precede and supersede the power of the state.

We are a constitutional republic in which government power is limited and employed for the purpose of providing legitimate public goods rather than for the benefit of insiders and narrow interest groups.

We are a free market in which persons, individually or collectively, have the natural right to sell goods and services to willing buyers, and in which the individual pursuit of economic opportunity benefits all.

And we are a free society where citizens solve social problems not only through government but also by working together in families, neighborhoods, churches, charities, and other private, voluntary organizations.

For more information, contact The John Locke Foundation, 200 West Morgan St., #200, Raleigh, NC 27601, call us at (919) 828-3876, or visit us at www.JohnLocke.org

New Training Program Targets Leaf-Blowing Diversity (a *CJ* parody)

By TODD GOLDMAN
Education Writer

RALEIGH

The State Board of Community Colleges in December approved a new training program designed to increase diversity in one of the most undiverse occupations in North Carolina: leaf blowing.

The aim is to increase the number of women in the leaf blowing profession, said system President Martin Lancaster. He said he thinks the demand for leaf blowers will remain strong, and he observed that all the leaf blowers in and around the downtown state government offices were men.

Official government data confirm his suspicions. N.C. Employment Security Commission research shows that leaf blowing is one the state's fastest growing occupations.

ESC's Labor Market Information Director Peter Neenan said that North Carolina has 22,834 professional leaf blowers. That number is expected to rise to 39,201 by the year 2010. He said less than 1 percent of the state's leaf blowers are women.

Neenan said that while the number of leaf-shedding trees is basically constant, the increase in demand is expected



Male leaf blower in action in downtown Raleigh recently (*CJ* photo)

because homeowners and businesses have come to value the work of professionals. "I have done my own blowing, but this year I hired a professional. The difference was remarkable," he said.

Neenan said he doubted males alone can satisfy the demand for leaf blowers, and that a training program to attract women into the profession might be a good idea.

In addition to the ESC occupational forecasting, Lancaster said, his board's decision was also based on Community Colleges' own research. "We hired an experienced public relations firm to conduct nine focus groups composed of randomly selected women across the state," he said.

Lancaster highlighted several key findings that seem to be keeping women from becoming leaf blowers:

- Women are uncomfortable strapping a gasoline engine on their back.
- Gasoline makes their hands smell funny.
- Hearing protection devices are uncomfortable with earrings.
- Most women fear snakes, worms, and the large insects whose habitats are disturbed during the leaf-blowing process.
- Most women think that efficient leaf blowing requires a solid background in geometry and aerodynamics, areas where they usually fall short.
- Cell phone use is difficult during leaf blowing.

Lancaster said community college training might help women overcome these obstacles. He acknowledged that men have been able to enter the profession with no formal training. When

asked by *CJ* whether he thought formal training was necessary to attract women into the profession, he said, "We are not sure, but I think it is worth the try. This training initiative is consistent with our mission of preparing North Carolina's world-class workforce."

The program will be launched at four campuses starting next fall. The campuses are: Pamlico Community College in Grantsboro, Halifax Community College in Weldon, Forsyth Technical Community College in Winston-Salem, and Southwestern Community College in Sylva.

N. C. Community Colleges offer a wide variety of planned educational programs that range in length from one semester to two years. The programs lead to certificates, diplomas, or associate degrees, depending on the nature of the curriculum.

Lancaster has hired former Halifax Community College President Dr. Ted Gasper to design the curriculum for the leaf-blower training.

Gasper will determine exactly how much training will be needed for women to become proficient leaf blowers. He will also help design the advertising campaign to inform women about the training program. *CJ*



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