

License to Lie: DMV Laws Fostered Identity Fraud

Driver's license program in N.C. still vulnerable to widespread crime

By DON CARRINGTON
Associate Publisher

RALEIGH

The terrorist attacks Sept. 11 in New York City and Washington, D.C. not only shocked an entire nation, they apparently also motivated the General Assembly to finally do something about loose policies in place at the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles.

For many, the process of obtaining a North Carolina driver's license had become an exercise in lying. Applicants lied about Social Security numbers, citizenship status, home addresses, names, eligibility to vote, and insurance coverage.

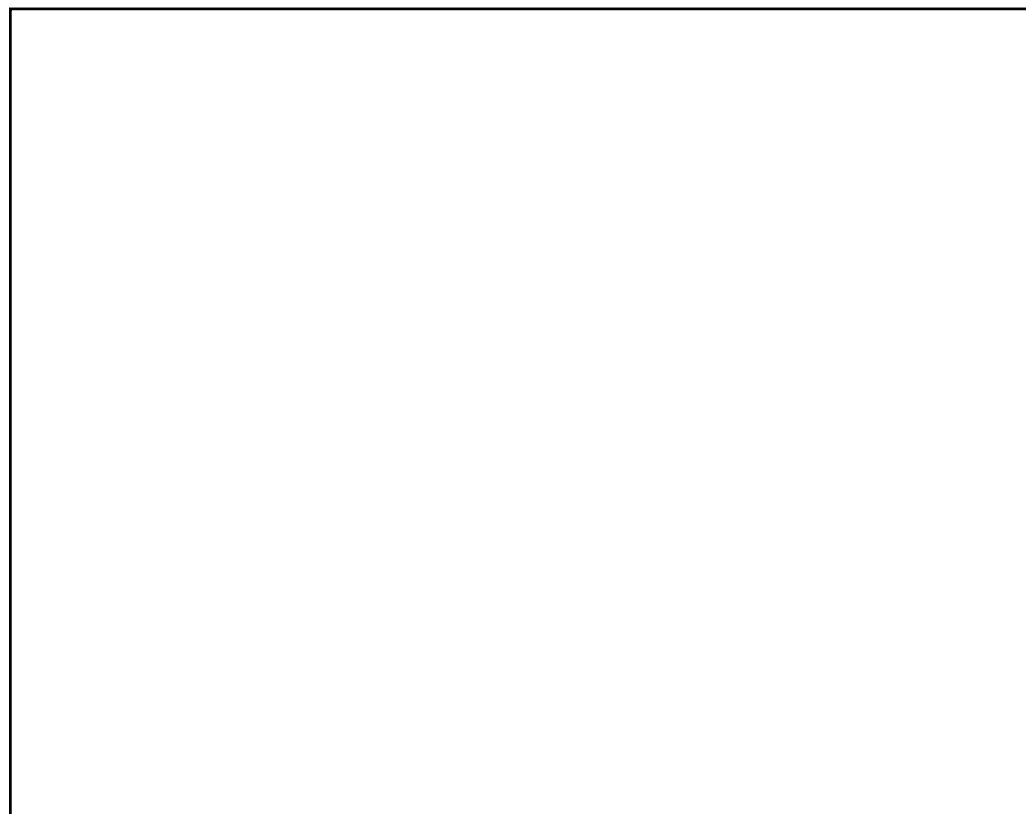
Wayne Hurder, director of the Drivers License Section of DMV, recently estimated that since 1997 North Carolina has issued about 400,000 licenses to people who said they did not have Social Security numbers. Many of those people apparently were illegal aliens or nonresidents of the state.

Carolina Journal has also reviewed letters from DMV examiners detailing widespread address misrepresentation. The letters were addressed to state legislators, but the writers wished to remain anonymous for fear of losing their jobs.

DMV Commissioner Carol Howard told *CJ* that the procedures for questioning, or not questioning, applicants were put in place July 12, 1999 and had the approval of the Attorney General's Office. Further research by *CJ* revealed that an actual opinion had not been issued on the matter by the Attorney General's Office. The DMV practice of not requiring a Social Security number was based on an opinion by the Attorney General's Office on another matter — the requirement to ask for a Social Security number on the application for a marriage license.

CJ was told that since the attorney general had ruled that applicants for a marriage licence could not be required to provide a Social Security number, that same reasoning should also apply to those seeking a driver's license.

Gov. Mike Easley was the attorney general at the time and presumably his top staff or he had some knowledge of the issue.



DMV officer Winifred Annette Richardson helps a driver's license applicant at a Raleigh office.

Despite all these problems in the DMV licensing process, before Sept. 11 only a few lawmakers seemed concerned.

Those Who Cared

Rep. Larry Justus, R-Henderson, started trying to do something about the problems two years ago. He noticed a crowded DMV office in Hendersonville when he went to renew his own license. He suspected that many of the applicants were undocumented immigrants.

In this year's session, he introduced in the House a bill that would require an applicant to produce two documents proving residency. His bill became stuck in a committee and was apparently not likely to advance, Justus told *CJ*, because Speaker Jim Black was not interested in it.

Justus also introduced another bill that would require voters to present identification before being allowed to vote. That bill also became stuck in a committee.

In March, Rep. Rick Eddins, R-Wake, was the first legislator to introduce a bill that would make the possession or manufacture of fraudulent forms of identification an offense. Eddins's provisions were later made part of a Senate bill dealing with

alcohol purchases. That bill was finally signed into law by Easley on Nov. 14.

Another bill, introduced by Rep. Ed Nye, D-Bladen, would have closed some loopholes in the requirements to maintain liability insurance coverage. The bill would require drivers with less than three years of experience to maintain continuous proof of coverage. The bill passed the House, but the Senate has failed to act on it.

Two news stories also pushed the issue. On Aug. 4, the *New York Times* first reported how easy it was for illegal immigrants and nonresidents to get a North Carolina driver's license. Then on Sept. 10, *The News & Observer* of Raleigh addressed the issue. The next day, the terrorist strikes in New York and Washington significantly raised the issues of national security and identity fraud.

After the terrorist attacks, state lawmakers finally took the matter seriously. Budget negotiators inserted changes that Justus had proposed into the state budget bill.

The basic changes required applicants to show proof of residence and a Social Security number or a taxpayer identifica-

Problems surfaced in Madison County almost two years ago

By DON CARRINGTON
Associate Publisher

RALEIGH

How long have North Carolina officials known about serious irregularities with the issuance of driver's licenses?

An investigation into the Madison County DMV office last year should have caused serious concern for at least four high-level state officials.

The evidence is overwhelming that Wayne Hurder, director of the DMV's Driver License Division, knew about widespread improper licensing schemes in early 2000. David Barnes, special agent in charge of the State Bureau of Investigation, Western District, knew on or before midsummer of 2000.

Gov. Mike Easley must have been informed on or before Aug. 26, 2000. At that time Easley was attorney general and the SBI reported to him. Larry Leake, chairman of the State Board of Elections, acknowledged he was aware of the problem in September 2000. Leake was originally appointed by Gov. Jim Hunt and then retained by Easley. Applicants for a license are encouraged to register to vote at the time they are issued licenses.

Located just north of Asheville, Madison is a county of about 20,000 people. Marshall, the county seat, has a population of just under 900. According to reports from a weekly paper, the *Madison County Sentinel*, early in the year 2000, local residents began noticing an unusually large number of Hispanics visiting the DMV office at the north end of Main Street in Marshall.

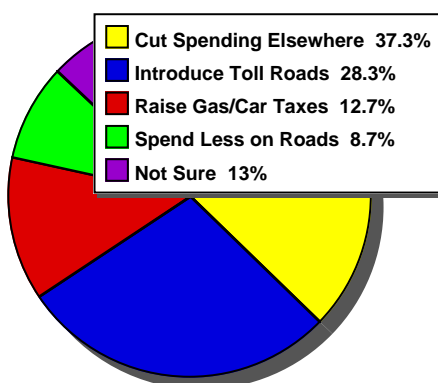
Unlike DMV offices in places like Texas or South Florida, there were no Spanish-speaking examiners at the Marshall office. As of August 2000 the office had been operated by a single female examiner for the past year. That examiner was Monica Cody, 32, a resident of Marshall. Cody spoke no Spanish.

In a story Aug. 30, the *Sentinel* reported that "translators" were being paid large

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To Address NC Road Woes...



% of N.C. Respondents in Oct. 2001 Elon Univ. Poll

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The John Locke Foundation
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Michael Walden
Contributing Editors

Hans Hurd, Rheta Burton
Editorial Interns

John Hood
Publisher

Don Carrington
Associate Publisher

Published by
The John Locke Foundation
200 W. Morgan St., # 200
Raleigh, N.C. 27601
(919) 828-3876 • Fax: 821-5117
www.JohnLocke.org

Bruce Babcock, Ferrell Blount,
John Carrington, Hap Chalmers,
Sandra Fearington, Jim Fulghum,
William Graham, John Hood,
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Calendar

SciFi Author Orson Scott Card Is December Headliner

Nobody had ever won the Hugo and Nebula awards for best novel two years in a row, until Orson Scott Card received them for *Ender's Game* and *Speaker for the Dead* in 1986 and 1987. The Greensboro resident will speak at a John Locke Foundation Headliner luncheon at noon at the Brownstone Hotel in Raleigh on Dec. 12.

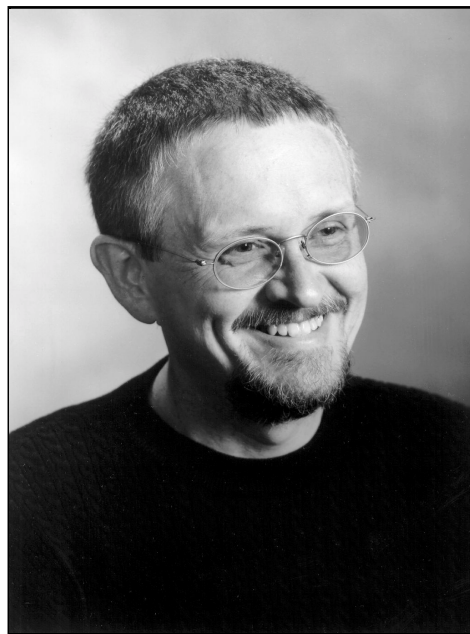
Card is a prolific author who is best known for his science fiction writing, but has written in several genres. His ghost stories include *The Lost Boys* and *Treasure Box*, and he has creatively used the theme of time travel in many of his novels, envisioning historical events in alternative manners and exploring plausible consequences of turns of events.

He has also written major series of novels, including *The Homecoming Saga*, a retelling of ancient scripture as science fiction. *Ender's Game* is currently in production as a major motion picture.

His works have been translated into more than 16 languages, and he has also written two books on writing: *Character and Viewpoint* and *How to Write Science Fiction and Fantasy*. He has taught writing courses at several universities, including most recently a novel writing course at Pepperdine University. Card also writes a weekly column for the *Rhinoceros Times* in Greensboro.

Card will share his thoughts on current world events surrounding the Sept. 11 attacks and subsequent war in Afghanistan. Cost for the lunch is \$15. To register, contact Kory Swanson at (919)828-3876 or info@johnlocke.org.

• On Saturday, Jan. 19, the Center for Local Innovation will sponsor "Innovate 2002," a daylong conference at the Wash-



Orson Scott Card

ington Duke Inn on the campus of Duke University in Durham.

U.S. Congressman Walter Jones, who represents the 3rd District of North Carolina, will give a keynote luncheon address on the theme, "Protecting our National Security: How the Federal-Local Government Relationship Has Changed Since September 11."

The conference will begin at 8:30 a.m. with a continental breakfast, and will feature three separate sessions. Topics include the controversies of annexation, understanding local government budgets, and how local governments should respond to terrorist threats. The conference will end at 3 p.m.

Contact Kory Swanson at (919)828-3876 or info@johnlocke.org if you would like more information, or to register for this event.

• John Locke Foundation Chairman and President John Hood will continue to tour throughout the fall promoting his new book, *Investor Politics: The New Force That Will Transform American Business, Government, & Politics in the Twenty-First Century*. Upcoming events will take him to Chicago, Seattle, Michigan, and New England.

Shaftesbury Society

Each Monday at noon, the John Locke Foundation plays host to the Shaftesbury Society, a group of civic-minded individuals who meet over lunch to discuss the issues of the day.

WRAL-TV Chief Meteorologist Greg Fishel will be Shaftesbury's first December speaker, on the 3rd. He has been with the station since 1981, and holds a degree in meteorology from Penn State University. Fishel will offer his expertise on weather trends and wind patterns, and should have an interesting perspective regarding the issue of global warming.

J. Russell Allen, Raleigh's recently appointed city manager, will speak Dec. 10. Allen came to the capital from Rock Hill, S.C., in April, replacing longtime Manager Dempsey Benton.

Tom Campbell, host of the television show "N.C. Spin," will speak on Dec. 17.

After a holiday break, Shaftesbury will resume Jan. 7 with immigration activist Ron Woodard, director of N.C. LISTEN.

The Shaftesbury meetings are conducted at the Locke offices in downtown Raleigh at 200 W. Morgan Street, Suite 200. Parking is available in nearby lots and decks.

If you would like to join us, call Kory Swanson for details or email him at events@johnlocke.org. *CJ*

DMV still a mess

Continued From Page 1

tion number issued by the Internal Revenue Service. The bill was finally signed into law Sept. 26 by Easley.

The new changes were to be effective Jan. 1, 2002, but pressure from legislators prompted DMV to start the new procedures Nov. 1.

On Sept. 27 concern over the situation led state Rep. Russell Capps, R-Wake, to introduce an amendment to a noncontroversial bill that would make technical changes to motor vehicle statutes.

Capps's amendment would require DMV to recall all driver's licenses obtained by people using phony Social Security numbers.

Capps also said he wanted to recall licenses issued to the 400,000 people who failed to provide any Social Security number. A license holder would be required to provide proof of residence in North Carolina for the license to remain valid.

The entire bill was referred back to the House Appropriations Committee until the cost of Capps's proposal could be determined. That has been done. But even though Capps's amendment passed the House, it was controversial and *CJ* could not find any legislators that expected it to surface again.

On Oct. 9, CBS newsman Dan Rather featured the lax standards at the North Carolina DMV on a special edition of his nightly national television broadcast.

Looking for Leaders

Despite the new laws, many problems remain.

An ongoing investigation by *CJ* reveals that identifying the scope of the problem may not be difficult. The state has the computer technology in place to identify fraudulent addresses on driver's licenses and could possibly identify the magnitude of the problem before recalling the licenses of 400,000 people.

The N.C. Department of Justice, headed by Atty. Gen. Roy Cooper, has access to DMV files and could explore the possibility of using the U.S. Postal Service name and address files, N.C. Department of Revenue files, or other available address information to verify names and addresses.

Several computer programmers told *CJ*

the process is actually simple. The steps would be to write a program with matched parameters, determine key fields to compare, load files, run the program, and generate reports. The process would take about a week. The main concern, they said, is dealing with sensitive and personal data, but the State Bureau of Investigation should be able to handle the task properly.

CJ asked Justice Department spokesman John Bason whether Cooper had expressed an interest in determining the nature and scope of the bogus driver's license problem, and whether he had considered requesting the appropriate state information technology department to do an address match using the DMV's files.

Bason did not answer the specific questions, but did issue *CJ* this written statement:

"The Attorney General is working on many fronts to protect the people of North Carolina. He is proposing a state registry for biological agents so law enforcement

Easley has been publicly silent on the DMV problems. Several voice messages requesting comment on DMV issues were left by *CJ* for Easley's press secretary Fred Hartman. Calls were not returned.

A National Response

While silence has been the usual response from North Carolina's top elected officials, other state motor vehicle authorities are working on improving their systems to minimize identification fraud.

According to a story Nov. 4 in *The Washington Post*, the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators leaders said at a recent meeting that driver's licenses "have become the de facto national identification card used by law enforcement, retailers, banks and other establishment requiring proof of identification."

According to the story, the group pledged to work closely with the new Office of Homeland Security, the Justice De-

better."

Before becoming the spokesman for the association, King was spokesman for the North Carolina DMV.

Immigration Issues Cloud Policy

Before the 9/11 attacks, some legislators had indicated that licensing those who drive in North Carolina was more important than checking immigration status. Sen. Wib Gulley, D-Durham, vice chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee, told *The News & Observer* on Sept. 10, "If you try and turn your head on this and make licenses difficult to impossible to get, you're just going to have a lot more people who would be driving anyway, but without training and without insurance and without protections for the other drivers on the road."

Other legislators have expressed concern over the lack of leadership in cleaning up the problems. In an interview with *CJ*, Rep. Fern Shubert, R-Union, asked, "Why would North Carolina's DMV want to help people establish identities and violate federal immigration laws?"

"Is someone embarrassed because when Gov. Easley was attorney general, the decision was made not to enforce state law or tell the legislature it was being ignored? Or is it fear that following the law would be perceived as anti-immigrant? Or does it have something to do with registering people to vote even though they actually live in Georgia or Pakistan? There are a lot of theories."

One North Carolina group that has been vocal on the dangers of the current national immigration policy is North Carolinians for Lowering Immigration to Save the Environment Now. The group's president, Ron Woodard, of Cary told *CJ* that NC LISTEN focuses on the environment in the broadest sense to include the economic, social, as well as the natural environment. "We should have a system to actively check Social Security numbers and also do criminal background checks," he said. "The Taxpayer Identification number is a joke. The Internal Revenue Service will give anyone a number. A seeing-eye dog can get one."

"People come across the border illegally, lie to get a fake ID, and then use the fake ID to get government services. They are for the most part not bad people, but the impression they get is that Americans don't really care, so it must be OK. Let's do what is good for America," Woodward said. *CJ*

The Information Gap:

We know that:

- Since 1997, 400,000 people who claimed they had no Social Security number were issued North Carolina driver's licenses.

We don't know which or how many licensees:

- Lied about possessing Social Security numbers.
- Submitted false Social Security numbers.
- Submitted false addresses.
- Submitted false names.
- May be undocumented (illegal) aliens.
- Are residents of other states.
- Falsified liability insurance coverage information.
- Canceled liability insurance coverage.
- Attempted to register to vote as undocumented aliens.
- Are wanted on criminal charges in another state.

can track attacks to their source. He has directed the State Bureau of Investigation to commit agents and resources to work with federal authorities to gather intelligence and combat terrorism. The Department of Transportation has taken steps to restrict those who would receive driver licenses. We're continuing to work with federal authorities to identify, detain and, if necessary, help prosecute any person who would be a threat to the people of North Carolina."

partment, and other federal authorities. They proposed standardizing the driver's license process and linking data bases before, but on a voluntary basis. Under the proposal every state would continue issuing licenses, but they would all contain the same basic information and security features.

"There's no need to create a new national ID card," said Jason King, the group's spokesman. "Let's just make what we have

Madison County DMV Investigation Provided Information for State Officials

Continued From Page 1

sums of money to bring Mexicans to Marshall, guaranteeing each of them a driver's license. The fees reportedly ranged from hundreds to thousands of dollars.

The paper confirmed that both DMV and the SBI were investigating alleged irregularities at the Marshall DMV office. On Aug. 24, 2000, the DMV placed Cody on "investigatory leave." Later, Cody hired Leake, a Madison lawyer, to represent her.

On Aug. 26, at his Madison home, Leake held a fund-raiser for Easley, who was attorney general at the time. Easley flew into Madison County in a privately owned helicopter and was driven to Leake's home by Western District SBI agents, who reported to Barnes. Campaign contribution records from the State Board of Elections show that more than \$20,000 was raised at the event.

SBI Takes Over; Cody Resigns

On Sept. 13 the newspaper reported that the entire investigation had been taken over by the SBI and that Cody had resigned. SBI Chief Agent David Barnes told the *Sentinel* that Cody and other unidentified people

were under investigation. At the same time, the DMV investigation had ceased.

"Our DMV enforcement section was doing the investigation and then it's been eclipsed by the SBI investigation," said Jon Parks, a spokesman for Hurder. "There's something bigger and extends beyond the borders of what they were originally looking at."

In the same story, Leake acknowledged he recently became aware of a problem that extended beyond Madison County. "The whole dilemma that

exists out there in large part is caused by legislation passed by the North Carolina General Assembly," he said, noting that a driver's license examiner must "allow a third party to, in essence, be the communicator between an applicant who represents that they cannot speak the native language and examiner. And it has set up a booming business for interpreters who are recruiting Hispanics to come, not only to the Madison County driver's license office, but offices throughout North Carolina."

On Oct. 17 Cody was arrested and charged by the SBI with five counts of wrongful issuance of a driver's license and specifically that she did "knowing it is false, accept false proof of identification submitted for a driver's license."

On May 1 in lieu of a trial, Cody plead guilty "pursuant to a misdemeanor statement of charges that she did omit and neglect to perform the duties of her office on or about January 2, 2000 in violation of GS 14-230" (willfully failing to discharge duties). She received a community-based punishment and a \$1,500 fine plus court costs. The state dismissed all other charges.

Cody Avoids Trial

By pleading guilty, Cody avoided a trial, thus letting the details of her scheme remain in the hands of the SBI, the local district attorney, and her lawyer. No one else was charged. *CJ* asked District Attorney Tom Risher about the case. He said the case

The details of Cody's scheme remain in the hands of the SBI, the district attorney, and her lawyer.

is not a public record. "There were shortcomings" in the case, he said, and "certain investigation techniques were unconstitutional." *CJ* learned from a number of sources that the investigation involved the use of a hidden video camera in Cody's office.

The Asheville *Citizen-Times* was curious about Leake's fund-raising activities for Easley. At the time the paper reported, "As for whether an elections board official should be hosting a fund-raiser for someone who wants to be the state's governor, Leake said elections board members have political interests or they wouldn't do what they do, and they have as much right to help in campaigns as any other resident."

Leake also told the paper that he did not discuss with Easley the SBI investigation of his client, Cody.

Triggered by an incident involving political activity by a Mecklenburg County Election Board member, the General Assembly passed a bill in July 2000, a month before Leake's fund-raiser for Easley, that prohibits state and local election board members from soliciting contributions for a candidate's political committee or referendum committee. The law became effective Jan. 1, 2001. *CJ*

Around the State

• George Bernhardt survived after all. A Libertarian underground rock guitarist named Joe Young seemingly won his way onto tiny Lenoir's City Council by outpolling all incumbents in this month's elections. Young, 41, of the band ANTISEEN, drew 940 votes, but a vote canvass by election officials found that some of his votes had been counted twice. Some of the hard-rock group's album titles included *Destructo Blitzkrieg*, and the suddenly inappropriate *Rock and Roll Terrorist*. "Mighty" Joe Young ran primarily on the issue of anti-annexation, after the City Council voted to absorb 1,500 acres three years ago. Bernhardt, who would have lost had Young's victory stood, was first elected in 1967.

• Lexington lawyer Jim Snyder said he will try to carry on the "Jesse Helms legacy" in announcing his candidacy to replace the storied senator in the 2002 elections. Now that former gubernatorial candidate Richard Vinroot has thrown his support to Elizabeth Dole, Snyder is the next-most recognizable name in next May's Republican primary. Snyder had been taking his own poll of GOP friends for several months, and said there was significant interest for a candidate with a stronger conservative reputation, especially on moral issues, than Dole possesses. Indeed, the Christian publication *The Raleigh World* recently ran a front-page headline "Elizabeth Dole is Bad News," and warned of her lack of credentials on social issues like abortion. Snyder also billed himself as more conservative than his more famous opponent on 2nd Amendment rights.

• Maybe education is still the No. 1 issue for voters in North Carolina. All seven public school bond issues in the state were approved in November's election, in counties considered both liberal and conservative. Organized opposition from antitax organizations was nearly nonexistent. As a result, watch for eventual tax increases in Craven, Durham, Forsyth, Gaston, Johnston, Orange and Wilson counties.

• Gov. Mike Easley requested last month that state agencies return up to 4 percent of their budgets because of revenue shortfalls so far this year. In an otherwise run-of-the-mill article on the cutbacks, *The News & Observer* of Raleigh reported that the Department of Environment and Natural Resources would try to avoid cuts "that would affect such essential services as... state parks, aquariums, the N.C. Zoo, and the Museum of Natural Sciences," according to spokesman Don Reuter.

• Charlotte and Greensboro have them, and now North Carolina's capital has approved red-light cameras at traffic signals. Raleigh's City Council wants to install the cameras at 21 intersections around the city, with proceeds from the mailed-in fines going to the Wake County School District. The council also approved \$50,000 to study speed bumps. *CJ*

Families Lose Credit on Health Insurance

Restrictions encourage parents, employers to rely on state for children's care

By PAUL CHESSER

Associate Editor

RALEIGH

For middle-class North Carolinians, the state's recent tax increases included moving the children's health insurance tax credit from its sickbed to the grave. Families that planned to use the credit this year had it pulled out from under them — the General Assembly eliminated it, retroactive to the beginning of 2001.

But the tax credit's condition was frail from the beginning. It materialized in 1999 at the insistence of House Republicans, who held the chamber's majority at the time. In 1998 lawmakers from both parties negotiated the implementation of the state's Child Insurance Health Program, known as Health Choice, which provided medical insurance for children whose families made too much money to qualify for Medicaid, but had not purchased private coverage. During the process Republicans negotiated that families whose income was below 225 percent of poverty and bought private health insurance would receive a \$300 tax credit, while families that made up to \$100,000 would receive a \$100 credit. Those paying for insurance through an employer-sponsored health plan were not eligible for the credit.

Ultimately the tax break — while offsetting some of the federal and state tax penalties paid by those who buy their health plan as individuals — was not as general as Health Choice. Under the program, families with income up to 200 percent of the federal poverty level were eligible for Health Choice in some form. The most that qualified families would be expected to pay in premiums for the plan was \$100, if they had two or more children, plus copayments of \$5 for doctors' visits, \$6 for prescription drugs, and \$20 for non-emergency emergency room visits. Given that a family would likely pay thousands of dollars in premiums annually to purchase private health insurance for their children, the \$300 tax

did not serve as a substantial incentive not to enroll in free or largely free health care.

But the plan, administered through Blue Cross/Blue Shield, suffered from its own popularity. Enrollment had to be frozen for much of this year because of state budget limitations. About 72,000 applicants were signed up by January 2001, far beyond what had been projected. The state's Division of Medical Assistance, part of the Department of Health and Human Services, began keeping a waiting list that had about 36,000 children at some point this year.

The freeze lasted until July when Gov. Mike Easley, through continuing resolutions while the legislature ironed out a state budget, opened the program for the thousands on the waiting list to be considered. Of the applications processed through Oct. 10, 48 percent on the waiting list had become ineligible for Health Choice, because of changes in income or qualification for other insurance programs. Forty-seven percent were enrolled in the program, and 5 percent qualified for Medicaid. DMA is almost finished evaluating those on the waiting list, said June Milby, state coordinator of Health Choice.

Cap on Enrollment Raised

That is because the cap on enrollment for the program was raised to almost 83,000, as a result of this year's budget agreement. Legislators said they were covering the added cost by eliminating the child insurance tax credit, which accounted for an estimated \$18.9 million. By applying the \$18.9 million to Health Choice, the state was able to qualify for more federal dollars for the program, and thus able to enroll more families. The federal government pays

73 percent of the premiums, and the state picks up the rest. The total cost per child is \$120.84. About 57,000 children were enrolled in the program at the end of October.

Now families whose income falls between 200 percent and 225 percent of the federal poverty level receive a double blow if they want to insure their children, because they lose the \$300 tax credit, but don't

Now families whose income falls between 200 percent and 225 percent of federal poverty level receive a double blow.

qualify for Health Choice. Families earning less than 200 percent of poverty level should qualify for the program or Medicaid.

There is a disincentive built into the Health Choice program for earning higher income as well, if a family is at or near the threshold for qualifying and wants to insure its

children. For example, a family of five must earn less than \$41,340 in order to qualify for Health Choice. If a family makes \$40,000 in a given year, it would pay \$100 to enroll in Health Choice for its children. If the family breadwinner receives a 4 percent raise to \$41,600 annually, that would remove the family from eligibility.

Private insurance would likely cost \$2,000 annually or much higher, resulting in a net loss if the head of household chose to insure the family. The incentive would be to continue earning below the Health Choice threshold absent a more dramatic raise.

Another criticism of the program lies in the fact that if employers knew their employees qualified for the state program, there would be no incentive for them to provide health insurance. According to a 1998 survey by the Maternal & Child Health Policy Research Center in Washington, 19 to 24 percent of employers nationally would consider dropping dependent coverage, make it more expensive, or reduce benefits if programs such as Health Choice were implemented. *CJ*

House Sends Toll Roads Legislation to Senate

By RICHARD WAGNER

Editor

RALEIGH

For the first time since the private plank-road days of the 1800s the North Carolina General Assembly took a turn Oct. 4 toward allowing public toll roads. The House approved and sent to the Senate, by a vote of 65-44, a bill creating a turnpike authority.

The bill was sent to the Senate Finance Committee, where it was uncertain when the measure would be considered. The Senate is on an abbreviated work schedule as the General Assembly session winds down.

Sen. John Kerr, chairman of the committee, said he wasn't sure whether his panel would consider the bill before the current session ends. "It's 50-50 we'd get to it this session. Certainly, we would look at it in the short session," he said.

Kerr said he didn't know how the legislation would fare in the Senate, but he thought the idea had merit.

"We've got to do something to improve these roads," he said. Citing U.S. 70 as an example, Kerr noted, "It is hurting the eastern part of the state when the main artery is clogged with traffic," such as it is through Clayton. "I've never been for toll roads, but I would gladly look at new ideas," he said.

The authority would be governed by a seven-member board of directors, consisting of the secretary of transportation and

six members appointed by the governor. The directors would serve four-year staggered terms. Appointed members of the board would receive no salaries for their services.

Toll roads, according to the legislation, would contribute to addressing the critical transportation needs of the state. Creation of a turnpike authority would provide a feasible approach to alleviating congestion on the state's highways and rescuing the currently underfunded highway system that cannot keep up with demand.

The authority would have the power to buy or condemn public or private land for construction and improvement of highways.

The authority also could issue bonds to pay for turnpikes and to charge drivers tolls to use them. Removed from the bill was a provision that the tolls be removed once the project was paid for and a maintenance fund established.

The development of road and bridge projects would require funding for design, preliminary engineering, environmental impact statements and right-of-way acquisition, according to a fiscal report accompanying the legislation.

The N.C. Department of Transportation estimated that the costs would total about \$3 million in fiscal 2003-04 and about \$20 million by fiscal 2005-06. Until the authority has toll revenue adequate to fully fund its projects, the authority would require partial state funding for construction of projects, the report said.

Revenue bonds and toll revenues would cover the balance of the costs.

Construction costs associated with turnpike projects would be incurred by DOT whether or not the Authority was created, the report said.

"Turnpike projects will cost the state less to

build than if these projects were built solely with state funds," according to the report.

"Ultimately, by leveraging state construction funds with toll revenues, the Turnpike Authority will allow the state to stretch those funds farther." Turnpikes would be considered "highways" as defined by general statute and governed by normal traffic regulations.

All law enforcement and emergency personnel, including the Highway Patrol and Division of Motor Vehicles, would have the same powers and duties on the turnpike system as on any other highway, according to the legislation. *CJ*

The authority would have the power to buy or condemn public or private land for construction or improvement of highways.

*Redistricting process stirs passions***Legislative Democrats Pounce While GOP Lawmakers Cry Foul**

By PAUL CHESSE
Associate Editor

RALEIGH
Like children who gaze at the sky and try to imagine what kind of animals the clouds are forming, so did House redistricting mapmakers look over North Carolina and make creative figures of their own. For instance, Rep. Russell Capps, R-Wake, looked at his new district and saw "an upside-down turkey."

Capps's now-famous gripe reflected just one example of what the Democratic majority did to solidify its hold on the House for the next 10 years. Whereas his former district represented a solid Republican portion of Wake County, Capps's new "turkey" territory diminishes his Wake influence and gobbles a large chunk of heavily Democratic southeastern Durham County. All that's left of his former Wake constituency are some trimmings.

What is now a 62-58 Democratic margin in the House, Minority Leader Leo Daughtry, R-Johnston, said under the new plan Democrats would safely hold 58 seats and Republicans 42, with the remaining 20 seats up for grabs.

It was for issues like redistricting that Rep. Jim Black, D-Mecklenburg, was elected speaker of the House. Over their vehement objections, Black repeatedly quashed attempts by Republicans to introduce their

amendments for redistricting Nov. 1. But one problem was, the speaker was a monster partially of their own creation: Black was elected with both Republican and Democrat support in January. Back then Republicans joined Democrats in a unanimous vote for Black. The GOP had tried to negotiate shared power by helping to prop up Rep. Toby Fitch, D-Wilson, as their candidate for speaker, but couldn't whip enough support from their party into line.

When Black offered equal representation and chairmanships on redistricting and other key committees, Republicans fell in behind him instead. "[Black] was clear in his remarks," Daughtry said, "that he was not interested in redistricting. He was willing to take the [Republican and Democrat] maps and marry the two. "He did not do what he said he would do, which was very upsetting to me."

Republicans' decision to support Black came back to haunt them the day after Halloween, when the speaker ruled that he would only allow Redistricting Chairman Ronnie Sutton's prenegotiated plan to set districts, allowing no amendments. Republicans rose up in anger.

"This is a violation of our rules," said Rep. Art Pope, R-Wake. "This is a violation of our body."

"I totally resent this from the bottom of my heart," said Rep. Wayne Sexton, R-Rockingham. "I hope you feel like you've looked after yourselves."

Seemingly emboldened by the catcalls, Black repeatedly cited House Rule 6, which grants the speaker "general direction of the Hall. No member shall proceed until recognized by the Speaker for a purpose."

Meanwhile, Black and most Democrats

were licking wounds resulting from the temporary defections of a few blacks from their party, led by Fitch, who demanded that the number of majority-minority districts in the state be raised from 12 to 15, based on requirements in the federal Voting Rights Act. Once Sutton fulfilled the

request, by elevating three districts barely over 50 percent, Fitch's group was back in the fold, albeit with misgivings. Said Rep. Mickey Michaux, D-Durham: "What you've done is cut down the (black) influence."

Rep. Alma Adams, D-Guilford, also sided with Fitch, and acknowledged that bad feelings in her party were created during the process. "We don't really have 15 majority-minority districts," she said.

While Sutton may not have created minority districts to some black representatives' satisfaction, he drew several curious districts that assured Democratic dominance for the next decade.

Other oddities of district shaping, besides the "upside-down turkey," included

a number of areas where strips of territory narrow to almost nothing, only to swell again as it moves toward more politically advantageous terrain. Districts 19, 20, 21, 30, 34, 62, 91, and 104 are drawn in that manner, which may violate the constitutional rule that districts be contiguous.

"It's pretty terrible," said Bill Cobey, chairman of the N.C. Republican Party. "I think it's terribly egregious when you start in Johnston County and you run almost to the coast."

Sutton Packed GOP's Districts

Perhaps most troubling to the GOP was that Sutton and the mapmakers clearly packed Republican districts, and left a large quantity of Democratic districts as underpopulated as permissible.

To explain, the state constitution requires that the each House member represent an equal number of citizens, which under the new plan would be 67,078. Past judicial decisions have allowed for legislators to set representation within 5 percent of that number. Democrats seemed to maximize that principle by setting as many Democrat-controlled districts as close to 5 percent under 67,078 per representative as possible, therefore creating more Democratic districts. They set many Republican strongholds at close to 5 percent over the 67,078 goal, resulting in fewer of those districts.

Unlikely to see the Senate vote down the House's plan, Republicans are expected to pursue litigation against the Democrats. If those strategies fail, Republicans face electoral difficulty for the next 10 years.

"If this stands," said Daughtry, "[we're] hurt very badly." CJ

*Study of physics texts finds errors galore***Professor Goes by the Book**

By PAUL CHESSE
Associate Editor

RALEIGH
John Hubisz, along with a few other physics professors, has graded middle-school science textbooks used by 80 percent of the nation's public schools. The group rated the books as decided failures.

"We could not recommend any of them," he said at a weekly Shaftesbury luncheon Oct. 15 hosted by the John Locke Foundation.

Hubisz is a North Carolina State University visiting professor, and also is the president of the American Association of Physics Teachers. He specializes in educational research.

He enlisted eight of his colleagues from across the country, most of whose specialties were in physics or related sciences. As leader of the group, Hubisz received a grant from the David and Lucile Packard Foundation to "review and critique the physical science in middle school science textbooks with regard to the scientific accuracy, adherence to an accurate portrayal of the scientific approach, and the appropriateness and pedagogic effectiveness of the material presented for the particular grade level."

The group studied 12 texts, which were produced by nine publishers. Hubisz, who bears a resemblance to Edmund Gwenn in "Miracle on 34th Street" (playing Kris Kringle), was hardly charitable in the overall critique of the books.

"This is something that has bothered me throughout the years," Hubisz said. "Not one of the books reached any level of scientific accuracy." The study contains individual critiques by the reviewers, which list each citation of error or inaccuracy found, in more than 100 pages.

A general evaluation statement at the beginning of the report states, "the books have a very large number of errors, many irrelevant photographs, complicated illustrations, experiments that could not possibly work, and diagrams and drawings that represented impossible situations." One photograph identified pop singer Linda Ronstadt as "a silicon crystal doped with an arsenic impurity." Ronstadt could not be reached for this report to verify whether she ever existed in crystalline form.

"It was just an example of how bad the editing is," Hubisz said.

Reviewers also experienced difficulty identifying authors for the texts, which were mostly attributed to large boards of educators who served as editors. Some who were credited as book editors did not realize their names were attached to the texts.

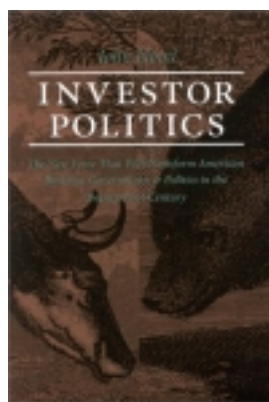
Hubisz's group identified this as part of the problem, stating in the report that "committees produce mush and it is very difficult to find anyone with the authority to make corrections."

When discussing the inaccuracies with the editors of the texts, the reviewers got answers like "Well, we have to make the science simple," "We don't think that your qualifications are good enough," and "Our experts disagree with you."

According to Hubisz, more than 80 percent of middle-school science teachers have never taken a physical science course, which leaves them dependent on the accuracy of their textbooks.

The report also claims that "there is clear evidence that it is very difficult to overcome early established information."

The report can be found online at www.psrc-online.org/curriculum/book.html. CJ

CAROLINA JOURNAL Publisher John Hood Garners Praise for His Most Recent Book:**Investor Politics**

The New Force That Will Transform American Business, Government, and Politics in the 21st Century

"John Hood has produced a timely and informative account of the most significant demographic shift of this century — the rise of a shareholder democracy in America."

— Jack Kemp

"Investor Politics is chock-full of interesting historical anecdotes, clever policy analysis, and surprising musings." — National Review

"John Hood offers many astute observations about the reasons government social programs are imperiled."

— Greensboro News & Record

"I highly recommend *Investor Politics* to any reader interested in understanding how our government turned into an entitlement trough."

— Kevin Hassett, AEI

"Investor Politics is a fascinating study of a vast array of important public policy topics."

— Dan Gerlach, The Sanford Herald

Look for *Investor Politics* in bookstores or at www.TempletonPress.org.

School Reform Briefs

- The state's special-assistance teams recently received criticism for failing to adequately help low-performing schools. The Associated Press reported that the assistance teams, which are considered to be "one of the major strengths" of the ABC program by the Department of Public Instruction, have a weak record of turning failing schools into successful ones.

Of the 14 elementary and middle schools to first receive assistance in 1997-98, 11 have failed to meet their expected growth in at least two of the past three years.

The program, which costs the state about \$6 million a year, is turning to help 13 high schools. Last year two of the three low-performing high schools that received assistance did not show enough progress to shake the assistance teams this year.

The state measures high schools' performance by end-of-course tests. A school that fails to meet expected growth and has significantly less than 50 percent of students performing at grade level is considered low-performing. A full copy of the story is available at www.journalnow.com.

- The eighth Annual Report on School Crime and Violence from DPI indicates that the number of reported incidents in North Carolina increased in the 2000-01 school year to 7,586, or 6.276 acts per 1,000 students. This is up from 7,229 incidents the previous year, or 5.98 incidents per 1,000 students.

The three highest-incidence acts of violence were possession of a weapon, possession of controlled substances, and assault on school personnel. Possession of a weapon increased by 4 percent to 2,831 incidents, possession of controlled substances increased by 12 percent to 2,809 incidents, and assault on a school personnel decreased by 3 percent to a total of 1,063 incidents in 1999-2000.

No homicides or deaths by reasons other than natural causes were reported. One rape and two kidnappings were reported.

- Through MUSCLE, a program designed to increase Math Understanding through the Science of Life, two Durham schools will introduce mathematical concepts in an enjoyable, hands-on context. The program, funded through a three-year, \$300,000 grant from the General Electric Fund, will pair 12 Duke engineering students with Lakewood Elementary and Rogers-Herr Middle School.

The Durham *Herald-Sun* reported that at the program's recent kickoff, Kemi Oni led dozens of students through a lesson about waves using a colorful parachute, Slinkies, and tin-cup telephones connected by string.

"If we did more fun stuff like this, I would like science best instead of gym," said third-grader Frederick Trice.

Lakewood and Rogers-Herr are partner schools with the Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership Initiative.

Deciphering Charter Success or Failure

Superficial analysis of Charter School Evaluation Report would be unwise

By SHERRI JOYNER
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH
The long-awaited North Carolina Charter School Evaluation Report debuted this month with some mixed reviews. "Charters lag behind objectives" and "Charters schools not innovators" were just two of the gloomy headlines found in popular North Carolina newspapers. But delving into the 153-page study can prove beneficial to gain a balanced understanding of the successes and failures of charter schools.

For months, legislators have put off increasing the 100-charter school cap, awaiting the results of this evaluation. Now, the State Board of Education is asking for recommendations by the end of the year.

But coming to an abrupt conclusion about whether charters have been a success or a failure is almost impossible by just reading the first few pages.

"We are still in the evaluation stages," said Otho Tucker, director of the Office of Charter Schools. "We are waiting for input from the charter school advisory group and many others. Multiple people will have different perspectives to what the document says."

Charter Performance

An observer may have to do some digging, but both good and bad can be found in the report. For instance, the report notes charter school students on average perform less well on academic achievement than their public school peers. The report warns against making a judgment based on this, prescribing it to the differences in demographics, attendance, and types of instruction. Charter schools have a larger percentage of black students (48 percent in 1999-00) than public schools statewide (31 percent).

Another difference is that "over a third of the charter schools intentionally serve special populations of students." These include at-risk, economically disadvantaged, academically gifted, and students with special needs and disabilities.

Another example is easily defined by looking at the achievement gap between white students and black students. In charter schools, the achievement gap was larger than that found in public schools. But more important, in 2000-01 the gap in charter schools did shrink, while the gap in public schools has remained the same for the last four years.

The report indicates clearly that as with all public schools, "some charter schools

had extremely high results and some extremely low results."

On the 1999-00 North Carolina Open-Ended Assessment, charter schools ranked fourth out of the top five places for both fourth and eighth grades.

Overall, charters have shown less academic growth in student performance than public schools. But the difference was "relatively small, typically only 1-2 scale points over the three-year span" for all grade levels. But if you exclude the first year of operation, where the school is struggling to find facilities, students, and teachers, charter schools show slightly larger gains in growth than public schools. This evidence was presented by the League of Charter Schools.

Roger Gerber, president of the league, said excluding the first year of operation is a common practice.

"The first year of any school opening is tumultuous. For charter schools you aren't even approved until April, giving you just a few months to get ready and start up for the new school year. Any school is more settled after one year," Gerber said.

One such charter school that got off to a rocky start was Maureen Joy in Durham. With a 99 percent black student population, and 84 percent of students from low-income families, Maureen Joy started on shaky ground.

After the first year, only 27 percent of students were at grade level in reading and math. But by the end of the 2000-01 school year, 86.5 percent of students were at grade level in both basic subjects. Maureen Joy exemplifies the success some charters have demonstrated with at-risk students.

"We are very proud of our students; all our students showed tremendous growth on the end-of-grades this year," said Principal Nell Cordones. "There is a schoolwide feeling that no stone goes unturned."

Charter Impact

There is no doubt that charter schools have experienced varying levels of support from local school districts. In the beginning, schools districts were reportedly scared that charter schools would take away the best teachers and students, or money. But over the last few years, and after a few court cases, schools are reporting a "thawing in previous chilly relationships."

Proponents of charter schools have of-

ten cited the booming surge of innovation charter schools would bring to districts because of competition. However the report says "more than half of charters and LEAs agreed that there had been virtually no overall impact on their school district as a result of charter schools." While this may be true, the next sentence rightly read that the possible impact was likely "mitigated by the fact that the number of charter schools statewide is capped at 100."

Only one percent of North Carolina students are enrolled in a charter school and 53 counties in the state do not even have a charter school in their school district.

Gerber points to the fact that most states with charter school laws have enrollments much larger than North Carolina's. In Arizona, with one of the largest enrollments, more

than 9 percent of the students are enrolled in charter schools. "If we were to expand our law so that we also had 9.3 percent of our students in charter schools, we would need an additional 584 charter schools," Gerber said.

But Cordones thinks charters have had an impact, especially in the larger cities where more charters have been established. "I hear what parents say when they bring their children to our school and I believe that charter schools have had positive pressure in Durham's public schools, especially to reduce class size," Cordones said.

In the report both districts and charters mentioned negative impact.

"Forms of negative interaction included perceived interference with facility acquisition; lawsuits challenging district funding; exclusion of charter school students from local athletic competitions and charter school staff from district professional development opportunities; and one director expressing the belief that districts were using charter schools as 'dumping grounds' for the students they could not handle," were addressed in the report.

The State Board of Education plans to hear recommendations at its December meeting based on the report. But whether the charter school study was beneficial to the charter school movement is up for grabs.

Officials at the Department of Education say until the report is reviewed in more depth, making any decision now would be jumping the gun.

Senator Walter Dalton, cochair of the Senate Education Committee, also thought it was premature to talk about which direction the study may lead legislators.

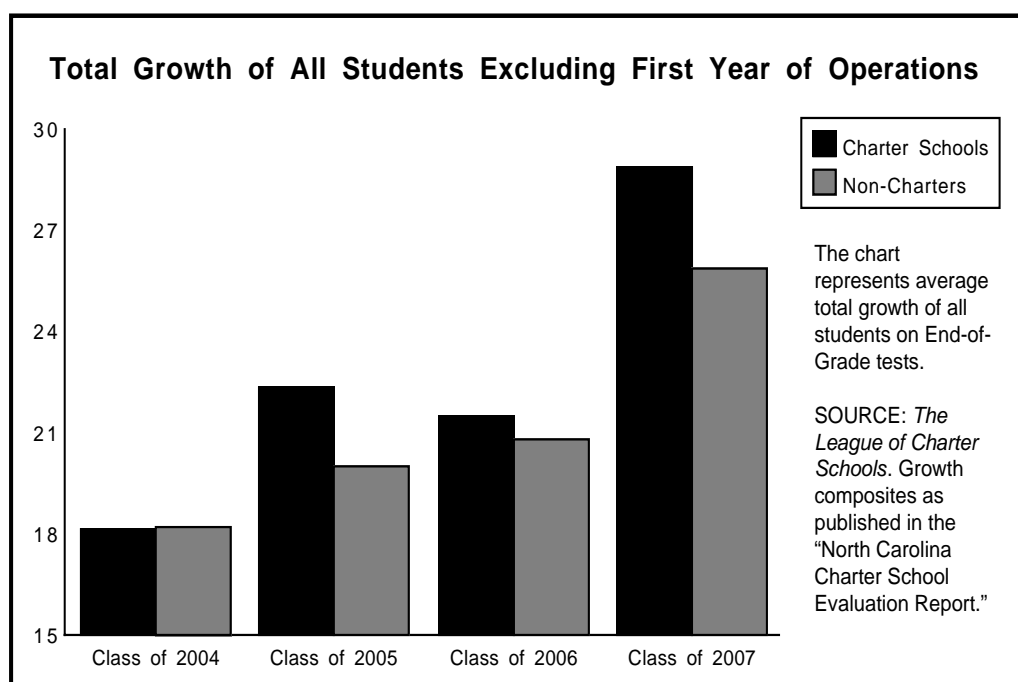
"We will wait for the recommendations from the State Board of Education before we address it ourselves," Dalton said.

One good thing the study has done for the charter schools movement is present an opportunity for more conversations about the future of charter schools.

"It opens the door for more talk. If you don't really get into the report, that can cause a problem, but it does appear to provide a truer understanding of what's going on," Gerber said.

But no matter how you look at the report, Cordones pointed out that "charter schools are fulfilling an important community need by providing alternative choices for low-income and minority families."

"It all comes down to whether you trust parents to choose a school for their child," Gerber said.



Class-size reduction program

Rockingham's Draper Elementary Changing Course with Initiative

By SHERRI JOYNER

Assistant Editor

ROCKINGHAM

Even though Draper Elementary in Rockingham County implemented a class-size reduction initiative in 1996-97, there is some debate on whether the reduction in class size is the sole factor for improved academic performance.

There is no doubt that class size is a controversial topic. Research studies from Tennessee, California, and Wisconsin can lead policy in several directions.

The Project STAR study in Tennessee can lead policymakers to believe that reducing class size for grades K-3 is statistically significant. Still others, including Professor Eric Hanushek of the University of Rochester believe that academic gains are made at kindergarten and sustained in the years to follow.

In a study of Florida's class-size reduction program, Dr. Patrick Harman, senior evaluation specialist, said, "STAR research as well

as a smaller study done in North Carolina suggest that the main benefits occur in the first year a student is in a small class and are sustained — or increase slightly — after that."

In general, researchers cannot say whether one year of small classes may be as effective as three or four years in small classes.

Wisconsin's Student Achievement Guarantee in Education program has shown only limited benefits from class-size reduction. According to the Wisconsin Education Update, "smaller classes in second and third grades had no minimal impact — and in some cases had no additional impact — on student achievement."

Analysts who have compared SAGE with the large-scale California class-size initiative claim that SAGE had noteworthy success in kindergarten and first grade because it targeted schools at which at least 30 percent of the students were below the poverty level.

Draper's Experience

While the evidence on class size isn't clear, Draper Elementary has had dramatic gains in the percentage of students at grade level in reading and math since class sizes were reduced to 15 students for grades one through four. But the evidence isn't clear whether the reduction in class size made the difference or whether the gains in achievement were caused by other factors, including curriculum changes.

After one year of reduced class size, Draper Elementary made minimal gains in the number of students at grade level. In fact, the school failed to meet its expected growth set by the N.C. Department of Public Instruction.

Pauline Egerlson with SERVE in Greensboro, N.C. reported in *Life at Draper Elementary School: Class-Size Evaluation Lessons Learned* that after the first year of class-size reduction, teachers and staff implemented a student catchup plan, an additional reading program for all students, after-school tutoring, and a one-to-one school mathematics support program. By the end of the following year, 1998-99, Draper Elementary had sharp gains in aca-

ademic improvement in both reading and mathematics.

But Principal Steve Hansel doesn't attribute these program reforms to the sudden success the second year.

"Any program like the one-on-one program is going to help, but we implemented these programs in nontested grades, mainly the first grade," Hansel said. "It takes teachers and students a little time to adjust to smaller classes. The results we have seen are due to teachers realizing there is more things they can do with smaller classes."

SERVE has continued to study the effects of small class size at Draper Elementary through parent, student, and teacher interviews. Comments from classroom observers and parents have focused on the school climate, themes of safety, and academics.

While the impact of smaller class size on test scores is not obvious, SERVE researchers admit that smaller class sizes do have other benefits, including reducing the need for special education, grade retention, and disciplinary measures, and increasing the likelihood of graduating.

While the evidence of class size on academic gains is not conclusive for grades one through four, Draper elementary has experimented specifically with the kindergarten classes.

Of the three kindergarten classrooms at Draper, only one of the teachers opted to remove the teacher assistant in exchange for a smaller class size of 12 to 15 students. The other two kindergarten teachers did not participate in the class-size reduction program because they believed that assistants in their classrooms were a necessity.

SERVE researchers report that for both years the teacher who chose to reduce class size had higher student achievement outcomes than the other regular-sized kindergartens. Hansel added that after seeing the positive results, one of the teachers with a larger kindergarten class wants to reduce her class size also.

No Additional Money Needed

Whether it is class size or curriculum changes that are making a difference for students at Draper Elementary, academic performance has increased without additional dollars.

Hansel reduced class size at no additional cost by converting assistant positions into teacher positions and using the Title I teacher as a classroom teacher.

This type of innovative use of human resources is not common. Class-size reduction programs implemented by legislators are expensive. Gov. Mike Easley set aside \$25 million in North Carolina's budget this year to reduce class size for kindergartners and first-graders across the state.

The SAGE program would cost more than \$130 million annually if it were expanded to all of Wisconsin's elementary schools, but Hansel reduced class size through the transition of teaching positions and Title I dollars.

"Draper was able to do this because we didn't have the biggest barrier to reduce class size — facilities. We had the necessary classrooms," Hansel said. "If every principal had similar options, they would do the same." CJ

"Reducing class size gives teachers a better opportunity to be a better teacher."
— Steve Hansel

Learning in Pakistan

Yasair Zia is an intelligent, engaging 17-year-old high school senior from Pakistan. I was privileged to meet him last week when my family visited his home for an authentic Pakistani meal. Yasair and his five siblings are patients of my husband, and in appreciation for the care my husband provides them, his parents invited us to dinner.

During a time when many people of Middle Eastern descent are under constant scrutiny, it was an honor to be invited to Yasair's home as well as a wonderful opportunity for my children to appreciate how young people from another culture live. In the end, however, I was the one who had a unique opportunity to learn.

When we arrived at Yasair's home I was immediately impressed with his obvious respect for both his father and mother as he busied himself watching out for the other children as his parents greeted our family. He then moved quickly to the kitchen to assist his mother with dinner preparations and served our family dinner while he and his brothers and sisters waited — there were only enough chairs for my family and Yasair's father Buluam.

Throughout dinner Yasair stood in the dining room talking with us enthusiastically about everything from the Sept. 11 attacks to religion to education. His flawless English is even more impressive when you hear that he has been in America for only two years.

His father worked here for nine years to save the money necessary to bring his family to the United States.

I was most interested in hearing about how Yasair viewed the American education system and how it compared to his experience in Pakistan. While Pakistan is not known to be a country that puts significant emphasis on education, Yasair, even with a significant language barrier (he had had only one year of English before arriving) has achieved a grade point average of 3.0 or better every semester except the first. His marks were particularly high in math and science.

In Pakistan, Yasair attended both public and private schools. Classrooms typically had more than 60 students with one teacher. Some schools had only one or two teachers. Students sat on mats, or on dirt floors, and one chair was reserved for the teacher. The typical classroom equipment was shabby compared to our standards. There also was a blackboard, a handful of books, and a few manipulatives.

I asked Yasair why he thought so many American students were failing to achieve in our educational system and his answer was quick and simple — lack of respect.

"American students have everything they could possibly need to learn," Yasair said. "Computers in every classroom, libraries full of books, small classrooms, after-school activities... but many of the students here don't realize how blessed they are to have these opportunities."

In his home country, the opportunity to receive an education was seen as a privilege, not as a chore. Students are more self-motivated with a higher appreciation for learning. In addition, teachers are highly valued and treated with the utmost respect. But what surprised him most about schools in the United States was how abusive students are toward teachers and administrators and how little discipline is allowed in the classroom.

After talking with Yasair I began looking at some of the schools he had mentioned in Pakistan, including the

Foundation Public School. The mission of the Foundation School articulates many of the views that Yasair shared with me.

"We at Foundation Public School believe in the individual's freedom of thought and a spirit of scientific inquiry and critical thinking. We hope to pre-

pare students to grow and develop into mature human beings capable of making decisions realistically and with compassion. Our program contains careful balance of academic, social, and physical development. We believe that our focus on the development of concentration, inner discipline and a positive self-concept is indeed preparation for life."

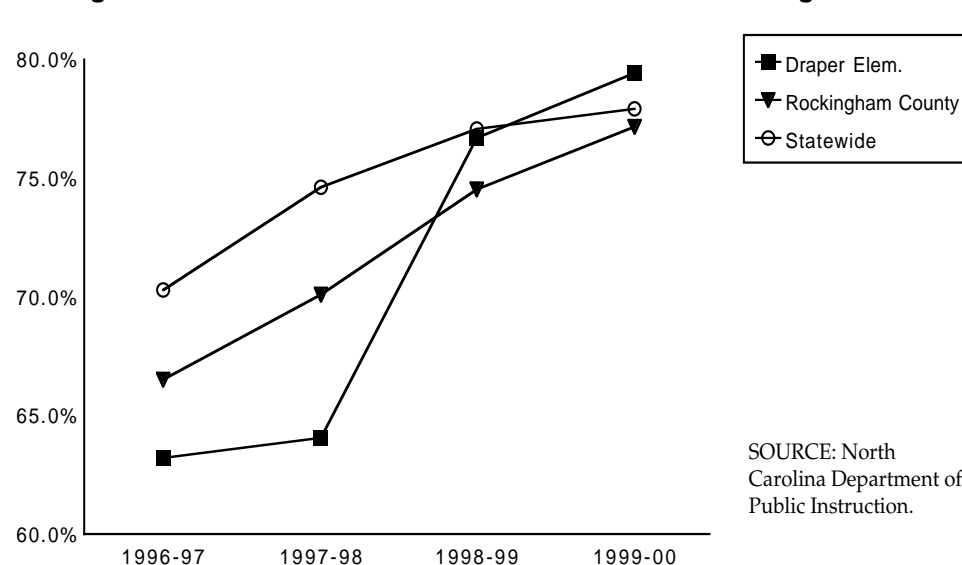
As the evening came to an end, I walked away thinking that Americans can learn so much from those who come from different countries and cultures if we don't assume we always have all the answers. Our diversity is truly our greatest strength. I hope the good that will come from the horrific events of Sept. 11 will be our ability to truly embrace diversity and not just talk about it. CJ



Paige Holland Hamp

Paige Holland Hamp is director of the North Carolina Education Alliance.

Average Percent of Students at Grade Level in Reading and Math



SOURCE: North Carolina Department of Public Instruction.

School Reform News From Across the Nation

A Principal's Job, Edison

The National Association of Elementary School Principals released a handbook in late October designed to guide elementary- and middle-level principals in their responsibilities in today's education environment.

The publication proposes that a principal's responsibilities include setting school goals and standards, improving student performance, providing meaningful professional development for faculty and staff, effectively using data and testing tools, and engaging the local community.

"Today's principals are still responsible for buses and fire drills, but they are also a key foundation in student performance and school achievement. This book redefines the principal — as both a school manager and instructional leader," said Vincent Ferrandino, NAESP's executive director.

The guide identifies six standards that redefine instructional leadership for today's principals. These standards include:

- Leading schools in a way that puts student and adult learning at the center
 - Promoting the academic success of all students by setting high expectations and organizing the school around this goal
 - Creating and demanding rigorous content and instruction
 - Creating a climate of continuous learning for adults that is tied to student learning
 - Using multiple sources of data as a diagnostic tool to assess, identify, and apply instructional improvement
 - Actively engaging the community to create shared responsibility
- To learn more about the handbook, visit www.naesp.org.

Consolidating the ESEA

Since the creation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, the program, which was intended to target the special needs of children from low-income families, has done little to help students who are disadvantaged. The gap between white students and black students and rich students and poor students is still as large as it was decades ago.

Over the last 30 years, ESEA has grown from 34 pages to more than 600 and from six programs to more than 60.

In an effort to target critical educational needs, President Bush outlined a reform plan to consolidate the 61 ESEA programs in several key categories.

His plan would allow states "maximum flexibility to determine their priorities."

Respondents generally conclude that the Bush proposal for program consolidation could strengthen education in low-income communities because it would decrease the fragmentation of education programs. It also would let those closest to the situation set the priorities.

For more information on program consolidation, see *Target Education Dollars to Children with the Greatest Need*, a recent Backgrounder by the Heritage

Foundation at www.heritage.org/library/backgrounder/bg1481.html.

Private Management in PA?

Gov. Mark S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania has received some disapproval after proposing Philadelphia schools be run by a private management company.

The plan brought a simmering debate over the future of Philadelphia's beleaguered school district. Some city leaders claim it is a refreshing, innovative plan, while the Board of Education has accused them of unrealistic projections involving undue risk.

The proposal would disband the school board and replace it with a reform commission appointed largely by the governor. The district's central administration would also be replaced by a private management company.

District administrators plan to meet with Edison Schools Inc. to work out a plan and reform strategy by the end of November. If no deal is agreed upon, the state will take over the district and implement its own plan.

Philadelphia schools are undoubtedly in trouble. Two-thirds of its schools are failing and many have a significant and growing budget deficit. Even with low class-size numbers, more than 50 percent of students in the district have scored in the bottom measure of the state's accountability test.

The district is also struggling with low SAT rates, a combined average score of 831, and a decline in enrollment and attendance.

The proposal has divided community groups. The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a group of African-American clergy attacked the plan as profiteering "off the backs of our children."

But other community groups supported the plan, saying it represented the best hope for community control over a failing system.

Rev. Luis Cortez Jr., president of a Hispanic nonprofit community group that runs a charter school, was in favor of the plan.

"Why should I care if someone makes money if my kids can read?" Cortez said. "It's not about who makes money. The point is who is learning to read and who is not. Right now, [the school district budget of] \$1.7 billion gets me high dropout rates and functional illiteracy." As reported by *Education Week* and the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Demanding Laptops for Kids

Palo Alto parents are upset after the district asked them to buy their sixth-graders state-of-the-art laptops at \$2,000 each for the school's new technology plan.

Parents are in a dilemma of deciding whether to shell out the money or risk putting their children at a disadvantage by not buying one. School officials report that 25 percent of parents say they will buy one. As reported by the *San Francisco Chronicle*. CJ



Schools and districts compete for teachers

N.C. Teacher Turnover Data May Give Wrong Impression

By SHERRI JOYNER

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

Finding quality teachers may indeed be a problem, but when the officials report high numbers for teacher turnover, they lead the public to believe teachers are leaving the schoolhouse for another career.

Each year, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction conducts an annual survey of all North Carolina districts to determine the reasons for teacher departure.

The most recent survey, from the 2000-01 school year, reports that statewide turnover is slightly up to 13.96 percent. A total of 12,610 teachers of the 90,307 teachers employed in 117 districts left their systems.

At first glance, the results seem disturbing. DPI reports that teacher turnover is up from 13.59 percent the previous year. However, a careful reading of the data can show that not all teacher turnover is some type of teacher flight from North Carolina's schools.

For instance, a major portion of the turnover includes teachers who were not leaving the profession, who were not leaving the state, but who were merely moving from one district to another.

Seventy-five percent of the 2,350 teachers who did leave their jobs to teach elsewhere, left to teach in another North Carolina school district.

Another problem is that the turnover rate includes many teachers who leave their jobs for reasons uncontrollable to the school system, including family relocation, health problems, retirement, and even death.

To make the matter more confusing, the turnover rate also includes teachers who were fired. A total of 1,810 teachers in 2000-01 were dismissed, did not have their contracts renewed, or were moved to nonteaching positions in education. Only 721 teachers, or less than 1 percent of the teaching force, left because they were dissatisfied with teaching or wanted to change careers.

The number is up slightly from 595 teachers the year before, but still much better than the 1,062 teachers reported to have left in 1998-99 because they were not satisfied with their jobs.

Warren Experiences Biggest Churn

Warren County has had the largest five-year average for teacher turnover in the state. DPI reports that Warren County loses 22.91 percent of teachers annually.

Carlinda Purcell, superintendent of Warren County schools, attributes the loss to a strong recruitment of teachers through Teach for America and the Visiting International Faculty.

"At the end of the two- or three-year length of time they commit to staying, these teachers leave our community," Purcell said. But a large percentage of teachers said they left because of personal reasons or retirement.

The evidence would seem to suggest that most of North Carolina is not facing a particularly high turnover rate among public school teachers but that districts are competing for qualified teachers.

The statewide average of those actually leaving the profession coincides with the

national average of 6 percent reported by the National Center for Education Statistics.

States and school district are having to take an active role to attract quality teachers. North Carolina districts are able to increase signing bonuses and benefits to attract teachers from one district to another.

Although particular hard-to-staff areas such as mathematics, science, and inner-city schools may face shortages, there doesn't seem to be a widespread shortage of teachers. Those schools that do face challenging circumstances are changing.

Recruitment and Retention

Superintendents often cite the inability to recruit and retain teachers, especially minorities, as one of their worst problems, according to an N.C. Education Alliance (formerly known as the Alliance for Smart Schools) survey of North Carolina superintendents last year.

Durham County Schools has created its own "minority teacher attraction and retention program."

Under the program, new teachers can expect college tuition reimbursements and interest-free down payment loans for first-time homebuilders.

The Durham schools also waive a number of fees, including apartment application fees, security deposits, utility connection fees, and utility deposits.

Some fitness centers also offer reduced-price memberships. Other key features include a 10 percent local pay supplement and the opportunity to earn a master's degree.

Teacher Turnover, Teacher Shortages, and the Organization of Schools, a report released earlier this year from the Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy at the University of Washington, discusses the idea that teachers migrate to other schools not based on some individual characteristic, but often based on organizational and overall conditions of the workplace.

This report concludes that teachers who migrate to other schools do so because of "low salaries, lack of support from the school administration, student discipline problems, and lack of teacher influence of decision making."

Once a school recruits new teachers, support must be given in order to retain them. Williamsburg Elementary, in Rockingham, has had success retaining qualified teachers. For four years, the school has not had to hire a new classroom teacher. But it isn't because students come from such great homes — in fact, more than 60 percent of the students are on free and reduced lunch — it's because the school has a supportive and caring atmosphere.

"We have a unique staff," said Jerry Talley, Williamsburg principal. "When they come in here, they see what our school is all about and they fall in love with the community. You can tell they are committed."

To address teaching problems in public education and possible inner-city concerns, districts and individual schools should look at possible teacher alternatives, including lateral entry, and teacher retention issues.

School reorganization may help reduce the number of teachers going to other districts. CJ

Seventy-five percent of the 2,350 teachers who did leave their jobs to teach elsewhere, left to teach in another N.C. school district.

School Innovation Spotlight

Vinson-Bynum Elementary Students Reach Higher Standards

By SHERRI JOYNER
Assistant Editor

Mirroring the community, Vinson-Bynum has a large minority population, about 60 percent. The school also had a large number of children coming from poor homes until a recent redistricting plan took effect and reduced the number of students on free and reduced lunch to 44 percent.

But while schools across the state struggle to meet the needs of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, Vinson-Bynum has beaten the odds. The faculty and staff work diligently to meet the needs of all students, which, as Principal Martha Martin points out, isn't always academic but sometimes as simple as finding a winter coat for a child.

The school has seen sharp improvements in reading and mathematics since the 1997-98 school year where an average of 65.6 percent of students were on grade level in both basic subjects. Since this time, the number of students passing reading and math 2001 end-of-grade tests has soared to 90.8 percent.

The results are gaining attention and educational leaders realize there is something special taking place at Vinson-Bynum. The school's success has been acknowledged at both the district and state level, including recognition in 2000 from the Department of Public Instruction as one of the three North Carolina elementary schools to close the achievement gap by raising the achievement of minority and at-risk students.

"A major key to school success has been a focus on a positive and supportive school and classroom environment," Martin said. "Celebrating successes, large and small, have been essential elements of our school success."

While every principal and teacher knows that accomplishments have to be celebrated, Vinson-Bynum has also made it a point to stress high standards and accountability.

Through grade-level proficiencies, promotion standards, and annual accountability contracts signed by students, parents, and teachers, Vinson-Bynum has made ongoing, rigorous assessments a daily activity.

Participating in an assortment of activities, the school aims to raise the achieve-

ment level of all students. Every six weeks, grades three to five are tested to assess academic strengths and weaknesses using released state tests.

"High expectations are the very heart of student improvement and success," Martin said. "We can't expect good enough, but must expect, nurture, and support the best. Our school is committed to the achievement of all learners."

Students who are identified as "At-Promise," needing additional help, receive special attention through mentoring and tutoring, additional ongoing assessments, and increased parental involvement.

First- and second-graders who struggle in reading are also identified early and receive individual attention through a variety of reading intervention programs.

Creating a Familiar Atmosphere

Vinson-Bynum has fulfilled its mission to "work together as a family in a positive, safe, and caring community to create success for all students."

The community, including families and businesses, offers continuous support. Volunteer hours have increased rapidly, while business partners make donations of food, paper goods, and drinks for the Annual Family Night.

The school has also benefited from the generosity of the Wilson Education Partnership. This organization of business, professional, and education leaders has donated \$13,179 to purchase additional Accelerated Reader books and test materials.

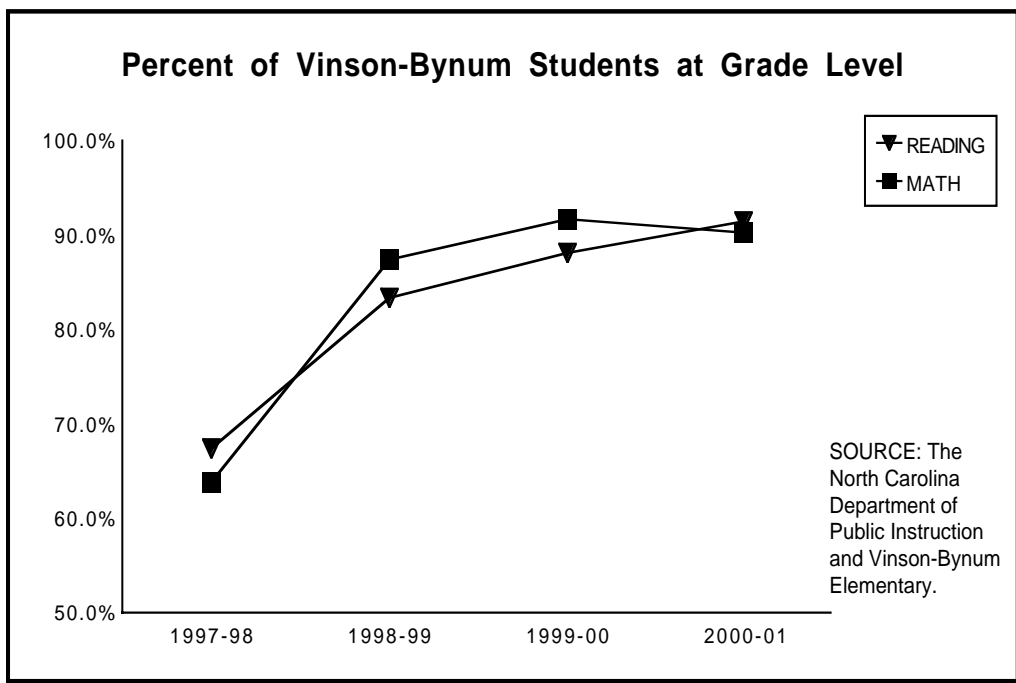
But nothing tells of the success of a school better than the opinions of the students and teachers who are there every day to witness the ongoing interactions involved in learning.

The first indicator of success is a low teacher turnover rate. Over the past four years the average turnover rate at Vinson-Bynum is only 6 percent.

The school also participates in an annual Harris Survey, which affords students the opportunity to reflect on issues that affect them at school. More than 95 percent of students surveyed indicated their teachers liked them and that their teachers help them want to learn.

Staff and teachers have had similar high opinions of the school. A total staff survey indicated that 98 percent of staff members

"High expectations are the very heart of student improvement and success."
— Martha Martin



enjoyed their work and 95 percent felt valued for work efforts.

"We are family, and each member plays a vital role within the school," Martin said. "Vinson-Bynum is recognized for its quality of teaching and learning."

The combination of an exemplary staff, strong instructional programs, and high rates of student achievement have led to overwhelming success and distinction.

Vinson-Bynum was chosen by the Wilson County Schools Senior Staff and the Barton College education department as a Staff Development Model School Elementary Site because of its overall success.

In reflecting over the increased success of Vinson-Bynum's students, Martin recognizes several key conditions to school improvement:

- The school must have a clear focus on instruction.
- Students and staff must be assessed to determine strengths and weaknesses and the need for additional instruction.
- Parents and the community must be involved.
- Celebrating successes, both large and small, is essential.
- High expectations must be clearly defined and shared by students, teachers, and parents.

Speaking with Martin, you realize quickly that success isn't possible without a team effort. "Our success as a school has required a collaborative environment in which the total school community worked together to support and improve student learning," Martin said.

North Carolina
at War.com

A New Web Site Providing a State Perspective on 9/11 and the Current International Crisis From the John Locke Foundation

Recent Articles and Columns Spotlighted on NCAatWar.com Include:

- How the Chinese Communists are using September 11 as a prime opportunity to attack American freedom through vicious propaganda.
- Dr. Andrew Taylor, NCSU Political Scientist, on the likely impact of the war on North Carolina politics and the U.S. Senate race.
- Complete coverage of student demonstrations and anti-war speeches by visiting lecturers on North Carolina's college and university campuses.
- How the new war on terror and Islamic fascism is affecting the economy of North Carolina and the freedom of its citizens.
- A new Marine Expeditionary Brigade to fight terrorism gets ready for deployment at Jacksonville's Camp Lejeune Marine base.
- Gov. William Yarborough, former head of Special Warfare Center at Ft. Bragg, distinguishes terrorism from legitimate armed resistance.
- Locke Foundation President John Hood calls on Congress to pass a significant supply-side tax cut to rejuvenate the wartime economy.

For the latest news, analysis, and commentary on the war on terrorism, visit what National Review once named its "Cool Web Site of the Day" at www.NorthCarolinaAtWar.com — or www.NCAatWar.com.

CAROLINA JOURNAL

Weekly Report for Executives

Carolina Journal Weekly Report for Executives is your antidote to watered down media coverage of state politics and policy. North Carolina has hundreds of newspapers. But from those hundreds of papers, only a handful of reporters are assigned to Raleigh. And how many of them do you think write from a free-market frame of mind?

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Course of the Month

Taking this class is your first step toward receiving your degree

The selection for this month came to CM's attention by way of a conversation with a friend, a student attending North Carolina State University.

The conversation was generally unremarkable until it came time for the friend to part company. "I have to leave pretty soon," he said. "I've got to get back to campus in time for walking class."

You can imagine the reply. "Walking class? You're taking walking class? For credit?"

"Yeah. I know, everyone I know who's not a student here laughed about it when I told them, too."

"No kidding they laughed. Aren't you a big boy now?"

"No, see, it's a class that teaches you how to walk for fitness..." he began to explain.

The class is taught by the Physical Education Department at N.C. State, and to be fair, it carries only one college credit, although a total of two credit hours in physical education is required to receive a degree from N.C. State.

This class is one of a small cluster of phys-ed classes that students must choose from in order to graduate. According to the curriculum page on the N.C. State Physical Education website:

All North Carolina State University students are required to complete two credit hours of physical education to meet graduation requirements. One credit hour must be from the following Fitness and Wellness courses: PE101 (Fitness and Wellness), 102 (Fitness Walking), 103 (Water Aerobics), 104 (Swim Conditioning), 105 (Aerobics and Body Conditioning), 106 (Triathlon) or 107 (Run Conditioning). The remaining credit hour may be selected from any activity course.

Here is the exact course description:

PE 102. Fitness Walking

Benefits and development of a personal physical fitness and wellness program. Knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for participation in a lifelong fitness walking program as an activity to improve health and fitness. For people of any age, gender, background and skill level. Satisfies the fitness and wellness one-hour requirement for graduation.

As our friend had (we presume) walked to class, there wasn't much to add, except to wonder: What does a class in walking have to do with getting a college degree? For that matter, what do classes in "fitness and wellness," aerobics (whether in water or out), swimming, triathlon or run conditioning have to do with a college education? CJ



UNC-Wilmington Student Threatens to Sue Prof for Replying to Her Email Against Afghan War

'I sincerely hope your bad speech serves as a catalyst for better speech,' writes professor

By JON SANDERS

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

A female UNC-Wilmington student is threatening a lawsuit against a professor because she was offended by his response to her mass email, sent also to him, in which she claimed the war on terrorism was an "intensification of US imperialist repression already in progress."

The student, Rosa Fuller, sent an email addressed "To the students and faculty of the University of North Carolina at Wilmington" shortly after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. In it she blames the United States for the attacks because of its "occupation and imperialist warfare in the Middle East," its "unequivocal support to Israel's assassination of Palestinians who are 'suspected' of being terrorists," and its being "the main enemy of ... human and democratic rights" and "the main source of oppression" in the world. She also suggests the United States nurtured the Taliban, criticizes the media for being "warmongering" in stirring "chauvinistic, racist fervor" against "innocent Arab and Muslim Americans, including children," and hints that President Bush and his administration stand "to benefit from the results of the 'attack on America.'" Fuller cites the World Socialist Web Site (www.wsws.org) as her source.

Fuller sent the email to, among others, Criminal Justice Professor Mike Adams. "The time for silence is ended; the time for rational discussion is now," Fuller wrote. "If you support open, unbiased, democratic discussion of all the facts, please forward this e-mail to friends and acquaintances both on and off campus."

The text of Adams's entire reply follows: "I will certainly forward this to oth-

ers and I hope they will respond. My response will be brief as your "statement" is undeserving of serious consideration. Your claimed interest in promoting rational discussion is dishonest. It is an intentionally divisive diatribe. The Constitution protects your speech just as it has protected bigoted, unintelligent, and immature speech for many years. But, remember, when you exercise your rights you open yourself up to criticism that is protected by the same principles. I sincerely hope that your bad speech serves as a catalyst for better speech by others."

Not surprisingly, Fuller received replies, some quite harsh. Charlton Allen in *FrontPage Magazine*, said Fuller initially tried to file charges with the University Police Department, saying she was being threatened, but the police considered her claim frivolous. Nevertheless, police brought in several students for questioning over their responses, and some students' parents were called and informed that their children were being sought for intimidating another student.

Next Fuller lodged a complaint against Adams with the university, seeking access to all the email messages he sent during that period, under the theory that if people responded negatively to her email, then Adams put them up to it. That effort, too, was mainly rebuffed, but the university did search through Adams's email.

Student's Mother Also a Professor

With the help of her mother, UNCW Professor Patti Turrissi, director of UNCW's Center for Teaching Excellence, Fuller complained to Adams's department chair, Dr. Cecil Willis, to demand a full investigation of Adams and access to his emails. So far, her complaints have been dismissed as frivolous, including by the provost and university attorney. Fuller now suggests she will seek a lawsuit for defamation and seek

access to Adams's emails under the Freedom of Information Act.

According to her email to campus authorities, Fuller said Adams "berated me, with no semblance of argument, with abusive epithets, which falsely represented me as 'dishonest,' 'intentionally divisive,' 'bigoted,' 'unintelligent,' and 'immature.' The intent of such a message is intimidation and defamation." Adams did no such thing, however; some of those epithets were applied to Fuller's statement, and the rest were applied to hypothetical speech that is protected by the Constitution.

Fuller told the Pope Center that "if it is found that Dr. Adams sent his false representation of me to others, and if these others acted on his false representation, and sent me abusive e-mail communications, I shall also accuse him of libel in my complaint to the university."

According to Allen, this episode is not the first in which Turrissi has sought to silence a fellow faculty member. Writing that "Turrissi appears to have quite a history of filing frivolous complaints," Allen recounts how, "several years ago, she demanded the university discipline a col-

league who disagreed with her regarding the general statutory principle for several degrees of rape, a rule followed by all jurisdictions in the United States. Apparently, Turrissi believes that a professor who argues that some rapes are worse than others is unfit to teach America's youth."

Turrissi and her daughter's "efforts to silence others with whom they disagree are exactly the methods they accuse Dr. Adams and others of using: namely, intimidation and intolerance," Allen wrote.

Adams, meanwhile, has been somewhat amused at the episode. He has praised the university administration and Willis for their patience and support. As for Turrissi, Adams told Allen that "if Dr. Turrissi continues to lead this witch hunt, I'll have my mother call her department chair." CJ



UNC-Wilmington
Professor Mike Adams

Other University Forums Deal with the Reality of War

By JON SANDERS

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

As new cases of anthrax turn up and as bombs fall overseas, not all in the university community are acting as if war were merely a theoretical response to the "events" of Sept. 11. Universities are also holding forums that deal with aspects of the war, from the history of conflict in the Middle East in general to technologies used to counter terrorism.

At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Sandy Berger, former national security adviser under President Clinton, delivered a lecture on "America's Fight Against Terrorism: Challenges and Change." Berger's lecture Nov. 7 was sponsored by the University Center for International Studies.

North Carolina State University sponsored a six-person panel entitled "Terrorism: Options for America" Sept. 18. The panel featured professors who are experts in areas of national security and foreign policy and retired military experts.

At Duke University forums have been held to examine facets of the current conflict. A Nov. 8 forum discussed how Ameri-

can citizenship has changed since Sept. 11, bringing Dinesh D'Souza to speak on "What's So Right About America and Why the Terrorists Hate Us"; Alberto Coll, dean of the U.S. Naval College, to speak on "The Moral Foundations of American Foreign Policy"; and Barry Strauss, chair of the Peace Studies Program at Cornell University, to speak on "The Campus Reactions to Sept. 11."

A forum Oct. 25 examined technologies used to counter terrorism. A panel Oct. 9 looked at the morality of war from Islamic and Christian perspectives. An forum Oct. 2 discussed "National Security and Civil Liberties: How to Strike the Balance?"

On Oct. 29, Sen. Joseph Lieberman came to Duke to deliver the 2001 Terry Sanford Distinguished Lecture at the Fuqua School of Business. Lieberman called for "a Marshall Plan — a democratic plan — for the Muslim world." He called Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein "a ticking time bomb against us" and that the United States should topple him. Lieberman also called for America to "seize the moment" to build ties with Russia and China, and said the U.S. military should adapt to better accommodate the new threats to security.

Also notable is Duke President Nan Keohane, who turned down requests to join antimilitary students and faculty in signing a statement denouncing the use of military force against terrorists. In her opinion in *The Chronicle*, Duke's student newspaper, "Time for action," published Sept. 25, Keohane expressed her reasons for her decision.

Keohane said that while she agrees strongly with the statement's call for open discourse, she cannot agree with its specific position against the use of military force.

"The most prominent theme in the letters was that 'violence begets violence.' Therefore, it was argued, our nation should refrain from responding with force to these violent attacks," Keohane wrote. "However, in my view, the people who orchestrated the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are not in the least likely to respect or respond to nonviolence. I would argue that we are currently in a situation where violence indeed begets violence, but in a different way: If the violence of Sept. 11 goes unchecked, it begets yet more violence from those who originally launched it, emboldened in a murderous cycle of their own making." CJ

Onlookers joined in singing "God Bless America"

Chapel Hill Antiwar Rally Thwarted by UNC-CH Students

By JON SANDERS
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH
An antiwar demonstration at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on Oct. 27 was disrupted by a counter demonstration by campus patriots.

The antiwar protest was one event of a large convention of leftist activists on campus from Oct. 26-28. A conference also was sponsored by Students Responsible for a Global Environment. They were joined by an organization called End the Cycle of Violence. It also was part of nationwide demonstrations set up by an organization called International Act Now to Stop War and End Racism. Protesters in other parts of North Carolina took part in the latter protest, including those at Appalachian State University, Greensboro, Charlotte, and Asheville.

According to published reports in the university newspaper *The Daily Tar Heel*, about 300 antiwar protesters gathered at McCorkle Place for speeches and Vietnamese protest music. They chanted "Justice, not war!" and waved placards reading "Warrants not war" and "Impeach the mad-bomber in chief."

Protesters Meet Their Match

When the protesters marched down Franklin Street, they were matched by students in a parked red pickup truck. The students waved American flags and sang "God Bless America." One student carried a sign reading "Honk if you love America," which prompted numerous honks from passing cars. Many onlookers joined the counter-demonstrators in singing "God Bless America."

Rheta Burton, a UNC-CH student who participated in the counterprotest, said she was there to represent the "true student-body perspective."

"Basically, there were a bunch of non-students, some who were old throwbacks of the '60s, reliving the old days of antiwar protests," she said. "We want to let everybody out there know that there are students in Chapel Hill who care about the troops

going overseas and risking their lives for our freedom and security."

"We believe we are in the majority (on campus), and you can hear that from every car honking as they go by that we truly are," another student patriot, Brian LiVecchi, said. LiVecchi said the antiwar protesters were making UNC-CH a "laughingstock."

Shouting matches ensued between the antiwar protesters and the students, and also between the protesters and onlookers, but the demonstrations remained free of incident.

The SURGE conference was cosponsored by several UNC-CH departments:

African-American studies, Anthropology, Art, English, Geography, International and Area Studies, Latin American Studies, Political Science, and University Center for International Studies. Other sponsors were Carolina Animal Rights Effort, Carolina Students for a Free Tibet, Chapel Hill/Carrboro Carolina Interfaith Taskforce on Central America, Feminist Students United, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Queer Network for Change, Student Environmental Action Coalition, Student Peace Action Network (National), UNC Choice USA, and Uwharrie Earth First!

A complete list of workshops sponsored by those academic departments and outside groups is available at <http://www.unc.edu/surge/conference/2001/workshops.html>. Some of the workshops were: "Collective Housing and Social Change," "What is Queer?," "Language and Power," "School of the Americas Watch: Nonviolence in Action," "FLOC: The Mount Olive Pickle Boycott," "Genetic Manipulation of the World's Food Supply... Right in our Own Backyard!," "Socialist Alternatives: Two Perspectives," "Genetically Engineered Trees: Endangering Forests in the U.S. and the Global South," "Reslicing the Pie: Making Military Spending Reflect our Priorities," "End Sweatshops in the Fields: Florida Tomato Pickers Call on Taco Bell to Make Fast Food Fair Food," "Animal Rights and Globalization," "Art and Music as Activism," and "Stop the Bombs: The Military-Industrial Complex and Oak Ridge, Tennessee." CJ

Poll: Students Overwhelmingly Support U.S. War on Terrorism

By JON SANDERS
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH
The vast majority of college students support a U.S. military response to terrorism, according to a national survey conducted in mid-October. The survey, conducted by the Institute of Politics at Harvard University, was based on telephone interviews with 1,200 undergraduate students, found several items of interest:

- About four out of five support the U.S. airstrikes in Afghanistan
- More than two-thirds support the United States sending ground troops into Afghanistan
- Seventy-one percent of male students would serve in the military if they were selected in a reinstated draft
- Seventy-one percent of all students have already donated blood, given money, or volunteered in relief efforts to support

victims of the terrorist attacks

• Sixty percent expressed strong approval of the federal government, up from 36 percent in the survey from last year.

At Duke University, a diverse group of students volunteered to take part in a commercial in which they proclaim "I am an American" while standing in front of Duke Chapel. The ad shows a wide array of Americans, including celebrities and politicians, proclaiming the same line from a range of places. The commercial ends with "E Pluribus Unum ... out of many, one."

According to *The Chronicle*, Duke's student newspaper, the advertisement had its genesis when several members of an Austin, Texas, advertising agency, Gurasich, Spence, Darilek, and McClure, were grounded in Raleigh the afternoon of Sept. 11. Duke senior Courtney Spence, daughter of the agency's CEO and president, Roy Spence, was able to find Duke students for the shoot in just a couple of hours. CJ

Teacher Certification Report Riles

Teacher Certification: Stumbling for Quality" is the title of a major report released in October by the Abell Foundation that has vexed the vociferous education establishment.

The report, by Kate Walsh, tackles the assumptions that undergird the regulatory policies that all states have implemented, mandating teacher certification as the way to ensure good teachers. "At the heart of this policy is a claim by the education establishment that taking the coursework needed to obtain certification is not only the best, but also the only means for preparing teachers," Walsh writes.

The education establishment has long pushed for certification laws and opposed all proposals that would open up public school teaching to individuals with degrees in fields other than education. As justification for its position, the education establishment invariably points to a body of research consisting of numerous studies that purport to prove the superiority of teachers with the "right" credentials. Walsh reviewed 175 of those studies. She undertook this daunting challenge because, she says, "[t]here has been no comparable effort by analysts to drill down through the layers of evidence in order to determine what lies at the core."

So what lies at the core? A great deal of rot. Walsh finds selective citation aplenty, with research counter to the case for certification conveniently overlooked. Furthermore, she finds artificial bolstering of the case for certification through "padding analyses with multiple references that appear to provide support but, on careful reading, do not." She finds "unmerited weight" given to nonpeer-reviewed work and even unpublished dissertations. She finds certification advocates discarding the standardized measures of student achievement in order to design their own assessment tools to "prove" the worth of certification.

"Basic principles of sound statistical analysis, which are taken for granted in other academic disciplines, are violated routinely" in the research purporting the value of teacher certification, she states. Those include "failing to control for such key variables as poverty and prior student achievement, using sample sizes too small to allow generalization or reliable statistical inference, and relying on inappropriately aggregated data."

After dispatching with one of the legs supporting the rickety case for certification, Walsh delivers a devastating blow to the other. "There is a scientifically sound body of research, conducted primarily by economists and social scientists, revealing the attributes of an effective teacher, defined as a teacher who has a positive impact on student achievement," the report states. "In fact, the background and attributes characterizing effective teachers are more likely to be found outside the domain of schools of education" (emphasis added).

Among other education myths exploded by the sound research is idea that obtaining a master's degree makes one a better teacher. Walsh finds no research indicating an advantage for teachers with master's degrees at the elementary level, and at the secondary level she finds an advantage only if the teachers instructs in the same academic discipline of the master's degree. In most states,

teachers automatically receive raises just for having completed a master's, which are usually in education, not in a teaching field. Thanks to the Walsh report, we now see clearly that such policies are a waste of money.

"The most consistent finding," Walsh states, "is that effective teachers score higher on tests of verbal ability and other standardized tests." However, students who pursue education degrees are notoriously among the weakest of college students. Certification thus blocks out sharp students who can't abide what former assistant U.S. Secretary of Education Chester Finn calls the "Mickey Mouse" curriculum of the education schools.

Predictably, Walsh's study was greeted with loud protests from the education establishment.

The chief hatcheteer was Dr. Linda Darling-Hammond, executive director of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future. In her 71-

page response, Darling-Hammond accused Walsh of misrepresenting nearly everything about teacher certification, but failed to meet Walsh's criticisms of the pro-certification "research."

Darling-Hammond saved her weightiest rhetoric for the predictable contention that teacher training (as she thinks it should be) and certification laws are necessary in order to protect the children. She writes, "the policies Walsh endorses could bring harm to many children, especially those who are already least well served by the current system."

It used to be said that patriotism was the last refuge of the scoundrel, but today it is the false expression of concern for the welfare of children, who are used as human shields for all sorts of policies that can't withstand careful scrutiny. Here we see the education establishment playing this reprehensible trick once again. The truth is that many inner-city principals prefer teachers — when they can hire them — who don't have the education school pedigree and all the bad habits that are taught there. They realize that children don't need a "facilitator," as progressive ed school theory says a teacher's role should be, but instead real teachers who know their subjects and make sure their students learn them too.

The education establishment has managed to secure a near-monopoly in the training of teachers and gets extremely touchy whenever anyone suggests that the children of America might be better served by a dose of competition. The likes of Darling-Hammond know that if they get to train the teachers, they will be able to exert tremendous influence over the schools. The Abell Foundation report has shown that the justification for the monopoly is a house of cards.

The right conclusion was drawn by Professor James W. Fraser who wrote in *Education Week*, "Perhaps the time has come for those of us in higher education to simply step out of the teacher-certification business. And for government to step out of regulating teacher-preparation programs. Let schools and school districts hire whom they will, certify whom they will."

Fraser, by the way, is the dean of the School of Education at Northeastern University. CJ



George C. Leef

Bats in the Belltower

American Left Is Cracking Up Trying to Fly with Sept. 11

While in the past American leftists have been able to stretch current events to fit on the Procrustean beds of their politics, the terrorist attacks on America have so far defied their attempts to mangle them for narrow-issues advocacy. This state of affairs has the American left cracking up:

- "I trust with all my heart that you will each do all you possibly can in your own countries, cities, and situations to educate people as to WHY this kind of tragedy occurs — that it is NOT just 'madmen' or 'monsters' or 'subhuman maniacs' who commit dramatic violence, but that such acts occur in a daily climate of patriarchal violence so epidemic as to be invisible in its normality — and that such tactics as this come from a complex set of circumstances, including despair over not being heard." — *Sisterhood is Powerful Institute founder Robin Morgan, The Weekly Standard, Oct. 1.*

- "Americans must ask themselves in the coming months: Is this war solely to get rid of terrorists — as of course should be done — or also to maintain our conspicuous opulence and vastly disproportionate consumption of world resources? On Sunday many Americans went to church to ask God to bless America... God cannot be happy with a nation that is 5 percent of the world's population, produces a quarter of Earth's carbon dioxide emissions, yet walks out of global warming talks." — *Derrick Z. Jackson, Boston Globe, Sept. 19*

- "Look, it's not like they attacked the U.S." — *University of California at Berkeley student protesting for peace, The Oakland Tribune, Oct. 9.*

- "What would happen to [Osama bin Laden's] cool armor if he could be reminded of all the good, nonviolent things he has done? Further, what would happen to him if he could be brought to understand the preciousness of the lives he has destroyed? I firmly believe the only punishment that works is love." — *Novelist Alice Walker, The Village Voice, Oct. 3-9.*

- "It is not naive to propose alternatives to war. We could be the kindest nation on Earth, inside and out. I look at the bigger picture and see that many nations with fewer resources than ours have found solutions to problems that seem to baffle us. I'd like an end to corporate welfare so we could put that money into ending homelessness, as many other nations have done before us. I would like a humane health-care system organized along the lines of Canada's.

- "I'd like the efficient public-transit system of Paris in my city, thank you. I'd like us to consume energy at the modest level that Europeans do, and then go them one better. I'd like a government that subsidizes renewable energy sources instead of forcefully patrolling the globe to protect oil gluttony. Because, make no mistake, oil gluttony is what got us into this holy war, and it's a deep tar pit. I would like us to sign the Kyoto agreement today, and reduce our fossil-fuel emissions with legislation that will ease us into safer, less gluttonous, sensibly reorganized lives.

- "If this were the face we showed the world, and the model we helped bring about elsewhere, I expect we could get

along with a military budget the size of Iceland's." — *Novelist Barbara Kingsolver, Los Angeles Times, Oct. 14.*

- "Before any military action is ever taken anywhere, all citizens of the world will recite the pledge below:

"Me, I pledge my allegiance/to the love of all of humanity/and to the aspirations we all share/one species/one blood/one love/one destiny/one love/one destiny/under all manifestations of god/indivisible/with liberty and medicine and shelter and food and self-determination and freedom of religion and freedom of expression and freedom of movement and love and justice/for all" — *Poet Suheir Hammad, The Village Voice, Oct. 3-9*

- "My daughter, who goes to Stuyvesant High School only blocks from the World Trade Center, thinks we should fly an American flag out our window. Definitely not, I say: The flag stands for jingoism and vengeance and war." — *Katha Pollitt, The Nation, Oct. 8.*

- "They have struck us, and in their strike announced: We'd rather die — and take you with us — than go on living in the world you have forced us to occupy. Force will get us nowhere. It is reparations that are owing, not retribution." — *Author Vandana Shiva, The Village Voice, Oct. 3-9.*

- "America has been 'niggerized' by the terrorist attacks." — *Cornel West, comparing, as The Harvard Crimson put it, "current national anxieties to African-Americans' long history of coping with terror and death," Oct. 11.*

- "Yesiree, I say, BOMBS AWAY! Rockets red glare! We are all WHITE WITH FOAM!" — *Satirist Michael Moore, AlterNet.org, Oct. 8.*

- "Tell the airlines, hotels, restaurants, retailers, and the Israeli consulate: Stop the layoffs — Jobs not War; Rehire laid off workers now; Freedom & Self-Determination for Palestine." — *Poster printed by International Act Now to Stop War & End Racism for the Oct. 27 "international day of actions to stop war & end racism," Boston.*

- "There's been conglomeration under six principal princes — they're kings, they're barons! — and these six companies have control of the world. Michael Eisner decides, 'I can't make a movie about Martin Luther King, Jr.—they'll be rioting at the gates of Disneyland! That's bull____! But that's what the new world order is. They control culture, they control ideas.

- "And I think the revolt of September 11th was about 'F__ you! F__ your order! ... The studios bought television stations. Why? Why did the telecommunications bill get passed at midnight, a hidden bill at midnight? The Arabs have a point! They're going to be joined by the people who objected in Seattle, and the usual 10 per cent who are against everything, and it's going to be, like, 25 percent of this country that's against the new world order. We need a trustbuster like Teddy Roosevelt to take the television stations away from the film companies and give them back to the people!

- Does anybody make a connection between the 2000 election and the events of September 11th? Look for the thirteenth month!" — *Filmmaker Oliver Stone, The New Yorker, Oct. 15.* CJ

Feminists Link, Then Denounce, U.S., Middle East 'Fundamentalisms'

By JON SANDERS
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

Women Fight Fundamentalisms: Before and After September 11th" was the topic of a two-day "teach-in" at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Duke University. The teach-in built upon the national consensus forged Sept. 11 against the extremist, militant interpretation of Islam wielded by the terrorist al-Qaeda organization, Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan's ruling Taliban. That aberration of Islam is particularly vicious in its treatment of women.

The topic of the teach-in was not, however, limited to the fight against that "fundamentalist" version of Islam by women. As the title clearly indicates, the topic was women fighting "fundamentalisms" (plural).

According to the university newspaper *The Daily Tar Heel*, the forum "explored the idea that war is a gendered institution and that long-standing stereotypes of fundamentalism affect current events."

Opening remarks for the first night of the teach-in, held at the Haynes Art Center at UNC-Chapel Hill, were provided by Duke English professor Ranjana Khanna. According to the *DTH*, Khanna pronounced her dismay at "how American women can can rightfully criticize fundamentalism in other cultures when they impose forms of oppression on themselves," citing breast implants and high heels as examples. "Women in the United States are the biggest consumers and the most consumed," Khanna said.

The next speaker was Mab Segrest, lesbian author and visiting professor of Women's Studies at Duke. Segrest discussed "Women, the Rise of the Religious Right, and the New Global Order." Segrest is a member of North Carolinians Against Racism and Religious Violence, which seeks to counter

white-supremacist and neo-Nazi activity in North Carolina and whose web site is listed by Google under "U.S. Domestic Terrorism" (meaning NCARR offers information on that subject). The inclusion of "Religious" violence in the organization's name is no mistake; in a Methodist Women's magazine *Response* in 1999 Segrest said that "within Christianity, church fiat is the equivalent of [the] pistols" used by the murderers of Matthew Shepard.

Segrest is also on the board of directors of Political Research Associates, which states its mission as "monitor[ing] the organizations, individuals, and activities of the US political right" with the purpose of being an "early warning system" of "right-wing activities" and resisting the "right-wing programs." In its "Fifteen Year Report," the PRA answers the question "What does 'right-wing' mean?" thus: "In the U.S., there is an identifiable right-wing agenda. Its roots lie in the lynchings of Blacks in the South by the Ku Klux Klan, the ideological principles of the John Birch Society, and the McCarthy hearings of the 1950's. Central to the agenda is white supremacy, preservation of individual wealth in a setting of free market capitalism, preservation of rigidly traditional religious and family structures, and defenses of U.S. military hegemony."

Segrest praised the PRA, saying "In an era when the right has become so devious and far-flung, the scrupulous and courageous work of Political Research Associates

is crucial to shaping progressive strategy."

Segrest did not disappoint in her remarks. According to the *DTH*, Segrest discussed similarities between President George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden.

The final speaker was Nawal El Saadawi, an Egyptian feminist who taught at Duke from 1993-96 after having been placed on the death list by Islamic extremists in Egypt. Saadawi spoke on "Religious Fundamentalism, Globalization, and Women" on the second day of the teach-in, held at Duke's East Campus.

In a recent *Al-Ahram Weekly Online* issue, El Saadawi decries "the Zionist fundamentalist state of Israel, backed by the US [with] an arsenal of modern weapons provided by the US to attack unarmed civilian populations, destroy homes, occupy Palestinians' land and kill women and children." She also decries the "racism" of Western critics who link veiling to Islam, saying that veiling is a historical fact of both Judaism and Christianity. "Religious fundamentalism is the same, whether Jewish, Christian, or Islamic," she writes.

In 1999 El Sadaawi returned to Duke to speak. She declared she was "very critical of the word 'religion,'" because "Almost all wars were done in the name of religion" and also because women are oppressed by all religions. She also compared women wearing makeup to wearing a veil.

El Saadawi spoke of how to end the oppression of women through ending the division between cultures. "I think the battle of this century is not to celebrate our differences or maintain them but to overcome our differences," she said.

Reaction to the speakers was mixed.

One found Segrest's drawing similarities between Bush and bin Laden "comical."

Campus activist and UNC-CH sophomore Carrie Goodman, cochair of UNC-CH's Feminist Students United! was impressed. "Feminists from Western cultures sometimes see the practice of another culture as oppressive but fail to see the oppressive practices that

seem commonplace in their own society," she told the *DTH*.

"Before tonight, I had thought about how domestic terrorism is strikingly similar to what we've heard from Osama bin Laden," UNC-CH sophomore Leah Hoyle said. "I guess I never really thought of extending that to our own president."

UNC-CH sophomore Allison Robitaille, however, wasn't gulled. "I found it very comical that [Segrest] was comparing our nation's leader to our world's leading terrorist," she said.

Among the academic departments and officials sponsoring the teach-in were: at UNC-CH, the Dean of Arts and Sciences, the Women's Studies Department, the Department of Sociology, the Department of Political Science, and the University Center for International Studies; at Duke, the Vice-Provost of Interdisciplinary Studies, the Women's Studies Department, the Vice Provost for International Affairs, the Department of Religion, the Department of Asian & African Languages & Literature, and the Center for International Studies.

Also sponsoring the teach-in are the North Carolina Center for South Asian Studies, Muslim Networks of Duke, Carolina Seminars for Comparative Islamic Studies of UNC-CH, Carolina Seminars on Bridging the Divide: Academics, Activists and Social Justice of UNC, Hiwar (Duke Students for Middle East Understanding) and the Progressive Students, Staff and Faculty of UNC-Chapel Hill. CJ

N.C. State Panelists Suggest Racism, Oil Motivate U.S. War on Terrorism

By HANS HURD
Editorial Intern

RALEIGH

America's war on terrorism was roundly decried by speakers at a North Carolina State University roundtable discussion Nov. 6. The discussion was sponsored by the N.C. State Women's Center, the Academic Study of Religion Club and Engineers Without Borders.

Panelists were Akram Khater, an associate professor of history at N.C. State; Patrick O'Neill, a hospitality worker and career activist; and Stan Goff, former Special Forces soldier and professional antigovernment protester.

Khater led the discussion. "What we are doing right now is completely counterproductive," he said, calling the campaign in Afghanistan a "nightmare" where "we will have another Vietnam."

O'Neill challenged the audience to ask "What would Jesus do" and said, "Unless you can picture Jesus in the cockpit of an F-16, I don't think Christians can support this violence."

"Every war the U.S. has started in the last 50 years was against people of color," O'Neill said, conveniently ignoring the last two conflicts in Bosnia and Yugoslavia.

Goff, whose comments on an earlier panel at UNC-Chapel Hill caused public outcry, said, "We would have invaded Afghanistan whether or not September 11 had happened. He suggested that the Sept. 11 attacks on New York and Washington could

have been a plot by the U.S. government to justify the war.

The reason for U.S. involvement in Afghanistan could be summed up in one word, Goff said: "Oil." Goff said that our interest in Afghanistan is based on our desire to build a pipeline through Afghanistan to pump oil from the Aral Sea to the Indian Ocean. (The plan Goff referred to was considered several years ago but quickly dismissed by virtual all experts because of the inherent instability of the country.)

"By 2008, Saudi Arabia will control 50 percent of the world's extractable oil," Goff said before forecasting "a collapse of global capitalism." When questioned about the tripling of known oil reserves in the last 20 years, Goff quickly dismissed the found oil as "economically nonextractable."

Khater dismissed Goff's explanation as "simplistic," remarking how critics usually respond to problems in the Middle East by exclaiming "It's the oil," when the issue becomes too complicated to explain.

"The CIA needs the heroin from Afghanistan to fund its global operations," Goff said. He said the CIA controlled the global drug trade and received its funding for "Black Ops" from the profits of selling "crack cocaine on the streets of L.A."

Panelists disagreed over Goff's contention that "The United States created the Taliban." Khater pointed out that the Taliban was formed by the Pakistani military intelligence with some support from Saudi Arabia. Goff said the countries would not have acted without U.S. approval. *cj*

North Carolina's Universities Return to Fighting the Usual Racism, Sexism

By JON SANDERS
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

With just a month having passed since the attacks on New York and Washington, most in the campus community, like nearly all Americans, are horrified by the attacks and want some semblance of justice brought to the perpetrators. Yet a vocal minority on university campuses is intermittently making new proclamations of U.S. culpability in terrorism. (A forum sponsored by the University Scholars Program at North Carolina State University featuring N.C. State professor of plant pathology Bob Bruck was an example of such.

According to the *Broadside E-Newsletter*, a biweekly publication by conservative students at N.C. State, Bruck "rant[ed] against the evils of capitalism, linking [American] 'greed' as the cause for [air] pollution" and then "proceeded to blame the United States for the attack on the World Trade Center, and considered it a consequence of our arrogance in world affairs.")

There are signs emerging, however, that universities are beginning to return to the status quo ante. The realities of the war on terrorism will remain a topic for debate, of course, but the business of being a university in this age of multiculturalism has returned. In North Carolina, N.C. State, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Duke University have all gone back to running sorties for diversity (as measured by genetic characteristics).

Talking About Racism

"Want to Talk About Racism?" was the name of the forum conducted during Race Relations Week at UNC-CH. The panel, including Provost Robert Shelton, was put in place to address charges of "institutional racism" leveled against the university by race activists in the spring and the list of 10 demands they made on the university.

While expressing belief that there was no institutional racism at the university, Shelton announced that housekeepers and groundskeepers had been given two pay increases, the university had spent \$10,000 on restoring black slaves' grave sites, the university has "made an improvement and hired five or 10 (black faculty)," but that budget woes were preventing the completion of a campus monument to black lead-

ers at UNC-CH. The panel concluded that the university had addressed the demands well but worried about a pervasive campus attitude of racism.

An attitude of racism at Duke was decried last week by two former professors, Monica Green and William Hart, who said they left because of it. Hart even named names in the *Duke Chronicle*, accusing fellow professors of religion Kalman Bland, Elizabeth Clark, and E.P. Sanders of creating an unfavorable climate for minority professors.

Sanders and Bland told the *Chronicle* that Hart took comment from his peers on his work racially and that the department offered him, in Bland's words, "a supportive environment, with positive and enthusiastic support."

Hispanics at Duke

Also at Duke, a just-released report contained recommendations of ways Duke could improve the climate for Hispanic employees. The report, compiled by Myrna Adams, special assistant to Executive Vice President Tallman Trask, focused on making Duke bilingual and increasing the number of Hispanics that Duke recruits, promotes, and retains.

N.C. State, meanwhile, plans to celebrate the 10th anniversary of its Women's Center with an event featuring live music, hors d'oeuvres and an artistic donation to mark the occasion, to be followed by a silent auction of women's art.

National Coming Out Day

N.C. State celebrated National Coming Out Day on the Brickyard, to promote awareness among the students of homosexual, bisexual and transgender people. UNC-CH also marked the occasion, kicking off the UNC Safe Zone network for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students to have someone "safe" to talk to about their issues.

Shelton urged students to sign the Safe Zone Pledge, which states, "I pledge to work toward making the UNC community a safe and welcoming place for persons of all sexual orientations."

Student body Vice President Rudy Kleysteuber told "straight" students that signing the pledge signified that they weren't indifferent, which he said was worse than hate. *cj*

In North Carolina, N.C. State, UNC-Chapel Hill, and Duke University have all gone back to running sorties for diversity...

Town and Country

• The Center for Local Innovation announces the Innovate 2002 Conference to be conducted on the Duke University campus at the Washington Duke Inn.

The topics this year will cover the top issues of the day and those issues that are challenging in the day-to-day operation of modern government.

In particular, there will be panels on annexation, budgeting, and e-government. The panels will feature both local elected officials and nationally recognized scholars. Among the scholarly representatives will be William Eggers, a senior fellow of the Manhattan Institute. Eggers is working on a book on how the Internet and related technologies are transforming government. He is the former manager of the Texas Performance Review and Project Director for e-Texas, a state initiative charged with developing recommendations to save tax dollars, increase the use of technology, improve customer service and inject private-sector competition into state services.

Randall O'Toole is the author of a new book, *The Vanishing Automobile*. O'Toole teaches at the University of California at Berkeley and is also a senior economist at the Thoreau Institute.

Some of the local officials invited to participate in the event include Wake County Register of Deeds Laura Riddick, Wilmington Mayor David Jones, New Hanover County Commissioner Bill Caster, Winston-Salem City Councilman Vernon Robinson, and former Mecklenburg County Commissioner Don Reid.

The event is scheduled for Saturday, Jan. 19.

• By the time this issue of *Carolina Journal* reaches you, the elections will be over. Stay tuned for the next issue, when this section of our newspaper will analyze the outcomes of local races. There were several races this cycle in which voters had a clear choice between very different candidates. If there are any decipherable trends, *Carolina Journal* will convey them to you.

• Jerk of the Month: Before game three of the World Series, President Bush strolled to the pitcher's mound to throw out the first pitch. What was remarkable was not that he threw the pitch from the top of the mound (a feat that Ronald Reagan also accomplished), but the overwhelming graciousness of the New York people who chanted "U.S.A." as he stood there. The ovation was staggering. Many thought that the president should not have attended the game, but, refusing to bend to terror, he did. Nevertheless, Bush standing there with thumb extended while the fans chanted was a moment to behold.

It would have been all the more a special moment if not for a brightly jacketed narcissistic shrew named Rosie O'Donnell who decided to remain sitting while everyone around her at least showed some respect for the president by standing. It appears that O'Donnell cannot put aside her political differences for the 5,000 New York dead. How sad. More sad is that she is teaching her narcissism to her son. And some people thought we were "united." *CJ*

"Stop in the Name of Revenue"

Red-light traffic cameras spreading to cities across North Carolina

By ERIK ROOT
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

You may get a citation in the mail if the cities of Charlotte, Wilmington, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Greenville, Chapel Hill, and others, have anything to say about it.

A law that has worked its way through the North Carolina General Assembly grants cities the authority to install photographic systems at intersections with traffic signals. These cameras will take pictures of vehicles failing to obey the signals.

The cameras are triggered when a vehicle enters an intersection after the traffic light turns red. The camera then takes a picture of the license plate of the vehicle and the company monitoring the camera equipment sends the owner a citation. According to the legislation, no points are assessed to the owner's driver's license (which can affect the amount one pays in insurance premiums) nor does the driver have to appear in court.

If a car, then, violates the traffic signal, a bill for the infraction will be mailed to the address listed on the vehicle registration that corresponds with the license plate number of the vehicle.

According to the legislation, "the owner of a vehicle shall be responsible for the violation unless the owner can furnish evidence that the vehicle was, at the time of the violation, in the care, custody, and control of another person."

The fine for the traffic violation is initially \$50, but it can increase to \$100 if the fine is not paid within a specified amount of time. The owner of the car will also have "waived his or her right to contest responsibility" of a violation, the law says, if the owner of the vehicle does not respond in the specified time period.

Private Companies

One of the many interesting things about this legislation is that the cameras will be operated by private companies, who in turn get a percentage of every fine issued. A private corporation that is driven by profit might not be as concerned about the innocence of a person than a public institution, some say.

The burden of proof shifts from the government to the individual. It is up to the owner of the vehicle to prove he was not in the vehicle at the time of the alleged violation.

In Raleigh, City Manager J. Russell Allen told *Carolina Journal* that the City Council approved a request for a proposal that allows any company to bid on the traffic camera contract. This process ensures that the competition will drive any costs to the city lower than if there were no competitive bidding.

Allen also says Raleigh has taken additional precautions to address some of the concerns noted above. For example, he said that there would be "government oversight and quality control" over the implementation of traffic cameras by the creation of a government position dedicated to that end. Furthermore, "if there is any question of identifying a license plate, that photograph will be thrown out," Allen said.

Some state courts have questioned the profit motive with these systems whereby the business managing the system gets a

percentage of every ticket issued. In order to decrease the profit motive, private companies may gain by writing more and more citations.

Allen said Raleigh will not enter into a contract with a company that pays the private business based on how many tickets it writes. Rather, Raleigh will pay the business in a lump-sum contract so that no matter how many citations are written in a given year, the company maintaining the system does not rake in additional profit. The company will receive only the amount of money agreed on in the contract.

But what happens if there is, say, a funeral procession that must go through a series of lights? According to Raleigh officials, the camera will issue many photographs thus causing several citations to be sent out.

Allen says that in such cases the city will waive the fines. He added that authorities may be able to shut off the cameras through a remote monitoring system, but that he is not sure the city will be able to secure such a system. Nevertheless, Allen argues that cameras have led to a 20 percent decrease in intersection accidents in other cities.

A Question of Revenues

One of the major controversies surrounding the traffic camera debate has been the different uses for revenue generated by the citations. Wake County would like to use its funds for schools, while Durham County would place any revenue into its general fund.

While the legislation allows Wake County schools to use any money they receive from traffic citations for anything they want, Raleigh is trying to negotiate with the school system to earmark the money specifically for school safety programs.

Raleigh Mayor Pro-Tem John Odom says that if the city is going to do all the work in setting up the cameras, the city ought to have some say in how the revenues are spent. If the city is to pay all the up-front costs and maintain the system, it seems unfair that the schools benefit while they avoid all the costs.

Odom said Raleigh would like the money to assist additional school crossing

guards and police officers dedicated to patrolling schools.

Odom is actually opposed to the camera system because he believes that regardless of the safeguards put in place by cities, that privacy issues are in question. "Once we open ourselves up [to cameras] we could have them everywhere," Odom said.

Legislators Also Skeptical

Another person who is skeptical of traffic cameras is Rep. Sam Ellis, R-Raleigh, who, though he supported the proposal, did so on certain conditions. Ellis was one of the architects of the plan's guidelines that Wake County must follow.

According to Ellis, the legislation ensures that neither the city of Raleigh, nor any company it contracts with, may manipulate yellow-light times in order to generate more tickets.

Ellis said he supported the "Pope Amendment," so named after Rep. Art Pope, R-Raleigh, which shifted the burden of proof from the citizen to the city in terms of proving whether a person was driving the car. In other words, if someone receives a citation in the mail and claims that he was not driving the car at the time of the infraction, it becomes the city's burden to prove that citizen is lying.

Ellis also had concerns that a city or business might benefit monetarily from traffic cameras, but he insists that has been removed with the prohibition of Raleigh or the company it contracts with from increasing their revenues on a per-citation basis. Ellis also said profit incentives have further been removed by requiring that schools in Wake County receive anything over and above operating costs of the system.

If Raleigh is anxious to mount traffic cameras at intersections, the city of Concord is not. According to Annette Privette, public information officer for the city, Concord has dropped its plans to move forward with the idea. Concord, like Raleigh, must give its revenues to the school system, according to the legislation.

However, the city is not moving forward with traffic camera installation because "the city has other priorities," Privette said.

With all the budget problems in the state, especially emanating from the lack of reimbursements from the state, Concord has had other worries. Nevertheless, Privette said Concord may revisit the issue in the spring. *CJ*

"Once we open ourselves up (to cameras) we could have them everywhere."

— Raleigh Mayor Pro-Tem John Odom.

*High taxes in Scotland County***Citizens Debate School 'Floor Tax'**By ERIK ROOT
Assistant Editor

LAURINBURG

She escaped East Germany and communism when she was a young girl. Walking through snow that was almost taller than her tiny frame, she left her home one night to run an errand for her parents. She never returned. She escaped tyranny, risked everything, for freedom, and she was a part of the audience debating the school "floor tax" in Scotland County.

On Oct. 23, a group calling itself the Concerned Citizens for Good Government met at the Scotland County Courthouse in Laurinburg to discuss issues surrounding the school "floor tax." It was not the group's first meeting on the issue.

What is the Floor Tax?

The floor tax was passed in 1963 by the General Assembly and requires Scotland County residents to fund the public school system at the state average per pupil. In other words, the amount of dollars spent in each of North Carolina's 100 counties (excluding Scotland County) is totaled and averaged. That number is the beginning point, or floor, of funding for public schools in Scotland County.

Residents are now paying about 59 cents per \$100 for the school system. After the next fiscal year's average, the residents could be paying a total of \$2 per \$100, with the floor tax rising to 90 cents per \$100. With an already high tax rate, the specter of a total \$2 per \$100 tax will be staggering for some.

The floor tax makes no sense given how poor the county is — not only has the county been losing jobs, but its average income is also low.

The current tax has become so oppressive that some residents will have to move out of the area to survive. "I moved back to Scotland County because this is where I grew up," said one unidentified member of the audience, "but if taxes keep increasing I will not be able to afford to live here any longer."

This is echoed in the *Public School Forum* of North Carolina publication that says Scotland County citizens rank 85th in their ability to pay county taxes.

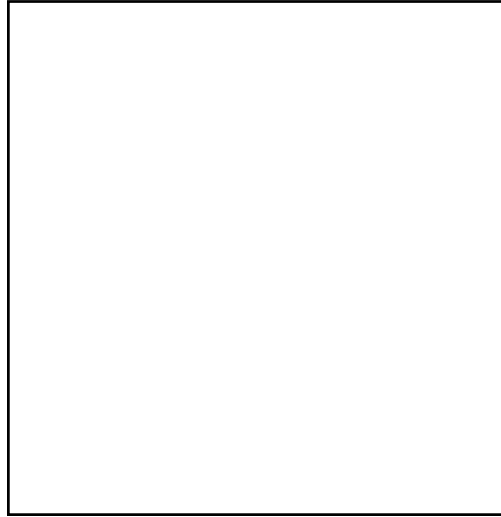
In another study, the Center for Local Innovation's *By the Numbers 2001*, reports that Scotland County's overall tax burden is rising (and has been steadily for the last three years) and the county is ranked 22nd out of 100 in the state.

Grogan's Stand

Bill Grogan, chief representative of Concerned Citizens for Good Government, addressed about 100 people in attendance. "If you look at the 10 poorest counties in North Carolina, you will find an average real estate tax of about 70 cents per \$100, while the counties who are better off financially have a tax rate of about 44 cents per \$100," he said.

Grogan believes that the tax rate should be telling residents of the county something important — that the better-off counties have a lower tax rate.

Speaking of the tax rate and the floor tax average in particular, Grogan said, "put simply, our tax base just doesn't support average." Grogan and members of the Concerned Citizens group do not want to get

*Bill Grogan in Da House!*

out of helping to pay for the public school system, they simply want their tax rate to reflect their ability to pay. "Once again I am asking the school board to reconsider their stance on the school floor tax. There are ways to tie the school tax to the tax base which would be favorable to the schools as well as the taxpayers that would not destroy either one of them," Grogan said.

This honest and serious reaching out to the school board has fallen on deaf and defiant ears. Buck Carter, chairman of the board, has reportedly said, "You owe me, you pay me." Furthermore, the board has refused to release an itemized budget to demonstrate where it spends the public dollars Scotland County residents are forced to cough up.

Board Hides from Responsibility

Carolina Journal gave Carter a chance to respond to the frustrations of the taxpayers, but numerous calls to Carter went unreturned. He said that he was too busy to

speak with us and that because October was a busy month for the Campbell's Soup Company, where he works, he would not have time to speak with us.

School Supt. Shirley Prince also did not return numerous calls to her office.

Some residents have called the school system

in an attempt to get a simple printout of school balance sheets, but when the residents asked, school employees replied that they wanted to know why the residents wanted such documents.

According to some members in the audience, if the school board were truly interested in being forthcoming and interested in not hiding anything, they would open up their books to the public so they can see how they are spending their money.

What does the board have to hide? Many people think the board has plenty to hide.

Even though some school supporters have said that they spend every dime they receive, there are reports that last year the board earned almost \$100,000 in interest on various accounts the board had opened at financial institutions. The school floor tax, though responsible for the lion's share of the tax rate, is not the only problem.

EMS Overstaffed?

Scotland County Manager Scott Sauer addressed the group as well to give them an idea of the budget. In the course of questioning about the various services the county provides people, Sauer mentioned that Scotland is the only county that has 19 emer-

Eminent Domain and the Farm

Hot on the heels of a renewed vigor for open-space protection at the Statehouse, a recent proposal in Delaware seeks to run a five-lane highway through one of Ohio's privately owned state nature preserves.

At the Stratford Ecological Center, nestled behind Route 33, the smell of a new crop of flowers for market and the sounds of children, livestock, and an occasional tractor fill the air. If Delaware city planners have their way, though, these could be replaced with thick diesel exhaust and the roar of an endless stream of tractor-trailers.

Delaware, like many rural regions surrounding major metropolitan areas, is facing heavy pressure to accommodate massive increases in traffic along once pastoral roads. Efforts to expand existing roadways, build new roads, or implement traffic control measures have all met with opposition in one form or another. Everyone seems to agree that something must be done, just not at the expense of anyone's own property.

Stratford is merely one example of these controversial road proposals. But the center's uniqueness has drawn special attention as a community resource. For a nonprofit organization that experiments with ways to encourage more sustainable agriculture and to educate children about farm life and nature, the news of pavement coming their way was understandably hard to swallow.

Before the proposal was announced, the owners were in the process of obtaining a conservation easement. This occurs when a property owner agrees to sell to the government all future development rights in an effort to preserve the land as it is. While such an action may prevent commercial development, though, it does not protect land from the government's ability to employ eminent domain and seize privately held property from its owners.

To make matters more complicated, there are not enough funds for any of the proposed projects. Calls by city officials for tax increases are mounting as the only way to bankroll these troubled solutions. In March, the Thoroughfare Task Force agreed to at least consider alternative routes, and county commissioners passed a resolution against supporting a route through Stratford. Considering public outcry and the lack of funding, perhaps it is time for officials to look at other options.

One other option could provide all parties with a much more satisfactory outcome — privatization. This could lead to a floodgate of funding alternatives. Depending on the level of control elected officials choose to maintain, contracting out plans could range from a model where the contractor designs and builds the project to a temporary or permanent toll road. Based on examples from around the country, cost savings and speed of completion would increase dramatically.

Removing the threat of eminent domain and replacing it with compensation based on open-market negotiation may also greatly lessen any road project's volatility with the public.

Delaware city and county officials could write a provision into any contract explicitly denying the use of government seizure and follow up with strict enforcement. This is no longer the 1950s. We have a viable system of transportation in place and there is no justifiable reason for individuals to be forced off their land to

create a more convenient commute for others.

Under current proposals, a desired truck bypass to reduce congestion and pollution is not a possibility because not enough trucks would be diverted to make it worth the government's investment. If a firm were granted the ability to follow its own plans and construct a short toll road to be operated indefinitely or turned over after a period of time, then trucks could avoid the additional 12 traffic signals planned throughout Delaware. Residents might then also be able to breathe and drive a bit more easily.

In any case, the government has hardly proven the necessity of plowing over a nature preserve to reduce traffic. In fact, the case has not been made for the necessity of plowing over anyone's property through legal dictate. While eminent domain is a legitimate privilege of the government, it does have the effect of reducing the apparent cost of land. An open-market approach would more fully consider all costs involved, and any future project would find its home where land has the least economic value to its owners, not government planners. *cj*

Hisrich is a Research Assistant at the Buckeye Institute in Columbus, Ohio.

**Matt Hisrich**

gency medical service employees. Such counties as neighboring Robeson have only one. Sauer considers Scotland County's EMS services as providing "high-quality protection."

If this fact was meant to impress the many senior citizens in attendance, it did not. "Why do we need so many EMS people?" one person asked from the audience. Others believed that EMS service was one example where the fat could be trimmed.

There was a general consensus that not every luxury in life can or could be afforded. Even though Sauer and Concerned Citizens may be at odds over the relative value of the county's EMS services, members of the group said they respect the county manager for speaking to them.

"I would be willing to come back [to speak with you] every week," Sauer said.

He is one of the few local officials who will and that has at least earned him some respect in the community even if many of the Concerned Citizens group disagree with him.

Meanwhile, Concerned Citizens are collecting signatures in hopes of putting the floor tax to a vote in 2002. However, it will take approval from the Assembly for the Concerned Citizens to be allowed to have such a referendum.

It would be easier for the group to accomplish the task if the board would simply agree to have the floor tax reconsidered, but the board is not budging.

The tiny old lady who said she "loves America" and who escaped from East Germany certainly knows what is at stake. "I understand what an unlimited government can do to its people," she said. *cj*

Local Innovation Bulletin Board

Supreme Decision

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that state and local governments cannot force out-of-state companies to collect taxes for them, since this would interfere with interstate commerce. States and localities may require only companies with a "substantial physical presence" or "nexus" in their state to collect sales taxes. That's as it should be.

But some public officials aren't content with that ruling. Michigan Gov. John Engler, for example, strongly supports a National Governors' Association proposal that would apply sales taxes to virtually all Internet, catalog, and 1-800 number purchases. Labeled the "Streamlined Sales Tax Project," the proposal would deputize a private "third-party entity" to collect and distribute those taxes and could — if enough states approve it and Congress endorses it — open the door to a national sales tax.

Supporters of the NGA plan to talk a lot about fairness and the need to "harmonize" states' sales taxes. But what's to fear from diversity in either the manner or the amount that states tax? It's not unfair that New Hampshire has neither a sales tax nor an income tax. Nor is it unfair that items on which some states impose a sales tax are exempted by other states. Michigan loses revenue all the time to states that tax less and tax better, and it gains revenue over states that tax more and in more harmful ways. That's healthy tax competition, and it's why the states are often called "laboratories of democracy."

What concerns me are such things as compromising any one state's sovereignty over its tax structure in the name of "streamlining" or harmonizing it with the tax structures of other states. I'm concerned about scrapping the privacy and anonymity inherent in the sales tax. And I'm concerned about making it much easier for the federal government to superimpose a national sales tax.

But back to the fairness issue. Is it fair that Michigan bricks-and-mortar businesses must remit to the state a sales tax while their out-of-state competitors do not? Taxes are supposed to pay for services that governments provide, such as police protection. Out-of-state vendors with no physical presence in a state would not use any government services in that state. So it would be unfair to tax out-of-state Internet, catalog, or 1-800 companies.

Advocates of the NGA scheme argue that their plan is designed simply to collect existing sales or use taxes from Michigan consumers, not impose a new tax on out-of-state companies. But that argument is undermined by the fact that a consumer who orders a book from Amazon.com isn't using the roads or any other state service to make his purchase.

And privacy concerns about the NGA plan are certainly justified. When you pay a sales tax at a local

shop, no one asks you your name, where you live, or anything about your buying habits.

The third-party entity the NGA plan would deputize to facilitate Internet tax collection and revenue distribution may very well need to know such things to do the job.

Additionally, claims by state governments that they're losing revenue on Internet transactions are almost always inflated for these and other reasons:

- Business-to-business sales are sometimes included, but they would be exempt from sales taxes anyway. Most estimates put those transactions at 75 percent or more of all Internet transactions.

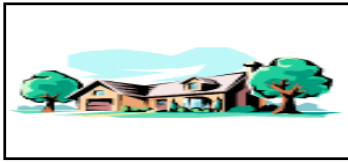
- Internet transactions that result in physical sales in local stores — such as when a consumer purchases a product online but picks it up and pays sales tax at a local outlet — are frequently not factored out.

- Increases in tax revenue that come from Internet-induced economic growth are excluded or underestimated. In 1998 alone, the Internet was responsible for 1.2 million new jobs, representing a lot of new income and sales-taxable purchases.

- At least some online purchases can be characterized as transactions that would never occur in a local store, where a sales tax would be assessed. Thinking about the obscure items I purchase by the dozen on eBay auctions, I realized I would have bought almost none of them in any local, Michigan store.

Some say the effort to impose sales taxes on all Internet transactions is a train rolling down the track. Maybe so, but it's still a train that should be derailed. CJ

(This report was authored by Lawrence W. Reed, president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy).



Lee Commissioner Chad Adams Discusses County's Challenges

By ERIK ROOT

Assistant Editor

LEE COUNTY

CJ: Tell us about your education and background.

Adams: I was raised throughout the South. My parents are both North Carolina natives. My father was raised in Oxford and Sanford. My mother is from Columbus County. He was one of the youngest division engineers at Blue Bell. They sent him around different areas to troubleshoot. So I was born in Virginia, raised in Puerto Rico, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas. But I spent all my summers here in North Carolina.

I am a fifth-generation Lee County resident. In fact, I reside in the house built by my great-grandfather.

I graduated from high school in Wilson, North Carolina — James B. Hunt High School. I then went to UNCW for undergraduate study. I was working in RTP and had a professor at UNCW who kept harassing me to enter a graduate program, so I entered a program at NC State. I completed all but the thesis. I kind of got sidetracked because I created my own company and ran for political office.

Currently I am a fellow with the Institute of Political Leadership. I will finish with that program in December.

CJ: Tell us about your beginnings in Lee County.

Adams: I have lived in Lee County since 1989. I was commuting to RTP and kept seeing the county grow and wanted to get more involved. I got involved with the junior chamber of the JCs in Sanford and became president of that chapter in 1997. In the 1997-1998 year that I was president we grew from 36 members to 116. We were nationally recognized as one of the fastest-growing chapters in the nation.

As a result, some recognition came about and I heard from the community about my leadership capabilities and I was encouraged to run for public office. I had considered it, but not at 31 years old. Having been familiar with the county, I thought there were some issues that I wanted to address. I thought there were some areas the county was falling behind in and I thought it had a bit of one-party rule for too long.

So I thought there was an opportunity not for partisan reasons, but just for an open-minded approach to solving problems in the areas of growth, education, technology, and these kind of things.

I ran for office against an incumbent who had been a mailman in the district for 30 years. It was somewhat of a revolution in our county. We elected three Republicans.

We have a chairman now who has been instrumental in getting us the sixth largest airport in North Carolina. They just completed that airport not long ago under budget. They even extended the runway about 1,000 feet and added the weight capacity 30 percent to the runway and the project still came in under budget. That had a lot to do with his leadership.

CJ: How is the job situation in Lee County?

Adams: I have been spearheading the effort to get the county, on the technology side, up to date to allow so that we can move forward and make us a competitive county. Lee County has one of the largest manufac-

turing bases in the state, but through NAFTA and GATT we have lost many of those textile jobs. We have tremendous Hispanic influx and there's a tremendous disconnect in the community between them and those that have been in the county for much of their lives. So trying to get all those groups together is difficult. We simply have to expand our tax base, and to do that you have to bring in jobs to replace the ones that you're losing. Jobs help bring people together.

CJ: How is the relationship between the counties and the state?

Adams: We are constantly fighting with the imposition of the state legislature. So much of our abilities are tied — we are really prevented from what we need to do because

we have to do what the state tells us to do. For example, we have seen great increases in our share of Medicaid payments. The unfunded mandates are damaging. That's what is scary. It is great to be a politician and stand up and say you're for education. But at least have the courage to fund what you stand for. Don't say you are for something and then pass the necessity of

funding off to another group of local politicians. Give them the freedom to lead locally. So if the state wants to pay for education, let them pay for it.

CJ: How does a county attract businesses?

Adams: The Chamber of Commerce to a certain extent, but we have an economic development corporation that is actively recruiting businesses. We have incentive programs to bring in businesses. Some of the challenges we face with respect to recruiting has to do with education.

We are growing and growing rapidly. We need new schools. But, we have debt we are having to deal with. So we are trying to be creative in the way we are dealing with the problem. We also have to be competitive tax wise in relation to our other counties.

CJ: What have been the biggest challenges you have faced?

Adams: There is a certain element that looks at everything through partisan lenses, and sometimes issues at the county level have nothing to do with partisanship. I wish the county offices were not partisan. I think partisanship stands in the way of true consideration because I think if we did not have party affiliation people would vote for the best leader instead of one from the party.

Another is the disconnect between rural and urban, mentalities, for lack of a better word. Being able to articulate a message — getting the message out to people — is difficult because many hear one aspect of an issue and it kind of snowballs.

My generation is very apathetic. Trying to get members into civic organizations is very difficult. I hope to see participation in civic organizations increase.

CJ: Is it challenging to raise or not raise taxes?

Adams: We have unfortunately raised taxes twice in our county. They were raised partly because we needed to right the fiscal ship of the county, and secondly, we had to react to what the state had required of us. I think the public understands why we needed to do that. If there is one thing that needs reform are those unfunded mandates. CJ



Chad Adams

General State and Local Sales Tax Collections Are on the Rise



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Institute for Policy Innovation

From Cherokee to Currituck

Jacksonville Wants a Museum; Other Towns Deal with Garbage

By ERIK ROOT
Assistant Editor

RALEIGH
During a time when almost every city or county government is complaining they do not have enough money, the Jacksonville City Council has agreed to match private donations up to \$1 million to build a Marine Corps museum, according to the *Jacksonville Daily News*.

Councilman Robert Sandy said the matching funds would demonstrate to the community what the military has meant to the city. But Sandy also said that "We're hoping that the county commissioners will do the same as to show their commitment to the community and the museum."

Some believe the museum will increase tourism and fill public coffers with tourists' money. We will wait anxiously when stories emanate from the city that they do not have enough money to balance their budget and have to rely on raising taxes on its residents.

Pitt County Seeks Land Control?

The *Daily Reflector* of Greenville reported that Pitt County may be heading toward countywide planning.

"What we have now worries me. What we'll have in five years scares me, because it's another layer of government we have to deal with," said Stokes businessman Ed Congleton.

However, zoning proponents (NIMBY advocates) believe they need to restrict unwanted development. Still, residents are concerned that such a countywide ordinance will restrict property rights. "We are grassroots, and we don't want this," Oakley Road resident Josephine Nelson said. Not surprisingly, the land-use plan is voluminous at 81 pages long.

Market Visits the UNC System

Will wonders never cease! The UNC system is accepting bids from privately owned bookstores such as Barnes and Noble to run its bookstores, *The Daily Tar Heel* of Chapel Hill reports. There has been a ban on such practices since 1995, when a mandate was instituted.

From 1986 to 1995 UNC-Charlotte contracted with Barnes and Noble. Dick Scott, associate vice chancellor for business affairs at UNC-Wilmington, said that priva-

tizing bookstores can be financially beneficial for the school.

While some people are worried about losing their jobs, Stan Frank, marketing director for Barnes and Noble, assured people that they need not worry. "We don't just come in there and start firing everyone. We usually retain the people and retrain them, and we keep the salary at its present level or with an increase," Frank said.

Whispering Pines

Garbage collection is a hot issue in Whispering Pines Village, according to *The Pilot* of Southern Pines. At issue is the form a new contract will take.

Some people have complained that the current system is inefficient because some residents

are not getting curbside service. In other words, some people are not getting their trash picked up.

However, Whispering Pines Village Councilwoman Patricia Robinson said that is because residents are not dragging their garbage out to the curb early enough.

Wayne County Schools

The News-Argus of Goldsboro reports that almost \$2.8 million in contracted services will be a part of the next Wayne County budget. Much of the money is the result of state government mandates that the state does not fund or reimburse the counties.

Some of the services are for medical and psychological services. This prompted Wayne County Board of Education member Thelma Smith to say she wondered how "we got by in our day." Contracted services have become big business, according to another board member.

More on Contracting

Should driver's education instruction in county schools be contracted out? That is what *The Enterprise* of Williamston asked recently.

Opening the service to competitive bid will mean a lower cost, Supt. Tom Daly said. Three years ago the school board looked at contracting out the same service, but later rejected it. Some board members were concerned about whether private in-

structors could be trusted. The hesitant believe somehow that the contracted driver will be a "stranger" to the student whereas an uncontracted one will not be a stranger.

The St. Pauls Review of St. Pauls reported that the town will be joining other counties and regions by turning over garbage collection to a private company.

Waste Management, which has a division in Southern Pines, contracts with Robeson County as well. The town concludes that the move will decrease overhead as well as improve service delivery. Town Administrator Joe Loflin said that "the town feels it is economically feasible and we feel better service can be provided."

Awash In Garbage

After listening to a private contractor's proposal, Roxboro officials are looking to privatize their city's garbage collection, according to *The Courier Times* of Roxboro.

The city is also welcoming other bids for the service.

The proposal on the table currently is from Waste Industries and includes curbside pickup for \$8 per resident per month. If the city contracted out the service, it would eliminate equipment costs associated with the service.

The cost of the service now is \$302,000, excluding equipment costs. Waste Industries has put forth a bid that will cost \$309,000. It is a significantly less costly way to go. Waste Industries is already serving some of Roxboro's residents after the town

annexed an area formerly outside the city limits. The residents there kept their garbage service. Contracting out will save the city about \$100,000 immediately and will provide the city with an infusion of cash. Waste Industries has agreed to buy the city's collection equipment for \$96,000.

Waste Industries representative Jim Roberts said, "We are going to make the citizens happy. We are masters of that."

Durham Seeks Even More Debt

Governments and schools seem to have a never-ending appetite for money, and Durham County is no different. A referendum that seeks to borrow \$74.4 million for county construction projects will go before the voters, reports *The News and Observer* of Raleigh. The projects include money for schools, libraries, a senior center, a Museum of Life and Science, and an emergency medical center. Schools will get the most money in the endeavor. A total of \$51.8 million would go to school construction.

Unfortunately, racial politics has entered the debate. A group called the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People may threaten passage of the referendum because, in part, the group said black students are held back in school far more than white students. Furthermore, inner-city schools would not get as much of the money, the group said.

Regardless, the bond would add about 2.5 cents per \$100 of assessed value to property tax bills. That means that a person who owns a \$150,000 home would pay about \$37.50 extra a year in taxes. Local officials are already warning that the rate could go up even more if the economy continues to slump.

"What we'll have in five years scares me, because it's another layer of government we have to deal with."

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From the Liberty Library

• *The Einstein Syndrome* by Thomas Sowell was released in July, and is a follow-up to *Late-Talking Children*, which established Sowell as a leading spokesman on the subject of late-talking children. Since he first became involved in this issue in the mid-90s, Sowell has joined with Stephen Camarata of Vanderbilt University, who has conducted a much broader, more rigorous study of this phenomenon than the anecdotes reported in *Late-Talking Children*. Sowell can now identify a particular syndrome, a cluster of common symptoms and family characteristics, that differentiates these late-talking children from others; relate this syndrome to other syndromes; speculate about its causes; and describe how children with this syndrome are likely to develop. More on this Basic Books title at www.basicbooks.com.

• Basic Books also published *The New Dealers' War*, by historian Thomas Fleming, who brings to life the flawed and troubled Franklin Delano Roosevelt who struggled to manage World War II. Fleming takes the reader inside the incredibly fractious struggles and debates that went on in Washington, the nation, and the world. Unlike the familiar yet idealized FDR of Doris Kearns Goodwin's *No Ordinary Time*, the reader encounters a Roosevelt in remorseless decline, battered by ideological forces and primitive hatreds which he could not handle—and frequently failed to understand—some of them leading to unimaginable catastrophe. Among FDR's most dismaying policies, Fleming argues, were an insistence on "unconditional surrender" for Germany (a policy that perhaps prolonged the war by as many as two years, leaving millions more dead) and his often uncritical embrace of and acquiescence to Stalin and the Soviets as an ally. *The New Dealers' War* paints a very different portrait of his leadership.

• In *The Seven Myths of Gun Control*, journalist Richard Poe details the seven most common arguments used by gun prohibitionists, debunking each one with a wealth of statistical and legal data gleaned from top experts in the field of guns and gun rights. You will discover that, contrary to myth, the availability of guns leads to less crime, not more; that guns do not pose a special threat to our children; and that the Second Amendment is as vital to the lives and liberty of modern Americans as it was in frontier times. You will also learn how the current drive to further regulate and even outlaw firearms is a point-blank assault not only on truth but on freedom as well. Further details can be found on this title at www.primapublishing.com.

• *Sparrowhawk* is a historical novel by Edward Grimes that brings a new perspective to the events leading up to the American Revolution. The book is first in a series, establishing that the revolution occurred in two stages: the war for independence and a more subtle revolution in men's minds many years before the Declaration of Independence. See www.macmurraybeck.com for more information about this book. CJ

Book Review

Rothbard: Vital to the Literature of Liberty

By GEORGE C. LEEF

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH
Murray Rothbard, edited by David Gordon; *Egalitarianism as a Revolt Against Nature and Other Essays*, Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2000, 321pp., \$15

Young students of music, if they are at all serious about the subject, must sooner or later be introduced to Bach. Whatever else one might play or study, music without Bach would be terribly incomplete. Older musicians understand that they must introduce the rising generation to the works of the great master.

So it is also, I submit, with young students of liberty and the writings of the late Murray Rothbard. Rothbard (1926-1995), economist, philosopher, historian and essayist "par excellence" performed intellectual feats on behalf of freedom that are as vital to the literature of liberty as are Bach's preludes and fugues to the literature of the organ. In this volume, the Ludwig von Mises Institute and editor David Gordon play the role of older musician by putting back into print a tremendous collection of Rothbard's essays.

The book shows two things about Rothbard. First, the remarkable scope of his mind: The 16 essays presented here range from a devastating assault on the "women's liberation" movement to an analysis of the 19th century anarchist Lysander Spooner; a dissection of the essence of the state to an argument for the rights of children. The reader cannot but marvel at the encyclopedic display of knowledge they contain.

The second characteristic is his logical consistency. Rothbard argued that the proper approach to economics was logical deduction from the fundamental principle that human beings act purposefully to achieve their objectives. His writings on economic questions hew to that idea, but so do his writings on contemporary issues.

He starts from libertarian axioms and deduces the correct policy, much as one would prove a point in geometry. Rothbard is useful, then, not just for arriving at right conclusions, but also for demonstrating the process of thinking matters through. At a time when sloppy, emotion-laden argumentation is found almost everywhere, Rothbard is a beacon of intellectual rigor.

In a short review, I can do no more than offer up a few appetizers to entice reader, so here goes.

The book's title essay takes dead aim on the prevalent notion that government policy ought to promote equality in any respect except equality before the law.

Equality has become a default position, with every law ostensibly adopted to bring about more equality treated as presumptively good. Rothbard won't have it, arguing that egalitarianism is a "revolt against nature." Equality is not in the natural order of things and the crusade to make everyone equal in every respect (except before the law) is certain to have disastrous consequences.

Our author writes, "At the heart of the egalitarian left is the pathological belief that there is no structure of reality; that all the world is a *tabula rasa* that can be changed at any moment in any desired direction by the mere exercise of human will..." Learning that there is nothing sacred or lovely about forced equality — now there is a crucial lesson for any student of liberty.

The Anatomy of the State

Another justly famous essay included is Rothbard's "The Anatomy of the State." That piece stands in relation to our modern political debate as did Galileo's observations about the solar system stand in rela-

tion to 17th century theology. Rothbard argues brilliantly that the state is nothing more than the evolution of marauding plunderers of ancient times who realized that their plundering would be more secure and pleasant if they could convince the conquered people willing to give up their tribute payments — that is, taxes — rather than fighting to keep the fruit of their labors all

for themselves. Rothbard's discussion of the means by which rulers manage to accomplish that and thereby cement their control is by itself worth many times the price of the book.

Another crucial question Rothbard takes up more than once is the

best ground for the defense of freedom. Many advocates of *laissez-faire* base their arguments on utilitarianism, contending that we ought to get rid of (to pick an example), the minimum wage because it does not lead to "the greatest good for the greatest number." Our author disagrees.

What is chiefly wrong with interventionist policies, he argues, is not that they get in the way of wealth maximization, but that they are unjust. Consider this passage from "Why Be Libertarian?": "(A) flourishing libertarian movement, a lifelong dedication to liberty, can only be grounded on a passion for justice. Here must be the main-spring of our drive, the armor that will sustain us in all the storms ahead, not the search for a quick buck, the playing of intellectual games or the cool calculation of general economic gains."

In these sharp, erudite pages, statist myths topple like tenpins. Buy a copy of *Egalitarianism as a Revolt Against Nature* for yourself and then buy a copy for any intelligent high school or college student you'd like to see put on the right philosophical track. CJ

"At the heart of the egalitarian left is the pathological belief that there is no structure of reality..."

Movie Review

"Training Day" Takes Cynical View of the Drug War

By BRIAN GWYN

Editorial Intern

RALEIGH
Training Day, 120 min., Rated R.

Training Day is a movie that portrays the grim life of undercover narcotics officers in the L.A.P.D.

Jake Hoyt, played by Ethan Hawke, is a rookie narcotics officer who hopes to one day make detective. To achieve that goal, he must serve his time working under Alonzo Harris, played by Denzel Washington, working to stomp out drug trafficking in Los Angeles.

The movie is set around Hoyt's first day as a narcotics officer. Harris tries to keep him on his toes by being unpredictable in his actions. At one point he offers some of the confiscated drugs to Hoyt. When Hoyt refuses, Harris brings up the fact that if they were out on the street, that response could get them both killed. Seeing this logic, Hoyt agrees to take the substance. With this and other adoptions of street culture, Harris tries to make Hoyt think the purpose is to be able to catch more bad guys. Only after he has been double-crossed does Hoyt realize Harris is only out for his own personal gain.

The movie takes the position that the way the drug war is currently being fought,

it is a breeding ground for corruption, and in effect, is failing.

The film portrays the position of narcotics officer as being a stepping stone for one to achieve a higher rank, such as detective. This means, as Harris points out, that everyone ends up having a little dirt on them.

The movie shows that to be a successful narcotics officer, one must become a part of the street culture. By having to shake the squeaky-clean policeman image, officers then have the line of right and wrong blurred into a Machiavellian "the ends justify the means" line of thinking. To Harris, the important end is that the "big fish" drug dealers are put behind bars (however, it seems he simply gives it lip service). In the course of his duties, he deems it appropriate to use aggressive measures or to take portions of the drug money because it helps him to continue a good relationship with his informants.

The movie appears to be overly cynical in this respect, because it leads one to believe that there are very few police officers who are truly fighting crime. If this were true, no one in the country would be able to live in safety.

While it would be easy to write this off as a typical corrupt cop story coming out of leftist Hollywood, it could have some re-

deeming value in reflecting America's drug policy. By putting so much emphasis on the undercover work of narcotics agents, it would not be difficult to imagine how corruption could occur.

It would also not be difficult to see how officers may justify some of their actions by saying they are fighting for a greater good, even if they were not as crooked as those portrayed in the film.

The movie prompts the question "Is this the best way to fight drug use?" After spending so much money on enforcement programs and having little results in inner cities and America as a whole, why do we continue to put so much faith in the current methods of the drug war?

It could be that without these programs drug use would be even higher, though that is hard to imagine. It could also be that this movie in no way reflects reality, though some aspects do not seem so farfetched.

There is nothing like a blockbuster movie to bring issues to the forefront of pop culture. Often their arguments are flimsy and slanted, but in some cases, it is good to bring things out into open discussion.

Perhaps the recent barrage of drug policy movies will cause us to reassess the effectiveness of our strategies instead of blindly throwing more money at the problem. CJ

Book Reviews

Recommended Reading on Islam, the Middle East, and Afghanistan

By JOHN HOOD

Publisher

RALEIGH

Back about 10 years ago, before marriage, children, and a pathetic lawn that screamed “help” on a weekly basis, I embarked on an extensive yearlong reading program about Middle Eastern and Asian history. I wish I could say I did so in order to inform my vote for president, or to gain some empathic understanding of the impoverished denizens of the Muslim World, but the fact was that I was heavily into miniature wargaming at the time and looked at my crash course as a way of learning which wars and periods to play and which lead soldiers to paint.

I know, I know. Sounds a bit odd. Let me remind you that I was unmarried and childless at the time, so my wargaming hobby helped to pass the time (and gave me invaluable experience in cleaning up messes, which obviously comes in handy now).

The good news is that my heavy investment in learning the names of the successors of Muhammad, the doctrinal splits in 10th and 11th Century Islam, the most important cities of Central Asia (don’t snicker), and the names of various somewhat interchangeable Turkish tribes has finally paid off. I now know about 25 percent of what I probably need to know to really understand what’s happening in the war, which is better than many of my acquaintances can claim.

Being a generous soul, however, I have decide to share my hard-won knowledge with the readers of *Carolina Journal*. Buy and read the following books and you, too, can distinguish between the Druze and the Ismailis, between Sunni and Shi’a, and between Uzbek and Uighur.

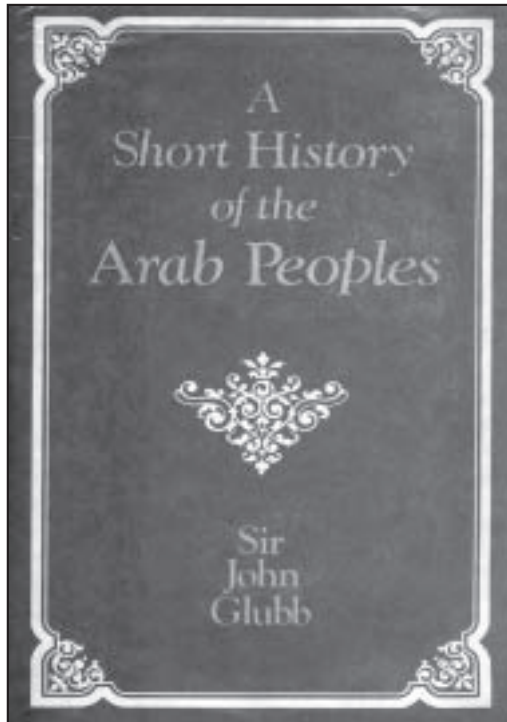
Still with me?

Let’s begin with the shortest, most readable, and most accessible of my recommendations. Sir John Glubb’s *A Short History of the Arab Peoples* (Dorsett Press) was first published in 1969 and remains one of the best introductions to the history and culture of the Middle East you can find. Glubb is a delightful writer who knows his subject well — and personally. For those who don’t recognize the name, Glubb was a British army officer who helped to organize, train, and lead the Arab Legion during World War II against the Nazis and their Arab and Vichy French puppets in Iraq and Syria, respectively.

Glubb continued to command the Arab Legion when it became the national army of the new independent state of Jordan, and was thus (as a Brit serving the Hashemite Emir Abdullah.) the leader of the Jordanian army as it participated in the First Arab-Israeli War of 1947-48. It was the newly renamed Royal Jordanian Army that acquitted itself with the least embarrassment during the war (helping along by a tacit agreement with the Israelis that allowed Jordan to capture the Palestinian-dominated West Bank but to go no farther toward Israeli population centers).

What Is An Arab?

Glubb, then, knew his subject, and had the military man’s grasp of strategy and tactics as well as an admirable bluntness. Indeed, he begins *A Short History* with an essay challenging the entire notion of “Arabs” as a meaningful ethnic category — pointing out that, until modern times, the term retained its original function of describing only those living in or originating in the Arabian Peninsula itself. In Arabic, the word actually referred to “a group of



tents,” thus underlying its original description of the nomadic Bedouin. So Glubb resists the use of the term to describe practically anyone speaking the Arabic language, and provides a brief but entertaining delineation of the various “Arab peoples.”

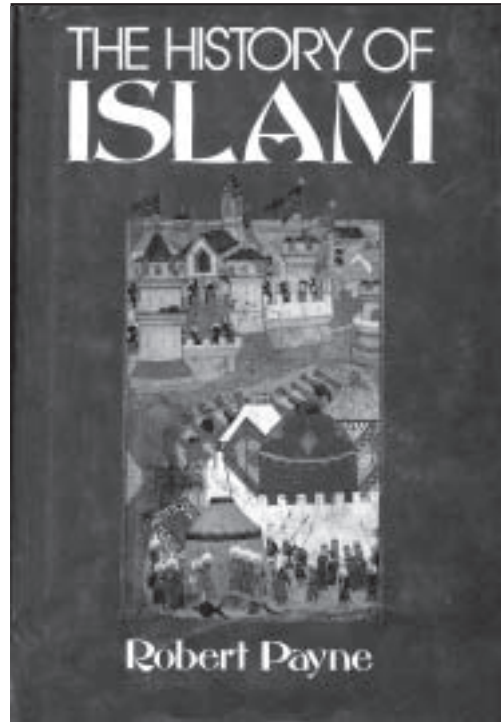
Central Arabians, for example, include the Jordanians and peninsular Arabs Glubb knew best. They are of a “practical, realist turn of mind, ready to strike a bargain or compromise, hardy, enterprising, and courageous.” On the other hand, their fractious nature leads to “jealous rivalries, to an extreme sensitivity on what they consider to be personal honor, and to a certain lack of communal loyalty and public spirit.”

Syrians and Palestinians, on the other hand, are quite a different people. While the Saudis have never really been conquered by a foreign power, the Fertile Crescent has been the highway of conquerors since the days of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Glubb writes that they more resemble Greeks than Arabs in their intellectual inclinations, and were thus impracticable and incapable of compromise. Here’s a delicious passage:

[To Syrians] a proposition is [either] correct or erroneous. More practical minds accept the statement that half a loaf is better than no bread, but not so the intellectual. Syrians who migrate achieve honors and distinctions in every country but at home their subtlety often lacks realism. They are socially charming, extremely courteous, and the heirs of thousands of years of culture. The Syrians are thus not only racially unrelated to the Arabians but, in many ways, their opposites.

Iraqis, in Glubb’s words, are a mixture of “many races” and are of a “stronger and coarser strain” than Syrians. Egyptians, most living in dense and humid urban clusters along the Nile, differ from the other Arab peoples in their submission to authority. Always the field general, Glubb observed that they can “fight stubbornly in a static and defensive position but rarely display enough enterprise for moving warfare.”

This should give you a sense of Glubb’s narrative. It exhibits a tendency toward oversimplification, of course, but also provides many insights that have the strong ring of truth. The Arab world’s treatment of the Palestinian question, for example, makes a lot more sense if you ponder the cultural differences in the region. Read Glubb for an



overview of the region, for a meticulous blow-by-blow account of Arab conquests and internal wars, and to keep track of the bewildering array of successions and regimes that characterized the Islamic world from the 7th Century until the 19th.

The Faith Behind the Empire

But to understand the religion that motivated the Islamic conquests, I would recommend Robert Payne’s *The History of Islam*, also published by Dorsett Press under the original name *The Holy Sword*. Payne is a meticulous scholar who tells the political and military history of the region but reserves his passion for the theology and poetry of the Koran.

The original title of the book comes from a famous saying of Jalalu’l-Din Rumi, the 13th Century Sufi poet and religious teacher who introduced the “whirling dervishes” — believers who worshipped God by wheeling in circles corresponding to the orbits of the heavenly bodies at a pace so dizzy that the dancers lost consciousness and came to believe they were in the presence of God. Payne leads off the book with Jalalu’l-Din Rumi’s observation that “the moment of mystery is as the flashing of a sword in the air” — exhibiting not only the mystical side of Islam but also its unmistakable theme of violence and conquest. Among the Sufis and other thinkers of medieval Islam, of course, the religion became one of peace. Its more martial aspects were reinterpreted as calls to spiritual warfare, not earthly violence.

But as we all know, this reorientation wasn’t completely or even mostly successful. To this day, the more fundamentalist sects of Islam — the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia, for example, and their bastard children among the Taliban — see the Sufi tradition as blasphemous and dangerous. Interestingly, the Muslim groups in the United States who most support our current war effort and view Islamic fascism with the greatest dread — such as the Islamic Supreme Council of the United States — are heavily influenced by the Sufi tradition that Payne so well describes in his book.

Of course, to know the history of Islam — its brilliance and its decadence — is to

take you only so far on the road to understanding the current conflict. In Central and South Asia, where the war has so far been contained, Arabs are at best interlopers and at worst foreign tyrants who finance and command extremist movements among groups of Turkish, Iranian, and Indian extraction. Who are these people and where did they come from?

Stuart Legg’s marvelous *The Barbarians of Asia*, once again from the Dorsett Press, offers some answers. His purview is the great Eurasian land mass that stretches from Manchuria to the borders of Europe, from which a seemingly endless series of conquerors issued through most of history. Read Legg and you will know the difference between the Huns and the White Huns, between the Seljuk Turks and their longer-lived Ottoman successors, and between the Mongols of Ghengis Khan and the Mughals of Babur. And you’ll have some sense of why these so-called “barbarians” have proven to be some of the most successful conquerors — and rulers — of history.

The Origins of the Conflict

Finally, despite all the best efforts of all the politicians and journalists to deny it, the current crisis cannot be understood outside the pivotal and seemingly unbridgeable gap between Israel and its Arab enemies. Benny Morris’ *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*, is the most comprehensive and balanced account of the situation I have been able to find. Although Morris is an Israeli and a professor of history at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, he goes to great lengths to provide all sides of this complex story, although his attempts to do so are hampered by a lack of source material on the Palestinian side as compared to the copious historical documents available from the early Zionist movement and the Israeli state.

Morris delves deep and leaves few pretensions unchallenged.

The intellectual Syrians are thus not only racially unrelated to the individualistic Arabians but, in many ways, their opposites.

He quotes David Ben-Gurion and other Zionist leaders on the subject of the eventual aims of the movement, leaving no doubt that the goal of most (but not all) of the early Zionists was the conquest of the region and the creation of an officially Jewish state — through peaceable immigration and land purchases if possible, but through force if necessary. Few actors in the drama escape unscathed from the relentless search for truth that Morris exhibits.

Righteous Victims, though, is also an excellent military account of the Arab-Israeli Wars. Through the use of maps, orders of battle, and documentary evidence, Morris reconstructs these campaigns in a way that is simultaneously complete but not overwhelming.

There are a number of recent works on the Taliban, the Iran-Iraq War, the Indian-Pakistani Wars over Kashmir, and the growing international movement of fundamentalists that experts are now calling the “Islamists.” I haven’t read them yet and so I can’t make any recommendations. As soon as I can get the kids to bed and finish the fall planting season, maybe I’ll get a chance to catch up. If so, I’ll let you know. CJ

Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation and the author of *Investor Politics*, just out from Templeton Press (TempletonPress.org).

Editorials

No Coddling

Social promotion should be a crime

We toil under the assumption that our children go to public school to get an education. To determine whether this is so, tests are taken and scores computed to measure the degree to which students have acquired the knowledge and skills expected of them. When we fail to design and utilize such tools properly, we are generally left with two options. We can redesign tests so they give us a true measure of the students' level of development and retest the children. Or we can ignore the problem and simply pass students along to the next grade level hoping that, somehow, things will shake out.

Sadly, North Carolina does more of the latter than is healthy for our state or the children who attend its public schools. With the full knowledge and cooperation of public school officials and the N.C. Department of Public Instruction we are promoting students to the sixth grade who don't have fifth-grade math skills.

One reason for this is that starting this year in the fifth grade the use of test scores in promotion decisions became mandatory for every school system in the state. Next year, this provision will also apply to the third and eighth grades.

When preliminary math test scores were released in late May, we learned that the Department of Public Instruction used what officials knew to be flawed math tests for fifth-graders. As the *News & Record* of Greensboro reported at the time, schools throughout the Piedmont Triad area reported unbelievably high passage rates for students on the new "Gateway" math tests.

In fact, students taking the End of Grade test were required to answer only 28 percent of the questions correctly. The *News & Record* also reported that, while 15 to 25 percent of kids were expected to fail this test, in some schools the "passing" rate was up to 98 or 100 percent. The comparable "passing" rate for the previous year was far lower.

By way of example, in Forsyth County 91 percent of fifth-graders passed the Gateway math performance exam. Surry County reported a 99.6 percent success rate, while Wilkes County came in at 98 percent. Indeed, Supt. Don Martin said that "some schools had no child fail a test." What's more, the vast majority of fifth-graders failing their tests this year were promoted anyway.

In and of themselves, these numbers should have all North Carolinians screaming from the rooftops. When we set testing standards so low that a child can "succeed" with a score that could be arrived at through simple random chance, we are lying to them about what it means to succeed and we are laying the groundwork for rampant social pathologies.

Having noted these sad facts, we must remember exactly why compulsory public education has become the rule rather than the exception in the United States and North Carolina in particular. While there were certainly those who had, shall we say, charitable intentions the

origins of American public education were deeply paternalistic.

One signer of the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Rush, observed that "society owes a great deal of its order and happiness to deficiencies of parental government being supplied by those habits of obedience and subordination which are contracted at schools. Let our pupil be taught that he does not belong to himself, but that he is public property."

North Carolina's own Archibald D. Murphey, founder of the Old North State's public schools, proclaimed that "the children's parents know not how to instruct them... the state, in the warmth of her affection and solicitude for their welfare, must take charge of those children and place them in school where their minds can be enlightened and their hearts trained to virtue."

Does it enlighten children when we fail to teach them? Does a sense of virtue blossom when they are rewarded for failure? Are we doing ourselves any favors by engaging in social promotion so that, for this day at least, bureaucrats can pretend to be succeeding at their jobs by simply juggling numbers?

How does one measure true achievement in educational instruction? How does one promote excellence in the minds of growing children? How does one encourage the inquisitiveness of a flowering mind and marry it to the required technical expertise to utilize its talents? One does so through maintaining high standards, demanding strict accountability, and rewarding innovation, achievement, and success.

The Aristotelian ideal of a properly educated person, an ideal upon which Western civilization fashioned the notion of a "liberal" education, has long since crashed against the rocks of modernity even as the notion of Renaissance man, a term often applied to one who could do many things well, has faded. It has become widely accepted for one to become very good at one thing.

But to get there from here even, one must know the basics. There is no substitute for mastering reading, writing, and arithmetic. Social promotion is a form of child abuse and it should end right now.

Go Away! Now!!

General Assembly breaks session records

As we write in early November, the General Assembly remains in session on Jones Street, thus breaking a 30-year-old record for the length of a legislative session in both calendar days and legislative days. So far, from January through early October this gab-fest cost the taxpayers \$31.9 million, which will probably go up by another cool million. At \$120,000 a day for when the legislature is in session — and \$55,000 when legislators are not in town — the lawmakers have been in session for 281 calendar days at this writing. And they're still not done.

They have beaten the old modern-day record by 24 percent and they chug along playing games with redis-

tricting, Easley pines endlessly for some action on his favorite state-sponsored gambling enterprise — a lottery — and all of this legerdemain and languor goes on and on like a gaseous balloon with more effluvium than an elephant with botulism.

Senate President Pro Tem Marc Basnight, Democrat of Manteo, has asked the House to approve a Senate-passed session limit of 135 days in those odd-numbered years when the General Assembly is supposed to pass North Carolina's biennial budgets. If the House actually were to vote in favor of the measure, it would require approval by the voters too because it would mean amending the state constitution. This would at least be a start. But we have a better idea, actually several.

It's obvious the honorables require a measure of discipline they are unable to enforce upon themselves. Even 135 days is too long for a long session. Virginia, comparable in many ways to North Carolina, uses a sensible approach of 60 days for long sessions and 30 for short sessions. That sounds pretty reasonable. But this approach suggests the need for additional measures to enhance our legislature's efficiency.

Each member should be limited to introducing only three bills per session. This would alleviate the bum's rush, given often poorly drafted and rarely read bills that are plowed through with little real deliberation at the closing of a session.

We should have greater use of the Internet to enable legislators a live feed into the respective chambers and committee rooms. This would save both time and money, and the state's citizens could view the proceedings on a C-SPAN-type channel with excerpts broadcast on cable access.

Two final reforms would go a long way in making the Assembly more efficient and responsive. Both House and Senate majority and minority caucuses should be assigned significant numbers of support staff. Also, legislators' pay should be adjusted by shifting them to an hourly compensation package. Indeed, the best way to pay lawmakers better is not to increase spending but to reduce the hours they spend on the job.

Not surprisingly, we have said all this before. It would be nice to think that the disgust over the length of this year's session — combined with its less-than-sterling record on the state budget — would jumpstart efforts to reform the legislature. But we are not starry-eyed optimists on the matter. The status quo is almost always difficult to change and with North Carolinians not-too-surprisingly paying so much attention to the war they are not easily distracted by the bloated chirps and mumblings of politicians in Raleigh. And those of us who must pay attention to the acts of the Assembly as both a matter of professional and private interest are rather disgusted by the whole sorry spectacle.

We have come a long way from the Concessions and Agreement of 1665, which stipulated that 12 men would be chosen each year to work with the governor and council as the territory's first form of representative government. It was revised about 30 years later to make the legislature a bicameral body. In 1710 the first royally appointed governor of North Carolina, independent of the governor of the unified Carolina territory, and its first legislature met in 1711, a body made up of what Anglican missionary John Urmston said were "most anythingarians."

His point was that they were possessive, and highly so, of their power and did not fail to outlaw sedition for criticism against the crown and perhaps feeling their oats, flexed their muscles against the appointed governor, Edward Hyde, whose commission was not formally issued until January 1712. Until then he was the "deputy governor" of North Carolina faced with an ornery legislature.

A rambunctious legislature and a weak governor. Sound familiar? While North Carolina's governor does now have veto power, there still remains a latent distaste among our populace for the centralization of power. As a practical matter, it is doubtful that the current crowd would pass a state sedition act. On the other hand, the state legislature, often with the connivance of the governor, slips its covetous hands into a lot of matters over which it has either questionable or nonexistent authority. Its ability to tax, and spend, and regulate is the key to this use and misuse of power.

Thus it is that the potentates on Jones Street dawdle about for almost a year with little to show for it other than that they have seized more of our money and wasted a lot of time. They should wrap up the lawfully required tidbits remaining, get a session limits measure passed, and simply get of town. For the hard-working folks of North Carolina the only better alternative is a massive tax cut. Such as it is, we must settle for what we can get.

Fatherless Kids

N.C. losing battle against illegitimacy

Throughout *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote eloquently of a central American dilemma: How can we successfully balance the often incompatible principles of liberty and equality? How can we promote necessary concepts of virtue without compromising liberty?

These questions go to the heart of some of America's most intractable problems, among them the pandemic of illegitimate births. North Carolina faces a rising crisis of children being born and reared in the absence of a full-time father. Sometimes there simply is no father to be found. Often, mothers shut the fathers out of the picture.

In this regard, the 1990s were not a good era for North Carolina. Nineteen percent of white babies were born to unwed mothers. Ten years ago it was 14 percent. Among Hispanics, the rate of such births has almost doubled since 1990. Among blacks, two-thirds of all babies are born to single mothers. For all races, from 1992 to 1996 out-of-wedlock births increased by 7 percent and from 1997 through 2000 they went up by 10 percent. The North Carolina Center for Health Statistics notes that in 2000 alone more than one-third of all children born in North Carolina were born to unwed mothers.

There is a lot of misery behind these numbers. There are certainly situations in which single-parenting is unavoidable and, under the proper conditions, it can succeed. But it is also true that the correlation of single motherhood to poverty is both confirmed and accepted. It was, in fact, due in large measure to that fact that the U.S. Congress passed welfare reform in 1996. North Carolina spends \$1.6 million in federal funds every year in an attempt to squelch the rise in out-of-wedlock births. This to little avail. Why?

While the policy reforms of the late 1990s were intended to promote two-parent families and discourage the alternative, there would appear to be several overlapping trends that may explain the disconnect.

Initially, as they slip off the welfare rolls, the working poor, specifically, single mothers, still receive child-care and housing assistance. By providing cash benefits to unmarried mothers who do not work or who acquire and retain low-wage jobs, public aid tends to promote dependency, personal irresponsibility, indolence, and illegitimate births.

But other forces are at work too. According to the state Division of Public Health, the birthrate among unwed teenagers has dropped by 27 percent since 1990. To the extent then that we retain a problem with illegitimate motherhood, the data are inflated by an increase in out-of-wedlock births among Hispanic and unmarried white women. In fact, North Carolina now has the highest rate of Hispanic teen pregnancy in the nation. Part of this may be cultural, and part of it is surely due to the explosion in North Carolina's Hispanic population.

Finally, society no longer attaches a real stigma to those who choose to give birth without the sanctity of marriage, perhaps because they are "liberated" or, in the words of one single mom, a Work First participant, "I wanted kids and that's what I got...Who needs a man?"

Well, children do. So long as we reward irresponsibility, sloth, and a lack of moral clarity, we will produce illegitimate children. There are innovative ways to address the problems that arise from the welfare culture, many of which we have promoted in the past.

In his Farewell Address, George Washington observed that "'tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government." Hard work, thrift, responsibility, and accountability may be old-fashioned values. But in some way we are failing ourselves and generations of children by trying to shield people from the consequences of their actions.

Bullish Fun

Or Raleigh wannabees

Humorist Finley Peter Dunne, better known as "Mr Dooley," once dryly observed that "th' govmint gives us too little amusemint nowadays." While Dunne's interest at the time was in the promotion of public flogging, which is perhaps not a bad idea for certain ne'er-do-wells, it seems that people in Durham are uniquely and singularly barren of the ability to amuse themselves. But let us be clear: This somber analysis comes not from any supposition on our part. No sir. This is simply the wit and wisdom of one of Durham's own civic leaders, Coun-

cilman Floyd McKissick, Jr.

McKissick and other city, county, and state politicians want to increase Durham County's hotel occupancy tax to pay for a downtown theater complex, with some proceeds out of the first \$2.05 million for the Durham Convention and Visitors Bureau, \$500,000 for small arts organizations, and some extra funds for the Museum of Life and Science. Even with the tax increase, the anticipated theater would face a debt of \$1.2 million to \$1.4 million per year. How to pay for the shortfall?

State Rep. Paul Miller said that "if they go into the general fund, they are saying the theater is a higher priority than fire, police, the planning department, things like that."

While we wouldn't rank the planning department of any government with the heroic work of firefighters and police officers, Miller makes a good point. When the shortfall arrives — which it will if the theater idea comes to fruition — there will be calls for a tax increase. Count on it. And the council mavens will resurrect the recently torpedoed idea of a new tax on prepared meals.

Boosters of the plan also want the theater to be the new home for the American Dance Festival. At a price of \$30 million, with a large stage, and seating for 5,000 they

hope the complex would fill what they perceive as a gap in capacity between facilities such as Raleigh's Memorial Auditorium and the Entertainment and Sports Arena. They are even more hopeful that, combined with the planned development of the old America tobacco factory by Capitol Broadcasting, a new theater would bring people to downtown shops and restaurants to renourish Durham's urban core. At the same time, hoteliers are opposed to the measure because they argue that the crowds who come will not be those likely to rent a hotel room.

We raise again the point that if a new theater in downtown Durham is a viable and desired facility, market demand would make the project a reality. And whether or not the effort were to have the promised impact — and that is a big if — why should the hotel industry and its clientele be singled out to fill the bill? In other words, if the market is there, the theater will come.

In essence, McKissick's argument is that "they offer entertainment in Raleigh. Why not Durham?" Of course, if that's all they want they can *have* the General Assembly as far as we're concerned. There's entertainment aplenty to be found there, morbid as it may be. Now if we were to just throw in a public flogging now and then...oh, well. *CJ*

More Free Speech Confusion

As American forces combat Islamic fascists abroad — and law enforcement and public health authorities combat bioterrorism at home — there remains a third front in this new war, one evident right here in North Carolina. It's not a military struggle, or a medical one. It is an ideological struggle.

In a previous column in *Carolina Journal*, I wrote about a series of antiwar "teach-ins" and demonstrations on North Carolina college and university campuses. I argued not only that those opposing the war were mistaken, but that their use of taxpayer resources to promulgate their message was inappropriate.

I took UNC-Chapel Hill Chancellor James Moeser and others to task for failing to act to distance themselves and university departments from these events.

But my central point was that antiwar protesters were shamelessly invoking charges of "censorship" and "McCarthyism" to defend themselves against an outpouring of criticism from current and former university students, public officials, and taxpayers. Their *trendismo* is misplaced. The notion that the right to dissent is at stake in North Carolina and the nation as a whole is absurd, the claims of would-be martyrs notwithstanding.

On the Precise Meaning of Terms

Since writing the piece, I have received a lot of feedback — and some scathing criticism — from readers. The most depressing thing about the past few weeks, however, is the recurrent idea that one's "freedom of speech" is being violated when one receives tough scrutiny for the ideas being expressed or when one is not given a taxpayer-funded rostrum from which to speak.

Words must have precise meanings if we are to use them to communicate effectively with each other. When we talk about the right to freedom of speech, we can't possibly mean the right to say anything to anybody anywhere you want.

My four-year-old doesn't have the freedom of speech to talk back to me when I tell him to change his clothes. I don't have the right to enter your home and scream at the top of my lungs. You don't have the right to enter my home and sing Peter, Paul, and Mary songs at the top of your lungs, believe you me.

And, famously, you don't have the right to yell "fire!" in a crowded theater — although, in reality, you don't even have the right to yell "fire!" in an empty theater unless the owner of the theater gives you permission to do so.

Free speech is incomprehensible outside of some system of property rights. Indeed, properly understood, freedom of speech is merely an extension of the right all of us have to obtain property — be it a

plot of land, a house, a car, or our knowledge — and then to put it to whatever use we want as long as it doesn't involve violence or theft and doesn't reduce another's right to do the same.

Defining Freedom of Speech

On private property, then, what freedom of speech means is that the government has no right to tell you whether you can hold an antiwar rally, or publish a newspaper, or create a web site. Difficulties arise only when the resources consumed by the speech aren't privately owned. Does a Nazi have the right to parade down a city street? Does a communist have the right to a taxpayer subsidy for his propaganda?

More to the point, do the kooks who have organized events against the war in North Carolina have the right to use taxpayer resources to spread their hateful messages — on the moral equivalence of America and Nazi Germany, for example, or the equating of Islamic fundamentalists who kill innocent people with Christian fundamentalists who oppose abortion?

Admittedly, the use of public spaces to air offensive speech is a problematic issue. You can't simply ban all political speech from the public square, nor can you create legal rules that without bias distinguish between extreme and mainstream views.

On the other hand, it would seem to be the height of injustice to force people to pay for the propagation of ideas or images they find abhorrent, be it fascist hate speech or pornographic "art."

At a taxpayer-funded university, the only rule that makes sense is for the institution to be, as much as possible, a neutral forum. Allow the serious pacifists — and the not-so-serious left-wing hangers-on whose hatred of American capitalism far outweighs their commitment to nonviolence — to speak on campus. But don't use university resources to sponsor or promote these events. And don't try to shield speakers, be they students or university employees or others, from the strong criticism they are likely to receive.

Freedom of speech doesn't mean a lack of responsibility. If you equate America with the Nazis, or unintended civilian deaths in Afghanistan with the victims of September 11, I get to call you the nitwit or the villain you are. That's freedom of speech, too. *CJ*

Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation and author of *Investor Politics: The New Force That Will Transform American Business, Government, and Politics in the 21st Century, just out from Templeton Foundation Press (www.TempletonPress.org).*

Editorial Briefs

Peaceniks in a Pickle

Duke University graduate student Matt Robinson inadvertently gave the game away. In an article on North Carolina's campus-based peace movement in a recent issue of *Spectator* magazine, Robinson — who has helped to organize teach-ins against the war in Afghanistan — commented on the somewhat incoherent goals of the protesters.

"There's a criticism made that there's not a clear message, and there isn't really a clear message right now except ending the cycle of violence," he told *Spectator* writer Tom Acitelli. "The alacrity with which we jumped into military preparations to go against this small group of people in this tiny wasteland of a country says a lot about how we solve our problems, period."

We are sure that Mr. Robinson (and Mr. Acitelli, as well) meant this quote to represent the peace movement's passionate commitment to peace and justice. What it really reflects is ignorance and immaturity, terms that more accurately describe the persons and arguments involved.

Anti-war activists say that they are being marginalized, that the speed with which America went to war betrayed a lack of serious consideration of alternatives. But these are the typical complaints of fringe movements. Like the Gnostics of old, only they can recognize the secret knowledge that the rest of the world can't grasp. If their viewpoint is not broadly accepted, then it is not being communicated well enough, or is being subverted by powerful forces.

This is a comforting ideology, and a tidy bit of circular reasoning. But it hardly becomes those who, as members of a university community, are supposed to be devoted to the pursuit of truth. Sometimes, an idea is broadly and quickly accepted because it is so obviously true. The only conspiracy is the one driving most of us to accept reality rather than railing against it or pretending it doesn't exist.

There is a reason why the vast majority of Americans — liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, blacks and whites, Hispanics and Asians, Christians and Muslims, men and women — support military action in the wake of 9/11. It isn't jingoism, or simple revenge, or the mindless perpetuation of a "cycle of violence." It is the unfortunate but unavoidable conclusion that no reasonable alternative exists. Thousands of Americans and other nationals are dead. Many thousands more have died at the hands of Islamist extremists in Asia and Africa. To strike now is to save future lives, perhaps numbering in the millions given the possibility of bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, or similar villains employing weapons of mass destruction.

Fascists who exhibit the will to power and the unquenchable desire to warp reality to fit their hateful ideologies cannot be negotiated with. They cannot be won over with flowers and songs. They cannot be bribed, or satisfied with compromise. They must be cowed or killed.

Look closely at the statement quoted earlier from Mr. Robinson. He suggested that our military engagement in Afghanistan was typical of the way we resolve international disagreements, which is demonstrably untrue. He referred to the enemy as "a small group of people in this tiny wasteland of a country," apparently a reference to the tens of thousands of Taliban soldiers and terrorists holed up in a Central Asian country the size of Texas. Unfortunately, he and so many like him exhibit little real knowledge about the issue he purports to champion.

As Acitelli reveals later in the story, much of the energy to be found in the new anti-war movement comes from those already protesting such trendy issues as international trade agreements and Nike sweatshop contracts.

Our recommendation to the peaceniks may sound dismissive, but it is heartfelt. The students need to go back to class, and maybe crack a book now and then at their schools' well-stocked libraries. Their elders, the tenured radicals and professional activists and the like, should volunteer to go over to Afghanistan, unarmed, hike into the mountains, and "dialogue" with the misunderstood and downtrodden thugs who torture, rape, and kill their fellow countrymen. Maybe they can persuade the Taliban to join the Nike boycott. CJ

Can U.S. Spend Us Out of Recession?

By MICHAEL L. WALDEN

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH

There have been several changes in our country since Sept. 11. One change that transcends the political and economic worlds is a consensus that the federal government must now come to the rescue of the economy with a new round of spending.

An overwhelmingly majority of economists and business analysts concluded the economy slipped into a recession after the shock of Sept. 11. This motivated politicians of both major parties to call for a new federal fiscal stimulus to revive the ailing economy. Supporters said the new federal spending would do for today's economy what war spending did for the Depression-era economy 60 years ago. In short, advocates say more federal spending is the "shot in the arm" the economy needs.

But is it? Is federal spending the magic potion that can end a recession? Although the recommendation of more federal spending has gone virtually unchallenged in the mainstream press, let's go behind the headlines and spin to analyze this popular policy recommendation.

Origins of the Prescription

The idea of the federal government using its spending power to boost the economy was popularized by British economist John Maynard Keynes. Keynes published his ideas during the worldwide Depression of the 1930s. It was a break with the conventional wisdom that macroeconomic downturns were self-correcting. Keynes saw the government as an active player in the macroeconomy rather than a passive observer.

Keynes divided the economy into three parts: consumers, businesses, and government. During a recession, consumer and business spending (in inflation-adjusted terms) falls. The drop in spending leads to rising unemployment, lower confidence, increased bankruptcies, and further reductions in spending. A virtual vicious cycle is established.

Keynes reasoned that government could break the cycle by cutting taxes, thereby giving consumers and businesses more spending power, and increasing government spending. However, many "Keynesians" favor government spending because they think consumers and businesses won't spend the tax cuts in a depressed economy.

The Keynesian doctrine became the accepted prescription by the 1960s, culminating in the famous statement by President Nixon, "We are all Keynesians now." Even President Bush has spoken positively of Keynesian policy in arguing for a fiscal stimulus to the current economy.

Cracks in the Armor

Although politicians and the press appear to be on the Keynesian bandwagon now, many economists certainly are not. In fact, a strong argument can be made that, except in very special circumstances, Keynesian policy just flat won't work!

The criticisms of Keynesian policy involve four components: timing, permanency, supplanting, and productivity.

Timing typically is a problem with Keynesian policy because it often takes considerable time for agreement to be reached among the 535 members of Congress and the president over the components of the fiscal stimulus. Arguments develop over the size of the stimulus, how long it will last, specific taxes to reduce, and specific new spending projects. We are already seeing these arguments in today's debate about a federal fiscal boost.

The problem with these debates is they can last so long that, by the time the fiscal stimulus package is passed and implemented, the need for it is past. Since World War II, the average recession has lasted 11 months. It is entirely conceivable that the debate and implementation of a fiscal stimulus can meet or exceed 11 months. What this means is, rather than a fiscal stimulus being used to fight a recession, the spending jolt will simply be added to an existing economic recovery. This runs the risk of over-stimulating the economy, which can lead to higher inflation and interest rates.

Economic agents — consumers and businesses — are most likely to change their behavior if the fiscal stimulus is viewed as permanent rather than temporary. However, Keynes' policies were meant to be temporary, lasting only as long as the economy was in a recession. In fact, Keynes recommended an almost constant tinkering with tax rates and government spending to adjust the economy to the preferred path. Curiously, this ever-present tinkering works against the very goal — a smoothly growing economy — Keynes desired.

Implicit in Keynesian theory is the notion of idle resources. Government spending is supposed to put idle resources to work to create economic progress.

Yet most resources in the economy always have alternative uses. Thus, if government spending is increased through increased government borrowing, resources are simply shifted from private uses to public uses. The economic term for this is "crowding out." Public spending crowds out, or supplants, private spending. But total spending in the economy is not changed.

There is, however, one way government can appear to create resources, at least in the short-run. Increased government spending can be financed by the Federal Reserve simply printing more money (technically, the Federal Reserve would use new money to buy government bonds). Yet we ultimately pay for this "money growing on trees" policy with a devalued dollar caused by faster inflation.

Last, any government fiscal stimulus package likely leads to less productive use of resources. Once resources are put in the hands of politicians, there is no assurance those resources will be put to their highest and best use. Political rather than economic considerations will get top billing. Politicians will use the billions of new spending as funding for their pet projects. Yet all spending is not created equal. Spending on productive activities enhances economic growth; spending on nonproductive activities depresses it. CJ

Walden is a William Neal Reynolds Distinguished Professor of Agricultural and Resource Economics at North Carolina State University and an adjunct scholar with the Locke Foundation.

All good teachers don't come from education schools

Teach for America Embarrasses Education Establishment

By **GEORGE C. LEEF**
Contributing Editor

The education establishment has worked long and hard to instill in Americans the notion that the only way to ensure that children are taught well is to put them in classrooms with a "professional" teacher. To the educationistas, professional means someone who has earned a degree from a school of education and is licensed by the state. In their view, it is something just short of child abuse to allow children to be taught by people who haven't been through their training regimen.

A recently published study provides scientific support for what critics of the education establishment have long known to be true: Someone can be a good teacher without having gone through the education school mill. The education establishment's "professionalism" argument now lies in tatters. Three scholars at CREDO, a research group based at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, examined the results of Houston's five years of experience with teachers it employed who didn't have those professional teaching credentials, but who had come through the Teach for America program. Teach For America was founded in 1990 with the objective of putting into classrooms liberal arts graduates — that is, people who studied English or history or some other discipline rather than majoring in "education." After a summer training session in classroom management, lesson planning, student assessment and other facets of teaching, plus several weeks of actual teaching, these liberal arts graduates are ready to face the kids. Their teaching assignments aren't cream puffs — TFA teachers go into challenging inner-city schools, agreeing to serve for at least two years.

Naturally, TFA was booed by the education establishment, which likes threats to its control over the production of teachers just as much as the Postal Service likes FedEx. Stanford education professor Linda Darling-Hammond, for example, whined that "What TFA says is that society should not try to make good on its promise to African-American and Latino students that they deserve teachers who are as qualified as those that teach elsewhere." The TFA teachers aren't qualified in her sense, but the right question to ask is not what credentials they have, but whether they do a good job.

That's what the CREDO team sought to find out. Their conclusion: "The evaluation shows that TFA is a viable and valuable source of teachers and that they perform as well as, and in many cases better than other teachers hired by the district. The evaluation results demonstrate that different approaches to teacher preparation can produce effective results." Based on measured student achievement, TFA

teachers performed at least as well as the "professional" teachers with all their education school courses.

But that finding comes as no surprise to observers of American education who don't have a vested interest in the status quo. Professional training as advocated by the education experts has failed the test of the market for years. Most private schools can choose teachers with or without state licenses. If having all that education school training really made one a better teacher, presumably such teachers would be strongly favored, since poor teaching can drive away paying customers. What researchers such as Caroline Hoxby of Harvard have found is that having those professional education credentials are, if anything, disfavored by private school decision-makers. She writes that, "Schools that face tougher competition have more demand for teachers who attended well-regarded colleges, majored in subject areas (especially in math and science) and who put in more effort and show more independence... In general, they have less demand for certification and master's degrees."

Avoiding Education School Grads

Even some public school administrators say that they try to avoid hiring applicants with degrees from education schools. Nancy Ichinaga is the principal of the Bennett-Kew elementary school in Inglewood, Calif., where most of the students are minority and come from low-income families. She regards the education school emphasis on how rather than what to teach as detrimental. Interviewed by Lance Izumi and Gwynne Coburn of the Pacific Research Institute in their study "Facing the Classroom Challenge," she said:

"Cognitive learning, collaborative learning, clinical instruction, they're all about "how." They're not about "what." Until you get a clear idea of what it is you have to teach, the how doesn't make any sense, it just floats away. So teachers use these different techniques, but they really don't have an objective. Their objective would be to get kids to work cooperatively. They're not academic.

That is the major problem with teacher education.

It would be bad enough if education schools merely propounded the constructivist line, but many have also adopted the view that schools must be used to reshape society to fit a particular ideology. In a study commissioned by the Colorado Commission on Higher Education last year, Penn State University Professor David Saxe said, "A primary aim of current pedagogy is to shape and

change the way children (and citizens) think about race, gender, sexual orientation, and the environment, among other connected ideas." When he studied the curriculum at four major education schools in that state, he found that three (and especially the University of Colorado) were saturated with courses that he characterized as "strident indoctrination" of students. If you have kids who can't tread or write worth a darn, but are eager to hector adults on the

moral imperative of recycling or other causes, you can bet they've been taught by a teacher committed to the "social justice" theory of schooling.

It's also worth noting that in Japan, Taiwan, and other countries where students perform better than Americans on standardized tests, teachers don't attend education schools. They earn degrees in academic disciplines first, then if they pass a rigorous exam, may be admitted

into the teaching profession where they will spend years under the wing of an experienced teacher.

The study of TFA teachers in Houston should erode support for the education establishment's guildlike insistence that it must be allowed to control the training of new teachers. CREDO's finding that "the highest performing teachers were consistently TFA teachers and the lowest-performing were consistently not TFA" is a powerful antidote to the education establishment's haughty "we're the experts" attitude. The education schools not only do not have a monopoly on the ability to produce competent teachers, but their fad-ridden, ideologically charged system appears to be markedly inferior.

Instead of relying on a central-planning model for the training of teachers, we need to turn to the market. At least one education school dean agrees. James W. Fraser of Northeastern University has written, "Perhaps the time has come for those of us in higher education to simply step out of the teacher-certification business. And for government to step out of regulating teacher-preparation programs." Fraser couldn't be more correct. The way to get good teachers is to give principals the freedom to hire whomever they think will do the best job, and hold them accountable for the results.

Houston's experience with Teach For America proves that students benefit when we throw off the yoke of credentialitis and allow bright college graduates who want to try teaching the chance to do so. *CJ*

George C. Leef is the director of Higher Education Policy for the American Council of Trustees and Alumni.

Wartime Washington: Democracy in an Armed Camp

By **MARC ROTTERMAN**
Contributing Editor

As I write this column I have just come from my morning walk and my daily stop at the local diner for coffee and a first glance at the newspaper. The diner radio was tuned to the "oldies" radio station and "America the Beautiful" was being sung by Ray Charles. This day the song seemed to resonate more than ever before.

Since Sept. 11, Washington, D.C., our nation's capital — the symbol of democracy throughout the world — has been undergoing both physical and psychological changes.

The White House is now cordoned off for five square blocks. There are sharpshooters on the roof of the president's house and it has been reported that the military is equipped with shoulder-launch missiles.

Security is everywhere on Capitol Hill. Hundreds of round cement barriers along with wire fence has been installed around the Capitol. Cement barriers block off streets between the federal buildings that house senators, members of the House, and staff. Only members of Congress and their aides are allowed to park near the respective buildings and then, only after thorough examinations of their cars have been conducted.

Yesterday more than 1,000 congressional staffers were tested for anthrax. And, as I write this column, the news has reported that the House will be closed Thursday, Friday, and Monday for a complete sweep of all offices and ventilation systems to determine whether and where there is anthrax in the buildings.

The mail, key to congressional interaction with the citizens and districts that members of Congress represent, was stopped for a day and strict new scanning procedures were put into place.

Postmen now wear surgical gloves when delivering mail to Washington homes and offices. Washingtonians have a fierce resolve to adapt and cope with this new Orwellian world that Osama bin Laden has temporarily created.

Make no mistake about it, Washington has changed. And in some ways it reminds one of an armed camp. But Washington is not Beirut ... and the citizens here will not cower to thugs.

What bin Laden has managed to do is this: He has forced our legislators and opinion makers to re-examine how this tragic set of events could happen.

Some of the questions that are being asked are:

Why did our intelligence community fail us? Who has been minding the store for the last 10 years? Should we revisit our border security, immigration policy, and student visa program?

Many foreign policy analysts believe that the United States's tepid response to terrorists attacks during the Clinton administration's tenure in the mid-1990s spurred the thugs to go forward with even more egregious plans to disrupt our society. They believe that bin Laden thought we were weak and therefore vulnerable.

At this time, and for the foreseeable future, the main focus for America and the free world is routing out terrorists both at home and abroad. President Bush has stated that the No. 1 goal of his administration is to rid the world

of the scourge of terrorism. It is clear that the president believes he was "called" to lead the nation in this fight.

From this point forward, look for a thorough review and examination of how and where our national security was undermined. Many opinion and policy makers believe that starting in the 1970s, our human intelligence capability has been sorely undermined and underfunded.

This move to weaken our spy capability began with the Church Committee's attack in Congress on the CIA in the 1970s. Since then, many lawmakers have routinely sought to dismantle and cut funding of America's intelligence apparatus. To a great degree, they were successful. Now our country is paying the price for that lack of judgment.

Americans are trusting, kind, and helping. However, our almost childlike naivete to see only the "silver lining" sometimes leads us into some treacherous waters. And this is where we find ourselves now.

This is a wakeup call for the United States. We have to face the facts that the barbarians who attack us do not share our beliefs and do not respect our way of life. They do not value life and they want to kill our spirit as a nation.

But these killers have misread us. They underestimate what we can do when we are united in a common cause. We must not and we will not fail the generations to follow. It is essential that we stay united to reach our goal. In my opinion, our way of life and the fate of the modern world may rest upon our ability to rise to this challenge. *CJ*

Marc Rotterman is a senior fellow at the John Locke Foundation and treasurer of the American Conservative Union.

Carolina Journal Writer Sacked for Subtlety

Authoritarianism correspondent Vladimir Chang's parody of state regulatory excess taken as fact

By JOHN HOOD

Actual Publisher of *Carolina Journal* — No Kidding

RALEIGH

Terminating a troublesome employee should always be the last resort — and in these trying economic times it is particularly important to do so with care and compassion.

Unless, of course, an employee conducts himself in a manner inconsistent with the high standards of *Carolina Journal*. In such a case, it feels mighty good to kick the offending staffer out the door, hurling his disheveled files, unread books, baseball pennants, and other knickknacks after him.

So ended the ill-starred career of Vladimir Chang, our authoritarianism correspondent, whose one and only piece for *Carolina Journal* ran in the September issue.

You may remember his "Parting Shot" column, which reported on Senate Bill 26,741, the "Wife and Children Safety Act of 2001." According to Chang, the proposed bill would have enacted draconian and punitive regulations on unlicensed handy-men, particularly dads seeking to do work around the house with state permission.

In addition to outlawing all types of unlicensed home repair, the bill also would reportedly outlaw all do-it-yourself home repair books, videos, and television shows.

But after dozens of calls to *Carolina Journal* and its parent organization, the John Locke Foundation, it rapidly became evident that there was no such bill. Vladimir Chang had made the whole thing up in an

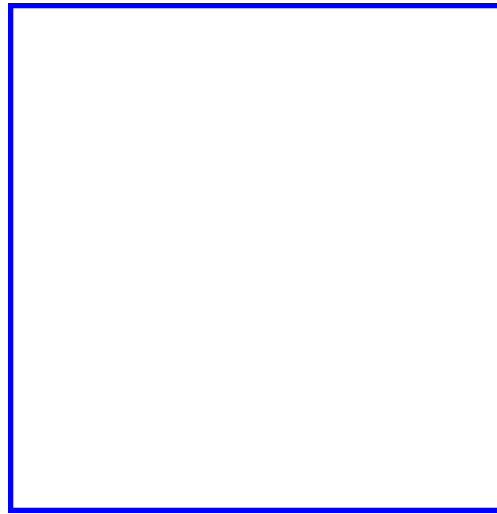
attempt to call attention to a real piece of legislation, House Bill 984, which would require landscape contractors in North Carolina to be licensed by the state. (The bill has not yet passed the legislature.)

When informed that the Chang piece was a parody, not a bona fide news report, callers exhibited a range of emotions. Some were amused. Others were annoyed, and a few were downright angry. Several lawmakers had received calls from constituents about the fictitious bill, as did news reporters and at least one talk-radio station.

From my perspective, Chang's unforgivable error was not to pen a parody for the back page of *Carolina Journal*. As most regular readers know, the Page 24 "Parting Shot" column is usually given over to humor, parody, and other lighthearted fare. Previous "Parting Shot" columns have poked fun at media coverage of an August antitax rally in Raleigh, reported a previously unknown "Politician translation" of the Ten Commandments, and featured a fake memo between my wife and I to illustrate the absurdity of the so-called Social Security Trust Fund.

Of course, the obvious difference between previous "Parting Shot" columns and the piece by Chang is that the former were at best clumsy attempts at humor or satire. They lacked any degree of subtlety and thus fooled no one.

Chang's great sin was that he chose to parody a subject — the temptation by legislators to over-reach in regulating private



The mysterious Vladimir Chang

business — that is highly resistant to such treatment. To many North Carolinians, it did not seem a bit unbelievable that their General Assembly would pass a law to restrict private home repair, as they have previously enacted many other senseless rules.

I am not making this up: the state of North Carolina really does require you to get a license in order to conduct auctions or cut someone's hair. The legislature really is considering the state licensure of landscape contractors. Judging by the calls we received from former legislators, sheriff's deputies, and others with significant knowledge about state law, the idea of a home-repair licensing law was plausible.

Chang's attempts to signal readers that his piece was a parody were inadequate.

The use of such fake names as "Rep. Flo 'the Pro' Tector" (the bill's supposed sponsor), Rep. Ollie Garkey, and the North Carolina Association of Cartels and Commercial Oligarchies were obviously insufficient clues.

After an exhaustive probe of the matter, I concluded that Chang was guilty of the crime of subtlety and was thus completely unsuited to the job of authoritarianism correspondent, satirist — or, frankly, any job at *Carolina Journal*.

Furthermore, as I reviewed his file, my doubts multiplied. He appeared to be neither Russian nor Chinese. His harrowing tale of a midnight escape from intellectual bondage in Carrboro could not be independently confirmed. Nor could his very existence, since neither I nor anyone else on staff could remember ever meeting him.

(Now that I mention it, who did I kick out of the office the other day? Said he was moving to New Hampshire or somewhere like that, but that seemed hard to believe as only a fool would leave North Carolina for New England at the onset of winter.)

In any event, let me conclude with two warnings. First, to readers of *Carolina Journal*, remember that "Parting Shot" is not a serious news column. Read it for a laugh for maybe for an insight, but not for something to complain to your legislator about.

And to all those potential Vladimir Changs who may write for "Parting Shot" in the future: Don't do your job of parody too well, or you may suffer the same fate. Subtlety will not be your friend. CJ

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