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Jackson County, P. 16

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# CAROLINA JOURNAL

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Statewide Edition

July 2007 • Vol. 16, No. 7

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A Monthly Journal of News,  
Analysis, and Opinion from  
the John Locke Foundation

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## Public Doles Out Big Bucks For NCRC Project

*"The NC Research Campus, based in Kannapolis, is a stunning joint venture between Dole Foods, Duke University and the University of North Carolina system. Built on the site of a former textile mill, this campus-like redevelopment forges a bold new path..."*

By PAUL CHESSER

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

Internet surfers might expect to read the above at the Web sites of either the giant fruit and vegetable packager, or of the universities involved. Instead, it is published on a special Web page created by the entity that probably has the greatest stake in the venture: Kannapolis.

A healthy serving of taxpayer funds will help the planned nutritional research mega-facility, part of a mixed-use development backed by developer and Dole CEO David Murdock. Thanks to the passage in November 2004 of Amendment One to the N.C. Constitution, which provides for local governments to implement so-called tax incre-



*"The Board of Commissioners voted to finance its corporate giveaway through the equivalent of a payday lender for governments."*

Coy Privette

Cabarrus County Commissioner

ment financing without a public vote, a majority of local officials and Murdock are looking for almost \$200 million in public assistance for the project, dubbed the North Carolina Research Campus.

"With the important financial support of Cabarrus County, we as a community can fully participate in financially supporting the growth of the Campus," says the Web site of Alliance for Tomorrow, a coalition of government advocates and businesses created specifically to develop support for the NCRC. "...It is critical that we do everything possible to make the Campus as successful as we

possibly can."

The Alliance for Tomorrow, led by state Rep. Jeff Barnhart, R-Concord, was created to shore up support for the Research Campus — specifically from Cabarrus County commissioners, who took longer than Kannapolis officials to join the project with public financial backing. That is because of county leaders' skepticism about the size of the project and how much resources it would drain from their coffers. The Alliance ran television advertisements in the market to garner the public's support for the Research Campus.

Ultimately commissioners relented, and voted May 21 to finance the project with Kannapolis, although they hedged on using tax increment financing. Instead, they considered using an alternative form of borrowing, called certificates of participation.

Tax increment financing is used to borrow funds to finance improvements for properties, usually by local governments for areas they want redeveloped. They often pay for upgrades to infrastructure and roads, in order to attract more private investment and increase property tax values. The increase in tax revenues from the tax-increment financing district is used to pay the debt from the improvements incurred by the local government.

Critics say that tax increment financing leaves taxpayers vulnerable should the new developments not bring in the expected revenue and that the funded projects also place additional burdens upon government services that

Continued as "Public," Page 2

## CAPAG Funding Comes Mostly From Environmentalists

By PAUL CHESSER

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

A Division of Air Quality project that seeks to limit carbon dioxide emissions in North Carolina is funded mostly by environmental foundations that predict dire consequences if government does nothing to stop the global warming of the Earth.

The project, called the Climate Action Plan Advisory Group (CAPAG),

was created to study carbon dioxide in the state and to determine how emissions could be reduced by mobile and stationary sources.

The group is advised by the Pennsylvania-based Center for Climate Strategies, a policy center of Enterprising Environmental Strategies, Inc.

CCS negotiated a contract for the CAPAG project in which it would provide \$250,000 of the project's \$350,000 cost, with North Carolina paying the

balance. CCS has raised \$225,000 of its portion of the funding for CAPAG from four foundations that promote policies designed to address global warming through carbon dioxide limitations.

The fact that the majority of the amount of financial backing for CAPAG comes from these sources calls into question whether the Division of Air Quality is unprejudiced in its findings and in its hiring practices, says Senate Minority Leader Phil Berger, an Eden

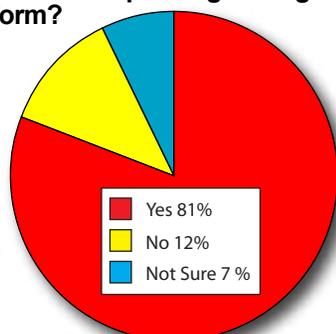
Republican.

"I just wonder whether or not politics is controlling this and science is not," he said. "They have engaged in a process that is going to lead to the promotion of an agenda instead of finding the answer to a question."

The largest private funding group for CAPAG is the Rockefeller Brothers

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Should we secure our borders and enforce current immigration laws before passing immigration reform?



John William Pope Civitas Institute Poll, June 2007

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The John Locke Foundation

200 W. Morgan St., #200

Raleigh, NC 27601

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Published by  
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Raleigh, N.C. 27601  
(919) 828-3876 • Fax: 821-5117  
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# Public Doles Out Big Bucks for NCRC

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are not paid for because the extra money from the ventures is used to pay off the tax increment financing bonds.

But in early June the Cabarrus commissioners voted, 4-1, to use tax increment financing, despite the financing's higher-interest costs than that of certificates of participation, because the TIFs would not require the county to use its assets for collateral. Republican Commissioner Coy Privette, who supports the Research Campus, was the sole opponent of the financing plan.

"The Board of Commissioners voted to finance its corporate giveaway through the equivalent of a payday lender for governments," Privette wrote in an opinion article for the *Concord-Kannapolis Independent Tribune*.

### Kannapolis's lobbying effort

Ever since textile company Pillowtex closed in 2003, out-of-work residents and their elected leaders have hoped that another company would come to their rescue. Many manufacturing communities dependent on a single industry never recover once a company closes or moves away, but in the case of Kannapolis, the city had to wait only a few years for its savior.

With Murdock, it was the second coming. He had owned Pillowtex's predecessor — long-time textile powerhouse Fieldcrest Cannon — during the 1980s. But he didn't keep the business long, although he maintained a presence in Cabarrus County as a property owner.

For Murdock, this time, the public funding of the Research Campus could be a greater boon for another company he owns — Castle & Cooke, a developer — than it is for Dole Foods. The former textile complex will be transformed into more than just a university research center.

Castle & Cooke plans a large-scale mixed-use development, to include offices, industry, retail, and residential, all within the 1.5-square-mile TIF district. As many as 35,000 people have been projected to be employed there once the project is complete.

"I like the term 'biopolis' very much," Murdock told *Site Selection* magazine in November 2005. "I want to make this entire town into a think tank."

But not everyone around the former industrial city 20 miles north of Charlotte thinks the project should receive such heavy public financial support. Kannapolis and Cabarrus County committed to support the Research Campus with \$169 million from TIFs.

Also, some question the appropriateness of public

financing for upgrades the Research Campus is getting that are usually paid for by developers, such as road improvements, parking decks, landscaping, and water and sewer infrastructure. The city's entire downtown water system must be replaced to accommodate the Research Campus.

"What's happened here is that David Murdock and his companies are asking us to subsidize that expense," citizen Harold Smith told commissioners at a meeting May 21, just before they voted to finance the Research Campus. "Now I don't think it's fair for the taxpayers."

### Debate over TIFs

Leading up Cabarrus's approval of TIFs in early June, officials debated whether the county's funding of the Research Campus would lead to tax increases, or diminished resources for other county needs. County Manager John Day argued that the commitment to TIFs would inevitably hamper the commissioners' ability to address other basic government services such as schools and law enforcement. Legislators representing

the area, as well as Kannapolis officials, disputed that claim.

Much of the debate was expressed following the airing of television advertisements by the Alliance for Tomorrow. Day, in an e-mail message to Barnhart, said the ad was misleading because the ad said, "there will be no cost to the rest of the county's taxpayers or that the tax rate will not be affected." Day emphasized in his message that the county's

schools already were struggling to keep up with growth and straining the financial resources under the current property tax rate.

"If the Board of Commissioners appropriates taxpayers' money to pay for municipal infrastructure in downtown Kannapolis," Day wrote, "then that money will not be available to meet our community's overwhelming needs related to education."

"In other words, taxes will have to be increased to make up for what is given to Kannapolis so that the county's educational needs can be met."

Barnhart disputed Day's assertion that the Research Campus would put an additional strain on county resources.

"To say that you would have to increase taxes to pay for the TIF financing, because you are planning on using the 'new revenue' to pay for the 'old problem' of school financing is not in my opinion being straightforward," Barnhart said.

"If the NC Research Campus was not built, would you still be planning on using that revenue stream to pay for the



The above rendering depicts the plan for the redevelopment of the former Pillowtex facility in downtown Kannapolis. The plant, which covered 158 acres and was 5.8 million square feet, will be completely razed to make way for the new development. (Courtesy of the City of Kannapolis)

**"To say that you would have to increase taxes to pay for the TIF financing, because you are planning on using the 'new revenue' to pay for the 'old problem' of school financing is not in my opinion being straightforward."**

Rep. Jeff Barnhart  
R-Concord

Continued as "Public," Page 5

# CAPAG Funding Comes Mostly From Environmentalists

Continued from Page 1

Fund, which contributed \$100,000. The philanthropic organization provides millions of dollars in funding to liberal ecological causes, as well as other initiatives such as peace, security, sustainable development, arts, education, and health.

The Capital Research Center, which studies nonprofit organizations that promote the growth of government instead of "viable private alternatives," in a January 2005 newsletter said the Rockefeller Brothers Fund was characterized by "reflexive anti-capitalism."

In 2005 Rockefeller Brothers specifically granted \$255,000 over two years for the work of CCS in various states, including the Colorado Climate Project, the Western Regional Air Partnership (formed by the Western Governors Association), the New Mexico Climate Change Advisory Group, and others.

The next-largest private supporter of the CAPAG project is the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, based in Winston-Salem, which contributed \$75,000. Reynolds contributes to a broad range of ecological preservation efforts, mostly in North Carolina. The foundation clearly backs initiatives emphasizing the dangers posed by global climate change, including (in 2005) \$20,000 for the NC Council of Churches to "connect communities of faith with the challenges of global warming," and \$30,000 to the Southern Alliance for Clean Energy for its work on climate change in the state.

"More than 61 percent of our electricity in the Southeast comes from decades-old, dirty coal-burning power plants, which pollute hundreds of millions of tons of global warming gases," says SACE's Web site. "These dinosaurs can be phased out, cleaned up or replaced with cleaner sources, such as green power (or renewable energy). Relying more on green power, such as wind, solar, landfill gas methane and certain types of biomass, would dramatically reduce global warming pollution."

Also funding the CAPAG project are the New York-based Surdna Foundation, which contributed \$30,000, and the Marisla Foundation in Laguna Beach, Calif., which donated \$20,000 to the effort.

The Surdna Foundation has deep pockets, which it taps into generously to advance liberal environmental causes, including greenhouse gas controls. CCS has twice been its beneficiary, receiving \$60,000 in 2006 for its work in Arizona and New Mexico, and \$200,000 in 2007 for assisting CCS in Colorado, Montana, Vermont, South Carolina, and North Carolina with their carbon dioxide reduction programs.

Surdna has contributed hundreds of millions of dollars for other ecological causes. "Today, the environment is at great risk due to the interrelated threats



of global climate change, biodiversity loss and unsustainable levels of resource consumption," its Web site says.

Included in its policy advocacy are the issues of "environmental justice," "smart growth," and land-use reform. "Our goals are to prevent irreversible damage to the environment and to promote more efficient, economically sound, environmentally beneficial and equitable use of land and natural resources."

Brian Hill, a director on the board of CCS's parent organization, Enterprising Environmental Strategies, said the source of its funding has no bearing on CAPAG's results.

"Any private funding obtained by EESI to support the work of CCS has no mandate for, or commitment to, specific policy outcomes," Hill said in an e-mailed response to questions. "CCS provides a model facilitation service and does not advance an agenda in terms of final policy decisions in respective states."

Berger questioned why foundations such as Rockefeller Brothers and Surdna would then fund efforts like CAPAG without assurance their environmental goals would be met.

"You've got to wonder," he said, "if you've got groups who've got a mission—why would they be funding these folks to the extent that they are, if they didn't have some degree of confidence that their money was being spent to promote their ultimate aim?"

## Contractors' backgrounds

Consultants hired by CCS also

have backgrounds as proponents of the issue of human-induced global warming. Karl Hausker, deputy director for CCS (but an independent subcontractor), is also an adjunct fellow with the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, where some of his work focused on problems with global climate change. According to his bio, he led the EPA's programs on climate change and on trade and the environment between 1993 and 1995.

Dr. David Von Hippel, who assists CAPAG's Residential, Commercial and Industrial sub-study group, is also a senior associate with the Nautilus Institute, a public policy organization in San Francisco. The organization takes a clear posture on the dangerous repercussions from greenhouse gases: "Our planet now faces a looming climate catastrophe caused by human action," according to a 2003 Nautilus briefing paper titled, "Our Burning Path: Action or Denial on Global Warming?"

Von Hippel himself adopted a similar stance in a report for Nautilus. "Scientific consensus is that increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, prominently including carbon dioxide and methane emitted by fossil fuels combustion, will cause global climate to change in the next several decades, if such changes have not already occurred," he wrote. "The impacts of climate change will vary widely across the globe, but those countries with the largest, least affluent populations per unit land area will likely be among the most vulnerable."

Von Hippel is associated with other similarly focused organizations,

including the Stockholm Environment Institute, where he is also identified as a senior associate. At least two other CCS subcontractors working on CAPAG are affiliated with the Stockholm institute as well: advisors Bill Dougherty and Sivan Kartha, who work on CAPAG's Energy Supply work group.

The Stockholm Institute focuses on issues of sustainable development. Dougherty has a doctorate in regional planning from the University of Pennsylvania, and has studied the "social costs and benefits of switching to alternative fuel vehicles," and also "modeling of national policies in the electric and transport sectors for reducing greenhouse gas emissions," according to Stockholm's web site.

Kartha's specialty is policy analysis related to global climate change and renewable energy technologies.

Will Schoer, a CAPAG advisor for its Transportation and Land Use working group, is a CCS consultant employed by ICF International in Fairfax, Va. The company works with government and commercial enterprises in six fields: energy, environment, transportation, social programs, defense, and homeland security. Schoer leads ICF's "smart growth" consulting work.

Ken Colburn, another CAPAG advisor, in the past has warned of dire consequences as the result of global warming, which he believes will continue if human-caused carbon dioxide emissions are not reduced.

At the November 2006 annual meeting of the Mount Washington Valley (N.H.) Economic Council, he showed photographs of shrinking glaciers, told stories about melting mountain snow, and the eradication of animal species, should carbon dioxide reduction not be dealt with immediately.

"If you want to get to Kilimanjaro and scale it with snow on it, you'd better do it in the next few years," he told the group, "[in] the next decade or so."

CAPAG has already provided 16 recommendations for carbon dioxide reductions in North Carolina to the state's Legislative Commission on Global Climate Change.

State Sen. Robert Pittenger, a Charlotte Republican who is also a member of the Legislative Commission, said he has seen enough evidence to know that the state is barreling toward carbon dioxide restrictions that could leave the state economically uncompetitive with other states and with countries such as China, which is rapidly building its electricity sources with coal-burning power plants.

"The [Legislative] commission is clearly not balanced in representation and the speakers have not been balanced," Pittenger said, "so I don't know why I should assume that there would be balance in the associated organizations providing input to the process." *CF*

# UNCC Resources Used to Push Agenda of Pro-Transit Forces

By JEFF A. TAYLOR  
Contributing Editor

CHARLOTTE

State employees and resources were used to prepare a report written to the specifications of opponents of the repeal of the half-cent transit tax levied in Mecklenburg County, emails to and from UNCC Chancellor Phil Dubois show.

In a June 13 memo, which accompanied release of the emails, UNCC Assistant General Counsel Jesh Humphrey says, "the study originated with a series of questions from Bob Morgan of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce posed to Chancellor Dubois."

However, at no point in the 28-page study is the role of Chamber President Morgan revealed. After the report was released in early May, its principal author also failed to disclose the report's ties to Morgan and the chamber on at least two occasions.

The chamber is a major light-rail

booster, dating to the 1998 countywide vote that levied the half-cent tax. Two weeks ago the chamber helped to birth a campaign to oppose the tax-repeal effort and is expected to help fund that effort lavishly.

The push to repeal the half-cent tax, which raises about \$70 million a year for the Charlotte Area Transit System, burst into the consciousness of the chamber and the Charlotte power structure March 1. That day *The Charlotte Observer* reported that the petition drive to get a repeal on the ballot was already past its halfway point.

City officials immediately rushed to discredit the repeal effort, alleging without evidence that signers of the petition were being misled or did not understand what they were signing. Officials also warned that property taxes would have to be increased to compensate for the loss of revenue and that bus service would have to be slashed.

*The Charlotte Business Journal* re-

ported that Mayor Pat McCrory was working on a "counteroffensive" to the repeal effort and was asking city staff to analyze what the repeal would mean.

By March 3 the chamber was circulating an e-alert to members citing the petition's threat to CATS' transit plans. A week later Morgan was quoted as saying, "We were strongly supportive in 1998 of transit. I don't think you would see us pull back."

On March 14, a list of 23 questions was emailed from Morgan to Dubois. These would form the basis for the UNCC report. The questions ranged from the obvious ("Will current levels of bus service be affected and how?") to the bizarre ("If I signed a petition to force a referendum to eliminate the half cent sales tax for transit, but do not support that effort and would like to have my name removed from the petition, what can I do?").

On March 16 Dubois, who has repeatedly advocated construction of

the \$750 million Northeast light-rail line from Uptown to the UNCC campus, replied to Morgan that he would have to consult with counsel "about what we can do as a public institution," indicating a awareness of the issue of using public funds to take sides in a political debate.

After receiving guidance, Dubois told Morgan on March 21 that, "I think we're clear to go ahead to do this."

Dubois then evidently turned to Dennis Rash, a longtime member of Uptown power elite and retired Bank of America executive who holds the title of executive in residence at UNCC's Center for Transportation Policy Studies.

Rash was a trustee for the North Carolina Smart Growth Alliance and has praised the county's half-cent levy and light-rail plan in speeches. He is married to Betty Chafin Rash, a former Charlotte City councilwoman. She was named to the chamber-backed campaign effort to defeat the repeal measure June 8. *CJ*

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## Carolina Journal Reader Survey

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The *Carolina Journal* staff would like your help in evaluating some of our programs and services. Your responses to this brief survey will help *CJ* editors and reporters improve the newspaper's design, organization, and coverage of state and local issues in North Carolina. Please help us by filling out the questionnaire and mailing the completed survey to the address below. We look forward to hearing from you.

- As you know, *Carolina Journal* is a monthly newspaper covering state and local government, politics, education, and other issues. How often do you read the print edition of *Carolina Journal*?
  - Frequently
  - Sometimes
  - Rarely
- How many other individuals – in your family or among your friends and acquaintances – also read the copy of *Carolina Journal* you receive?
  - None
  - One
  - Two
  - Three
  - Four or more
- Please rank the regular sections of *Carolina Journal* according to how often you read them, from 1 (most often) to 10 (least often):
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Cover stories	<input type="checkbox"/> Higher education
<input type="checkbox"/> State government	<input type="checkbox"/> Local government
<input type="checkbox"/> Washington page	<input type="checkbox"/> Learning Curve (Books & the Arts)
<input type="checkbox"/> In-depth interviews	<input type="checkbox"/> Editorials and columns
<input type="checkbox"/> K-12 education	<input type="checkbox"/> Parting Shot (back-page parody)
- What changes, if any, would you like to see in *Carolina Journal's* print edition?
  - Reduce pages devoted to the existing sections listed in Question 3, to free up space for more stories on health care, transportation, environment. If so, which existing *CJ* section(s) should be reduced in length?
  - Add four more pages to the *CJ* print edition to allow for more coverage of health care, transportation, and the environment.
  - Publish the *CJ* print edition more than the current 12 times a year.
  - Publish it less than the current 12 times a year.
  - Put all *CJ* articles on the Internet so readers don't need a print edition.
  - Other:
- Carolina Journal Online* is a daily Web site of news headlines, exclusive reports, and editorials at *CarolinaJournal.com*. How often do you visit this web site?
  - Frequently
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  - I have never visited *CarolinaJournal.com* (please skip to question 8)
- Please rank the regular features of *Carolina Journal Online* according to how often you read them, from 1 (most often) to 6 (least often):
 

<input type="checkbox"/> <i>CJ</i> Exclusive News Stories	<input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper Editorials/Columns
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- What changes, if any, would you like to see *Carolina Journal Online*?
  - Reduce the length of news summaries to allow for more of them.
  - Add a regular column on TV and radio media in North Carolina.

- Add a regular column on online media in North Carolina.
- Replace "John Hood's Daily Journal" with a rotating panel of columnists.
- Other:

- "Carolina Journal Radio" is a weekly hour-long news and interview program broadcast on radio stations across North Carolina, distributed on compact disc, and podcast at *CarolinaJournal.com*. How often do you listen to the show?
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- Please rank the following sources of information about state politics and policy issues in North Carolina according to how much you rely on them, from 1 (relied on the most) to 8 (relied on the least).
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Local newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial television
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<input type="checkbox"/> Lobbyist or trade association	<input type="checkbox"/> Work in private business
<input type="checkbox"/> Work in public-policy nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Work in news media
<input type="checkbox"/> Work in political campaigns/parties	<input type="checkbox"/> Interested citizen
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    - 35-44
    - 45-54
    - 55-64
    - 65+
  - Please choose your income range:
    - Under \$25,000
    - \$25,000-\$49,999
    - \$50,000-\$74,999
    - \$75,000-\$99,999
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<input type="checkbox"/> Liberal	<input type="checkbox"/> Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/> Libertarian
<input type="checkbox"/> Populist	<input type="checkbox"/> Moderate	<input type="checkbox"/> Other:

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# Public Doles Out Big Bucks for Kannapolis Project

Continued from Page 2

school problem? Or would you propose to the commissioners that they increase taxes to fund the schools? It is very unfair to blame that problem on the Research Campus," he said.

Kannapolis City Manager Mike Legg, a staunch supporter of TIFs for the Research Campus, said Castle & Cooke will pay an estimated \$469 million in property taxes over the 25-year life of the TIF bond issue. "A portion of these taxes will be pledged to the TIF debt," he wrote in an e-mail answer to questions from *CJ*.

Projections from an "independent fiscal impact report" show that the city and county would receive about \$123 million in other revenues from the redevelopment effort, Legg said. The "other revenues" included sales and use taxes, personal property taxes, utility franchise taxes, business licenses, and other sources, he said.

Other incentives would be "difficult" for the city to offer to any more businesses—including Dole—that move to the Research Campus, "because a portion of those revenues are pledged to the repayment of the TIF debt," Legg said.

"Currently no incentives have been offered to the dozen or so companies that have announced a move (Red Hat, LabCorp, Dole and several others)," Legg wrote in his e-mail, "nor did any of these request incentives."

"However, I cannot speak to what future elected boards may offer to businesses desiring to locate to the Campus."

## State legislation and budget

The funding for Murdock's development doesn't stop with the local government TIFs. State legislators last



Above is an artist's rendering of the N.C. State University / Dole Nutrition Institute that will be part of the North Carolina Research Campus. (Courtesy City of Kannapolis)

year appropriated \$6 million to the universities for their Research Campus activities, \$5 million of which was in recurring funds for 25 job positions and other expenses. Community Colleges got \$2.2 million recurring for their operations at the Kannapolis Campus.

This year's budget was not finalized by publication time for this article, but the Senate's version called for an additional \$16.5 million (\$8.5 million recurring and \$8 million nonrecurring) for the project. But the House appropriated \$1 million in onetime money. The Senate budget also gives the state community college system \$1.4 million for programs related to the Kannapolis project.

Lawmakers also sought an expansion in state law for the kinds of projects TIFs might be used for. A bill that has

passed the Senate would allow the special financing to also pay for parks, recreational centers, playgrounds, schools, and community-college facilities. The House has not acted on the legislation.

Murdock is no stranger to the state's beneficence. His company Bud Antle Inc., a subsidiary of Dole, received \$500,000 in August 2005 from the One North Carolina Fund for building a vegetable packaging plant in Bessemer City. Gaston County received the same amount from the state through the Industrial Development Fund for the same project.

That paid to extend water and sewer lines to service the plant. The plant was also eligible for as much as \$6 million in tax credits through the state's William S. Lee Act.

The plant also received 118 acres, valued at \$2.1 million, said Donny Hicks, executive director of the Gaston County Economic Development Commission. Also, Bud Antle will pay property taxes to the county for its first 10 years, but then will receive an 85 percent rebate on the taxes in years 11 through 15, and a 65 percent break in years 16 through 20. The company also agreed to be annexed into Bessemer City in exchange for agreeing to a 10-year tax abatement. The city draws other revenue from the plant through its water and sewer service.

## Moving dirt

Construction at the Research Campus is well under way, even though a final TIF plan has not been approved, as required, by the state's Local Government Commission. Castle & Cooke representatives say the project will be built anyway, and that TIFs and other funding will determine the final size of the project.

According to Legg, about 550,000 square feet worth of construction has begun. Work includes a \$144 million Core Lab building; the \$30 million Central Energy building; a \$46 million UNC-Chapel Hill building, and a \$40 million building for N.C. State University researchers.

Completion of the buildings is scheduled for late 2007 through mid-2008, he said. According to a report in the *Concord-Kannapolis Independent-Tribune*, Dole will not own or control any intellectual property developed from university research.

Street and landscape renovations for the campus have been under way for some time now. Part of Main Street near the campus has been closed since last August for water infrastructure improvements. *CJ*

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The Locker Room is the blog on the main JLF Web site. All JLF employees and many friends of the foundation post on this site every day: <http://www.johnlocke.org/lockerroom/>

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Comment and analysis on all things Charlotte

The Meck Deck is the JLF's blog in Charlotte. Jeff Taylor blogs on this site and has made it a must-read for anyone interested in issues in the Queen City: <http://charlotte.johnlocke.org/blog/>

### Squall Lines

Squall Lines is the JLF's blog in Wilmington. Curtis J. Wright keeps folks on the coast updated on issues facing that region of the state: <http://wilmington.johnlocke.org/blog/>

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## HEADLINER SERIES



**COL. DAVID HUNT** (WILMINGTON LUNCHEON EVENT)  
NOON, SEPT. 11, 2007, THE BLOCKADE RUNNER



**BILL KRISTOL** (PINEHURST LUNCHEON EVENT)  
NOON, OCT. 18, 2007, THE CAROLINA



**P.J. O'ROURKE** (CHARLOTTE DINNER EVENT)  
6:30 P.M. NOV. 16, 2007, WESTIN HOTEL

PHONE 919-828-3876 FOR TICKET INFORMATION

**NC Delegation Watch****Dole backs pork, restraint**

Ten days after announcing her co-sponsorship of the Stop Over-Spending Act of 2007, N.C. Sen. Elizabeth Dole gave her support to a \$1 million "investment" by the Economic Development Administration to improve the wastewater system for Holly Springs. The upgrades will support the construction of a plant planned by drugmaker Novartis Inc.

"It is vital that our communities have strong infrastructure to support and promote economic growth," Dole said in a press release June 1. "This investment will help foster business development in the region, and I applaud the Town of Holly Springs for securing this funding."

On May 22 Dole announced her backing for the Stop Over-Spending Act.

"It's high time that we restore fiscal discipline to government, and the Stop Over-Spending Act will help do just that—by eliminating wasteful spending, strengthening the budget process, and seeking solutions to the looming financial crisis facing entitlement programs," she said.

Dole's press release emphasized that she "has sponsored and co-sponsored Senate measures to provide the president the authority to 'veto' or rescind individual earmarks, so that wasteful spending can be stopped in its tracks."

**Coble returns funds**

For the 22nd consecutive year, Rep. Howard Coble, R-NC, reported that he did not spend all of the funds allocated for the operation of his congressional offices last year.

Coble said that his office returned \$89,545.43 in unspent funds for 2006, which totaled just under the \$1 million mark in returned tax dollars for Coble's congressional career.

"I am fairly well known for being conservative when it comes to spending my own money," Coble said, "and I have always attempted to operate our congressional offices in the same manner."

The budget allocated to Coble in 2006 was \$1,325,935. With those funds, he maintained a full-time staff of 16. Eight of the staff members are based in Washington, and eight are in North Carolina. *CJ*

**NEA against extension****Congress Facing NCLB Act Renewal Deadline**

By JIM STEGALL

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

**T**he Bush administration has only a few months left to renew one of its most important pieces of domestic legislation, the No Child Left Behind Act signed into law in January 2002. NCLB, the centerpiece of Bush's early domestic policy agenda, set rigorous testing requirements and conditioned receipt of federal dollars on a school district's ability to show that its students were progressing toward grade-level proficiency by 2014.

Although the original legislation passed with bipartisan support, including very vocal backing of the U.S. Senate's liberal icon Sen. Ted Kennedy, many on the left quickly turned against it. Critics said that the law was unfair to teachers and struggling school districts and that the program was badly underfunded.

Now, with just a year-and-a-half left in his second term, President Bush must persuade the Democratic-controlled Congress to reauthorize his signature domestic program, or risk seeing this piece of domestic legacy go down the drain.

The National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers union, has led the attack against the No Child Left Behind Act almost from its inception, and at one point unsuccessfully sued the federal government to overturn the law.

But the union has taken a different tack for the reauthorization battle. Now NEA officials say that the union "strongly supports the stated goals" of the law, but that "the law is not working" as intended. The NEA is proposing a slew of changes that NCLB supporters say would dramatically increase its costs, while gutting its effectiveness.

Currently NCLB requires states to develop and administer tests in reading and math to all students in grades three through eight, and to publicly report the results. Schools and districts whose students do not show adequate progress on these tests over a period of several years incur sanctions. These include loss of students, and the funding they bring, to higher-performing schools and districts, and progress to "restructuring," which could cost teachers and administrators their jobs.

Officials in the Bush administration say the law is working well. They cite the highest math scores ever recorded for 9- and 13-year olds, as well as improved reading and math scores for African-American and Hispanic students as evidence of the law's success. Bush administration officials want to keep the rigorous testing system and expand it to include science in 2008.

NEA officials say they would like to see schools judged on factors other than



student performance on standardized tests. Graduation rates, attendance, and percentage of students taking advanced courses ought to be considered, and some students ought to be allowed to show what they've learned through a portfolio of work rather than a standardized test, according to the union.

But what irritates NEA officials the most about the law are the sanctions imposed on failing schools that allow parents to choose alternatives to regular public schools for their children. The NEA wants to restrict these "choice" options to only those students from subgroups that fail to make their adequate yearly progress goals, not the entire student body of a poorly performing school.

The administration has indicated it might compromise on some issues, such as flexibility in the use of No Child Left Behind funds and more appropriate tests for disabled students. The Department of Education has also signaled that it's willing to take a look at new accountability programs based on "growth models" that track individual student performance over time and give

schools credit for making progress. But department officials insist that a growth model must be "a tool to achieve proficiency by the year 2014, not a loophole to avoid it."

The White House doesn't want to compromise on choice. If anything, the administration wants to expand options for parental choice by providing what it calls "promise scholarships" for students from low-income families in grades three through 12.

The scholarships would reimburse parents up to \$4,000 for tuition at higher-performing out-of-district public schools, or even private schools. Union officials have vowed to fight anything that smacks of vouchers for private schools.

In addition to vouchers, the NEA has listed four other items as "non-starters" in the negotiations. Union officials will vigorously oppose any measure they think would undermine collective bargaining rights, tie teacher evaluations to student performance, establish a merit pay or performance pay scheme, or add any more tests to those already required. *CJ*

**HEADLINER SERIES****ROBERT NOVAK**

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NOON, HOLIDAY INN BROWNSTONE, RALEIGH

TUESDAY, JULY 24, 2007



## Hickok: Some Good, Some Bad With No Child Left Behind

Eugene Hickok, Bradley fellow in education at The Heritage Foundation and former deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Education, recently spoke at a North Carolina Education Alliance reception in Raleigh.

He also discussed the federal No Child Left Behind Law with Mitch Kokai for Carolina Journal Radio. (Go to <http://www.carolinajournal.com/cjradio/> to find a station near you or to learn about the weekly CJ Radio podcast.)

**Kokai:** Anyone who has followed the federal government or education at any level in recent years has heard something about No Child Left Behind – and probably has heard good things and bad things about it. What kinds of things should people be thinking about No Child Left Behind?

**Hickok:** Well, probably some good things and some bad things. The good things I think are an emphasis on results – long overdue in American education. We've spent a lot of time talking about how much money to spend. Now we're talking about whether or not those dollars are making any difference in terms of student achievement. Looking at the achievement gap: that huge disparity between minority and low-income students and their wealthier white peers. It's a real travesty in this country if you believe in the promise of America. Accountability, broadly speaking, is a good thing in that the goal here is to make sure that parents – the most important taxpayers regarding school – have a good sense, a strong sense, of how well their schools are doing, how well their kids are doing. Those are all good things.

One of the bad things, I think, is a larger role than ever before from Washington in local schools. I used to make the case all the time that the Department of Education in Washington doesn't educate anybody. And yet, now more than ever before, it's greatly involved in state and local education policy. And I think even though the law called for more options and more choices, the reality has been fewer options and fewer choices than we had hoped for.

**Kokai:** You recently wrote about the fact that the president and his administration are asking for about \$1 billion more to deal with No Child Left Behind. You make a case that perhaps the federal government needs to be stepping back rather than stepping more into this issue. Why is that?

**Hickok:** I don't think dollars are the answer. More federal dollars just aren't the answer. If dollars

were the answer, we'd have the most well-educated population on Earth, able to compete with any other nation on Earth. The facts are that we spend more than most, but we're right in the middle of the pack with other nations – if not behind the pack.

The real reason, though, is because

*“Right now, we in American public education do talk more about making sure results are accurately reported in a way that is easily understandable. That was not being done much before NCLB. So that having been put in place, it's a lot easier for states to be able to make their case.”*

Eugene Hickok  
Bradley Education Fellow  
The Heritage Foundation

shall be taught, and who shall be taught. And that's just not a good thing, so for me, I like what NCLB did to get the ball rolling on results and accountability. But accountability really should lead to more responsibility at the state and local level and not less, in the name of government.

**Kokai:** How then should we change the system? If the federal government is going to be involved, how should



The Heritage Foundation's Eugene Hickok during a recent interview with Carolina Journal Radio's Mitch Kokai.

it be involved?

**Hickok:** If I had my way, I think I'd have Washington more engaged in doing research and development — R&D — on education. This nation does no investing into R&D in education. But that's probably not going to happen. Washington's not going to step back and do what I think it should be doing. I think what I would recommend, and there are members

of the House and Senate who are proposing this, is to provide more flexibility so that states who can develop strong systems of accountability and good systems for transparency — which means reporting results to parents and taxpayers in an efficacious way — states that do that should be given the freedom to do that. If North Carolina has a way of getting the job done that demonstrates success, why should North Carolina have to bow to the heavy hand of Washington? The other point I would make is that even though Washington is spending more than ever before of your dollars, it's still about 8 percent to 9 percent of total spending on education. So it would be smart as far as I'm concerned for Washington to assume a role more in proportion to the resources it spends.

**Kokai:** We know that No Child Left Behind exists. We know that the president wants to add more money to it. Are there competing proposals out there – or ones that you would like to see – that would be better?

**Hickok:** There are some competing proposals coming primarily from Republicans in the House and the Senate. One would say sort of a state charter. The state could apply to the Department of Education and say in so many words, 'We have an alternative way of getting that accountability that works for us. Let us do it.' And the Department would give them the ability to do that. I like that idea. I don't think it's necessary that you should have to apply to the Department of Education – to the bureaucracy – for the permission to do it. But political realities are political realities.

In the House, there's an even bolder version than this that says it should be possible for states to accept federal taxpayer dollars – after all, it is their money – and still not have to do some of the provisions of NCLB, as long as they can demonstrate that they've got

an accountability system that works. Both of those emphasize flexibility for the states.

And I should point out that flexibility was one of the key principles that President Bush articulated when he introduced No Child Left Behind. Having been a former governor, I think he meant it at the time – that we needed to find ways to create flexible options at the state and local level. NCLB doesn't provide much right now, and so the proposals I just mentioned in the House and Senate are really getting back to some of the original ideas that that law started out with.

**Kokai:** You mentioned the idea of increased flexibility. I imagine that even some who think there should be a large role for the federal government in education would accept the idea that if we have these states operating as "laboratories" – as you've heard sometimes – for different plans, we might come up with some better ideas than top-down administration from Washington. Are you hearing any of that?

**Hickok:** Yes, I am. And remember, too, that the world has changed pretty dramatically since No Child Left Behind was introduced. Right now, we in American public education do talk more about making sure results are accurately reported in a way that is easily understandable. That was not being done much before NCLB. So that having been put in place, it's a lot easier for states to be able to make their case. And remember this, if you believe in federalism, we are a nation of states. We should provide incentives for states to compete.

If North Carolina can make a better case for the way it educates its kids than Virginia can, it should be allowed to do that and to be able to demonstrate it in a way that convinces those who might want to locate their businesses in North Carolina or move their families to North Carolina, whether or not it's a good place to move to get a good education. Right now, we have a system from the top down that tends to homogenize public education. What I'm looking for is a way to energize this public education.

**Kokai:** If people want to find more good information about No Child Left Behind, what's the best place for them to start?

**Hickok:** Obviously you can look at the Web site of the Department of Education. You'll get a point of view there. I'd recommend that you go to The Heritage Foundation and look at some of their publications on the Web site. Take a look at what's being done at places like the John Locke Foundation here in North Carolina. Take a look at really the rich debate going on and be willing to contribute to that debate. CJ

## State School Briefs

## Kindergarten age set at 5

Beginning in 2009, a new state law will require most children to wait until they are 5 years old before they start kindergarten in public schools. The proposal won final legislative approval June 21, and Gov. Mike Easley said he will sign the measure into law, *The News & Observer* of Raleigh reports.

After years of ignoring the idea, N.C. lawmakers came around to the thinking of some parents and many education experts: They say it's not a good idea for 4-year-olds to spend their first year in school with 6-year-olds whose parents have held them back a year so they can start at the head of the class.

Under the new law, children will have to turn 5 by Aug. 31 of the school year. The current birthday cutoff is Oct. 16, so children who have their fifth birthdays weeks after school starts can still enroll in kindergarten.

## Students in mobile units

As debate rages over the price tag of a school-construction bond on the November ballot, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools will add more than enough mobile classrooms this summer to fill another high school, *The Charlotte Observer* reports.

New enrollment projections call for the district to add 129 of the portable classrooms, bringing the total to nearly 1,300. Last school year, 20,000 mostly suburban students crammed into mobiles. The mobile classrooms' enrollment would rank as one of the state's 20 largest school systems.

The statistics illustrate CMS's struggle to cope with growth. Forecasts call for 57,400 additional students to join the state's largest district over the next decade.

County commissioners are to decide July 10 on the size of the bond package. Proposals range from \$486 million to nearly \$617 million, and a split vote is expected. Republicans favor the lower amount, which would likely mean a higher percentage of the money would go toward relieving crowding. CMS leaders have said that's the greatest need.

Under the more expensive plan, backed by the school board and, in turn, the superintendent and county manager, more than two-thirds of the money would go toward the growing enrollment. The rest would pay for renovations and improvements districtwide. CJ

## Governor's School Offerings Scrutinized Again

By PAUL CHESSER

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

The Governor's Schools of North Carolina, conducted every summer at Salem College in Winston-Salem and at Meredith College in Raleigh, began their sessions in mid-July once again under the watchful eye of the legal watchdog Alliance Defense Fund.

The Scottsdale, Ariz.-based Christian organization, which has threatened to file a lawsuit in the past against the state's education bureaucracies over the Governor's Schools' sexually oriented seminars and films shown in previous years, sent a letter June 7 notifying the state Department of Justice "to express concerns...about the content of the Governor's School curricula and programs."

Meanwhile, the Governor's School East at Meredith scheduled for June 23 the graphic, R-rated film "Pan's Labyrinth." The movie, winner of three Academy Awards, is described as a "fairy tale" set in 1944 Spain, during the fascist regime of Francisco Franco. Christian organization Focus on the Family, on its Web site, described in detail several violent scenes depicted in the film:

*Within the first 10 minutes of viewers meeting Captain Vidal, they watch as he calmly smashes in the face of a teen-age boy and shoots the lad's father. That's only the beginning of what amounts to a gory war-meets-horror film. The harsh post-Civil War surroundings of 1944 Spain are the backdrop for firefights, ambushes, and massive explosions. Scores of individuals, mostly soldiers, are gunned down and shot repeatedly as troops rummage through the dead and injured.*

*In bloody and excruciating sequences, Captain Vidal is stabbed in the back and in the chest, then in the mouth. Viewers see the blade slicing in and out. After the camera shows his open, dangling face wound a few times, it lingers as he painfully stitches up his cheek.*

*One man is shot in the eye. An injured rebel begs for his life but is mercilessly shot in the hand and in the face. Another captive is hit hard in the face with one of many torture devices.*

*After the same doctor decides a fighter's wounded and infected leg must be amputated, viewers see a split-second shot of a saw blade digging into bone. Crudely drawn pictures of a bloodthirsty creature that devours babies depict this demonic-looking being impaling infants with a sword.*

*Two other scenes are disturbing: After finding Ofelia trying to escape, the captain violently shakes his daughter and hits her across the face. As he walks out he also threatens to kill her. In a separate instance, a fantasy creature that looks like a human baby is tossed in a fire, and its haunting screams of pain continue for some time as it slowly dies.*



The Governor's School East policy on showing films to students is to provide parents a list of movies with brief summaries, and then to give them options on which ones they will allow their children to view. The options on the permission form are:

"(A) I allow my child to view the GSE films this summer"

"(B) I allow my child to view all films not marked out on the attached form"

"(C) I allow my child to view any films added throughout the course of the summer"

"(D) If there are any films added throughout the course of the summer, I would like to be notified at the below e-mail address for my consent"

The Governor's School's description of "Pan's Labyrinth" for parents was much less specific than Focus on the Family's:

*Pan's Labyrinth (2006) R: This is a fable of morality and character. A girl weaves in and out of the reality of violence in the Spanish Civil War and completing tasks in an imaginary kingdom. This film is rated R for language and some violence.*

Last year Governor's School West made a last-minute decision to replace the sexually and violently explicit movie "American History X" with a PG-rated

film, apparently after the Alliance Defense Fund threatened to file a lawsuit. "American History X" had been shown in previous years at GSW.

The first week's schedules for both GSE and GSW were not posted on their Web sites until June 17 at the earliest. The program is run every summer with about 400 students at each location. It is administrated under the state Department of Public Instruction, and the state budget fully funds the program, with \$1.3 million set aside for it last year.

Students are nominated based on specific areas of academic or performing arts excellence, and pay nothing to attend, other than the cost to travel to the schools.

Mike Johnson, attorney for the Alliance Defense Fund, in his letter to Deputy Attorney General Thomas Ziko, who handles legal matters for the Governor's School, wrote to specifically request "continued scrutiny" over the program's curricula and activities.

"We request that your office ensure that the programs remain free of any seminars or unapproved sexuality education curricula this year," Johnson wrote, "and that religious viewpoints will not be unconstitutionally maligned, but instead treated with equal dignity and respect.

"It is our intention to litigate these matters if problems arise as they have in the past..."

Ziko sent Johnson a one-paragraph response.

"You may rest assured that the State Board of Education, consistent with its legal obligations, will strive to provide the best educational experiences possible for all the students who attend these nationally recognized programs," Ziko wrote. CJ



**New Global Warming Taxes? Disguised Taxes Would Be All Cost, No Possible Benefit for North Carolinians** (Spotlight #322 by Roy Cordato)

**Raise the Bar, Not the Age: Why Raising the Compulsory School Age Won't Reduce Dropouts** (Spotlight #321 by Terry Stoops)

**Wilson Loses on Links: The City Government Has No Business Being in the Golf Business** (Spotlight #321 by Terry Stoops)

**Wilson Loses on Links: The City Government Has No Business Being in the Golf Business** (Spotlight #318 by Michael Sanera)

**Happy Earth Day: North Carolina's Air is Worth Celebrating** (Spotlight #317 by Daren Bakst)

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# Lateral-Entry Teachers Face Tall Hurdles in North Carolina

By JIM STEGALL  
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

With a master's degree in government and a strong desire to teach, Mary Smith (not her real name) thought she could make a difference in the struggling high-poverty middle school where she had applied for a position. The principal was glad to have her. Highly educated, successful role models with real-world experience were not exactly lining up at the door for a chance to teach these poor, mostly minority children.

But after two months on the job Smith was shocked to learn that according to the N.C. Department of Public Instruction, her master's degree in public policy did not qualify her for a teaching license in the field of social studies. The school had to let her go, but officials asked her to continue to teach as a substitute for \$50 a day until the problem with her license could be worked out. Months later, having passed the licensing exam for her subject, DPI officials still would not grant her a license. Smith left for a position in a private school.

Problems like this are becoming more common in North Carolina as school districts struggle to fill positions with "lateral entry" teachers (those who have not gone through traditional teacher education programs), while the state applies more stringent standards of licensure mandated by the No Child Left Behind Act.

It's not supposed to be this hard. According to the DPI, there are only two basic requirements for obtaining teacher certification in North Carolina — completion of an approved education program at a regionally accredited college or university, and a passing score on the Praxis II subject exam. In theory, almost anyone with a bachelor's degree or higher can be hired to teach on a temporary license while his or her academic credentials are being evaluated. The school district central office should then be able to tell the new lateral-entry teacher what courses he or she needs to take to get a regular license.

But there seems to be a great deal of confusion between DPI, which has the final say over licensure, and local school districts, which do the hiring, over exactly what constitutes "an approved education program." As a result, hundreds of teachers are hired in North Carolina after being told by their

schools that their degrees qualify them for licensure, only to discover (typically after two or three months on the job) that the state won't grant them one unless they go back to school and collect more credit hours.

At that point they are faced with a stark choice — continue to teach as a substitute at greatly reduced pay while taking classes at nights and over summers, or quit. To make matters worse, the required courses are not always available. Some schools of education won't let a lateral-entry teacher sign up for certain required courses unless they already have a teaching job, yet some districts won't hire them until they've passed the courses.

Laura French handles problems like this all the time. As the legal advocate for Professional Educators of North Carolina she fields calls from teachers who have been hired as teachers but wind up being paid as substitutes. French said that the state's interpretation of the "highly qualified teacher" provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act make it harder for states to grant licenses to those who haven't gone through traditional teacher education programs.

The imbalance between supply and demand of qualified teachers in some subjects and geographic areas also plays a role. According to French, principals sometimes hire teachers on the spot at job fairs based on a quick initial evaluation of the teacher's transcript and an interview. "Eager principals sign them up, but then they wind up paid as a sub because the state won't go along." Prospective teachers who earned their degrees at religious schools are particularly vulnerable to this because those schools are often not accredited based on N.C. standards.

North Carolina has licensure reciprocity agreements with more than half of the states, but that doesn't guarantee that teachers from those states will be granted a license to teach here. Even with these agreements, the state still evaluates each new teacher's transcript to make sure it meets N.C. standards. Sometimes they don't measure up. "We need to get good teachers," French said, "and if the word goes out 'don't come to North Carolina,' they'll stop coming down here." French advises anyone interested in becoming a teacher through a lateral-entry program to contact the licensure section at DPI before accepting a position.

*"Eager principals sign them up, but then they wind up paid as a sub because the state won't go along."*

Laura French  
Teacher legal advocate

## Commentary

### Great Books Being Lost

Do the great books of the Western canon have a place in modern-day reading instruction? For a growing body of educators, the unfortunate answer is "no." Literary achievements by Shakespeare, Homer, Dante, and Milton — key architects of Western culture — are increasingly relegated to the ash heap of irrelevance, replaced on school reading lists by contemporary "street literature." Intended to lure students into a love affair with reading, our literary modernization has instead turned a generation of kids off books, with a host of emotional and academic repercussions.

Filled with mature content, many contemporary novels push students to grapple with adult-sized problems before they're ready. Adolescents and pre-teens must now wade through a reading curriculum steeped in death, abuse, incest, abortion, divorce, murder, suicide, kidnapping, rape, and drugs. Setting aside the fact that most of these themes aren't age-appropriate, the question still remains: Does the average student even like reading such books?

Author Barbara Feinberg doesn't think so. In her 2004 book, *Welcome to Lizard Motel: Children, Stories and the Mystery of Making Things Up*, Feinberg says kids don't want to be debased and shocked by everyday depictions of evil. A mother of two and founder of a children's creative arts program, Story Shop, Feinberg watched her 12-year-old son Alex and his friends recoil from reading assigned novels that featured unrelenting trauma. Her son's friend said of these books, "They give me a headache in my stomach." Feinberg acknowledges that the fairy tales and literature of a bygone era often addressed dark topics, but they did so with magic, imagination, fantasy, and a child protagonist who ultimately emerged triumphant. The current raft of young adult literature, on the other hand, is unrelentingly bleak and depressing, leading Feinberg to ask, "Why is my generation hell-bent on making our children wake from the dream of their childhoods?"

No one knows for sure. But one thing does seem clear: Forced to grow up too fast, young adults don't stay engaged with books, great literature or not. According to

the 2004 National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) report, "Reading at Risk: A Survey of Literary Reading in America," "Literary reading is in dramatic decline, with fewer than half of American adults reading literature." Sadly, the sharpest drop — 28 percent — occurred among 18- to 24-year-olds. But it's not just the great books that are gathering dust. Total book reading is down as well, putting the lie to the notion that contemporary novels have inculcated a love of the written word.

This should cause us no small concern — a generation of kids who don't read will invariably affect the richness of our culture. This loss in intellectual capability is also showing up on standardized tests. Consider the latest results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress reading exam: The percentage of 12th-graders scoring at or above basic levels decreased from 80 percent in 1992 to 73 percent in 2005. More than one-fourth of these students could not demonstrate even basic reading comprehension and text analysis skills.

As parents, what can you do? Read what your kids are reading. If a book is too mature for your child, express your concern to teachers and request optional reading material. Familiarize yourself with regulations on objectionable content. Parent activists have already set a strong precedent for change, working to alter curriculum requirements and spearheading successful efforts to remove graphic material from schools.

Expose your children to the great books, even if they're absent from school reading lists. Parents can access online classical reading lists detailing the best 100 books or peruse compilations by former Secretary of Education William J. Bennett that feature stories and fables from a wide variety of genres.

In the end, though, teaching the classics just makes good sense. Unlike today's reality novels, great literature offers children a firsthand encounter with some of the most profound insights of the human mind. Now that's worth reading about.

CJ

Lindalyn Kakadelis is director of the North Carolina Education Alliance.



Lindalyn  
Kakadelis

## School Reform Notes

## Report discounts sex ed

Liberal critics periodically complain that federally funded "abstinence only" sex-education materials are full of false or misleading statements about the effectiveness of condoms and other issues. Now the Bush administration is firing back, charging that programs that endorse condom use also are marred by imbalance and inaccuracies, *The Washington Post* reports.

The latest round in the sex-ed culture war comes in a 40-page report by the Department of Health and Human Services that critiqued "comprehensive sex-education curricula," materials that teach about both abstinence and the use of condoms and other protective methods.

The analysis, requested two years ago by Sen. Tom Coburn of Oklahoma and former Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, both conservative Republicans, concluded that nine widely used curricula contained misleading statements about condom failure, focused too little on abstinence, and were only marginally successful in persuading young people to use condoms or, better yet, to delay having sex.

## Increased math requirement

Changes to graduation requirements recently approved by the state Board of Education add up to more math and more flexibility for students.

Beginning with freshmen entering high school in fall 2009, students must complete four units of mathematics to graduate. Previously, only college-bound students had to meet that standard.

This is not a big change for many Buncombe County school students, the *Citizen-Times* of Asheville reported. Superintendent Cliff Dodson estimates that 70 percent to 75 percent of students already are taking four math courses in preparation for college.

The new high school core course of study also drops a proposed requirement that all students take two units of a second language. The idea brought opposition during the state board's spring community meetings.

"I do think they listened and they heard, and they did respond in adjusting the requirements," said Allen Johnson, associate superintendent of Asheville City Schools. "I was pleased to see that."

Foreign language courses now will be counted toward the six elective units needed to graduate. CJ

## Later called 'completely unethical'

## Wake School Buses Used for Lobbying Trip

By HAL YOUNG  
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

When a bill that would "restore flexibility to the school calendar" went before the House Education Committee in March, opponents of the measure were surprised to find more than 200 public school administrators from around the state in the committee room. Opponents were even more surprised to learn the school officials had been ferried from a convention in Durham County in a convoy of Wake County school buses.

Louise Lee, a parent and former teacher representing the citizens' group "Save Our Summers," rode the elevator with several of the administrators that morning and said one of them told her they had taken "six or seven" buses to the meeting. Kent Williams, another parent with SOS, said, "It looks pretty darn good if your group is showing up to lobby in your school buses. They were using this in a political fashion, to speak for changing a law that many of us had worked very hard to secure — and my taxes funded them being there."

According to Wake County School Board member Ron Margiotta, use of the county's school buses for this trip was standard procedure during the administration of former Superintendent Bill McNeal, who is now executive director of the N.C. Association of School Administrators. However, the association's trip March 29 raised questions of permissible use, and officials at the Wake County Public School System have since halted all community rentals of the school system's white activity buses.

## Yellow vs. white buses

In the 2004-2005 school year, the N.C. Department of Public Instruction spent more than \$261 million to operate 13,519 school buses, according to the most recent DPI statistical report. Nearly 60 percent of public school students ride the bus, at a cost of \$506 per student per year counting all sources.

But N.C. law makes a distinction between the traditional yellow school buses, which belong to the district transportation pool, and the white activity buses assigned to individual schools. Besides their use for school groups, the activity buses may be leased to nonprofit organizations under certain circumstances, according to Derek Graham, chief of transportation services at the Department of Public Instruction.

"Yellow buses can only be used for instructional purposes by the local school district," Graham said, writing from a school transportation conference in Asheville. "Activity buses are for school activities, either instructional or not," such as trips for athletic events, "[but] state law also allows them to be



Buses lined up at the Wake County Central Services Facility on Rock Quarry Road. (CJ photo by Hal Young)

leased to nonprofits for transporting school age children," he said, referencing state law G.S. 66-58.

That statute says that state and local government will not provide transportation services in competition with private enterprise, except for the use of public school buses and activity buses for specified purposes, including nonprofits using them to transport school children to activities at their facilities. Other statutes stipulate that such use, even by emergency management teams or the National Guard, must be fully reimbursed to the local school board.

Whether to offer the buses for community use is at the discretion of the local board, Graham said. "The school system is not required to do such — they are allowed to," he said.

## Sketchy documentation

However, Wake school system policy is not clear, according to the system's Web site. In late June, the departmental phone list on the district's Web site, though dated 2006, still listed Vern Hatley as the director of transportation. Hatley resigned from the district in October 2004. He is serving a seven-to-10-year prison sentence for conspiracy and obtaining property under false pretenses while he was in charge of the Wake bus fleet.

Wake school board policy also has gaps, referencing some transportation provisions on a state statute that was repealed 26 years ago. The board policy was last revised in 1998.

Michelle Faircloth, school system transportation dispatcher, said she couldn't address policy questions. But confirmed that the district no longer allowed nonprofits to use the activity buses.

"At present we are not doing that," she said. "We've had issues since our scandal," referring to the 2004 fraud case that landed five Wake school system transportation employees in jail. The system has a pool of activity buses assigned to the central transportation facility, and Faircloth said, she scheduled

the buses for the Association of School Administrators as a normal request from her managers. However, she was notified after the trip March 29 that the schools would no longer lease buses to outside groups.

"There was no way [for the lessees] to pay the drivers," she said, since billing and invoicing for the buses goes through the accounting department rather than county schools' payroll process. "You can't reimburse payroll codes through Accounting."

"That is what changed the policy," she said.

## No more bus trips

Margiotta might have been responsible for the change, since he contacted Wake Superintendent Del Burns shortly after the trip in question. Margiotta said Burns "did not appreciate" the buses being used in that way. "He said he didn't think it should go on, and said it would never happen again," said Margiotta. "He was not pleased."

To Williams' point, the administrators' appearance at that particular hearing was not planned that way. The association announced the visit's date months before the committee's agenda was set. The Winter/Spring issue of the association's magazine, *Leadership*, announced that, "as always," the conference would include "a strong emphasis ... on legislation affecting education," and that buses for the trip would leave from the hotel.

Williams was still bothered by the appearance. "Something didn't smell right about the way it went down," he said. "I'd feel the same way if I observed if from any group — either you have a policy that clearly indicates how to use things, or you don't."

In his opinion, "It was completely unethical and unauthorized use of buses, period."

Margiotta agrees. "You shouldn't use taxpayers' money to make a political statement, and that's what this was," he said. "I thought I left this kind of thing in New Jersey." CJ

# Garner Scores Victory in School Growth Plan Battle

By KAREN McMAHAN  
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH  
A Garner citizens group has won its first victory in a 10-year battle with the Wake County School Board over school reassignment, and in the aftermath of Superior Court Howard Manning's ruling in May that the school system cannot legally assign students to year-round schools without parental consent, the school board was forced to deal with the issue.

Of the more than 2,500 students whose families opted for traditional schools, Garner had the highest number of families. Among those were 143 students at Timber Drive Elementary, 140 at East Garner Elementary, 142 at East Wake Middle, and 115 at North Garner Middle.

For years, Garner citizens have voiced concern over the disproportionate number of free-and-reduced lunch students reassigned to Garner schools from other parts of Wake County, leaving several schools with the highest percentage of free-and-reduced lunch students in the county. Now that so many students who opted out were also free-and-reduced lunch students, Garner citizens worried that the new reassignment might exacerbate the problem.

## Small but significant victory

On June 6, the school board held a special meeting to vote on Garner student reassignment. While the public was not invited to comment, members of the Greater Garner Advocates were present. The board voted to transfer students from schools with the highest percentage of free-and-reduced lunch students to those with lower percentages, yielding

a small net positive effect on reducing the percentages.

When asked what made the board finally listen to and address their concerns after so many years, Paul Capps, a Garner real estate agent and citizens group organizer, said he thought the "recent Wake Cares lawsuit made a big difference."

Paula Williams, a Garner parent, agreed. Without the lawsuit, the group would not have gotten any concessions. "The school board has had reassignments in the past, and they [the citizens group] presented the board with a plan that would reduce the free-and-reduced lunch percentages and still maintain diversity, but the board had never responded. Isn't it interesting that every school they used in this new reassignment had been those our group had targeted in its plan? The lawsuit helped."

Williams said she and others had spent many hours drawing maps and doing research, but the "arrogance of the school board was apparent because they would not listen, no matter what was presented to them." At one point, a board member had asked them, "Why do public funds have to accommodate everyone in the public?"

The problem is that high percent-

*"The school board has had reassignments in the past ... but the board had never responded. Isn't it interesting that every school they used in this new reassignment had been those our group had targeted in its plan? The lawsuit helped."*

Paula Williams  
Garner parent

percentages of free-and-reduced lunch students "skew the test scores."

## Future High School

The Town of Garner Board of Aldermen conducted its first joint meeting with four members of the Wake County School Board on May 31 to discuss school construction and related issues. Garner citizens and town leaders questioned why the school board voted for a new high school on Old Garner Road when all the growth is occurring in Southeast Raleigh and despite the recent Wake County Board of Commissioners' decision not to fund this site.

Garner schools are not crowded because of Garner, but rather because "almost 600 students are sent to Garner

schools from Southeast Raleigh," Williams said. They also wanted to know why more schools, particularly magnet schools, are not being built in southeast Raleigh. Magnet schools provide greater opportunity and flexibility, and more parents would choose the schools if magnet schools were available. "Garner schools have great magnet programs that are equal to others, like Broughton, but few parents are aware," Capps said.

Garner Magnet High, an International Baccalaureate school, is just graduating its first group of students, said Cheryl Biconish, IBO diploma program coordinator. "Not all students are in all the programs, because certain programs fit some students better." Asked whether data show these programs attract economically disadvantaged students and help them close the achievement gap, she said no data from her school were available yet, but other schools with similar programs have shown positive results.

Mayor Ronnie Williams also voiced concerns over safety because the new school would be built across the street from a concrete plant and just down the street from a rock quarry. School board members explained their selection process, but no decision was made, said Judy Bass, Garner's town clerk. She said both boards discussed the possibility of a future joint meeting.

While the citizens group was pleased over the school reassignment decision and discussions about school construction, group members remain vigilant. The group plans to launch a Web site in the next few weeks to inform the community about education-related issues and to build a more vocal and active coalition.

CJ

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## Campus Briefs

In the largest cheating scandal in the history of Duke University's Fuqua School of Business, 34 MBA students face serious penalties after university officials determined they collaborated on answers for a take-home exam. This comes despite an honor code in place at the school. "Fuqua depends on every member of its community to uphold the code in both spirit and action," Fuqua Dean Douglas T. Breeden said in a written statement. "This is why we require, as a condition for enrollment, that all students acknowledge their personal acceptance of the code."

The Elon University Common Reading Program has assigned the book version of Al Gore's documentary, "An Inconvenient Truth," as its 2007 summer reading. Elon's Web site dedicated to the reading program lists three supplementary texts and several Web sites, all supporting Gore's climate claims. No opposing views are offered.

The C. D. Spangler Foundation has proposed two new challenge-grant programs that together will make \$26.9 million available to help create up to 96 distinguished professorships across the 16 University of North Carolina campuses. This year, the foundation has committed to providing \$6.9 million, which will endow one distinguished professorship on every UNC campus. Beginning in 2008, the foundation will invest up to \$20 million over five years to help each campus qualify for one additional endowed chair each year, potentially adding 80 professorships.

C. D. Spangler Jr. is a successful Charlotte businessman and passionate advocate for public education at all levels. He was UNC president from 1986 to 1997. Previously, he and his family foundation have made donations to endow or complete 37 distinguished professorships across the university.

UNC-Chapel Hill has launched a new Institute for the Environment to focus on environmental research, education, and engagement. Formed by expanding the existing Carolina Environmental Program, the institute adds new degree programs, research sites, and outreach initiatives throughout North Carolina. Plans include establishing centers to examine landscape change and human health as well as sustainable community design. CJ

## Not just U.S. News

## Wide Variety of Publications Ranks Colleges

By JANE S. SHAW  
Contributing Editor

**T**he *U.S. News* college rankings have been making news themselves. Some college presidents, 24 at last count, are refusing to cooperate with the magazine. They don't like surveys asking them to judge the reputation of their peer institutions, and reputation is a big factor in the *U.S. News* rankings.

Another troubling concern is the rankings' heavy reliance on inputs such as students' SAT scores and the faculty-student ratio — not on students' actual education.

Whatever their faults, rankings are popular (think *Forbes'* "400 Richest Americans," *Money's* "Best Places to Live," and *Fortune's* "100 Best Companies to Work For"). But *U.S. News* is not the only evaluator of colleges. Thanks to librarians at the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana, you can get a list of these.

In the interest of providing the public with better information, here are some rankings you may have missed:

- *Kiplinger's Personal Finance Magazine* targets public universities. Those schools don't score too well in the *U.S. News* lists, partly because public universities are less selective and have lower graduation rates than the most prominent private schools. So *Kiplinger's* came up with the "top 50 best values" among public colleges. This list factors in both quality and cost. Unfortunately, like the *U.S. News* rankings, the *Kiplinger's* measures of quality are mostly inputs.

UNC-Chapel Hill wins the *Kiplinger's* race nearly every year — in close competition with the University of Florida, which came in second this year. A strength of these schools is low in-state cost. Florida's, at \$10,716, is probably the cheapest of any state flagship school. UNC-Chapel Hill's is \$13,584.

- Yes, *Mother Jones* does rank colleges — on activism. The radically progressive magazine hasn't done a formal ranking since 2004, but a new one is expected in the September/October 2007 issue. In 2004, the three top winners were the University of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez; U.C.L.A., and Spelman College. At Mayaguez, students took over the Army ROTC building; at U.C.L.A., students protested the "separation wall" built in Israel by building their own out of cardboard and making students go through checkpoints; at Spelman, the students set out to challenge hip-hop star Nelly on his sexism. He didn't show up, so they held teach-ins on the "representation of women in rap."

- *Black Enterprise Magazine* lists the "50 Top Colleges for African Americans." Schools are ranked primarily on the basis of surveys of 500 higher-

education professionals about the social and academic environment for African-Americans, plus the graduation rate for African-Americans.

To be eligible for the list, a school must be at least 3 percent black. Top schools include both historically black schools and others. The leading five in 2006 were Florida A & M, Howard, NCA&T. State, Harvard, and Spelman. As with *U.S. News*, reputation ranks high, but so does the graduation rate. (Graduation rates, which are also part of the *U.S. News* rankings, are at least an outcome, not an input.)

In 2006, Morehouse, a historically black college for men, fell from first to 45th place when its graduation rate slipped from 56 percent to 49 percent.

- Templeton Honor Roll. A student (or parent) looking for a college that respects ethical standards should consider this list developed by the John Templeton Foundation. It contains 100 schools that "exhibit a strong and inspiring campus-wide ethos that articulates the expectations of personal and civic responsibility in all dimensions of college life." The list isn't updated often, but three private North Carolina schools — Elon, High Point, and Wake Forest — made the grade in 2000.

- In a similar vein, you might want to read *All American Colleges: Top Colleges for Conservatives, Old-Fashioned Liberals, and People of Faith*, a guide to 50 colleges selected by the Intercollegiate Studies

Institute. For details, order the book, but the list of colleges (table of contents) is available on the ISI Web site ([isi.org](http://isi.org)).

- *Princeton Review*. Another kind of ranking captures student life beyond academics. These are the most entertaining. The *Review* relies heavily on student surveys to create 62 lists of "bests" and "worsts." For example, you can find out at which schools "students pray on a regular basis" (Brigham Young and Wheaton are at the top) and those where "students ignore God on a regular basis" (Reed and Bard head that list). Other topics include "happiest students" and "least happy students" and "best campus food" and "is it food?"

- There's more: *New Mobility's* top 10 universities for disabled students, for example; *Hispanic Magazine's* 25 best schools for Latinos; and the top schools for Asian-Americans as listed on the Asian-Nation Web site.

You can get a glimpse of most of these, and other, rankings at [www.library.uiuc.edu/edx/rankings.htm](http://www.library.uiuc.edu/edx/rankings.htm).

The greatness of American higher education stems from competition. Compare its quality with, say, K-12 public education. Competition should work for ratings, too. CJ

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



Even Mother Jones evaluates colleges — on activism.

## Duke Improves Freshman Experience

as reported in

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## UNC Teacher-Training Efforts Bearing Fruit But Still Lagging

By JANE S. SHAW  
Contributing Editor

When Erskine Bowles became president of the University of North Carolina in 2006, he promised to increase the number of teachers produced by the university, especially in math and science. At his inaugural address he cited the "enormous gap" between the numbers of teachers produced by the UNC system and the 11,000 teachers that North Carolina hires each year. Although the results so far are modest, he is making teacher education a high priority.

Bowles announced to the Board of Governors on June 8 that the Burroughs Wellcome Fund has given UNC \$5.3 million to start a "fast-track" approach to teacher education. Juniors

and seniors at four schools (North Carolina Central, N.C. State, UNC-Asheville, and UNC-Chapel Hill) who are majoring in science or mathematics will be able to take "condensed" education courses so that they can fulfill their teacher certification requirements along with their bachelor's degrees. These students will also receive \$6,500 in annual scholarships. If they graduate and teach science or math in a North Carolina public school, they can receive an additional \$5,000 per year for up to five years.

The new grant was announced a day after the Board of Governors' committee on educational planning heard a less rosy report from Alan Mabe, the university's vice president for academic planning and university-school programs. This report indicated that the system as a whole has increased the number of teacher education graduates between the 2002-03 and 2005-06 academic years by 25.5 per cent, or 513, to reach a total of 2,527.

In addition, the system produced 1,442 "alternative completers." These are primarily "lateral entry" teachers, individuals already employed in the state who are allowed three years to complete the necessary courses for certification. As for "high need areas," in 2005-06 the system produced a total of 456 graduates in mathematics, science, middle grades, and special education. In addition, 575 alternate completers were graduated in these fields.

Speaking before the education committee, Mabe called the increase "respectable" but indicated that so far the number of teachers is well below the university-wide goal of 6,000 teachers

a year. He explained that each campus with a teacher education program is working on a recruitment program.

Mabe's report was accompanied by a packet of materials, starting with a stern March 2007 letter from Bowles to the chancellors of schools with teacher education programs. Bowles noted that there "has been little to no growth in the number of traditional teachers" graduated by the following campuses: Elizabeth City State (7.1 percent since 2002), North Carolina A&T (12.8 percent), North Carolina Central (13.2 percent),

UNC-Chapel Hill (0 percent), and UNC-Wilmington (1.2 percent). "I want an explanation from each of you as to why you have not been able to expand teacher enrollment," he wrote. He noted that some schools had fewer than 10 graduates in mathematics and sci-

ence and called that "unacceptable."

Chancellors responded with specific recruitment activities, although NC A&T and UNC-Wilmington had not replied by the Board of Governors meeting, according to a UNC staff member. Appalachian State (which was not singled out as having done too little) reported that the university will employ a campus Director of Teacher Education Recruitment and develop "more focused recruitment materials." Willie J. Gilchrist, chancellor of Elizabeth City State, said that the school is hiring personnel with a "proven track record in recruiting and working with middle and high school mathematics and science majors."

Beverly Jones, Provost of North Carolina Central University, said that the school is seeking more scholarship funds for teacher education candidates, expanding relationships with community colleges, and pursuing funds for a project that exposes high school students to the teaching profession. She also noted, however, that "many high achieving minority students are not considering teaching as an option due to low salary and heavy workload." In addition, "many high school counselors and teachers are not encouraging students to choose teaching as a profession."

It appears that vastly increasing the number of teachers from the University of North Carolina remains a challenge. CJ

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

*"[M]any high school counselors and teachers are not encouraging students to choose teaching as a profession."*

Beverly Jones  
NCCU Provost

### Commentary

## A&T Chancellor's Long Road

When Stanley Battle was named chancellor of NCA&T in November, he said he wanted to make the school among the best in the nation. Little did he know at the time that the job would begin with rebuilding.

Battle takes over a school that is mired in controversy because of an internal audit March 2007 that found more than \$2 million in mismanaged or illegally acquired funds. That includes mismanagement by a vice chancellor of more than \$500,000 from the Future Engineering Faculty Fellowship, a federal grant by the U.S. Office of Naval Research to increase the number of doctoral candidates in engineering at historically black colleges and universities. The school could be required to repay some of the money, and criminal charges are possible.

The internal audit, ordered by former interim Chancellor Lloyd Hackley, also found evidence of poor oversight, nepotism, and forged documents.

Battle's job is to place internal controls in the administration at NCA&T and to restore public trust in the institution, and especially in its leadership, after the audit's release.

Part of the blame for the audit's finding has been placed on former Chancellor James Renick, who left last year to take a position with the American Council on Education. Members of the Board of Trustees told the Greensboro *News and Record* that the audit reflected Renick's management style, which appeared to have been "hands off."

The backlash from Renick's management style was a decision by the board to rescind naming a new classroom building after him. Although board members said that proper procedures in naming the building were not followed, it's clear that the move was a reaction to the audit's findings.

To the board's credit, it is also accepting blame. Chairwoman Velma R. Speight-Buford told the *N&R* that she takes "responsibility for the board not doing its job. The board was not asking questions."

The end result is a broken school and a situation that could

take three years to correct, Speight-Buford said. Hackley, in seeking the audit, started part of the restoration project.

But the hard work is still ahead for NCA&T and, now, Battle. Is Battle capable of bringing sound business leadership and trust to the institution? Only time will tell, but based on his past experience

it's fair to assume that Battle is capable of the task before him.

He faced a similar situation when he took over Coppin State University in 2003. At the time of his arrival, the school, a unit of the University of Maryland system, had received a financial audit that

highlighted several problems reflecting lack of internal controls.

Under Battle's leadership, Coppin State improved its academic programs and obtained increased state funding to offset previous low support. The school also experienced an increase in private giving and research grants.

Battle also worked on the internal issues, especially in the area of student payments. He sent overdue bills to collection agencies, prohibited students from enrolling when they had outstanding balances, and hired more employees to reconcile tuition accounts.

Even with these improvements, some problems still exist at the school, as reported in a recent audit. In a May letter to the editor to the *Baltimore Examiner*, Battle said, "We have made exceptional progress, despite the challenges."

Now, Battle must find ways to bring about "exceptional progress" at NCA&T. The task is daunting, but NCA&T, and Battle, have no other option but to improve the school's financial standing.

In three years, the time Speight-Buford said it would take to emerge from the audit, will the school's leaders have instituted financial accountability? Taxpayers must demand an answer to that question. CJ



Shannon Blosser

Shannon Blosser manages the Chapel Hill office of the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.

**Bats in the Belltower****Being An Angry Radical Means Never Having to Say You're Sorry**

To recap the news out of Durham this year: In April, N.C. Attorney General Roy Cooper declared Reade Seligmann, Collin Finnerty, and David Evans — the Duke University lacrosse players accused by “exotic dancer” Crystal Gail Mangum of rape and sexual assault — “innocent of these charges.”

In June, rogue District Attorney Mike Nifong was disbarred and removed from office after being caught in dozens of instances of professional misconduct in his management of the case.

Meanwhile, the Gang of 88 faculty members at Duke continue to act as if they did nothing untoward when they used Mangum's lies as their point of departure for damning the university and community for supposedly making racist gang rape — which didn't happen — possible. On their Web site, concerneddukefaculty.org, they entered a statement defending themselves. A salient portion:

*In April, a group of Duke faculty members published an advertisement in The Chronicle. The ad, titled “What does a Social Disaster Sound Like?” was mostly a compilation of statements made by Duke students in response to the incident and its immediate aftermath. This ad has figured in many discussions of the event and of the University's response. It has been broadly, and often intentionally, misread. ... The ad has been read as a comment on the alleged rape, the team party, or the specific students accused. Worse, it has been read as rendering a judgment in the case.*

It was “misread” that way because it was so politically opportunistic and gratuitously offensive. It was a spleen-venting nonpareil in which they lashed out not just at the Duke lacrosse team, but at the campus community and society at large. They accused untold numbers of students and community members of racism and sexual violence the level of which was creating a climate in which “every day” was just like gang rape and sexual battery for lots of students.

The ad was chockablock with

such hysterical fare as “illuminated in this moment's extraordinary spotlight [is] what [students] live with every day”; “These students are shouting and whispering about what happened to this young woman and to themselves”; “This is not

*a different experience for us here at Duke ... We go to class with racist classmates, we go to the gym with people who are racists”; “students know that the disaster didn't begin on March 13th.”*

In their defense, the group soft-pedals that reality:

*We understand the ad instead as a call to action on important, longstanding issues on and around our campus, an attempt to channel the attention generated by the incident to addressing these. ... As a statement about campus culture, the ad deplores a “Social Disaster,” as described in the student statements, which feature racism, segregation, isolation, and sexism as ongoing problems before the scandal broke, exacerbated by the heightened tensions in its immediate aftermath. The disaster is the atmosphere that allows sexism, racism, and sexual violence to be so prevalent on campus.*

It is true, yes, that the group never flat out said that the lacrosse team members were guilty of gang rape. They made the requisite qualifications: “Regardless of the results of the police investigation,” “If it turns out that these students are guilty,” “the disaster didn't begin on March 13th and won't end with what the police say or the court decides.” See?

Instead, what they did was try to hijack what would have been the most shocking crime in Duke history bar none, pretend that it was normal, and use that perversion to justify endless, tedious harangues about how bad Duke, Durham, and society at large have always been.

Many outside the university await their apology. But the Gang of 88 reject those calls out of hand. CJ

*Jon Sanders is research editor for the John Locke Foundation.*



**Jon Sanders**

**Planning For Carolina North Puts Horace Williams Future in Doubt**

By SHANNON BLOSSER  
Contributing Editor

UNC-Chapel Hill officials have long considered using the Horace Williams Airport in Chapel Hill, situated just north of the main campus, as the site for Carolina North, the controversial multiuse “millennial” campus that will feature research and residences.

The problem with those plans has always been that the airport is still used by doctors who fly to many areas of the state where health care is not readily available. Medical Air Operations, which started in 1968, ferries UNC-Chapel Hill physicians to the state's nine Area Health Education Centers to perform medical services and offer continuing education courses.

UNC-Chapel Hill officials want to transfer Medical Air Operations from Horace Williams Airport to Raleigh-Durham International. A hangar would be built near the Department of Transportation's hangar and would cost \$2 million to \$3 million, according to Thomas Bacon, director of the N.C. health education centers program and executive associate dean of UNC-Chapel Hill's medical school. That does not include operational costs, which would be higher at RDU, Bacon said.

Physicians and pilots were critical of those plans during a hearing conducted June 14 by a meeting of the House appropriation subcommittees on education and health. They said that moving Medical Air Operations to RDU would add time to already busy schedules for doctors and could hurt services rendered to patients.

Alan Fearing, chief pilot for Medical Air Operations, said the biggest drawback would be the additional time to be cleared for takeoff. On a clear day, a flight can be airborne in five minutes at Horace Williams Airport, while it could take 10 to 20 minutes at RDU. Other time factors that could be considered would be driving to RDU, passing through security, and other clearance requirements that are not present at Horace Williams.

Some speakers said the additional time could be as much as 90 minutes for doctors if the move to RDU is completed. AHEC typically flies to Wilmington, Fayetteville, Asheville, Charlotte, Laurinburg, Lumberton, New Bern,

Greenville, Rocky Mount, and Roanoke Rapids. In 2005-06, AHEC served 17,500 people, including critically ill children unable to travel to the North Carolina Children's Hospital in Chapel Hill.

“A move to RDU would have a predictable and unfortunate attrition in patients and services,” Fearing said.

UNC-Chapel Hill officials, when pressed by legislators, said there was no way of knowing whether a move to RDU would hurt services or cause an attrition among participating professors and physicians.

“Our plan is to move forward based on the decision of the Board of Trustees,” Bacon said. A resolution supporting the closing of Horace Williams Airport was presented to legislators by the

UNC-Chapel Hill Board of Trustees.

Representatives from UNC-Chapel Hill were pressed on whether other locations had been considered to host Carolina North. UNC-Chapel Hill owns the property that encompasses the Horace Williams Airport and that's why it was considered, according to Carolina North Executive Director John Evans, a professor in business at UNC-Chapel Hill.

Evans said that UNC-Chapel Hill has reached capacity at its main and south campus. Moving to the airport location would keep the three campuses within a two-mile radius of the main campus area. He also said a “fragment site” proposal, some distance from UNC-Chapel Hill's main campus, was never considered. This was in response to questions by Rep. Rick Glazier, D-Cumberland, and Rep. Cullie Tarleton, D-Watauga.

“The central driving idea is that the university already owns that land,” Evans said.

An ecological assessment report by Biohabitats, Inc., of Baltimore showed that the airport itself is the only area that could be developed on the Horace Williams property without harming the environment.

Rep. Louis Pate, R-Wayne, said that it would be difficult to find another space for an airport in Chapel Hill. “We need to be very careful before we close down an existing [airport],” said Pate, who flew in the Air Force. CJ

*Shannon Blosser is manager of the Chapel Hill office of the John W. Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.*

**“The central driving idea is that the university already owns that land.”**

**John Evans  
Executive Director  
Carolina North**

Interview

# UNC Tomorrow Commission: Planning for the Next 20 Years

By Pope Center Staff

CHAPEL HILL

**E**ditor's Note: Peter Hans is a member of the UNC Board of Governors and was recently re-elected to a four-year term. He is also a member of the new UNC Tomorrow Commission, which was created by the Board of Governors. In this interview, we ask Hans about the commission, its plans, and its purposes.

**Carolina Journal:** First, what is the commission?

**Peter Hans:** This is our effort to assess what North Carolina needs from its public university system over the next 20 years, and how we should respond to those needs.

**CJ:** Who is actually in charge of it? And why was it formed?

**Hans:** Jim Phillips, a Greensboro lawyer, is the chairman of both the UNC Board of Governors and the UNC Tomorrow Commission.

**CJ:** What is the timetable? How will you collect your information?

**Hans:** This is an 18-month effort, which should be complete by mid-2008. We'll collect information by meeting with business, nonprofit, community, policy, and governmental leaders in each of the state's regions. Faculty from across the university will provide research and advice to the commission through a Scholars Council, which includes academics such as economist Michael Walden from N.C. State and

demographer James Johnson from UNC Chapel Hill.

**CJ:** Is the purpose of the commission to improve education in North Carolina or is its goal broader — such as determining how the public university

system can achieve other goals of North Carolina residents?

**Hans:** Our goal is to create a long-term plan that will position UNC to become, as President Bowles often says, more demand-driven, proactive, and responsive consistent with the university's mission of teaching, research, and public service.

**CJ:** We ask this because we are wary that this could turn into "just another economic development commission" and not deal with university issues, which we view as the proper focus of the Board of Governors. What do you think?

**Hans:** We'll need to be vigilant about keeping our focus. We plan to identify major trends and challenges facing North Carolina and its regions, including synthesizing and updating existing reports and studies, analyze what the campuses are already doing, and conduct internal reviews of existing resources.

**CJ:** The Board of Governors has received some criticism (for example, an editorial April 11 in *The Charlotte Observer*) for being too political. In addition, its size (32 members) makes it an unwieldy organization to bring about change, especially if that means standing up to administrators or politicians.



How will the UNC Tomorrow Commission make itself effective?

**Hans:** The Board of Governors receives a lot of heat from a lot of different quarters. And that's OK if, at the end of the day, we

promote higher-education policy in North Carolina which makes sense and helps our state realize its full potential. The UNC Tomorrow Commission will face the same challenge of satisfying many people with many different views. Fortunately, the people of North Carolina are passionate enough about their university system to vigorously debate its future direction.

**CJ:** It seems to be "conventional wisdom" that universities contribute to economic growth in the state. But some evidence suggests that state spending on higher ed may actually retard economic growth because it takes taxes and uses them in inefficient ways. Do you have an opinion about this — and will this be an issue that the commission looks at?

**Hans:** I believe the UNC system, under the leadership of President Bowles, is more open to "loving criticism" and contrarian thinking than at many points in its past. That's a good thing from my perspective and we should have those sorts of debates. It will sharpen the focus of our efforts and we welcome the accountability. We also have the responsibility to communicate more fully and accurately what the citizens are getting in return for their investment in the university system.

**CJ:** Some people think that the

UNC system is already too big and tries to do too much. Will you seek out of the views of such critics as well as those of "boosters" of the system?

**Hans:** I would encourage those critics to be constructive participants in this effort, absolutely.

**CJ:** How will the report of the commission influence government spending in the state?

**Hans:** That remains to be seen. I believe that, if we do our job well, the UNC Tomorrow Commission's report will help guide higher education spending for some time.

**CJ:** Can any member of the public present comments to the commission? If so, what should an interested party do?

**Hans:** We invite the public to interact with the commission through our Web site [www.nctomorrow.org](http://www.nctomorrow.org). We'll also be conducting a series of regional listening forums across the state this fall where the public will be welcomed to participate. Information on those dates and locations will be available on the Web site once they are scheduled.

**CJ:** Commissions with grand goals often issue reports that sit on a shelf. Your participation suggests that you are optimistic about the impact of this commission. Why?

**Hans:** I'm hopeful. Of course, only time will tell about the effectiveness of this approach. I plan to do all that I can to make it a success. I do know this is a good-faith effort to take a hard look at the UNC system and find out what we're doing well...and not so well...and then plan ahead. Our state is changing rapidly and we need to be ready to change with it. CJ



Peter Hans

## North Carolinians for Home Education

The MISSION of NCHÉ 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.

North Carolinians For Home Education

The IDEALS of NCHÉ 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 NCHÉ, you can call the office at **919-790-1100** or visit the website at [www.nche.com](http://www.nche.com)

As of January 2005, there were over 60,000 homeschoolers registered in the state of North Carolina.

## Concerned About Higher Education in North Carolina? So Are We!

The John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy online carries up-to-date higher education news coverage and research on North Carolina universities.

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***Looking out for today's college students.***

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## Town and County

## Winston-Salem runoff fee

Winston-Salem officials are proposing a 70 percent increase in storm-water runoff fees. The additional revenues would be used to correct water quality and erosion control problems uncovered in an Environmental Protection Agency audit last year, the *Winston-Salem Journal* reports.

"It does come as a shock to me that they're increasing the fees by that much.... That's a very big ouch," Kerry Crutchfield, director of finance for Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Schools, said of the proposed increase. The school system would pay an additional \$92,000 a year on top of the \$131,500 schools already pay if the fee increase is approved.

Under federal law, localities have little choice but to address storm-water problems identified by the EPA. Specific items the EPA is requiring the city to correct include creating a database of private drainage systems, increasing the number of inspections of business and industrial storm-water controls, and detailing reviews of the storm-water management plans of development and redevelopment projects.

Winston-Salem would also offer more help in controlling flooding on private property. The city will set aside \$500,000 a year for erosion control projects on private land while increasing the percentage of costs it will cover and the total amount it will spend on a single project.

## Wilmington sewer woes

The state prohibited Wilmington from issuing new building permits in some areas for several weeks in May because of sewerage problems. The freeze has since been replaced by sewer-flow caps for the area served by the leak-prone Northeast Interceptor sewer main and the overburdened Northside treatment plant service areas.

Under the agreement with the state Division of Water Quality, city officials have agreed to divert up to 600,000 gallons a day of sewage from the interceptor and file detailed information on sewerage operations with the state every month. In exchange, the division lifted its ban on building permits and agreed that building permits could be issued for projects that would generate a combined 120,000 gallons a day of sewage going to the Northside treatment plant and the interceptor. CJ

## 'Smart Growth' Fever Hits Jackson County

## Proponents fear area will begin resembling San Francisco

*Editor's note: This is the second installment in a series investigating the spread of "smart growth" regulations across North Carolina and other states. Pushed by environmentalists, smart growth abrogates the rights of property owners and diminishes individual liberty, critics say. The first story, published in the June edition of Carolina Journal, reported on developments in Camden County, N.C.*

By RICHARD WAGNER  
Editor

RALEIGH

Travis Lewis traces his family's roots deeper into Jackson County, N.C., than most of the wildlife and plant life on the land that proposed "smart growth" ordinances seek to protect. But the way Lewis and thousands of other landowners see it, their heritage and livelihoods appear to be of secondary consideration to most officials and environmentalists pushing revolutionary changes in the county.

The future of Lewis, his wife, and two daughters — whose ancestors settled in the county in the early 1800s — will be decided in early August when county commissioners vote on proposed subdivision and steep-slope ordinances.

"I don't see my girls staying here in the future because of unaffordable housing" stemming from a shortage of level land in the mountainous county and the ordinances, the father said. Only half of the county is considered developable. Lewis, who owns a carpet business, said in a telephone interview that the restrictions would squeeze housing and businesses off most of the available land.

If the ordinances pass, as earlier votes by the commissioners indicate they will, county Planning Director Linda Cable will gain considerable power to regulate development and, in turn, the standard of living of county residents.

Already, Lewis said, "She's got the authority of God." Down the road, "these ordinances would cultivate a seedbed of corruption more than anything I've seen."

For example, Lewis said, the ordinances would allow Cable to enforce regulations that force property owners to:

- Paint houses with colors that blend in with the mountains;
- Clear 30 feet of land around houses to protect against fires;
- Submit reforestation reports to planners after any clearing;
- Conduct geologic surveys and compile hydrological reports;



Jackson County sheriff's deputies, anticipating possible hostile reaction to the proposed ordinances, stand guard outside the college auditorium. (CJ photo by Richard Wagner)

• Obtain and pay for a multitude of environmental permits.

In a hearing Feb. 27, Cable said that problems in the county exist because of a lack of basic regulations for subdivision development. The purpose of the subdivision ordinance is not to stop growth, she said, but rather to direct and shape growth that will protect the environment and the county's infrastructure and to maintain the county's rural character.

Development promotes sprawl, traffic congestion, environmental pollution, and the loss of prime agricultural and forestland, she said.

"There are 467 subdivisions in the county and based on recording data in January 2005 the county had 13,000 recorded subdivision lots by January 2007, and this total increased to 15,369 within two years," Cable said. "The five years prior to that there was an estimated 5,500 lots created. Of the 15,369 recorded lots, 7,145, or about 56 percent, have structures. The county is expected to grow another 17 percent between 2000 and 2010."

At the same hearing, Jerry Lorenzen of Sylva, who works in development sales, said he did not want jobs and money to be lost because of rash decisions. He urged the officials to consider the long-term impact of new regulations.

Buddy Smith of Cashiers, a contractor, said that a moratorium creates fear and that it will cause the loss of

jobs and have a devastating impact. "A subdivision ordinance can be drafted without jeopardizing jobs," he said.

Michael McConnell of Cherokee, interim attorney general for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, said he opposed the moratorium. The tribe is

planning to build a golf course development on county lands. The tribe also is planning a \$650 million expansion of a casino and to build a \$130 million school, both on trust lands. There are 750 tribal government employees, 1,800 casino employees, and the casino expansion will add 1,000 jobs.

"Every month that the moratorium exists

and construction cannot continue, the cost of construction materials increases," McConnell said.

To challenge the county's shift to smart-growth zoning, Lewis and others formed the Jackson County Property Owners Association. Still, he doesn't see much hope for influencing the commissioners.

"I think our chances are slim," Lewis said. "A couple of commissioners have made off-the-wall comments that they will pass tough ordinances."

"Commissioner William Sheldon mentioned in the newspaper it didn't matter whether he got re-elected, he was going to take a stand on the issue," to approve the ordinances, Lewis said.

A lawsuit filed May 7 by Lewis and other contractors, developers, and

**"She's [Planning Director Linda Cable] got the authority of God." [Down the road], "these ordinances would cultivate a seedbed of corruption more than anything I've seen."**

Travis Lewis  
Jackson County landowner

Continued as "Smart Growth," Page 19

*Hits judge's 'disdain'*

## Appeals Court Finds Beaufort Gag Order Unconstitutional

By MICHAEL LOWREY  
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

The state's second highest court has found unconstitutional a gag order issued in a lawsuit over school funding in Beaufort County.

In its ruling, the Court of Appeals also admonished the judge that handled the case, finding his remarks "irrelevant, repugnant, and reflect[ing] disdain for both the legislative and judicial processes."

In 2006, a nasty dispute raged in Beaufort County over school funding, with the county commission not providing as much money as members of the school board thought was appropriate. On July 14, 2006, the school board sued the county commission for more money.

Greenville television station WNCT-TV, which serves Beaufort County, sought to cover the issue.

The case, which was fast-tracked for obvious reasons, came up for trial before Superior Court Judge William C. Griffin Jr. On July 19, Griffin, acting on his own motion, issued a gag order in the case preventing the parties and their lawyers from talking to the media.

The next day, Media General, which owns WNCT-TV, sought to have the trial court determine its rights and have the gag order dissolved. On July 21, Griffin heard Media General's arguments. The judge said he would consider the issue over the weekend.

He did not rule on the issue on the following Monday, instead allowing the trial to begin with the gag order in place. He finally dissolved the gag order July 27 after the case had gone to the jury and a day after Media General had sought to challenge the gag order before the N.C. Court of Appeals. When dissolving the gag order, Griffin said, "[t]hat makes [Media General's] suit moot."

The Court of Appeals heard the case May 23, 2007. It noted the issue was indeed technically moot, as the trial was over and the gag order had been lifted. Ordinarily, appellate courts simply dismiss cases that have become moot. The Court of Appeals opted to rule anyway, finding that a longstanding exception applied that allows appellate courts to address issues "capable of repetition, yet evading review." The appeals court noted that Griffin could rule in a similar manner in a future case involving Media

General and have it again be ended before the Court of Appeals could rule.

On the merits of the issue, the U.S. Supreme Court and federal circuit courts of appeal have recognized that the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of press and speech extend to newsgathering.

In a 1992 decision, *Sherrill v. Amerada Hess Corp.*, the N.C. Court of Appeals summarized the law on gag orders. It noted that while gag orders aren't per se unconstitutional, they are a form of prior restraint on speech and, as such, are presumptively unconstitutional.

"The... gag order utterly failed to meet any of the required standards set forth in *Sherrill*," Judge John Tyson wrote for the Court of Appeals in ruling the gag order improper.

"The trial court neglected to enter findings of fact that either a 'clear threat' existed to the 'fairness of the trial' and that the threat was posed by the 'publicity to be restrained,' or that it considered 'less restrictive alternatives.' The gag order was not reduced to writing, signed by the judge, filed with or entered by the Clerk of Superior Court."

The appeals court also was troubled by Griffin's comments at the hearing July 21. When discussing *Sherrill*, Griffin asked of Media General's lawyer: "Educate me. Who was on the panel of the Court of Appeals that ruled?"

The lawyer said the panel consisted of judges Greene, Smith, and Timmons-Goodson.

Later, when discussing the requirements of a separate state statute, the judge asked, "How many trial judges participated in drafting the statute?"

At the end of the arguments, Griffin said he would consider the issue over the weekend and added:

"As always... I'm concerned that the parties that make the decisions that impact these processes have never tried a case, never been in a courtroom. Now, Judge Smith has, of course. But it's troublesome to me that a lot of decision-making goes on that's made by people who have never been there and done that."

The case is *Beaufort County Board of Education v. Beaufort County Board of Commissioners*, (06-1419).

Link: <http://www.aoc.state.nc.us/www/public/coa/opinions/2007/061419-1.htm>. CJ

**"The... gag order utterly failed to meet any of the required standards set forth in *Sherrill*."**

Judge John Tyson  
N.C. Court of Appeals

### Commentary

## Financial Hypocrisy

N.C. counties suffer from an interesting financial hypocrisy. Even as local governments handed out more than \$400 million in financial giveaways in the form of incentives, they are simultaneously asking the state to relieve them of more than \$500 million in Medicaid payments.

Millions more in local money is being spent on economic development offices as well. Such offices spend most of their efforts giving away such incentives, land, and other enticements for business to come hither. But the tides seem to be shifting.

In High Point, Ralph Lauren Polo decided to turn down \$240,000 in local incentives. Company officials said that the incentives weren't necessary and that they were going to build in the area anyway. Shortly thereafter, computer maker Lenovo opted to forgo \$154,000 in local incentives.

All told, Guilford County saved more than \$400,000 in incentives that were unnecessary. Lenovo representatives said the incentives would not have made a difference in the company's decision to build a center in Greensboro.

Also remarkably, Guilford County officials decided to remove the entire community and economic development office from this year's budget. In a bold move, officials also denied funding of all nonprofits.

Does anyone think these decisions will destroy jobs in Guilford County? Does anyone think Guilford's economy will collapse?

Of course not. People will continue to build in the area, create jobs, and pay taxes because it's desirable to do business there. Jobs are created by the private sector, not the government, and Guilford officials just told the business community that the county valued what they do and would treat them all equally.

A bolder and more courageous move would be to have the legislature rid the counties of the silliness of incentives by making the practice a function of the Department of Commerce and disallowing counties to compete with giveaways. With such a move, the state would

save the counties more than \$400 million a year and force them to create move viable business opportunities through better taxation and business creation possibilities.

By getting out of the incentives business, counties would have to truly analyze why folks do and do not want to move to their areas.

They would also begin to realize the importance of the businesses that already exist in their communities and stop taxing them unfairly to provide lower tax rates for new businesses.

It's a small step toward creating more hospitable business environments for all, but it's a \$400 million step that the state could do without costing a dime

or cutting a program. An immediate moratorium on all city-county incentives creates a level playing field in the state.

Sen. David Hoyle, D-Gaston, once pointed out the hypocrisy of counties begging for relief on Medicaid while they gave away millions in incentives. Now is the best time we've had to deal with both issues. Dealing with both issues could lower local taxes by more than \$1 billion.

There is no free lunch when it comes to Medicaid, and alleviating the counties of that burden could be costly at first, but containing the costs and rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse will be much easier once in state hands. As such, the \$400 million price tag of taking it over could be much reduced.

Local incentives have become laughable matters across the state and largely unnecessary, as proven by both Lenovo and Ralph Lauren. North Carolina doesn't need to bribe companies to come here. It needs to be a more fiscally responsible state. Ridding the wasteful nature of local incentives and Medicaid is a great step in the right direction. Here's hoping the state leadership is paying attention. CJ



Chad Adams

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

## Local Innovation Bulletin Board

**Gone Parkin'**

A surprising amount of traffic isn't caused by people who are on their way somewhere. Rather, those who have already arrived cause it. Streets are clogged, in part, by drivers searching for a place to park, Donald Shoup, professor of urban planning at the University of California, says in *The New York Times*.

According to research by Shoup and his students cruising for parking in a 15-block business district in Los Angeles totaled 3.3 minutes, and the average cruising distance half a mile, about 2.5 times around the block.

This might not sound like much, but with 470 parking meters in the district, and a turnover rate for curb parking of 17 cars per space per day, 8,000 cars park at the curb each week-day. Over the course of a year, the search for curb parking in this 15-block district created about 950,000 excess vehicle miles of travel — equivalent to 38 trips around the Earth, or four trips to the moon.

What causes this astonishing waste? Drivers often compare parking at the curb to parking in a garage and decide that the price of garage parking is too high. But the truth is that the price of curb parking is too low, Shoup said.

To prevent shortages, some cities have begun to adjust their meter rates, varying by location and the time of day. They can adjust the price of curb parking in response to demand to keep roughly one out of every eight spaces vacant throughout the day. With the right combination, right-priced curb parking can eliminate cruising.

**Plastic bag ban full of holes**

San Francisco's Board of Supervisors recently voted to outlaw plastic checkout bags at large supermarkets and chain pharmacies. The stores are encouraged to use bags made of recyclable paper, which can biodegrade in about a month, or compostable bags made of corn or potato starch, which have not yet been widely studied.

It is a unique response well-suited to a city that prizes its special nature, one that already has curbside pickup for recycling foodstuffs in compostable bags. But as other cities weigh San Francisco's choice, they might want to consider some of the consequences, USA Today says.

Plastic bags cost about a penny each, paper costs about a nickel, and compostable bags can run as high as



10 cents each. Paper bags generate 70 percent more air pollutants and 50 times more water pollutants than plastic bags, according to the Environmental Protection Agency. This is because four times as much energy is required to produce paper bags and 85 times as much energy is needed to recycle them.

Paper takes up to nine times as much space in landfills and doesn't break down there at a substantially faster rate than plastic does.

Public education campaigns about littering and recycling can help more than ineffective bans on products that are used every day by billions of people worldwide.

**Gasoline at \$6 vs. warming?**

A recent European Environment Agency study reported greenhouse gas emissions from motor vehicles continue rising because of increased driving, despite heavy fuel taxes that boost prices there above \$6 per gallon.

Even with gasoline prices more than twofold that in the United States, Europe falls short of its global-warming goals, says Ben Lieberman of the Heritage Foundation.

The British, Germans, French, Belgians, Dutch, and Italians shell out \$6.55, \$6.45, \$6.21, \$6.44, \$7.09 and \$6.24 per gallon, respectively, for premium gas, yet they are driving more, not less.

Joel Schwartz of the American Enterprise Institute said that despite the costs of owning and operating an automobile, people choose automobiles the world over because no other form of transportation comes close to providing comparable speed, flexibility, privacy, and convenience.

Even at \$6 per gallon, many Europeans, whose per-capita incomes are lower than those in the United States, are willing to cut back on other things rather than cut back on driving. CJ

**From Cherokee to Currituck****Knightdale Curbs Cheap Housing**

By MICHAEL LOWREY

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

Knightdale is one of the less-expensive places in Wake County to live. The town recently took steps, however, to ensure that this won't hold true in the future by limiting the amount of affordable housing that can be built there, *The News & Observer* of Raleigh reports.

Under the town's new "affordable housing policy," the number of affordable and moderately priced rental

units would be capped at 120, 12 more than exist currently. The cap would stay in place until the share of affordable housing in the

town is lower than what's available in the rest of Wake County. Knightdale currently has a far higher percentage of affordable housing that the county as a whole.

"It's a great policy," said Knightdale Mayor Doug Boyd. "We've got our fair share, and we don't need anymore."

The policy works via the town's water and sewer system. Knightdale contracts to buy a fixed amount of water from Raleigh. City officials would rather allocate that fixed amount of water to more upscale developments.

"Our purpose is to ensure a diverse housing stock," said Town Manager Gary McConkey. "We are therefore setting aside a certain amount [of water and sewer capacity] to be used for low- and moderate-income housing."

The town has previously adopted a policy calling for new single-family homes to cost at least \$185,000, which is above the value of typical house there.

At least one affordable-housing group is considering challenging the legality of the affordable-housing cap.

**Asheville building heights**

How tall a building is too tall? That's what's at issue in Asheville, with the Grove Park Inn proposing to build an \$85 million, 23-story hotel and condominium building on Biltmore Avenue. While the proposed structure would be less than a foot taller than the city's tallest building, it would also be situated in an area where two- to four-story buildings

are more typical.

The building, if approved by the city, would be named The Ellington, a reference to Douglas Ellington, the architect that designed numerous important buildings in Asheville, including city hall, in an Art Deco style.

"You're really presumptuous to think you can do the same type of architecture that [Ellington] has done. He has a signature that's his signature," said architect Gary Koerner to the *Asheville Citizen-Times*. "The intent ... is not to re-create what he would create. The intent really is to honor that legacy."

Whether Asheville citizens are ready to honor Ellington's vision in the manner that

Koerner envisions remains to be seen. Some think that building is too massive or out-of-place. Asheville City Council will get the final say, likely later this year.

**I-540 cost explosion**

Plans to build a portion of the Interstate 540 Outer Loop around Raleigh sooner rather than later as a toll road have hit a snag. Substantially higher than expected land costs and the General Assembly's failure to approve "gap" funding might delay the projected 2011 opening date for an 18-mile stretch of the highway as a toll road.

State engineers recently took another look at the cost of acquiring the 732 acres of land that still need to be bought for the project. They estimated the cost at \$332 million, \$98 million more than what had been projected last year.

In 2002, the cost was pegged at \$52 million.

"God knows, that's stunning — \$300,000 an acre in Apex, North Carolina," David W. Joyner, director of the N.C. Turnpike Authority said to *The News & Observer* of Raleigh. "We're trying to keep costs down, but it's an exploding area. Growth out there is tremendous, and that's one of the problems we've had with ever getting this project built in the first place."

The increased land cost widens a project's funding gap. Though to be built as a toll road, tolls themselves will generate nowhere near enough money to pay for construction and upkeep. CJ



**"God knows, that's stunning — \$300,000 an acre in Apex, North Carolina."**

David W. Joyner  
N.C. Turnpike Authority

# 'Smart Growth' Fever Comes to Jackson County

Continued from Page 16

real-estate agents didn't pan out, either. Superior Court Judge Marlene Hyatt ruled May 24 at the Haywood Justice Center that while the plaintiffs could claim temporary financial losses caused by the moratorium, they could not prove the ban on new construction caused irreparable financial damage.

Boone lawyer Charles Clement represented the plaintiffs, who said in the lawsuit that the moratorium was enacted illegally by the Jackson County Board of Commissioners and that the ban was harming business in the county.

Hyatt, who usually gives cases careful consideration before making rulings, didn't take long to rule in this case, Lewis said. "It took the judge 30 seconds to make a decision. I don't even think the county attorney had a chance to sit down."

Vice Chairman of the Board of Commissioners Joe Cowan, also in an interview with *CJ*, said the proposed ordinances, which would limit building on steep slopes, "will improve the quality of life, especially safety" during floods.

The hearing conducted in February attracted a record turnout of 1,300 people, Realtor Marty Jones and Lewis said. Seventy to 80 percent of the attendees opposed the proposed ordinances, they said. A second hearing June 11 attracted about 125 property owners and interested observers.

"They've allowed public comment, but they haven't answered any questions," Lewis said. "I figured sooner or later they'd allow us to ask questions, but that hasn't been so. It didn't matter to the commissioners what we said."

"We had three minutes to speak at the last meeting. We had to sign up, and they took us in random order, not first-



Adam Bigelow of Sylva speaks at the hearing June 11. (*CJ* photo by Richard Wagner)

come, first-served," so that no continuity of opposition could be established, Lewis said.

Cowan, who said he has lived in the county for more than 40 years, dismisses the uproar as an "over-reaction." He again stressed that a ban on construction on steep slopes is being considered "to provide safety."

"We have the least amount of flat land of any county in the western part of the state," Cowan said.

Quality of life also is an issue, Cowan said. "Have you ever been to San Francisco?" he asked. "If you go out into the harbor and look up into the city, you see layer after of layer of houses rising into the hillsides. People move to the mountains for peace and quiet, not for San Francisco."

"I hope people understand there is a good environmental reason for doing what we want to do, to preserve peace and quiet, and to guard against stacking and mudslides," Cowan said.

Asked whether growth will be

directed to certain core "villages," or towns, according to smart-growth planning, Cowan said, "We have identified where growth has occurred and we know the territory in those areas, and that's a good indication where future growth will go. It does have the tenor of smart growth."

Jones said the restrictions being considered are too strict. "I've never seen anything like this in 34 years." For instance, the ordinances would allow only one lot for every 10 acres of land, with a 40 percent slope, he said.

"Existing lots of record are exempt for five years. And we've had a moratorium ordinance in effect since March 8," Jones said. "It's unbelievable." He estimates the brokerage community has lost at least \$700,000 during the moratorium.

Lewis said he and others who have invested in land could lose millions of dollars if the ordinances are approved. "My partners and I have under a couple of hundred acres, worth \$30,000 to \$50,000 per lot. The new regulations would require us to set aside 50 acres as conservation space. There's no way I could recoup my money. These ordinances will drive prices up and the lots will become unaffordable to most people."

"Other landowners who invested \$4 million to \$5 million in 16 lots on a lake" in the county will see their investment become worthless if the ordinances

are passed, Lewis said.

The moratorium will have a delayed effect on his carpet business, Lewis said, by diminishing his profits six to eight months down the road.

The proposed ordinances represent the initial steps toward implementation of a master plan for the county, Cowan said. "A master plan has been worked on by a committee for about five years," he said. "It is an extensive plan."

"We don't have zoning," he said. "Some people don't want zoning, but some people would benefit from zoning, as well as some from not zoning."

The county will build new infrastructure, such as sewerage and water systems, only in designated areas, Cowan said. "We are controlling infrastructure in certain areas to plan control. We are following growth, rather than controlling it."

Lewis and other property owners aren't convinced. "I don't know what brought all this about," he said. "We have a lot of conservation groups pushing hard."

Change via the electoral process seems to be one remedy, Lewis said. But, "we'll have to wait until the next election to replace commissioners."

There could be another option, as well. "Depending upon the severity of the ordinances, we might file a takings lawsuit," Lewis said. "I think we would have a good chance of winning that." *CJ*

*"Some people don't want zoning, but some people would benefit from zoning, as well as some from not zoning."*

Joe Cowan  
Vice Chairman  
Board of Commissioners

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## Book review

## Basic Economics Pierces Misconceptions

• Thomas Sowell: *Basic Economics: A Common Sense Guide To The Economy* (3rd edition); Basic Books; 2007; 627 pp; \$39.95 hardcover.

By MITCH KOKAI

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

*"We're pushing back the frontiers of ignorance."*

That was my dad's standard quip each time one of his high school science students asked him at the beginning of class, "What are we doing today?"

I hadn't thought about that line for years. Then I started reading the collected nuggets of wisdom in Thomas Sowell's new edition of *Basic Economics*. On page after page, Sowell uses common-sense economic facts to pierce the arguments that lead to greater government involvement in our lives.

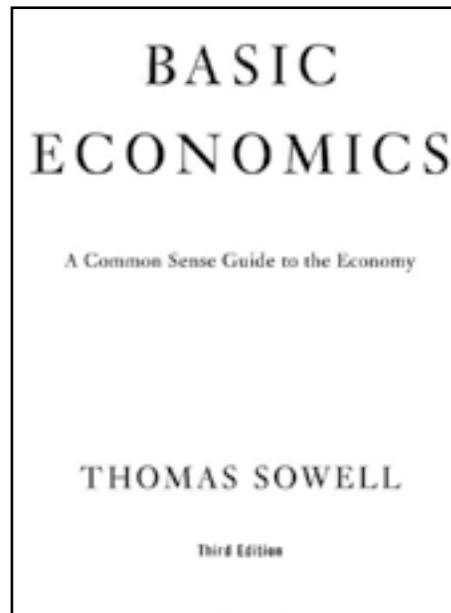
"One of the most common — and certainly one of the most profound — misconceptions of economics involves 'unmet needs,'" writes Sowell, the Rose and Milton Friedman senior fellow on public policy at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. "Politicians, journalists, and academicians are almost continuously pointing out unmet needs in our society that should be supplied by some government program or other. Most of these are things that most of us wish our society had more of.

"What is wrong with that? Let us go back to square one. If economics is the study of the use of scarce resources which have alternative uses, then it follows that there will always be unmet needs. Some particular desires can be singled out and met 100 percent, but that only means that other desires will be even more unfulfilled than they are now."

That definition of economics is worth repeating. Sowell does so frequently. Economists study the use of scarce resources with alternative uses, he reminds us. Those resources could be money, labor, raw materials, finished products—even time.

They're scarce. We'll never have enough of the resource on hand to meet every possible competing demand for it. Since resources are scarce, they must have "alternative uses." Wood used for this paper could have been used to make a chair. Time spent writing this review could have been spent reading another book.

If resources are scarce, and if they have alternative uses, then someone must make choices about how to use those resources efficiently. "Because of the inescapable reality of scarcity, rationing must take place under any form of economic system, ranging from capitalism to the kibbutz or other communal arrangements, and regardless of whether the particular economy is prosperous or



*"What price controls, subsidies, or other substitutes for price allocation do is reduce the incentives for self-rationing. That is why people with minor ailments go to doctors when medical care is [free or subsidized]."*

poor, large or small," Sowell writes.

Since rationing must take place, Sowell supports a system that allows producers and consumers to play the key role in deciding what to produce, along with when, where, and how to produce it.

"Under a price system, people ration themselves," he writes. "Price rationing limits the amount of each individual's claims on the output of others to what that individual's own productivity has created for others and thereby earned as income. What price controls, subsidies, or other substitutes for price allocation do is reduce the incentives for self-rationing. That is why people with minor ailments go to doctors when medical care is either free or heavily subsidized by the government and why farmers receiving government-subsidized water from irrigation projects grow crops requiring huge amounts of water that they would never grow if they had to pay the full costs of the water themselves."

Price controls and subsidies are not the only government interventions that draw Sowell's criticism. "Under popularly elected government, the political incentives are to do what is

popular, even if the consequences are worse than the consequences of doing nothing, or doing something that is less popular," he writes.

"One of the most important fields neglected as a result of the short political time horizon is education," he says. "With fundamental educational reform being both difficult and requiring years to show end results in a better educated population entering adulthood, it is politically much more expedient for elected officials to demonstrate immediate 'concern' for education by voting to spend increasing amounts of the taxpayers' money on it, even if that leads only to more expensive incompetence in more showy buildings."

Preceding passages might look familiar, if you've read earlier editions of this book. The basic economic arguments have not changed. But Sowell fills each chapter with 21st century examples, including the impacts of recent tax cuts on the federal government's revenues and the positive benefits of more open markets in nations such as China and India. He also tackles topical subjects such as eminent-domain abuse.

"One way of raising local tax revenues without raising local tax rates is to replace low-valued property with higher-valued property," he writes in a section on local taxation. "This can be done by condemning as 'blighted' the housing and businesses in low-income or even moderate-income neighborhoods, acquiring the property through the power of eminent domain and then transferring it to some enterprise that will build a shopping mall, hotels, or casinos, which will generate more tax revenue than the existing home owners and business owners were paying."

That's the rationale that led to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Kelo v. New London* eminent-domain case in 2005, Sowell says. The high court expanded governments' powers to take property for a "public purpose."

"What this means economically, in terms of the allocation of scarce resources which have alternative uses, is that the alternative uses no longer have to be of higher value, since the alternative users no longer have to bid the property away when they can rely on government officials to simply take the property under the power of eminent domain and sell it to them for less than they would have had to pay the existing property owners to transfer the property to them voluntarily."

If more people had read earlier editions of this book, we might not have needed an update of *Basic Economics*; faulty economic reasoning would have disappeared. But as long as there's support for the notion that governments can make better economic decisions than consumers and producers, this book will have a positive role to play. CJ

## Don't Listen to Those Who Want Us To Be Ashamed of The Founders

A nation's history needs great individuals and American history is no different.

Think about it. What would happen if you eliminated the founding fathers from the American narrative? Would the narrative crumble? What story would replace the traditional one? Who would historians choose as substitutes for the founders? How would the revision add to, clarify, distort, or eliminate the American past?



Dr. Troy Kickler

It's popular nowadays to malign the founders as deceitful hypocrites, who used the language of liberty to prop up a slave regime; all the talk concerning liberty and low taxes was nothing more than empty words. In an increasing number of textbooks the founding fathers are being denounced and their importance devalued. Robin Einhorn, professor of history at UC-Berkeley, for one, thinks this trend is acceptable because it's best to abandon false

histories of the Founding.

Instead of judging the founders by modern-day attitudes concerning race or defending them as if any criticism undermines American civilization and equals blasphemy against infallible beings, Americans should study them as Gordon Wood, the pre-eminent historian of the Revolution Period, reminded attendees at a March 2007 North Carolina History Project lecture; that is, although the founding fathers were the greatest generation of American leaders, they were not demigods, or demons, but real individuals who were products of particular historical circumstances.

This approach seems too complicated for many. In *American Taxation, American Slavery* (University of Chicago, 2006), Einhorn, for instance, takes the American exceptionalism argument (a belief that the United States has something good to offer humanity) and turns it on its head. In it, she argues essentially what she did in "Jefferson's Alchemy Turned a Slaveocracy Into a Democracy" (*Public Affairs Report*, November 1999, University of California, Berkeley): "Laissez-faire liberalism, as it emerged in the United States, had nothing to do with foster-

ing capitalism and everything to do with protecting a slave-labor system that was vulnerable in a post-Enlightenment world." (Notice the absolutist language.)

The motivation for her study can be read in "It's Tax Time Again: Should You Feel You're Overtaxed?" (*History News Network*, 9 Apr. 2007). In it, Einhorn asserts that present-day, anti-tax attitudes are linked to a defense of slavery that was an "antidemocratic rejection of all public power and public decision making." Interestingly, Einhorn seems unaware (or is she?) that taxation is involuntary servitude. In "The Myth that Low Taxes and Liberty Go Hand in Hand," (*History News Network*, 30 Oct. 2006), Einhorn claims as fact that "Americans have often opted for higher taxes and stronger governments — especially when they had the freedom to choose." Americans who hate taxes, Einhorn asserts, "are truer to [their] political traditions than [they] would want to admit if [they] agreed to identify those traditions correctly."

The erroneous lesson is that anti-tax proponents perpetuate an undemocratic and racist legacy. This assertion exemplifies what Friedrich Nietzsche

called "philosophy with a hammer." Nobody wants to be called a racist, for instance, so when he or she demands lower taxes or criticizes government intervention, they are pounded with red herrings and forced to defend their integrity. After being clubbed enough times, most shut up or spend their time discussing why they aren't evil. Meanwhile, discourse stops.

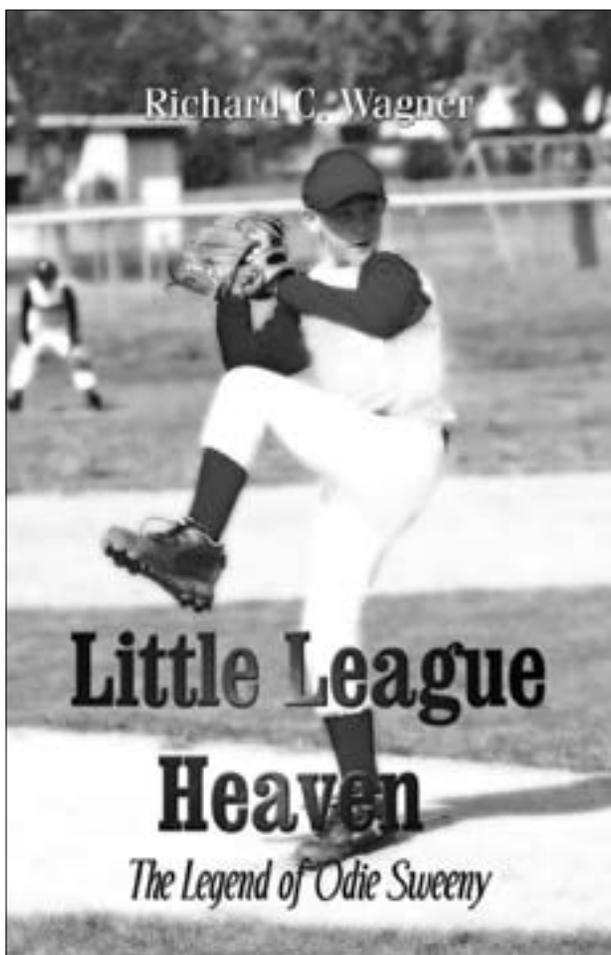
Einhorn's thesis, like many recent histories, tells us more regarding historians' modern-day concerns and goals than it reveals about the past. That said, we must begin with our subjects' world, even when criticizing it, for it's easy and unfair to ask historical questions based on assumptions of our age. The founders, in particular, should be considered in the context of the late-18th century.

This July, Americans should not be ashamed of the founders. Their defense of liberty eventually applied to all Americans and works now to abolish involuntary servitude in all its forms. CJ

Troy Kickler is director of the North Carolina History Project. (<http://www.northcarolinahistory.org>)

## Little League Heaven

By Carolina Journal Editor Richard C. Wagner



When Lillie Jo Sweeney threw out the first pitch of the game at Houston's Astrodome in 1989, she joined the Astros and thousands of boys and girls in celebrating the 50th anniversary of Little League baseball. The event also saluted her deceased husband, Odie Sweeney, a Little League legend who managed a never-say-die team for 38 years — a record in Texas and one of the longest streaks in the nation. *Little League Heaven: The Legend of Odie Sweeney*, an inspirational biography, serves a generous slice of Americana and traditional values.

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## Short Takes on Culture

## 'Pirates 3' a Dud

• "Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End"  
Walt Disney Pictures  
Directed by Gore Verbinski

It's become cliché to say that sequels are never as good as the original, but unfortunately that description fits "At World's End." The film suffers from a similar unwieldy plot as its predecessor, the 2006 "Dead Man's Chest," and takes the Machiavellian plot element to an anarchist extreme. Everyone is out to get the other guy and there are no virtuous heroes. Backstabbing is routine. Granted, it is a movie about greasy, doubloon-grubbing pirates, but protagonists should generate at least a modicum of sympathy from the audience. By the middle of the film, it was difficult to determine whom viewers were supposed to root for.

As if the story wasn't complicated enough, at least a quarter of the dialogue can't be heard because of cannon fire, which is ample. Nearly every scene features some poor soul getting dispatched courtesy of a musket, sword, or squid-faced villain. The special effects are pure eye candy, but exploding ships and crustacean-covered pirates can't carry a movie.

Too bad that the series ended with such a whimper, since the first "Pirates" movie was such a smashing success (at the box office and in quality). The story was simple, the characters innovative and unique, and the special effects good without jumping into the absurd. "At World's End" fails to live up to that high standard.

— DAVID BASS

• "Children of Men"  
Universal Home Entertainment  
Directed by Alfonso Cuarón

Recently out on DVD, "Children of Men" is based on a novel by P.D. James, a work so dark and depressing that many fans were turned off by it. But in the hands of director Alfonso Cuarón ("Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban") the seed James planted grows into an engrossing vision of a world cut loose from fundamental humanity.

The premise is simple but startling. The year is 2027, and humankind has been infertile for almost 20 years. With nothing to live for, civilization starts to break down. The one even half-exception is a fascist police state in Britain. It is there, with great overtones of both Brazil and 1984 we find morose government bureaucrat Theo (Clive Owen) and our story begins. Theo is not an anti-hero, but

not an action hero, either. The film suffers from none of the typical bloat of a Hollywood star vehicle.

The film is believable and real without asking us to choose sides. As with the best fantasy stories, we are just plopped down in the middle of a strange world and asked to make sense of it the best we can. At its plot's core there are a few twists and turns that show the touch of an old suspense master like James. There is brutality and violence, but not gratuitously so. Theo plunges, stumbles, really into a brutal world in search of both love and life.

And that is the oddly uplifting thing about this brief (just over 100 minutes) and disturbing film. Despite being the exact opposite of a feel-good movie, keen viewers are left with a deep appreciation for the wonder of life and the possibly of human redemption.

— JEFF TAYLOR

• *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower*  
By Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Basic Books

As the first global superpower, America has done a poor job, according to Zbigniew Brzezinski. In his new book, *Second Chance*, Brzezinski grades the last three administrations and gives advice to restore America's status. Brzezinski believes George H.W. Bush was a good crisis manager, but was not a strategic visionary. This first President Bush receives a "B" grade from Brzezinski.

President Clinton did nothing to change the direction of foreign policy, either. Though he was a visionary, Brzezinski writes, Clinton lacked discipline and passion. He even left much of the world worse off, and for that he receives a "C." Finally, the author reviews the current President Bush, whom he gives a "F." Brzezinski unfairly blames Bush II for an increase in anti-Americanism, the rise of China, and a decline in America's credibility abroad. Yet, there are many factors contributing to these problems and Brzezinski's personal feelings seem to cloud his intellect.

Brzezinski says that if America is going to remain the global leader in a time when people are more politically connected and demanding, the next president of the United States must act with restraint, make multilateral efforts to solve world problems, and focus on what is best for the entire world, not just the United States.

— JUSTIN COATES CJ

## Book review

## Moreno Tells Compelling Story Of Unions' Treatment of Blacks

• Paul Moreno: *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*; Louisiana State University Press; 2006; 325 pp; \$49.95

By GEORGE C. LEEF  
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

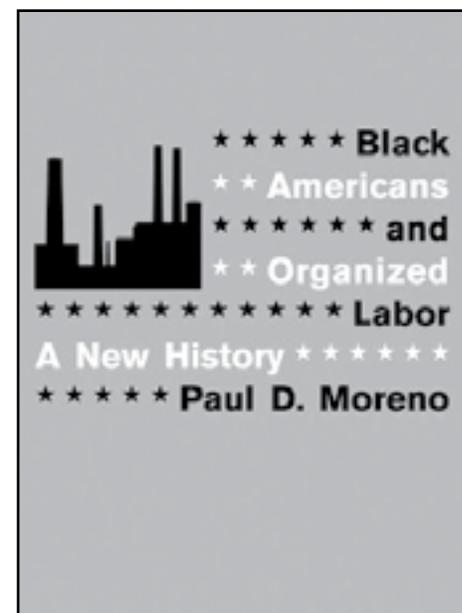
Among the virtues of free markets is the fact that they provide all who wish to compete the opportunity to do so. Free markets are not burdened by coercive interference that favor some groups or shuts out others. That is particularly beneficial for people who are of a religious sect, nationality, race, or other group that is widely disliked in society. Even if most people choose to discriminate against them, they can still succeed by working for or selling to those who don't share the general prejudice, or at least will put prejudice aside in favor of good quality work.

On the other hand, where a market is subject to government regulation, unpopular groups are often excluded or handicapped. That is because dominant groups are able to exercise their political power to obtain the passage of laws that stamp out competition from outsiders.

Black Americans have suffered a great deal from official discrimination in the labor market. For example, under the "Jim Crow" laws enacted in Southern textile-producing states, it was illegal for a mill owner to employ black workers in the better-paying positions. The job of loom fixer, among others, was by law a whites-only job. Many owners would have been glad to hire or promote people for that job just on the basis of work quality, but racist politics dictated otherwise.

Labor unions have long used both legal and illegal means to secure for their members higher pay than they would be able to get in a free market. In the early years of America, virtually every union admitted only whites.

In his book *Black Americans and Organized Labor*, Hillsdale College history professor Paul Moreno gives a detailed account of the one-sided battle between blacks and unions. It's a "warts and all" picture that reveals much about the ugly, coercive side of organized labor that is usually kept hidden from the public. Moreno quotes Samuel Gompers, who once ranted that "Caucasians are not going to let their standard of living be destroyed by Negroes, Chinamen, Japs, or any other." The early civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph clearly understood what unions were all about when he said that the American Federation of Labor was "the most wicked machine for the propagation of race prejudices in the country."



One of the key themes in the book is that black workers and white business owners were allies against the attempts to cartelize the labor market by unions. In the post-Civil War South, Moreno writes, "industrialization could have undermined the region's racial hierarchy, but segregation forced business to conform to it.... Railroad owners balked at enforcing racial segregation and fought the laws in court—joining Homer Plessy, for example, in challenging the requirement of separate accommodations in New Orleans street cars." Frequently businesses that chose to employ black workers were targeted by unions with violence.

Nor was racial animosity confined to the South. In Northern states, unions used their power to ensure that skilled trades remained exclusive white preserves. One favorite tactic was to get occupational licensing laws passed, and then to use their control over apprenticeship programs to keep anyone they didn't like from learning the trade.

Eventually, some unions began to soften their stance against blacks, a combination of receding racial hostility and self-interest. The money of black union members was just as good as that of whites. Political pressure was building for legislation to forbid racial discrimination by unions and most union officials supported it.

Unionists like to talk about what they call "labor's bitter struggle," which is their rhetoric for efforts at establishing legally protected cartels, but the really bitter struggle was that of black, and other minority, workers to be allowed to compete freely in the labor market. Moreno's book beautifully tells the story of that struggle but also makes a bigger point — namely that society must not allow interest groups to use the law as a sword to cut down competition from other people.

CJ

# Beschloss's Presidential Courage Provokes Reflection

• Michael Beschloss: *Presidential Courage: Brave Leaders and How They Changed America 1789-1989*; Simon & Schuster; 2007; 448 pp; \$28 hardcover.

By HAL YOUNG  
Contributing Editor

RALEIGH  
The essence of the office is that presidents should lead public opinion, not follow it. That is the premise of Michael Beschloss's *Presidential Courage: Brave Leaders and How They Changed America 1789-1989*. In this new book Beschloss profiles defining crises in the administrations of nine presidents from Washington to Reagan, walking with them through the heat of their struggles and through diaries, recordings, and personal correspondence, showing a side to the presidency that is carefully shielded from public view.

George Washington, for example, was so demoralized by vicious partisanship and disloyalty during his administration that he declined running for a third term. Harry Truman seriously offered to become Dwight Eisenhower's vice presidential running mate rather than face his own re-election campaign. John Adams and Abraham Lincoln fought deep depression, Adams to the point of retreating from the capital to his Massachusetts farmhouse for months at a time.

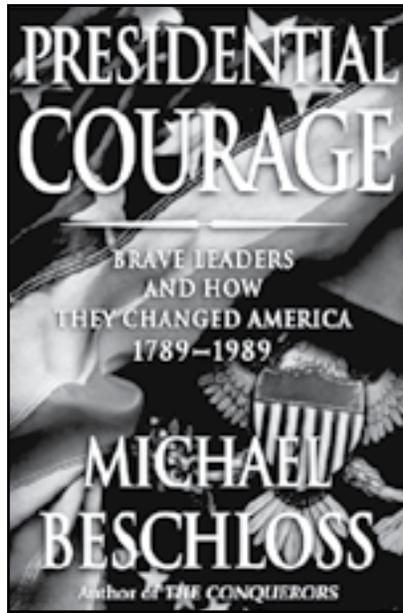
Often presidents are forced to confront both enemies and friends. Theodore Roosevelt intervened in a coal miners' strike, to the opposition of both mine operators and labor unions. His trust busting was popular with voters, but it outraged his financial backers in the Republican business community. Kennedy's support for civil rights was a direct affront to the still-Democratic South, and Lincoln and Reagan both

admitted they faced more extreme views on both sides of their position, inside their parties and outside.

Reagan, for example, walked a tightrope from the first day of his administration, seeking to reduce the risk of nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union but recognizing that only a massive and purposeful restoration of America's military power would keep them negotiating.

Beschloss shows the deep religious convictions of the president was an anchor that gave him a firm belief in the power of right and the evil of wrong, but a hope that peace between nations could be achieved and liberty might grow even within the Soviet Union. Beschloss also shows that Reagan's unswerving beliefs steeled him for the possibility that events and decisions might lead to Armageddon, perhaps keeping him from the precipice of appeasement when facing down either the Soviets or a hostile Congress and media. History, of course, proved Reagan right.

Washington's burden was a treaty with England, negotiated by John Jay, that appeared to grant sweeping concessions to the still-belligerent Kingdom. Washington still had credibility as the lead patriot, but found hostility to the Jay treaty so sharp that fellow Virginians were toasting to Washington's speedy death. His conviction that the country he helped liberate was not strong enough for another war to maintain its



independence kept Washington in the political game to modify, then confirm the controversial agreement, in spite of political consequences. However, his famous demurral to run for a third term was likely due to the stress of completing his second.

Glimpses into the presidents' personal lives reveal more than just their intentions. Reagan, who wrote to focus his mind and to release tension, con-

fided in his diary, as did other presidents. Franklin Roosevelt, it seems, confided in his mistress.

Most of the presidents profiled here were fiercely in love with their wives, even Jackson, who was widowed just before he became president, convinced his dear Rachel had been hounded into her grave by scandal mongers. Love is stronger than death, and Jackson wore her portrait as a locket throughout his administration.

There are other incidents and presidents that could have been added to Beschloss' list. James Monroe's stand against European intervention in the Caribbean was a gutsy move for a fledgling republic. Richard Nixon's rapprochement with Mao's China might have been more radical than Reagan's engagement with the Soviet Union. The history is still open for George W. Bush. Still, the stresses faced by nearly any president are enough to crush a parliament of lesser men, and the nine profiled here amply

illustrate it.

*Presidential Courage* reads like a series of feature articles. Beschloss adopts a straight narrative style with few extended quotations and mainly offhand footnotes. This makes for breezy reading but it also leaves gaps in understanding. Many of the direct quotes have so many interpolated phrases one wonders whether the speaker's intent was truly rendered.

There are some ragged asides, such as a few paragraphs about Washington's Philadelphia residence inserted in the middle of the treaty controversy, and historical facts dropped into the story without preliminary explanations. The limited analysis and comment, usually at the end of each segment, does wrap up the foregoing narrative, but more of it earlier would have been helpful.

The book is arranged in four-chapter segments dealing with each president's critical political conflicts. This organization makes the book difficult for scanning and sampling. There are no flags pointing to a change of focus from one president to the next. This appears to be intentional, as the author ties new sections with earlier chapters, showing connections between the members of this grand fraternity, where presidential families and officials often overlap several administrations.

This is a secondary theme of the book. Despite grave differences in their philosophies and policies, presidents cannot help but recognize their common struggle of being the American chief executive.

No student will get Advanced Placement credit based on this book, but for reading this summer, it is still useful to inform and provoke reflection, and better yet, whet the appetite for the longer presidential biographies. CJ

## BOOKS AUTHORED BY JLF STAFFERS



By John Hood  
President of the  
John Locke Foundation

### Selling the Dream Why Advertising is Good Business



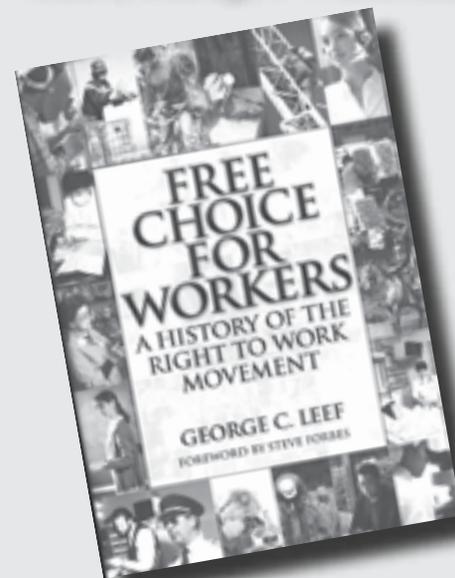
"[Selling the Dream] provides a fascinating look into the world of advertising and beyond ... Highly recommended."

Choice  
April 2006

[www.praeger.com](http://www.praeger.com)

## 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

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## Commentary

## 'News' Without Sources

For those who have missed earlier installments of this missive, here's the basic argument: Journalists fail miserably when they treat news stories as vehicles for their own opinions. That's why the "great editor in the sky" created columns.

You know a piece of journalism is especially shoddy if there's no attribution. In other words, the writer never answers the question, "Says who?" For example: "This is the worst administration in the history of the free world, says (a State Department career employee/U.N. bureaucrat/Brookings Institution work/Democratic strategist/angry guy I met at Burger King/illiberal blogger/my editor/my next-door neighbor/all the people I drink beer with after work).

Today's candidate for the "Says who?" award is *Newsweek's* Michael Hirsh. Consider this paragraph from his cover story:

The violent takeover of Gaza by Hamas is not just a death knell for Israeli-Palestinian peace, splitting Bush's dream of a Palestinian state into two armed camps. It is also, along with the quagmire in Iraq, a historic rebuff. In his second Inaugural Address, the president embraced the promotion of democracy as his top priority, declaring: "The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands."

But in Iraq and the Palestinian territories, as in Russia, Pakistan and other places, liberty is retreating. And the fact remains that those places where Washington has most actively and directly pushed for elections — Iraq, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza — are today the most factionalized, chaotic and violent in the region.

Who calls the Hamas takeover a "death knell for Israeli-Palestinian peace"? Who called Iraq a "quagmire"? Does anyone even know what a quagmire is — beyond its utility as a synonym for the Vietnam War? Who called this a

"historic rebuff"? And so on.

Perhaps Hirsh simply lost his cool for a paragraph. Let's look at the next one:

Why does the disaster in Gaza matter? In part because the defeat of the secular — and more moderate — Fatah forces could, along with the insurgents' success in Iraq, inspire Islamist radicals in the region and around the world. Hamas is not the Taliban, and it



Mitch  
Kokai

knows that an uptick in rocket attacks against Israel will be met with a harsh response. But, as Bush said in his second Inaugural, the whole point of promoting freedom is to blunt the hopelessness and anger that breed radicalism. Gaza faces 50 percent unemployment in the best of times. Qaeda-like

splinter groups that have carried out kidnappings of foreigners have already begun to appear. Further isolating the territory is not likely to fill its residents with faith in the future.

Who says Fatah's defeat could "inspire Islamist radicals"? Who says Hamas knows an "uptick in rocket attacks" would yield a "harsh response"? Do

you get the impression Hirsh didn't actually talk to anybody with any expertise on this subject?

What's inexcusable about this sourceless "news" is that *Newsweek* should be able to find people to stand behind these assertions. Surely there's some source who's willing to be quoted or paraphrased expressing these sentiments. Those sources enable the reader to determine whether the information has any value.

My favorite line in Hirsh's piece is this one: "Let's face it: Americans have always made crummy imperialists."

To that, I add: "Let's face it: Writers with no sources have always made crummy news stories." CJ

Mitch Kokai is associate editor of Carolina Journal.



## Editorial

## Joe Hackney Is No Jim Black

While Jim Black's corruption drove him out of the N.C. House speaker's office, new Speaker Joe Hackney has a reputation for integrity — a reputation unstained by his years as Black's lieutenant in the House Democratic caucus.

That's why it's disconcerting when Hackney and his own lieutenants rely on Black-style maneuvers to shut down debate and quiet the Republican minority.

A key example involves the most important piece of legislation lawmakers tackle each year: the state budget. Democrats hold comfortable majorities in both chambers of the General Assembly, so Democrats control the process of crafting House and Senate budgets. That's understandable.

Since Republicans play no role in budget debates taking place behind closed doors, they can make suggestions, offer amendments, or raise concerns only in open committee meetings and during House and Senate floor debates.

Despite that arrangement, this year's budget process produced a rarity in modern legislative history: Republicans who were shut out of the Senate's budget-writing process nonetheless supported the Senate Democrats' plan. The \$20 billion proposal sailed through the Senate with limited debate and near-unanimous approval.

House Republicans also found merit within the Senate's plan. Although they raised significant questions about spending and debt levels, House GOP leaders argued that the Senate Democrats' budget was better than the plan developed by House Democrats.

When the House had an opportunity to accept or reject the Senate budget, Republicans announced that they planned to accept the proposal. They also urged House Democrats to accept the Senate plan and end haggling with

a month to spare before the new budget took effect July 1.

Here's where the Black influence enters the story. Black was notorious among his critics for using, and abusing, House rules to avoid debate on legislation when debate proved inconvenient to him. Once Black vacated the speaker's chair, his successor promised a more open process with greater input from all elements of the 120-member House.

That's why the following scenario proves troubling.

Rather than debate the merits or demerits of the Senate budget plan, Hackney and his lieutenants moved immediately to cut off any discussion of the proposal. House Republicans had no opportunity to make the case that their Democratic colleagues should accept a budget written by fellow Democrats. With no debate, the House took a party-line vote to reject the Senate plan.

Afterward, House Minority Leader Paul Stam, R-Wake, talked about his disappointment about more than just the final vote. "The problem with reverting back to the old days ... is very, very serious," Stam told reporters.

Shortly after Hackney took the speaker's gavel in January, the House had debated new rules for conducting day-to-day business. Republicans supported changes that would limit the speaker's ability to make arbitrary decisions.

At that time, Hackney's supporters urged Republicans not to worry. Hackney was not Black, they said, and would not run the House using Black's blueprint.

Rep. John Blust, R-Guilford, answered during the debate, "If it's going to be real change, then why won't we put it in writing? Why won't we put it in the rules?"

Those are still good questions. CJ

## Recycling: A New Religion

*Recycling has become a sacrament, an end rather than a means*

It drives environmentalists nuts when their dogmatic prescriptions are described as a new secular religion. That's not why the description is worthwhile (though it is a fringe benefit). It just so happens that religious metaphors help to explain a lot.

For example, for most of us, recycling is a means to an end. If it results in lower waste-disposal costs, more conservation of scarce resources, or opportunities for businesses, nonprofits, or individuals to make some extra cash, then recycling is reasonable. But if it costs more than it saves, and is merely a roundabout way of discarding materials that we wish would be reused but never are, then recycling is unreasonable.

For true believers, however, recycling seems an awful lot like a sacrament. They do it because it is expected of them, because it makes them feel virtuous, or because they want to make a statement of deep personal conviction. It isn't a means to an end. It is the end.

Look at what's going on in Forsyth County. As reported recently by the *Winston-Salem Journal*, the city-county utility commission is struggling to handle the \$2.5 million annual cost of the community's curbside-recycling program. Operated under a contract with Waste Management Inc., the program picks up 11 categories of recycled goods, takes them to a central location for sorting and processing, and then rebates the utility commission based on the amount

of useable material picked up. This year, the rebates totaled \$220,000—not a large fraction of the \$2.5 million cost.

That might still make sense if local governments saved more money by diverting waste and lengthening the life of public landfills than the net cost of recycling. But the economics don't work. The utility commission can't simply pass on the cost of the program to households and businesses because of the existence of private landfills willing to take garbage. The state requires that local governments with landfills set up recycling programs. Private landfills are under no such obligation.

The proliferation of private competition for waste disposal has itself reduced stress on the county facility. The annual tonnage has dropped 27 percent in five years. If you want to reduce cost to taxpayers and extend the life of the government landfill, in other words, your goals are being met more effectively by competition than by recycling mandates.

However, if the real interest is not cost but simply recycling for its own sake — on the mistaken ground that reusing resources is always more environmentally beneficial than disposal and replacement — then forcing everyone to participate is inevitable.

Not only has recycling become a sacrament, but the faith of which it is a constituent element is rapidly becoming an official state religion. *CJ*

## Public Policy and Anecdotes

*Policymaking benefits when leaders look at actual data*

Here's a brief but telling example of how public policymaking goes awry when anecdotes and show business supplant careful examination of actual data.

Let's say that the United States should take immediate action to forestall projected, human-induced global warming. There are many different policies and energy alternatives that politicians and international negotiators might pursue. These options would have very different effects per dollar of cost.

According to research from the consulting firm SFA Pacific and the Joint Economic Committee, the cost per ton of mitigating carbon-dioxide emissions are as follows:

- Using natural gas, nuclear, and clean-coal technologies (that would sequester the carbon rather than releasing it) to replace today's coal-fired power plants would all cost far less than \$50 per ton of CO<sub>2</sub> reduction. Wind power is in the same ballpark in terms of cost per reduced emission, but less reliable and more situational.

- Using cellulose-based ethanol, such as that made from switchgrass

or agricultural wastes, to reduce the gasoline content of motor fuels would cost approximately \$120 per ton of CO<sub>2</sub> reduction.

- Using conventional ethanol, such as that made from corn, would cost nearly \$200 per ton.

- Inducing consumers to switch to hybrid automobiles would cost about \$250 per ton.

Obviously, we'd get by far the biggest bang for the buck by focusing on modernizing electric-power generation, particularly given that fuel for both nuclear and clean-coal plants is available domestically. Both ethanol options involve substantial changes in the use of agricultural land. As for hybrids, folks ought to drive them if they like them, but not to save the planet. The numbers don't work.

Unfortunately, the relative costs and benefits of these alternative responses are not reflected in the relative amount of attention given to them by politicians, the news media, and stubble-chinned Hollywood trendinistas

Thus the problem. Or one of them, anyway. *CJ*

### Commentary

## Glamour Shot Development

When it comes to the hotly debated topic of government subsidies for business, the image typically conjured up by corporate-welfare proponents bears little resemblance to the actual practice. Call it the Glamour Shot of economic development.

First, the fuzzy-lens, cosmetically enhanced version. Picture a run-down mill town, its longtime anchor employer either bankrupt or departed for some tropical clime. The tax base is devastated. The jobless rate is high, the underemployment rate even higher. Retailers have been socked in the gut by the income losses of their customers, and now stand outside their stores, heads turned toward the horizon, waiting like Jericho characters for a mushroom cloud named Wal-Mart. A tumbleweed blows by, perhaps followed by a ravenous pack of wild dogs/Republican neocons.

Then, the community's wise and far-seeing leaders break the exciting news: A savior has been found! A new employer is moving in, thanks in part to a small but crucial package of tax breaks and cash subsidies. A children's choir begins to sing. Hardscrabble farmers and tough-as-nails working moms tear up. Local tax coffers begin, like Grimm's porridge pot, to overflow with endless fiscal goodness.

OK, now the unadulterated, sharp-focused, mascara-less version. In reality, most state and local incentive deals happen in North Carolina's wealthiest and most populous cities and counties. They happen where the labor market is already tight, where tax revenues are already surging, and where income growth is already solid. The incentive deals enrich economic-development consultants, who conveniently insist that they are ubiquitous and essential, even though there is little empirical evidence to suggest that incentives determine most business decisions or confer net economic benefits.

Thanks to good reporting by the *Triangle Business Journal* and other media, we've long known that most tax breaks and cash grants from state government go to projects in Mecklenburg, Wake, and similar places. Now, thanks to a new report from the North Carolina

Institute for Constitutional Law, we can confidently say the same about economic-development incentives at the local level.

NCICL used a combination of document requests, city and county minutes, press releases, and news clippings to find incentive packages local governments in North Carolina granted from 2004 to 2006. The organization was able to identify 353 such packages, totaling \$403 million in expenditure or foregone revenue collection projected over various time frames (the largest single package in the study, \$165 million for Google's server farm in Lenoir, assumes a 30-year time horizon).

Now, the Google deal did happen in a rural community recently beset by plant closures and layoffs. But for the most part, NCICL found that local incentive deals got done in economically healthy communities, not the needy ones. Excluding Google, about three-quarters of all the local incentives authorized during the period were tied to projects in the Triangle, Triad, and Charlotte regions. While some of the counties in these regional clusters have faced significant economic challenges of late, many of the subsidized firms really did locate or expand in Charlotte, Raleigh, the Research Triangle Park, Wilmington, and other cities with vibrant economies.

There is nothing wrong with state lawmakers and their counterparts in city and county government worrying about the wrenching changes and economic challenges facing rural and small-town North Carolina. But they need to choose policy responses that are consistent with sound principles of government and, as usually comes in tandem with that, are likely to work. As a state, North Carolina needs a more cost-effective means of improving the quality of education, a general topic within which there is certainly no shortage of specific, promising ideas.

Most importantly, state and local leaders need to get a clear look at the problem. A bright light and a mirror are all they need to get the picture. *CJ*

*Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation.*



John Hood

## Editorial Briefs

*The truth about the 'pay gap'*

The National Committee on Pay Equity and a new report by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, say pay discrimination is "a serious problem for women in the work force."

On its face, the evidence in the AAUW study looks damning, but in reality, the causes for differences in pay aren't all that clear, said Steve Chapman, editorial writer for the *Chicago Tribune*.

Women with college degrees tend to go into fields such as education, psychology and the humanities, which typically pay less than the sectors preferred by men, such as engineering, math, and business.

As they get older, many women elect to work less so they can spend time with their children. A decade after graduation, 39 percent of women are out of the workforce or working part time, compared with only 3 percent of men.

In addition, men and women often do different things that might affect earnings. A year out of college, women in full-time jobs work an average of 42 hours a week, compared to 45 for men. Men also are more likely to work more than 50 hours a week.

Buried in the report is a startling admission: "After accounting for all factors known to affect wages, about one-quarter of the gap remains unexplained and may be attributed to discrimination." Another way to put it is that three-fourths of the gap has innocent causes—and that we actually don't know whether discrimination accounts for the rest.

*Higher tax rates reduce working hours*

In "Long-Term Changes in Labor Supply and Taxes: Evidence from OECD Countries, 1956-2004," coauthors Lee Ohanian, Andrea Raffo, and Richard Rogerson assess the role of labor and consumption taxes in explaining differences in hours of work across 21 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development economies. The authors' key finding is differences in taxes across countries are an important piece of the explanation for the different levels of hours of market work.

The starting point for their analysis is the observation that the current differences in hours of work across countries can be traced to different evolutions across countries over the last 50 years.

Although, on average, hours of work have decreased substantially across OECD economies since 1956, the extent of the reduction varied widely. For example, hours of work in the United States were about the same in 1956 and 2004, while hours of work in Germany decreased by about 40 percent over the same period.

Although the authors found that changes in taxes explain the changes in hours of work, there are some episodes in particular countries that require another explanation. Specifically, in some instances hours decrease by more than what the changes in taxes can explain, while in some other cases hours decrease less than would be predicted solely on the basis of changes in taxes. This work helps them to isolate those episodes that require additional attention. *CJ*



## Media Not Telling Full Story on Prices

With gasoline prices up again this season, it's easy to get depressed about consumer costs. In fact, most folks I come across have the general feeling that if gasoline prices rise, other prices eventually will have to follow. So, is it just a matter of time before we're back, as we were about 30 years ago, to double-digit inflation?

Before you accept this conclusion, let's a take step back and look at what's happened to prices since 2000. Why 2000? That's the year many economists think the start of full-blown globalization. That's the year China entered the world's trading system, as did other countries in Asia and Eastern Europe. It's also the year we began to see gasoline prices start their relentless upward climb.

If we look at total retail-level inflation since 2000, it's averaged 2.7 percent per year. In other words, the average of prices paid by consumers for products and services rose 2.7 percent annually since 2000. That's actually a fairly low rate, historically speaking. It's also nowhere near the 10 percent, 11 percent, and 12 percent inflation rates we saw in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Certainly, gasoline prices have gone up more. The increase in gasoline prices has averaged almost 10 percent each year since 2000. Other big jumps have been recorded for medical care and electricity prices, which have gone up an average of 4.4 percent and 4.8 percent, respectively, in each year since 2000.

But if you bought anything technological, from TVs to computers to cell phones, guess what? Those prices actually have dropped since 2000. Prices of cell phones are declining an average of 2 percent per year, TV prices are falling at the rate of 8 percent annually, and computers are plunging in price 10 percent a year. If you waited to buy a computer in 2006 instead of in 2000, you would have saved 75 percent. While I'm at it, let me throw in appliances. They're also cheaper today, by about 10 percent, than they were six years ago.



Michael Walden

Two forces are responsible for the good news about prices of tech products. First, the manufacturing process for their production usually improves in efficiency and scale over time, thereby pushing prices down. Second, many foreign producers with lower costs have entered these markets in recent years, and U.S. buyers have been the beneficiaries.

There are two other major product groups where consumers have enjoyed lower prices this decade. One is clothing. Clothing prices are falling at the rate of about 1 percent per year. Here the reason appears to be international producers. As is well known, especially in North Carolina, a significant share of our apparel manufacturing has moved offshore, especially to China and other Asian countries. Again, because of the Asians' lower costs, they are able to make and sell clothing at cheaper prices. Clothing prices started dropping after the NAFTA and GATT trade deals of the mid-1990s.

The other — and I'm sure this will surprise many of you — is vehicle prices. The prices of both new and used vehicles have fallen this decade. The prices of new vehicles have fallen by about 1 percent per year, while those of used vehicles at by almost 2 percent annually. Incentives and other bargaining chips offered by dealers are a big part of the reason. This is one factor behind all the added cars and trucks we see filling roads.

So what's the message here? I think there are two. First, recognize that all prices don't move in lockstep. Some rise faster, some rise slower, and some actually fall. Second, following the news on those prices that are increasing fastest, such as that of gasoline prices, and assuming this is representative of all prices can give you a distorted view of the economy.

These are pretty good lessons to learn. *CJ*

Michael L. Walden is a William Neal Reynolds distinguished professor at N.C. State University and an adjunct scholar of the John Locke Foundation.

## N.C. Highway Dollars Need To Be Spent on Highways

Anyone who has driven on our highways or been stuck in traffic knows North Carolina is no longer "the good roads state."

Road maintenance and construction projects have been ignored while transportation dollars have gone for transit projects, sparsely traveled roads in rural areas, ferry projects, a slush fund, and departmental mismanagement. It's estimated that \$65 billion is needed to meet all of the state's transportation needs over the next 20 five years; \$12.4 billion is needed to clear congested urban roads and prepare for traffic growth.

In 1915, North Carolina established the State Highway Commission, in 1921 the Highway Fund, and in 1989, the Highway Trust Fund. Money for roads has always come from a gasoline tax, vehicle registration, title and other fees, and often from bonds. Although counties were responsible for some road building before the Great Depression, North Carolina is one of the few states that assumes most of the responsibility for its roads. In addition to roads, transportation funds are also used for other projects such as bicycle paths,



Becki Gray

railroads, ferries, airports, and public transportation.

Today North Carolina has the second largest state-maintained highway system in the country. From 1990-2004, 349 major road projects were built at a cost of \$7.34 billion. Transportation funds are allocated to regions in the state through an equity formula and the Transportation Improvement Program. About \$14 million is set aside with each budget in a special contingency fund controlled by the legislative leadership to fund special projects, often as a favor to other lawmakers.

Over time, diversion of transportation funds and imposition of environmental regulations have slowed the state's highway projects, resulting in congested thoroughfares, roads in poor and unsafe condition, and crumbling bridges.

Several bills are under consideration that would divert transportation to less-pressing needs. House Bill 439 takes \$4 million to improve access roads before the opening of the North Mecklenburg Industrial Park. House Bill 1858 would divert \$2,159,500 to the NC Transportation Museum. Senate Bill 1395 would take \$5 million for matching grants for short-line railroads. Senate Bill 1377 would spend \$6 million to build a facility to paint and refurbish ferries.

Senate and House budget proposals largely ignored transportation

needs in spite of a \$1.4 billion revenue surplus. Both included bonds as well as certificates of participation for university buildings and prisons but nothing for long-term transportation needs.

A new group, Partnership for North Carolina's Future, funded by the Z Smith Reynolds Foundation and led by the League of Municipalities, has proposed a \$4.25 billion bond package and five new tax increases. The group proposes a 2 percent increase in the highway use tax. The partnership would use the revenue stream created by the tax increase to pay for a \$1 billion transportation bond for congestion relief and road improvements.

Some pending legislation proposes better ways to use transportation dollars by adjusting priorities rather than by raising taxes.

Senate Bill 1319 would establish a 20-member Good Roads Study Commission to study all aspects of transportation, including planning and scheduling of projects, legislative and executive oversight, revenues, funding, and expenditures of the Highway Fund, the Highway Trust Fund, and Federal Aid programs for transportation.

A final report, which would include recommendations for legislation, would be due to the General Assembly no later than Nov. 1, 2008. With a comprehensive report avail-

able, improvements could be made during the 2009 legislative session.

House Bill 1118 would make adjustments to the distribution formula for transportation funds to meet needs based on population or congestion mitigation instead of an equity formula by region. House Bill 1799 would direct some of the economic incentive funds from the Jobs Development Investment Grant to pay for transportation infrastructure in counties where job growth is occurring.

Senate Republicans have proposed issuing a \$1.25 billion bond dedicated to transportation needs. The debt would be paid with revenue created by eliminating the \$170 million Highway Trust Fund transfer to the General Fund. Consolidating duplicative and outdated programs would eliminate any shortfall created in the General Fund. No additional taxes would be needed.

North Carolina has invested heavily in transportation over the years. It is important to protect and improve that investment. Transportation needs to be a high priority and all highway dollars should be directed only to much-needed road projects. A new direction — not new taxes — is needed. *CJ*

*Becki Gray is the director of the State Policy Resource Center of the John Locke Foundation.*

## As Times Passes, We Must Never Forget D-Day Valor

With every successive year, the sacrifices of the World War II generation fade a little further from the consciousness of the American public.

Last month, for the few days preceding June 6, I had been watching the History Channel and rereading the accounts of D-Day and the monumental preparation that preceded it.

In the first six months of 1944, the United States and Great Britain concentrated land, naval, and air forces in England to prepare for Operation Overlord, the assault on Hitler's "Fortress Europe."

During the runup to D-Day, air and sea components played major roles in the planning.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower sent 12,000 Allied planes to knock the Luftwaffe from the skies. Additionally, they photographed enemy defenses, dropped vital supplies to the resis-

tance fighters, bombed railways, and attacked Germany's key industries.

At the same time, the nine army divisions (three airborne and six infantry) from the United States, Britain, and Canada trained and rehearsed their roles in the carefully scripted operation.

Rangers scaled cliffs, engineers destroyed beach obstacles, quartermasters stockpiled supplies and infantrymen waded through the English surf as each soldier polished the skills necessary for the invasion's success.

In the early hours of June 6, 1944 the Normandy invasion began. In the face of fierce German resistance, U.S. infantry divisions and the Army Rangers landed on Omaha Beach.

By midmorning, initial reports painted such a bleak portrait of beachhead conditions that Lt. Gen. Omar Bradley, U.S. First Army commander, considered pulling off the beach and landing troops elsewhere along the coast. However, during these dark hours, uncommon valor and bravery prevailed.

By D-Day's end, V Corps had a tenuous toehold on the Normandy

coast, and prepared for the next step on the road to Germany.

Further west, in the predawn darkness of June 6, the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions were air-dropped behind Utah Beach to secure four causeways across a flooded area directly behind the beach and to protect the allied troop's western flank.

Many mitigating factors caused the paratroopers to miss their drop zones and become scattered across the countryside. However, throughout the night and into the next day, the airborne troops regrouped and accomplished their missions.

The 4th Infantry Division was assigned to take Utah Beach. In contrast with Omaha Beach, the 4th Division's landing went smoothly. The first wave landed 2,000 yards south of the planned beach — a lucky break for the Allies. The original beach was heavily defended.

After personally surveying the situation, Brig. Gen. Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who accompanied the first wave, decided to exploit the opportunity and altered the original plan. He ordered landing craft carrying the

successive waves of assault troops, equipment, and supplies to capitalize on the first wave's success.

Within hours, the beachhead was secured and the 4th Division started inland to contact the airborne divisions scattered across its front. As was the case in the Omaha zone, at the end of the day Utah Beach forces had not achieved all of their planned objectives. However, the initial beach entrenchment was secured and most important, once again the American soldier's resourcefulness and initiative had rescued the operation from floundering along the Normandy Coast.

Those brave GIs paved the way for the liberation of Europe. Many paid the ultimate price. Total Allied casualties on D-Day are estimated at 10,000, including 2,500 dead.

The baby-boomer generation, and all other future generations of Americans, should never forget the gift of freedom that the Greatest Generation gave us. Our obligation is to honor their sacrifice. *CJ*

*Marc Rotterman is a senior fellow of The John Locke Foundation.*



Marc Rotterman

# UNC Opens Center for Gender-Uncertain Names (a *CJ* parody)

By ARNOLD LYBUTHNOT

Sensitivities Correspondent

CHAPEL HILL

UNC sophomore Shannon Flossmoor is downright confused, and well, feeling blue — or is it pink?

"Sometimes it just makes me so depressed," he said when asked how he feels when he receives e-mails or letters addressed to "Ms. Flossmoor."

The robust, bearded Flossmoor stared at the ground for a moment. "I've been a guy all my life, but when people call me a girl just because of my first name, I feel very hurt and disrespected. This happens to me a lot and whenever it does I just need some understanding."

Mr. Flossmoor was speaking at a meeting recently where the UNC Student Senate voted to fund a new campus center, the Center for Students with Gender-Uncertain Names. The members of the panel heard from about 30 other students who all have suffered similar mistreatment.

Junior Tracy Rockford told the Senate, "I'm a gay American woman, so how do you think I feel when a professor hands back exams and when he gets to mine, says, 'Mr. Rockford'? Well, pretty



bad, that's how. To be referred to as if I were a male is almost enough to make me want to black out."

Gail Greeley, a senior, brought tears to the eyes of many in the room when he told how, one day in a sociology class, the TA took attendance and called his name but he didn't hear it because he had fallen asleep.

"So then the TA says real loud, 'Is Miss Greeley here today?' And then everyone starts laughing when one jerk says, 'I think she's in the ladies' room.'" You could hear a pin drop in the room as Greeley composed himself and then went on, "I still have emotional scars from that experience."

It was because of many experiences like those that the UNC administration proposed the establishment of the new center. Dean for Diversity, Student Affairs, and the Elimination of All Unhappiness, Dr. Rebecca Smeeth-Bartley, said that she supported the center.

"Students need to have a place that's welcoming and caring," she said. "Those who have gender-uncertain names have to put up with a lot of turmoil in their lives, and the rest of us simply cannot imagine what it's like. When they're hurting after occurrences like these, they need a special place."

The new center would be placed in two suites at Chapel Hill's luxury

Siena Hotel. According to administration spokesperson Harry Herbert Hoover Heever, "There just isn't currently room on campus for anything as important as a new center to serve the needs of students. Until we can get a new bond package passed to fund the construction—which should cost only \$5 million, tops—we have made arrangements with the Siena for the necessary space. Now, it's off campus and we realize that this could pose a hardship for students in trouble, so we're going to have a shuttle service, ready at all times to take students with gender-uncertain names to the center. That will cost only \$350,000 per year unless the greedy oil companies jack up the price of gas a lot," he said.

Other costs associated with the center would be a director, associate director, administrator, deputy administrator, doorperson, and assistant doorperson.

No students who oppose the center would speak on the record for fear of fomenting hate speech, but one student agreed to meet *CJ* in a parking garage at 2 a.m.

Whispering around a pillar, he said, "No wonder they have to keep raising taxes in this state!" *CJ*



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