

## Victims of Neglect, North Carolina's Buildings Crumble

*State faces a backlog of \$1.3 billion in repairs; funds diverted elsewhere*

By PAUL CHESSER  
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

Students and faculty at North Carolina Central University in Durham are learning to live with leaks from its buildings' old steam heating system. Moisture seeping into the walls and leakage from the roofs has spawned outbreaks of mold in several of NCCU's classrooms and dormitories.

Because the state's Repairs and Renovation Reserve has been drastically underfunded for at least three years, the university is patching with operating funds—or in some instances, is closing buildings.

In Raleigh, even the State Capitol building proved no match for neglect. Plaster in its dome, soaked by rainwater that leaked inside, cracked and fell into interior walkways. Now, contractors are busy repairing the damage.

The same can't be said, though, for the rest of the state's deteriorating buildings and grounds. The State Construction Office estimated that nearly \$1.3 billion is needed for repairs and renovations on its properties.

Critics of North Carolina's political leadership say the problem stems from a misplacement of priorities rather than from a lack of money.

"It's pretty obvious as you look at the plant that the money has not been allocated for basic repairs," said state Sen. Richard Stevens, a Cary Republican who was Wake County manager from 1984 through 2000. "Instead of funding repairs, [legislators] raised taxes and added programs."

The recent trend began in 1999 when the state was hit with a natural disaster in the form of Hurricane Floyd. Then, Gov. Mike Easley took office in 2001 and was almost immediately faced with a budget deficit.

### Repair funds redirected

In 2000, \$60 million of the \$150 million allocated for the state's Repairs and Renovations Reserve was redirected to hurricane relief. In 2001, when the state first realized its recent budget problems, Easley



Carolina Journal photo by Richard Wagner

A construction worker carries plywood used in the erection of scaffolds inside the State Capitol.

reverted to the General Fund \$39.5 million of the \$100 million from the reserve. The next year, the General Assembly earmarked \$125 million for the reserve, but \$116.4 million was reverted to help balance the general budget. Of the remaining \$8.6 million that was spent on repairs in 2002, \$7 million paid for security upgrades at state administrative buildings in Raleigh and \$1.6 million paid for an air-conditioning system at the Museum of the Albemarle in Elizabeth City. The museum has yet to open.

The legislature allocated no money for repairs and renovations in fiscal 2003. As of mid-June, House and Senate budgets contained \$50 million for the 2004 reserve, but whether the money would survive in the final budget was still in question.

According to the Office of State Budget and Management, the last year the Repairs and Renovations Reserve was fully funded

was 1998-99, when lawmakers appropriated \$145 million.

Allocations for the reserve are supposed to equal 3 percent of the replacement value of the state's buildings (\$14.7 billion as of August 2000), but only if a credit balance exists at the end of the fiscal year. The university system receives 46 percent of the money, and the state's other buildings get 54 percent. Agencies submit their prioritized lists of capital needs to OSBM, which then recommends to the Joint Legislative Commission on Governmental Operations the projects that should be funded.

Many agencies, knowing the state's budget would likely eliminate reserve funding, didn't submit requests for repairs for the coming year. But the State Construction

*State's political leaders raided the reserve fund for their own projects*

By DON CARRINGTON  
Associate Publisher

RALEIGH

Even though there was a \$500 million backlog of needed repairs and renovations, in 1996 legislative leaders secretly diverted \$21.3 million of repair money for pet projects.

The money was distributed to about 250 nonprofit or local-government organizations without any formal application process.

Senate leader Marc Basnight, a Democrat, and former House Speaker Harold Brubaker, a Republican, allotted themselves 45 percent of the money. Then-Gov. Jim Hunt was given a 10 percent share for having his budget office write the checks.

After a news story by *Carolina Journal* in early 1997 exposed the scheme, several major newspapers also ran stories about the hidden slush fund and editorials condemned the process.

### The scheme

Before its passage, legislative budget writers made a last-minute change to the 1996 continuation budget bill. Following the section dealing with expenditures for repairing state buildings for fiscal 1996-97, a paragraph was added that read, "Funds earmarked in the 1995-96 fiscal year for the Repairs and Renovations Reserve but not appropriated are hereby appropriated. The Office of State Budget and Management may allocate these funds for land acquisition, matching federal funds, State grants, and grant-in-aid."

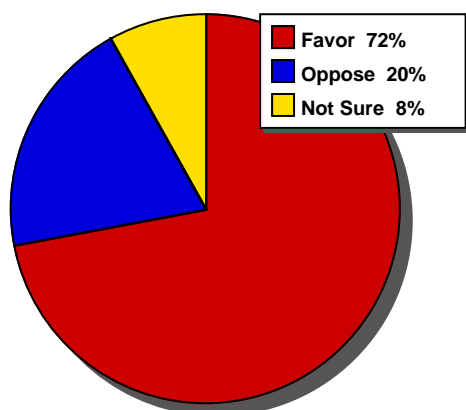
No specific amount of money was mentioned and few legislators noticed the change. When asked why the money was reappropriated with no strings attached, then-Budget Director Marvin Dorman told *CJ*, "The General Assembly had a desire that the money be spent on things they wanted it spent on."

The checks started flowing in the fall of 1996, just before the general election, which

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### Term Limits for NC State Legislators?



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### ON THE COVER

• A total of \$1.3 billion is needed for repair and renovation of state buildings and property. Observers say the problem stems from the setting of wrong priorities rather than lack of money. *Page 1*

### NORTH CAROLINA

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### PARTING SHOT

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### Education Reform Leader to Speak at Headliner Luncheon

Lisa Graham Keegan, chief executive officer of the Education Leaders Council, will be the guest speaker at a John Locke Foundation Headliners luncheon at noon Sept. 8. The event will be at the McKimmon Center at North Carolina State University.

Keegan was named chief executive officer of the Education Leaders Council in May 2001. She is one of the nation's most prominent and outspoken education reform advocates. She has gained national attention for her focus on student-centered funding and academic improvement and her passionate belief that every child can learn.

Keegan's policy expertise and her history of successfully implementing state-level education reforms have gained her national accolades, frequent media attention, and made her a sought-after education reform expert.

She has testified frequently before Congress, state legislatures, and education organizations.

Keegan was a founding member of ELC in 1995 and a key architect of the organization's growth from a small group of reform-minded state school chiefs to an organization of national prominence. Under her leadership, ELC's membership grew significantly, both in numbers and diversity.

ELC today is the nation's only "action" think tank for education reform. It has members in more than 30 states. ELC is on the front lines of education reform at the federal, state, and local levels, with a membership that includes governors, state school chiefs, state boards of education, individual state and local school board members, business leaders, charter operators, district superintendents, principals, teachers, and par-



Lisa Keegan of the Education Leaders Council

ents.

Prior to ELC, Keegan served for more than a decade as a state official in Arizona, where she led the state's education reform movement.

She was elected to the Arizona House in 1990 and served two terms.

During her tenure, she served as vice-chairman and chairman of the House Education Committee and authored much of Arizona's education reform legislation in the early 1990s.

In 1994, she ran for state Superinten-

dent of Public Instruction on a platform of rigorous academic standards, annual testing, stronger accountability, and school choice. She won handily and was re-elected in 1998 without opposition.

As superintendent, Keegan maintained general oversight of Arizona's annual \$4.5 billion K-12 budget and served on the state boards for education, universities, community colleges, and charter schools.

Her insistence on stronger accountability and use of technology-based solutions led to the development and implementation of a state-of-the-art system to electronically track K-12 financial and academic data.

She advanced teacher-driven academic standards — standards that were nationally praised for their clarity and rigor — and withstood numerous assaults on her annual testing program.

She fought successfully for the creation of school choice, including Arizona's landmark charter school and tuition tax credit laws, which together led to Arizona's No. 1 rating in the Manhattan Institute's annual Education Freedom Index.

The cost of the luncheon is \$20 per person. For more information or to preregister, contact Summer Hood at (919)828-3876 or events@johnlocke.org.

### 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.

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

# Legislators Criticize State Priorities on Building Maintenance

Continued From Page 1

Office still keeps an extensive list of repair needs for its properties across the state.

If money is provided this year, funding from the Repairs and Renovations Reserve is expected to be used to complete work on the Museum of the Albemarle. According to *The Daily Advance* of Elizabeth City, the state has already spent \$7 million on the project. The museum needs an additional \$5 million for the completion of interior work before it can open. Rep. Bill Owens, an Elizabeth City Democrat, told *The Daily Advance* that he thought funding for the museum would be in the budget.

## Little in direct appropriations

Besides the Repairs and Renovations Reserve, the legislature funds capital projects (defined as repairs, renovations, new construction and infrastructure) through appropriations in the budget. However, repairs and renovations to existing properties rarely get funded in that way.

That doesn't mean lawmakers were reluctant to engage in capital spending. Almost \$1.3 billion was appropriated over the last 10 years for capital projects. In addition, the state is obligated to pay off \$3.1 billion in higher-education bonds

that were approved by voters in 2000. Overall in the last 10 years the state has committed to \$6.64 billion in general obligation bonds for mostly new capital projects.

In recent years appropriations for capital projects reflected the legislature's budget struggle. Since 2000 only \$48 million was earmarked for those items, and that amount included only matching funds so the state could receive federal money for environmental and crime-control projects.

## Woeful conditions

Stevens bemoaned the faltering heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning systems in many aging state buildings, especially at NCCU. Repair requests for those systems in the state's universities alone exceed \$135 million.

"That's just basic maintenance," Stevens said. If air-circulation problems aren't addressed the state can expect more mold to accumulate in its buildings, he said.

The backlog of maintenance in other

areas of state government are no less significant. The Department of Health and Human Services says it needs \$238 million in repairs and renovations for its facilities throughout the state. The state budget office requested \$98 million for DHHS from the 2001-03 biennial budget for repairs, which wasn't provided through the reserve.

The budget office also said the Department of Justice and Public Safety needs about \$106 million almost immediately for property repairs. Nearly all of that (\$100 million) is needed for prisons and juvenile delinquency facilities.

State Auditor Ralph Campbell went a step further, reporting in an audit in May that the state should build three new juvenile prisons because its five existing ones are safety and security hazards.

While repairs and renovations are obvious necessities, state agencies are asking for more money for new-construction projects. OSBM said more than \$1.6 billion is needed to meet those needs. For example, among DHHS's requests are the planned replacement of Dorothea Dix and Umstead mental

hospitals, at a cost of \$40 million. The Department of Environment and Natural Resources said it needs \$7 million to detoxify the Warren County landfill.

Not all requests for new projects appear to be as urgent. The Department of Agriculture wants \$14.6 million for a

multipurpose exhibit building at the North Carolina State University Fairgrounds. The Department of Commerce wants to add a conference center at the Wanchese Seafood Industrial Park on Roanoke Island at a cost of \$250,000.

## Misplaced priorities?

Some lawmakers blame state leaders for funding inefficient programs, unaccountable nonprofit organizations, and unfilled state job positions. Those programs, they say, were funded at the expense of the state's existing properties. "That's like a family saying we want to have all the fine things," said Sen. Fred Smith, R-Johnston, "but we can't repair our house."

"We're going to fund over 5,000 empty positions," Smith said. "Nobody's in those jobs."

Smith questioned the state's \$750 million in annual payments to nonprofit organizations, many of which have little or no government oversight. He also doubted the

*"That's like a family saying we want to have all the fine things, but we can't repair our house."*

— Sen. Fred Smith



Carolina Journal photo by Richard Wagner

Scaffolding fills the interior of the state Capitol's dome, where workers are repairing plaster.

need, as did Campbell in a recent audit, for both the Smart Start and More at Four prekindergarten education programs. Both men said the programs have too much overlap and are inefficient.

Smart Start's budget was \$193 million last year, while More at Four started with \$36 million. Many of the dollars from both are directed to the same local centers that administer the two programs.

"If it feels good and sounds good, we do it without looking at the cost-benefit ratio and the timing," Smith said. "Just like families, government has to do the right thing."

Smith said the government's priorities should be to care for people who can't care for themselves, and to provide for the edu-

cation, safety, and health of its citizens.

"All that can be done in an effective and efficient way that will allow us to maintain our buildings," he said.

## The bright side?

Stevens said that as Wake County manager he placed "a lot of emphasis on repairs and renovation of buildings. We always tried to do the basics," he said. "You can lose a building over not maintaining a roof."

Stevens is serving his first term in the Senate, and is embarrassed by the condition of the Legislative Office Building, where he works. He tries to be optimistic, though.

"We did get new duct tape on the carpet, I'm told," he said. CJ

# Politicians Diverted Money to Slush Funds Through Secret Arrangements

Continued From Page 1

involved all legislative seats. Basnight, Brubaker, and Hunt periodically composed a list of organizations and the amounts each group was to receive. Basnight gave allotments to Democrat senators only. Brubaker directed money based on the recommendations of a few Republicans and a few Democrat House members that had voted for him as speaker.

## The recipients

Basnight's disbursements totaled about \$9.6 million and included projects such as: the Richmond County Historical Society, \$100,000; Richmond County Fine Arts Center, \$500,000; Richmond County Arts Council, \$20,000; Andrew Jackson Museum in

Waxhaw, \$200,000; Gaston County Art & History Museum, \$50,000.

The largest beneficiary of Basnight was the Pavillon Treatment and Renewal Center in Polk County, a new substance-abuse facility for business professionals. The center was started by the late Charles Hayes of Greensboro, a major political contributor and chief executive officer of Guilford Mills. On Oct. 26, 1996 — a few days after receiving the \$1 million check — Hayes, his family, and business associates donated \$40,000 to Basnight's political campaign.

The original list of spending obtained by *CJ* also included \$600,000 for the Whalehead Club building on the Outer Banks in Currituck County. Basnight pulled that project from the list after news stories about the secret spending surfaced.

Brubaker directed \$100,000 to the

Granville Medical Center foundation in Oxford and \$100,000 to Fuquay-Varina for downtown revitalization even though, at the time, the town had no specific plans for how to use it.

Brubaker sent \$250,000 to the Brevard Music Center, a privately owned summer music camp. When questioned about the money, camp director Gary Hines told *CJ*, "The main auditorium needs renovation and we were having a tough time raising this type of funding."

Brubaker also sent \$100,000 to the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum in Harker's Island, \$20,000 to the Richland Elementary School Parent/Teacher Association, and \$500,000 for the Museum of the New South in Charlotte.

At the request of Rep. Richard Morgan, Brubaker approved \$100,000 for the Village

of Pinehurst to help buy a new fire truck. But like the Whalehead Club, disbursement of the money was stopped after news reports and editorials exposed the secret spending.

From his share of the slush fund, Hunt directed Dorman to send a \$1 million check to the privately owned Exploris Children's Museum in downtown Raleigh. The museum's boosters, though, had already been successful with a more direct raid on the Repair and Renovation Reserve fund.

On Nov. 13, 1996, the Joint Legislative Commission on Governmental Operations, a committee cochaired by Basnight and Brubaker, approved a list of expenditures for repairing state buildings. The largest expenditure on the list was \$3.9 million to "renovate" an old state carpentry shop at what became the Exploris site. CJ

**Around the State**

• Remarks on June 3 by U.S. Surgeon General Richard H. Carmona drew the ire of Rep. Richard Burr, R-5th, who is the leading GOP candidate for Sen. John Edwards's seat in 2004. The *Washington Post* reported that Carmona testified at a House Energy and Commerce subcommittee hearing on smokeless tobacco and "reduced risk" tobacco products, and was asked whether he supported "the abolition of all tobacco products." He responded that he "would support banning or abolishing tobacco products," and that he sees no need for them in society.

Burr's statement the following day called Carmona's remarks "ridiculous." He said that in light of the surgeon general's comments, he expects antitobacco crusaders to pursue a ban on tobacco "with a brand new zeal."

Burr warned those in the "tobacco community" who think they can live with additional regulations to "be careful what you ask for. After all, in certain circles 'regulate' actually means 'ban.' Never forget that some in Washington have fought...to 'regulate' tobacco right out of existence."

• A study by the Fluor Corporation, one of the world's top design-build firms, found that North Carolina can boast that it has some of the strongest economic incentives in the Southeast. The company measured the economic development incentives and tax structure of 13 states, and determined that the Tar Heel state ranked first in incentives for a sample general manufacturing project, second for what Fluor called a "super project," and fifth for a research and development project. According to the study, North Carolina's corporate tax burden ranked third highest for the general project, 10th highest for the "super" project, and sixth highest for the R&D project. Reported by the *Triangle Business Journal*.

• Gov. Mike Easley announced in mid-May the first recipient of North Carolina's new economic incentives program. Computer chip maker Infineon Technologies North America Corporation, based in San Jose, Calif., will add several positions at offices in Cary. The company, which already employs 70 people in Research Triangle Park, could receive as much as \$9.5 million in tax breaks if it maximizes and sustains for 11 years the number of jobs it adds under its agreement with the state. The agreement calls for the company to reach annual performance targets for adding positions. Each year that Infineon meets those goals, it will receive a grant equal to 65 percent of the personal state withholding taxes created from the new jobs.

In recent years the company has cut about 5,000 positions, and April 29 announced it would further reduce its workforce by up to 900 jobs. The cuts are part of a larger restructuring plan to return the company to profitability. Infineon employs about 2,700 people at eight United States locations, and employs 30,000 worldwide. *CJ*

*Rural Internet Access Authority was intended to be temporary*

**'Whole New Bureaucracy' May Now Last Forever**

By PAUL CHESSER  
Associate Editor

RALEIGH

A bill that has passed the state House would turn what was intended to be a temporary state authority into a permanent bureaucracy, with expanded responsibilities. The legislation, sponsored by Rep. Joe Tolson, D-Edgecombe, preserves the Rural Internet Access Authority, created in 2000 through a bill that was sponsored by Sen. Eric Reeves, D-Wake. The law that established the RIAA required the authority to be dissolved Dec. 31, 2003.

"What we don't want is to create a whole new bureaucracy that lasts forever," Reeves told *The News & Observer* of Raleigh in June 2000.

Tolson's bill would create the E-NC Authority, which continues the work of the Rural Internet Access Authority. The nonprofit was established to "manage, oversee, and monitor efforts to provide rural counties with high-speed broadband Internet access." Among its goals:

- Local dial-up Internet access from every telephone exchange within one year;
- Affordable high-speed Internet access available to every North Carolina citizen within three years;
- Significant increases in ownership of computers, web devices, and Internet subscriptions promoted throughout the state.

The legislation also expands the authority's oversight for broadband Internet access to include "distressed urban areas."

Sen. Virginia Foxx, a Banner Elk Republican who serves on the Information Technology Committee, said the RIAA has only "some loose ends" to tie up to complete its original mission. She's willing to let the authority finish its work, but said con-

tinuing it as a new state agency is a bad idea. "What they're creating is a bureaucracy that doesn't need to be created," she said.

Those "loose ends" are to provide for the continuation of the RIAA website and to complete work financed by about \$13 million in authority grants, said Dwight Allen, executive director of the North Carolina Telephone Cooperative Coalition, which opposes the bill.

"We've asked [RIAA] if there's something else they want to do," he said. "We haven't heard."

But Jane Smith Patterson, executive director of the RIAA, said the authority has yet to complete all of its goals. She said that at the end of last year, only 49 percent of potential rural customers in the state had the opportunity to get affordable broad-

band service. She said the state underestimated the amount of time required

"I think what happens is when you get into this," she said, "it's a huge state and there's still a lot to be done."

Supporters of the bill believe the authority should be maintained to oversee any future private or federal grants it might receive, then distribute. The authority, which started with \$30 million in funding from the nonprofit MCNC, is expected to have about \$700,000 at the end of the year. Patterson said she expected E-NC wouldn't need any state money for at least three years. Allen said if E-NC continued to get grants it would self-perpetuate.

"Our point," he said, "is that [expanding broadband] is something we think is going to be done by the private sector." *CJ*



Sen. Eric Reeves (left) sponsored legislation in 2000 that created the Rural Internet Access Authority, which was to be dissolved in 2003. Rep. Joe Tolson (right) wants to make the authority permanent.

**North Carolina Among the Most Tax-Happy States**

By CAROLINA JOURNAL STAFF

RALEIGH

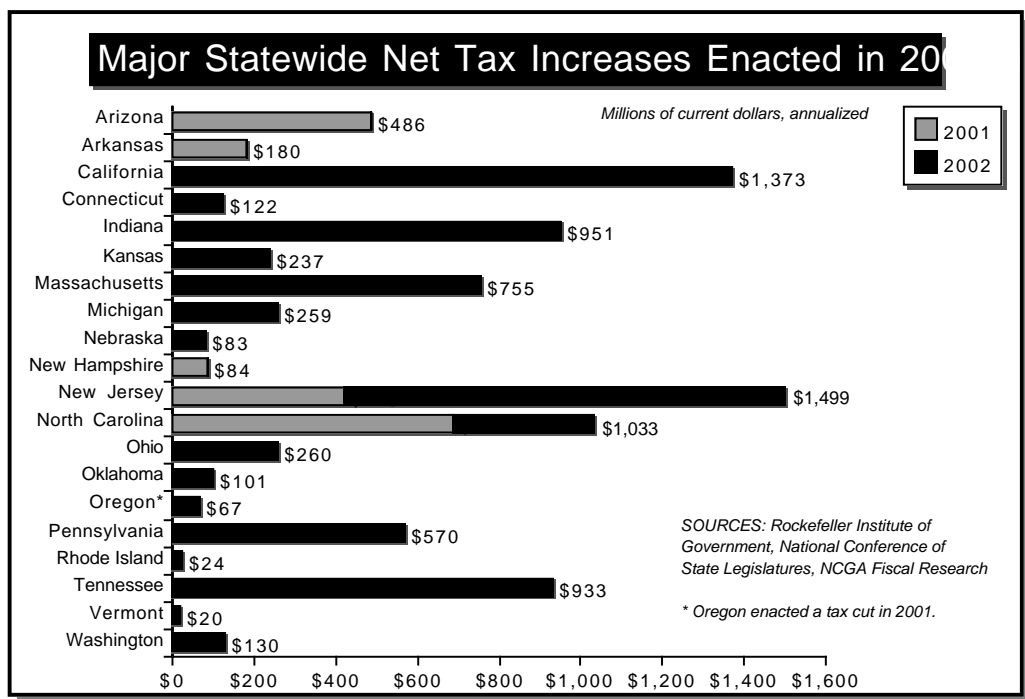
While defenders say the state's political leaders have only followed the national trend in raising taxes to fill budget holes, a new report suggests that North Carolina is almost alone in enacting large-scale, broad-based tax increases every year since 2001, which may help to explain why the state's economy continues to lag the national average.

The John Locke Foundation used surveys from the National Conference of State Legislatures and the Rockefeller Institute of Government in New York to identify 20 states that have enacted major, statewide tax increases in either 2001 or 2002. The report notes that several additional states, including North Carolina, are also considering tax increases in 2003, though it is not yet possible to judge the outcome.

Among 20 tax-increasing states, said Locke Foundation President John Hood, only New Jersey and California have enacted larger tax increases than has North Carolina (see chart). Adjusting for the size of the state, Hood found that only three states — New Jersey, Indiana, and Tennessee — enacted larger tax increases per person than North Carolina in 2001 or 2002.

Furthermore only two states, New Jersey and North Carolina, enacted major tax increases in both years, and of those only North Carolina is likely to enact another major tax increase in 2003 — the third year in a row.

"The fact that few states have matched



North Carolina's record for raising taxes, particularly on income, helps to explain why our economy continues to underperform," Hood wrote.

He noted that since mid-2001, North Carolina's personal income growth, at 3.98 percent, has lagged its neighbors' 5.03 percent, and the national average of 4.23 percent. Also since mid-2001, North Carolina lost 119,000 jobs, or more than one-third of all the net job losses in the South.

At the same time, North Carolina saw more growth in government employees than any of its neighbors. The state's pri-

vate-sector workforce actually lost 150,000 jobs during the period from mid-2001 to early 2003 — dwarfing the losses of any comparable state.

Hood observed that even in Tennessee, where lawmakers enacted a tax increase in 2002 approaching \$1 billion, the state's tax burden remains significantly lower than North Carolina's.

"Potential entrepreneurs and investors must pay one of the highest income tax rates in the United States if they choose North Carolina, while in Tennessee their income-tax rate is essentially zero," Hood said. *CJ*

*'It's all about how you get up and endure the crisis': Waddle*

## Commander Does the Right Thing After Submarine Tragedy

By JONATHAN JONES  
Editorial Intern

RALEIGH  
Taking personal responsibility when tragedy strikes may not be easy or popular, but it is still the most honorable course of action, says a retired Navy officer who commanded the submarine USS Greenville when it struck and sank a Japanese fishing boat about two years ago.

Cmdr. Scott Waddle (Ret.) was in charge of the nuclear-powered submarine when it collided with the Ehime Maru on Feb. 9, 2001. Nine of the boat's crew were killed as it sank in a matter of minutes off the coast of Pearl Harbor. The tragedy made international headlines and thrust Waddle into a media firestorm. Waddle described the tragedy and the path his life has taken since the incident at a John Locke Foundation luncheon June 9.

"I had millions of questions," he said. "The odds are much greater than winning any type of lottery. Those few minutes were the greatest challenge of my life. I can live with the loss of a ship, but not the loss of life. In the end, a horrible wrong occurred."

### Waddle's book

Waddle's book, *The Right Thing*, details the tragic event and the difficult days that followed. While a military investigation ensued and the newly inaugurated President George W. Bush faced his first major foreign-policy challenge as president,

Waddle hired private legal counsel and traveled to Japan to meet with family members of the crewmen who died.

Describing the collision as an accident, Waddle accepted full responsibility and spurned the advice of those advocating for him to stay silent or to disperse blame. Although there were excuses available, duty and responsibility demanded full, open disclosure. "It was important to tell the truth," he said, "because it must be heard to determine what happened and why."

Admitting mistakes and taking responsibility, especially in the most public of forums, was not easy, Waddle said. But it was the way he was raised, and more important it was the right thing to do. The actions of others often have profound influence on the shaping of values and leadership ability, he said, because we often learn to do what is right by imitating those we admire and respect.

When he took command of the Greenville in March 1999, Waddle said, it



Waddle speaks at the John Locke Foundation luncheon.

all came crashing down, however, in a matter of minutes, he said.

"Everything good was brushed away following the incident," he said. As a commanding officer in the Navy, his accountability was absolute. Anything that went wrong was ultimately a reflection of his performance of professional duty. Waddle said that being a leader, both in public service and private life, requires responsibility not only when "riding the crest of the wave," but also when the unthinkable occurs.

### Life after the Navy

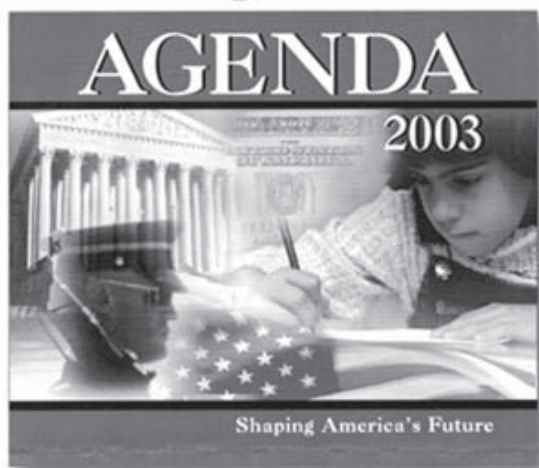
He described the collapse of his Navy career as "devastating." Without his strong faith in God, Waddle indicated all hope might have been lost in the wake of the ensuing investigation, now closed with his honorable discharge. His will to move forward continuously draws strength from a deeply rooted Christian faith as well as the unconditional love of his wife and daughter, he said.

These days, Waddle works as a senior project manager for A.B.B., Inc. of Raleigh. He also devotes his time to a variety of community service interests, the Boy Scouts in particular. He said someone could still offer many meaningful contributions to the service of others despite seemingly insurmountable personal distress.

"When you get knocked down, it's all about how you get up and endure the crisis," he said. And doing the right thing. □

was vital he firmly establish his authority and set a positive example for his crew. Leading the crew of a submarine required self-reliance and the setting of a model others would want to follow. Waddle spent many months building a team of 140 military personnel that he took great pride in. It

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## NC News in Brief

• Sen. Fern Shubert, R-Union, has been at the center of a dispute over the role of the legislature in teacher licensing policy in North Carolina. The controversy surrounds S931, "An Act Eliminating the Portfolio Requirement for Teacher Certification." S931 was ratified May 28 and sent to Gov. Mike Easley for his signature June 2. The bill was cosponsored by Sens. Andrew Brock, R-Mocksville, and Shubert.

S931 not only removed the teacher portfolio requirement, it also provided that the State Board of Education could not add any new requirements for teacher licensure, except with the consent of the General Assembly.

Teacher portfolio requirements for licensure have been unpopular with teachers. The board has favored the portfolio requirement in the past, however, as has Easley's office.

Easley vetoed the bill June 9 but, said "he did not oppose the bill's broader intent."

The real controversy over final approval surrounded Section 4: "No new requirement added by the State Board of Education to the teacher certification process may be required for licensure now or in the future without explicit legislative authorization." Easley said he would refuse to "let the State Board's hands be tied..." the *News & Observer* of Raleigh reported. Former Gov. Jim Hunt said of Section 4, "I don't think many people in the Legislature knew what was in there."

Afterward, Shubert held a press conference and expressed concerns over both the veto and Hunt's statement that the legislature was ignorant of S931's content. "The legislature has every right to tell the State Board what they can and cannot do," Shubert said in an interview with the NC Education Alliance. She cited the legislature's constitutional charge to "supervise and administer the free public school system." Easley's press release, Shubert said, "mangles and misquotes the constitution." "Basically, what the governor did was to insult me and every other legislator," she said.

Shubert detailed the legislative history and extended debate over the bill in her discussion with the North Carolina Education Alliance.

The disagreement between the legislature and the board over teacher licensing also leaves teachers in the middle. The North Carolina Educators Association, which represents teachers in the state, did not attend Shubert's press conference after the veto. The union also failed to answer emails from Shubert's office asking for their position on the governor's action.

The board held an emergency meeting, in which several members were absent, and voted 8-0 "to remove the portfolio requirement, defusing a potential fight between Easley and the legislators who wanted to override his veto," the *N&O* reported. No plans for further action have yet been announced by the legislature. *CJ*

## Former N.Y. Teacher of Year Speaks in N.C.

Schools prolong childishness and discourage learning, Gatto tells home-schoolers

By KAREN PALASEK

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH  
Winston-Salem played host to more than 8,500 North Carolina home schoolers in May who were attending the 19th annual North Carolinians for Home Education conference and book fair. The gathering sells out a dozen area hotels at least six months in advance and draws speakers with credentials from around North Carolina and the nation.

Retired teacher John Taylor Gatto was featured in three conference lectures. Gatto is a 26-year veteran of the New York City public school system. He received the New York City Teacher of the Year Award many times during his career, and in 1991 was named New York state teacher of the year. On July 25, 1991, while he was still teacher of the year, Gatto announced in an op-ed to the *Wall Street Journal* his decision to quit teaching.

*A teacher, but not an educator*

"I may be a teacher, but I'm not an educator," Gatto's *Wall Street Journal* statement said. "I've taught public school for 26 years, but I just can't do it anymore. For years I asked the local school board and superintendent to let me teach a curriculum that doesn't hurt kids, but they had other fish to fry. So I'm going to quit, I think," he wrote.

Gatto's long teaching career included "some of the worst, and also some of the best" New York city schools. He taught in Harlem and Spanish Harlem, as well as on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

In *The Curriculum of Necessity: What Must An Educated Person Know?* Gatto wrote, "It took me about a decade to realize that schooling and education are concepts that are at war with each other."

What would make an award-winning veteran like Gatto decide that the education system delivers too much "system" and too little education?

*Teacher and author*

Gatto is the author of *Dumbing Us Down*, *The Guerrilla Curriculum: How to Get an Education in Spite of School*, *The Underground History of American Education*, and other books on schooling and education.

The subject of Gatto's first NCHE conference talk, "Discouraging Genius: the Paradox of Extended Childhood," blends themes from his books. In *Dumbing Us Down* he wrote, "...I've come to believe that genius is an exceedingly common human quality, probably natural to most of us."

Some of the "unlikeliest" kids he taught, according to Gatto, occasionally demonstrated true human excellence — insight, wisdom, justice, resourcefulness, courage, and originality.

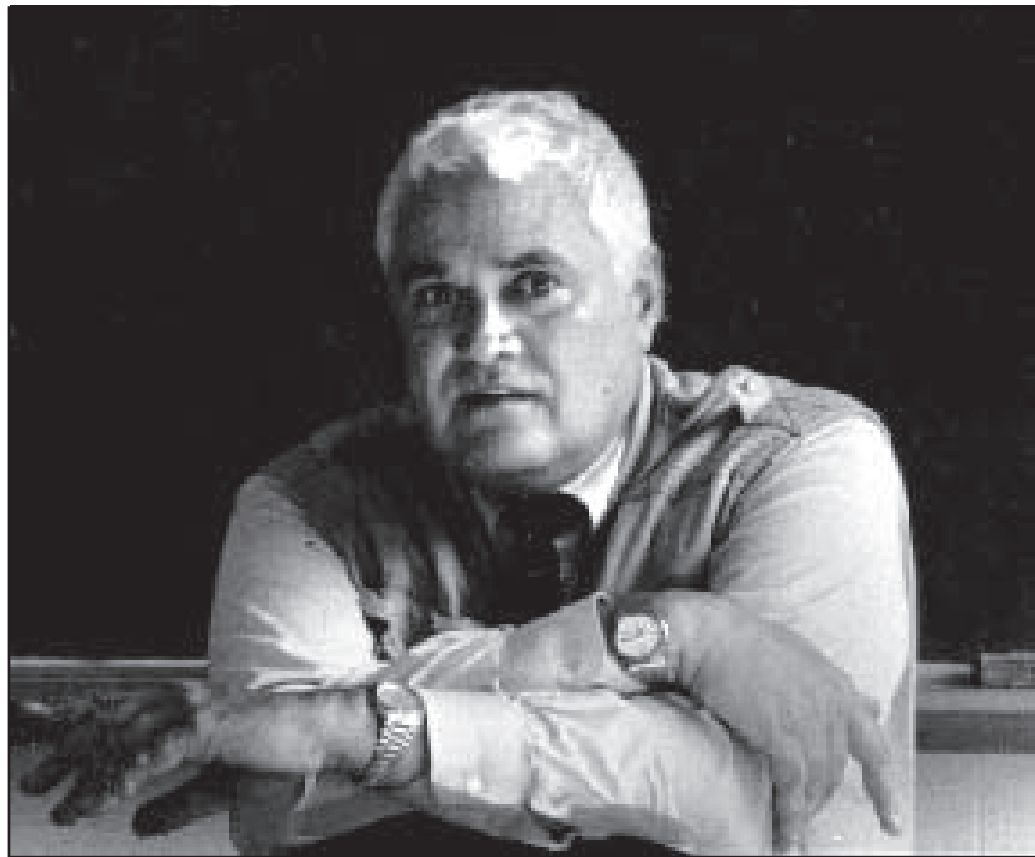
But what Gatto experienced in the system of education didn't fan those sparks. Instead, it routinely extinguished them.

"I began to wonder, reluctantly, whether it was possible that being in school itself was what was dumbing them down."

*The paradox of extended childhood*

Gatto has been retired from the teaching profession for 12 years. He has used that time to study schooling and education. The conclusions he draws both alarm and disturb him.

"The recent history of American schooling is a history of childishness, deliberately imposed," his "Discouraging Genius" talk



John Taylor Gatto was New York City teacher of the year and state teacher of the year.

begins. Childishness and boredom allow schools to continue to function, he argues.

"Cellblock style confinement" in classrooms, an unhealthy fast-food diet, artificial isolation from everyone except their age group, and a collection of disjointed activities that pass as curriculum, "[plunge] children into the trancelike state which boredom produces."

Instead of youthful energy and openness to new experiences, Gatto said, school children are "selfish, irresponsible, envious, inconsiderate, and whining."

They are also bored. "Bored, bored all the time," Gatto said. Why don't schools encourage resilience, curiosity, and the traits that have traditionally meant success in Western society? Because these traits promote maturity, and maturity is inconsistent with the school system as we know it, he said.

*Boredom and the school model*

The American school system is based upon a 19th-century Prussian model designed to regiment and homogenize students as much as possible, Gatto and many other education scholars have argued.

The Prussian model was designed to produce a functional and submissive citizen. Independent thought would disrupt the system, and was systematically discouraged.

This meant separating children from the influences of family and church, and segregating them into groups that were similar in immaturity and age.

American schools have adopted the regimented, segregated approach to school modeled by the Prussians.

It is a system designed to eliminate youthfulness and create "trancelike boredom," Gatto said.

"Children and their parents are told that 'if they show up and shut up, everything will be fine,' in the words of Virginia teacher Patrick Welsh.

Mind-numbing conditions, according to Gatto, create order and predictability in schools. They don't lead to an education. Those were the conditions that hurt chil-

dren, Gatto said.

In order to educate them, he would have to send them out of the schools.

*Guerrilla education*

Gatto's frustration with the stifling conditions in schools led him to try guerrilla education instead. In *Dumbing Us Down* he tells the story of his Lab School program.

"For five years I ran a guerrilla program where I had every kid, rich and poor, smart and dippy, give 320 hours a year of hard community service."

The school was "in chaos," and the program was allowed to run under Gatto's supervision. It was cheap, and enormously successful. It was closed down as soon as "stability" returned, Gatto reports.

Guerrilla education means training children to be and think in ways that regular schools can't tolerate.

"Getting outside the box isn't hard," Gatto said. "Think of it this way: Well-schooled people are trained to reflexively obey; train yours [children] to have independent judgment..." School leaves children no time for solitude, so they dread being alone.

Gatto has sent students off to apprenticeships, to jobs, and to go fishing, instructing them to leave the city and just spend time alone.

The opportunity for solitude lets them "learn to enjoy their own company." Compulsory-attendance laws promote the shallow inner life of a perpetually bored person, Gatto said.

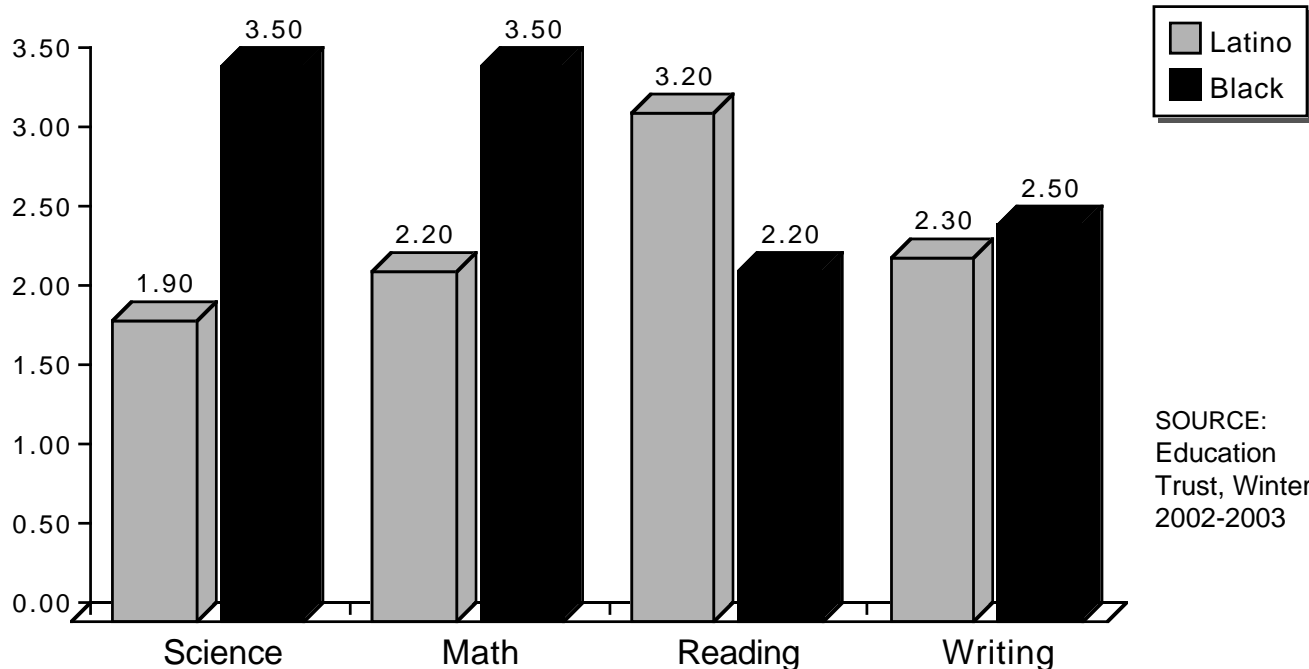
Gatto identified many people who became well-educated in home schools. They include David Farragut, in charge of a warship in his teen years, George Washington, who taught himself geometry at age 11, and Francis Collins, the head of the human genome project. Collins studied almost no science before college. He learned how to think and how to learn in school at home.

Keeping the spark of genius from being smothered is a priority for Gatto.

"If that happened to you... it's the most important thing in the world that you don't let it happen to your kids," he said. *CJ*

***It took me about a decade of schoolteaching to realize that schooling and education are concepts that are at war...***

NC Minority 8th Graders: Years Behind Whites in Learning



SOURCE:  
Education  
Trust, Winter  
2002-2003

### Upper-level degrees linked to higher long-term income

## Early Achievement Signals Future Success

By KAREN PALASEK

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

According to the National Center for Education Statistics, working-age adults who "complete less than upper secondary education" earn about 67 percent as much pay as working adults who earn a high school diploma. The statistics, from the NCES report "Comparative Indicators of Education in the United States and Other G-8 Countries: 2002," also show that students who complete high school are more likely to stay in the labor force. Students who complete a first college degree can expect to earn 180 percent more than those who only finish high school. Time in school is money, the NCES report confirms, at least if a student earns a degree.

A recent Education Trust report, "Education Watch: Achievement Gap Summary Tables: Winter 2002-03," demonstrates that both Latino and black students are years' worth of learning behind average white student achievement in the eighth grade in North Carolina. Using National Assessment of Educational Progress data, the Achievement Gap Summary displays learning gaps in science, reading, math, and writing.

The "Education Watch: North Carolina" companion to the Achievement Gap Summary details high school and college completion rates for Latino, white, and black students. The North Carolina data suggest that large learning gaps in the eighth grade may predict less success in completing high school and college degrees. Exceptions do exist, however, as Latino graduation rates show.

Since income is so strongly correlated with academic accomplishment, failure to finish high school almost certainly consigns an individual to low future earnings. The income boost that comes with a college degree is significant, but it is lost to students who don't complete the requirements. Eighth-graders who are very far behind in academics are less likely to attain either of these levels, the EdTrust data suggest.

### NAEP levels and academic gains

Only "on time" completion, with a diploma or degree as the result, was counted in the "Education Watch: North Carolina" report. High school graduation was "on time" if the students received a diploma after four years. College freshmen who received a four- or six-year degree, depending on the institution and course of study, were also "on time" recipients.

North Carolina's elementary students have made some impressive gains, according to the "Achievement Gap Summary." Black, Latino, and white students all advanced during the 1990s, according to the latest NAEP math and reading scores. Eighth-grade math scores showed North Carolina posting the largest gains nationally for all three student groups. Eighth-grade math scores were above the na-

tional average on the 2000 NAEP. Average may not be 'proficient,' however. The National Center for Education Statistics reported in "The Condition of Education 2003" that in 2000, only 27 percent of U.S. eighth-graders were "proficient" in mathematics. Proficient is defined by NCES as "solid academic performance for each grade assessed."

Latino and black students both made progress from 1990 to 2000 on the eighth-grade NAEP math assessment. In 2000, 25 percent fewer black students, and 46 percent fewer Latino students, scored "below basic" on the test. "Below basic" means that the student does not necessarily understand the overall meaning of concepts and the subject, cannot draw inferences, and cannot generalize outside a specific example.

### Achievement and degrees

The average black eighth-grade student in North Carolina enters high school 3.5 years behind the average white classmate in science, 3.5 years behind in math, 2.2 years behind in reading skills, and 2.5 years behind in writing ability, according to the NAEP results. Latino students are 1.9 years behind in science, 2.2 years behind in math, 3.2 behind in reading, and 2.3 years behind in writing.

Of the three groups, Latino students had the highest graduation rate in 2000, with 74.2 percent of students earning "on time" diplomas. White students graduated at a rate of 72.9 percent, and blacks at 64.2 percent.

In the report "Measuring Up 2002", EdTrust calculates that for its five "top states" in the nation, 54 percent of high school freshmen enter college within four years.

North Carolina sends 39 percent of its high school freshmen to a U.S. college within four years. Eighty percent of college freshmen in North Carolina return for their sophomore year, which compares favorably to the 83 percent that return from EdTrust's top five states.

Six-year matriculation is becoming more common at universities, and EdTrust looked at four-year and six-year graduation rates in North Carolina. At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, data from 2001 shows that 82 percent of whites, and 90 percent of Latinos who entered as freshmen graduated in six years. Blacks graduated 64 percent of entering freshmen in six years from UNC-CH. Among four-year college programs, 69 percent of whites, 60 percent of Latinos, and 51 percent of blacks successfully earned their degrees.

Over all, Latino students had greater success in acquiring diplomas and degrees during the years studied than did black students. With the exception of the six-year UNC graduation rate, white students completed degrees at a higher rate than either Latino or blacks.

The Education Trust reports didn't attempt to explain the data. But taken as a broad picture, the data "paint a fairly representative picture of who makes it through college," the authors say.

## Educators Continue To Live in Denial

Bumper stickers have a way of affirming the obvious. Have you seen this one? "IT IS BETTER TO LIVE IN DENIAL THAN NOT TO LIVE AT ALL."

This captures the epitome of narcissism in our society. Bumper stickers often bring attention to issues with hyperbole or double meanings. What's amazing is there are people who really believe this statement! However, folks who do live in denial and refuse to recognize their condition have a serious problem, and really do not live at all. Talk with anyone who works with hurts, habits, and hangups. He knows the first step in recovery is recognizing that there is a problem.

A few months ago, a report was released that confirmed the denial that prevails in public education. Public Agenda is a polling and research organization, not a conservative group. They recently released

"Where We Are Now: 12 Things you need to Know about Public Opinion and Public Schools."

This report lays out the opinions of various education stakeholders on issues ranging from student testing and achievement to teacher compensation and parental involvement. What caught my attention were not the results of the report but the dramatic disparity of the opinions of the stakeholders.

The report verified that there is an enormous gap between the way parents and teachers rate high school graduates, and the way that employers and college professors view them. When asked, "Based on your experience, how would you rate the public schools?" A total of 73 percent of parents and 93 percent of teachers rated public schools "excellent" or "good," but only 42 percent of employers and 39 percent of professors agreed. Almost half of employers and professors thought that schools expect students to learn too little, while less than 22 percent of teachers and parents felt the same.

The most disconcerting statistic addressed whether a diploma meant that the typical student had learned the basics. While teachers, students, and parents overwhelmingly said the diploma had significance, fewer than 40 percent of employers and professors said high school graduates had learned the basics. Many teachers, parents, and students might be living in denial until after graduation, when the student faces the real preparation of higher education and the real world of work.

One reason for this dichotomy may be a philosophical belief about the focus of colleges of education. Eighty-four percent of education professors say it is "absolutely essential to encourage prospective teachers to be lifelong learners." Excuse me, but "lifelong learners" should be a generally accepted value for every citizen, not just teachers.

Fewer than 20 percent of education professors thought it is "absolutely essential to produce teachers who stress correct spelling, grammar, and punctuation." North Carolina's Department of Public Instruction and North Carolina colleges of education must embrace this view. Tenth-graders scoring at grade level in grammar dropped from 37.5 percent in 1991-92, to only 8 percent in 1998-99.

Denial will prevail if folks don't look at the facts, are unwilling to change, or wait until their pain exceeds their fears. Until the money flowing to the education monopoly is disrupted, it seems that the status quo will continue. The fastest way to improve this system is to open it to the free market and competition. Maybe we need another bumper sticker:

"WHEN SCHOOLS COMPETE, KIDS WIN!" CJ

Kakadelis is director of the NC Education Alliance.



Lindalyn  
Kakadelis

## School News: Nation

• The *New York Times* reports that some states are lowering student testing standards. In the face of sanctions for failure to meet the adequate yearly progress provisions of the federal law No Child Left Behind, the Texas State Board of Education amended scoring procedures on the new statewide achievement test.

After seeing the initial results, the *Times* reports that board member Chase Untermeyer said, "The results were grim." Shortly afterward, the board "voted to reduce the number of questions that students must answer correctly to pass it."

Other states are in a similar dilemma. Michigan's standards, known to be among the highest in the nation, would have pushed 1,513 schools into the "needing improvement" category, the report said. Michigan reduced the percentage of students who must pass its English test to still be considered "adequate." That move reduced to 216 the number of schools that would encounter problems due to English alone. According to the *Times*, Colorado and Ohio are also considering ways of adjusting standards to keep more schools in compliance with the federal law.

• The Associated Press reported that the U.S. House voted to support a ban on forced medication of schoolchildren. In a 425-1 vote, representatives passed a bill intended to "make sure schools do not coerce parents into medicating their children." The medications are designed to alter behavior, and have been required for some children as a condition of attending classes. Children are most often prescribed the psychotropic drugs Ritalin or Adderall.

House speaker Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., spoke in favor of the bill, named the Child Medication Safety Act. The lone vote in opposition to the ban came from Rep. Susan Davis, D-Calif., who stated that "it was a solution in search of a problem."

• In a possible sequel to *Zelman vs. Simmons-Harris*, the Supreme Court agreed to consider another voucher question. *Education Week* reports that the issue concerns the constitutionality of voucher programs that offer funds to private secular schools, but not to private religious ones.

The immediate question surrounds a legal appeal in *Locke v. Davey*, in which a student was "denied a state merit scholarship because his chosen major was 'pastoral studies'."

"This is 'Private School Vouchers: Reloaded,' if it were a movie," said Barry Lynn. Lynn is the executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

Davey sued the state on the ground of free exercise of religion, lost, but won his appeal in the 9th Circuit in San Francisco.

The next Supreme Court term begins in October, and litigants anticipate a summer 2004 decision in the matter. *CJ*

## 400 to 800 students per school may be the ideal size

## Small High Schools Excel In Quality and Safety

By KAREN PALASEK

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

**W**hy has entrepreneur Bill Gates vowed to commit billions of dollars to the public education system? Gates is a committed advocate of small schools, and part of a growing chorus of voices calling for scaled down, safer, and more effective secondary education.

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has underwritten about \$2 billion worth of projects since 1994, aimed at creating small public high schools, in the 400 to 800 student range.

*Business Week's* recent picks of the top 100 high schools in America lend support to Gates's view. Top-ranked International Academy, in Bloomfield Hills, Mich., enrolls 521 students in ninth through 12th grades. The average size of a top-five high school in *Business Week's* list is 641 students. The range stretches from Stanton Prep, the largest at 1,461 students, to tiny Paxton High, at 170 students.

North Carolina's Myers Park High School, in Charlotte, was ranked No. 7 in the nation. At 2,497 students, Myers Park is more than 70 percent larger than any other school in the top 10. In all, six North Carolina high schools appear among the top 100 schools in the rankings. They include Enloe, Providence, East Chapel Hill, Harding University, and East Mecklenburg high schools, in addition to Myers Park.

**Increasing school and district size**

For decades before the 1980s, schools and school systems were undergoing a scale transformation. Not only were individual schools getting bigger and bigger, so were the districts that served schoolchildren and their families. Kathleen Cotton reported in a 1996 study "School Size, School Climate, and Student Performance," that "the total number of elementary and secondary public schools declined 69 percent — from about 200,000 to 62,037 — despite a 70 percent increase in population" between 1940 and 1990. According to a study by H.J. Walberg, the number of school districts across the United States shrunk by 87 percent over roughly the same period, falling from 117,108 in 1940, to 15,367 by 1992. The dominant themes almost everywhere were to become bigger and more centralized in the name of efficiency and opportunity.

By 1994, as Cotton noted, average school enrollment was five times its 1940 level. Elementary schools, which had averaged 123 students, now averaged 650 students. High schools in 1940 were closer to the 350 to 600 range, at their largest. High schools with 2,000 to 3,000 students are now commonplace in some urban and suburban areas.

Plans for new Wake County schools generally agree with Cotton's 1996 calculations. According to the "Plan 2000 Mid-Program Update," new Wake County elementary schools are being built for 601 to 748 students. Middle and high schools are large as well. Heritage Middle School in Wake Forest is planned for 1,293 students, and Knightdale High projects 1,604 students. Student capacity in new construction doesn't include the trailer classrooms that are sometimes added in a school's first year of operation.

**Small schools vs. large schools**

"Small" is not a precise term when it comes to school size. Researchers have arrived at a consensus, however, and refer to



small high schools as ones that keep enrollment below 800. The cost savings theoretically associated with large schools have been overstated, or don't exist at all, according to cost-effectiveness studies. Phillip McKenzie's 1983 analysis shows that average costs "decline, reach a minimum, and then begin rising" as enrollment increases. The optimal size is much smaller than earlier believed, McKenzie's numbers show.

The Institute for Education and Social Policy at New York University studied costs at New York City high schools, comparing small and large institutions. The NYU study revealed that small city schools have higher per-pupil expenditures than large schools, but noticed that the small schools were graduating a significantly larger percentage of their students. As a result, the small schools incur a lower cost *per graduate*.

Small size, according to the Cotton survey, promotes a feeling of "belongingness" and reduces students' sense of alienation. Small schools also have better attendance and lower dropout rates. As Cotton wrote, "Measured either as a dropout rate or graduation rate, the holding power of small schools is considerably greater than that of large schools."

The Cotton survey reported on 49 studies that considered school size and its effect on performance, attitude, and behavior. Of these, 31 linked smallness to higher achievement, 19 to better student attitudes, 17 to increased extracurricular participation, and 14 linked smallness to fewer discipline problems and better social behavior.

One interesting finding from the survey documents the fact that a greater percentage of students participate in extracurricular activities at small schools. With fewer students, each is "more valuable" to the life of the school, whether in clubs or student government.

Achievement and safety are critical issues in contemporary high schools. Personal attitudes and higher interpersonal esteem play a role in school safety. Less vandalism, theft, substance abuse, and classroom disruption, among other negative behaviors were reported in 14 of the surveyed assessments. And minority students fare better, researchers found. "To put this a little differently, ... researchers have found that large schools have a more negative im-

pact on minority and low-SES [socioeconomic status] students than on students in general," the *School Size* report states. Researchers have observed that low-SES student attitudes are particularly sensitive to school size.

As Robert Jewell observed while addressing questions of education equity "...we may be acting contrary to the interests of all concerned by organizing our public education system in a manner which assigns high proportions of minority youngsters to large schools within very large school districts."

Large schools don't generally outperform small schools academically. Half of the research comparisons showed that small schools produced as many academically advanced students as did large ones. Otherwise, small schools outperformed larger ones.

Wake County's "Small Schools, Big Changes" study of 2000 echoes the Cotton research on school grades, test scores, and honor roll membership. It also notes that smaller schools do a better job of retaining students. "Current research still shows smaller school environments to have lower dropout rates and

better student involvement in extracurricular activities," "Small Schools, Big Changes" reiterates.

The Cotton survey states that "both personal and academic self-regard are more positive in smaller schools." Michelle Fine, psychology professor at the City University of New York, said, "[S]mall is just a vehicle for doing other rigorous, accountable work."

While North Carolina did well to place six schools among the top 100 nationally, its top-ranked schools are atypically large. All of the six top-100 schools in North Carolina have student populations over 1,200. New York has 30 top-100 schools on the *Business Week* list. Just 25 percent of those are larger than 1,000 students. Excluding the New York City metropolitan area, about one top-100 school in 10 is larger than 1,000 students.

Without some statistical tests, it's hard to know whether North Carolina would have more top rankings with smaller high schools. But in students with large gaps in achievement, research confirms that small schools do make a big difference. *CJ*

**...either as dropout rate or graduation rate, the holding power of smaller schools is considerably greater than that of large schools.**



## Girls' development matches school expectations

## Boys Losing on All Fronts in the 'War' Against Them, Researchers Say

By KAREN PALASEK  
Assistant Editor

It's a bad time to be a boy in America, wrote Christina Hoff Sommers in the opening of her book *The War Against Boys*. She says that we "are turning against boys and forgetting... that they are responsible for much of what is right in the world." Michelle Conlin's *Business Week* article, "The New Gender Gap," reports on boy-girl achievement rates in schools and colleges. Boys are either falling behind girls, or failing to make equivalent progress in a wide range of areas. Thomas Mortensen of the Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education, writes in *What's Wrong With Guys?* that "over the last 30 years, nearly all of the progress in educational attainment has been achieved by females — almost none has been earned by males."

According to *Business Week*, the female-to-male ratio for entering freshmen at the University of North Carolina is now 60-40. The *North Carolina Statistical Profile 2000* data show that of 111,459 students who entered North Carolina high schools in 1997, 33,098 girls graduated in 2000. Graduating girls represent about 30 percent of the 1997 entering class. The 29,916 male graduates make up 27 percent of entering high school freshmen.

## What's wrong with guys?

Mortensen notes that men represented 58 percent of college graduates in 1969, but just 44 percent of that group by 1999. National data on male-female college entry mimics the UNC data. According to the national Center for Educational Statistics, Nationally, 56 percent of college freshmen are women. Women increased their participation in college by 20.5 percent from 1967 to 2000. Over the same period, men's participation grew just 3.8 percent.

In the 1970s, boy-girl standings were reversed, or so the story goes. The blame went chiefly to the boys, or at least to a claim that girls suffered because of a male-dominated culture. Chief architects of what became the "girl project" to promote female

achievement were Harvard professor of gender studies Carol Gilligan, psychologist Mary Pipher, and the American Association of University Women. They portrayed American girls as "lacking in self-esteem," "unable to find their own voice," and under-accomplished due to an "anti-girl" system that favors boys. And boys were problems themselves, the AAUW claimed. According to the AAUW-commissioned study "How Schools Shortchange Girls," boys were culturally "bound in a straight-jacket of masculinity."

To remedy this, a "boy project," centered at Tufts University, adopted the bold mission of "Reinventing Boyhood." Director Barney Brawer told *Education Week* at the time that they had "deconstructed the old version of manhood, but hadn't yet constructed" a new one to replace it.

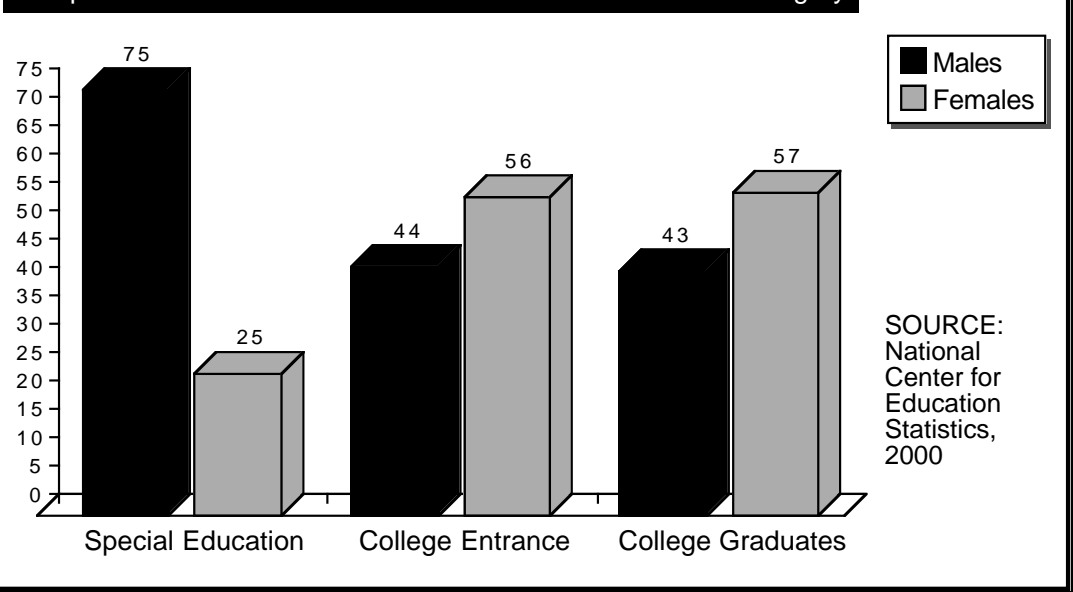
## The Boy Code

In myriad areas, academic, social, and emotional, researchers see evidence that boys are "languishing." The messages that confront young males leave men guilty, disconnected, and without culturally acceptable outlets. William Pollock, professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and author of the book *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons From the Myths of Boyhood*, articulates one source of friction in the unspoken rules that every boy must live by — what he calls The Boy Code.

The Boy Code dictates that a male "be independent, hide your feelings, be tough. Feel free to show your anger, but not your pain." As Tom Klaus in *Talking With Boys About Sex* states "Real Boys, and hence Real Men, don't feel anything."

The conflicting mandates contribute to boy confusion. "A boy today, through no fault of his own, finds himself implicated in the social crime of 'shortchanging' girls," Sommers wrote in 2000 in *The War Against Boys*. Behavior and attitude problems often surface in school. Paul R. Wolpe of the Center for Bioethics at the University of Pennsylvania attributes at least part of the Ritalin con-

Comparison of Male and Female Percent of Total in Each Category



sumption in schools to this conflict. "Ritalin is a response to an artificial social context that we've created for children" Wolpe said. According to *Business Week's* 'New Gender Gap,' the United States now consumes more than 80 percent of the world's production of the psychotropic drug Ritalin, mostly in doses to American boys. It has reportedly been called "the new K-12 management tool."

Pollock, in *Real Boys*, says that "boys themselves are falling behind their own functioning and doing worse than they did before." Between behavior problems and medication, many more boys than girls wind up in special education. On average, boys comprise 75 percent of each special ed class, a trend of 20 or more years.

## Boys may be the fragile sex

Sommers wrote in *The War Against Boys* that "it has become fashionable to attribute pathology to millions of healthy male children." Sommers, a philosophy professor and W. H. Brady Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, notes that in modern America "the problem with boys is that they are boys, say the experts. We have to make them more like... girls."

Science and brain research confirm that boys and girls have real developmental differences. The *New Gender Gap* emphasizes points raised both by Sommers and by Lillian Katz, early-childhood education expert. Boys develop more slowly than girls, both physically — fine motor coordination

— and emotionally. "Biologically, he needs about four recesses a day, but he's lucky if he gets one," Conlin writes. "Even the nerves on a boy's fingers develop later than girls', making it difficult to hold a pencil and push out perfect cursive," Katz says.

Every Department of Education Survey and NCES report since the 1980s documents female academic progress, with little male progress to match. Women outpaced men in reading, writing, the arts, and music. They had fewer school suspensions, fewer successful suicide attempts, higher completion rates in high school and college, took more advanced coursework, were suspended and held back less often, and were far less likely to be diagnosed with ADHD or be prescribed Ritalin. The only surprise in this is that the girls' performance comes as any surprise.

Many researchers conclude that we need to adjust the education system to fit the way that boys mature. Helping boys "feel less like misfits" may keep them engaged — with school, family, and with society. Boys' tendency to "disengage" harms women as well as themselves, Mortensen argues. Males who drop out wind up in low- and no-skill work, or are financially dependent on their partners. Marriage and the family suffer.

Boy-girl differences make a world of difference, says Michael Gurian in *Boys and Girls Learn Differently*. Halting the intellectual and social decline of men in America, he says, means giving up the idea that "gender is just a social function." CJ

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**Bats in the Belltower***O! the offenses that were giv'n!*

The Weenies That Be at the University of Massachusetts are considering changing UMass's mascot again. In 1972 UMass's athletics squads were known as the "Redmen" — which was offensive to Native Americans.

So with a nod to American — not to mention local — history, the UMass mascot became the Minuteman. But that's a problem because, as Athletic Director Ian J. McCaw told the online news site MassLive, the design company consulting for UMass "expressed some concern with the single-gender ethnicity of the Minuteman, and the fact that he's carrying a firearm."

**Tomahawk chopping**

Meanwhile, Florida State University received an endorsement of its supposedly "offensive" Seminole mascot from one Max Osceola, acting chief of the Seminole Tribe. According to the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* April 3, Osceola gave the Florida Legislature "a message of support for the students and alumni about the school's spirited tradition, in which a man dressed up as Chief Osceola charges down midfield atop an Apaloosa horse and plants a spear on the field as a part of a pregame ritual." Dressed in "a brightly colored Seminole jacket," Osceola told legislators that, "Members of the Seminole Tribe do not consider it derogatory, demeaning or insulting."

**Exit stage left**

Only a leftist with the keen attentiveness for his audience's needs as Phil Donahue could view an invitation to deliver a commencement address at a major research university in the United States as an opportunity to teach the graduates "what liberals believe." Given the timing of the speech, the subject matter and, as always, Donahue's trademark breathy, bug-eyed, staccato-for-sloths method of emphasizing *IMPOR...tant* points, one would be sorely pressed to manufacture a more emblematic instance of that all-too-familiar campus mix of leftist dullness and condescension. That and leftist faux-martyrdom — Donahue's proof of the trampling of free speech in America was, after all, MSNBC's decision to cancel his low-rated show. Once the booing began, Donahue declared that he "obviously ha[d] made a few enemies" and joked about having to enter the federal witness-protection program.

**No such thing**

One of Donahue's suggestions to NCSU grads was to "Take a liberal to lunch." Credit him for a new tack on an old "liberal" favorite: sloganeering for that mythical free lunch.

**A tale of two headlines**

The May 27 listing of stories for Orange County in the online version of the Durham *Herald Sun* had these two stories almost back-to-back: "\$1B and counting: UNC hits landmark" (which begins "It's official. UNC is a billionaire... the university's capital campaign reached the \$1 billion mark, placing the school in some elite company.") and "State budget knife to cut deep at UNC." CJ

**Proposals favor illegal immigrants and out-of-state students****Policymakers Mull Changes That Would Cut North Carolina Citizens' Access to UNC**

By JON SANDERS

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

**T**wo ideas under discussion in North Carolina would make it more difficult for legal residents of the state to be admitted to the University of North Carolina.

The first is a bill before the state Senate to extend in-state tuition rates to illegal immigrants and other noncitizens. Senate Bill 987, currently before committee, would amend the General Statutes to extend resident tuition status to any "individual who (i) has attended school in North Carolina for at least four consecutive years and (ii) has received a high school diploma from a school within North Carolina or has obtained a general education diploma (GED) issued in North Carolina."

Sponsored by Sen. Eric Reeves, D-Wake, and cosponsored by Sen. Tom Apodaca, R-Henderson; Sen. Fletcher L. Hartsell, Jr., R-Cabarrus; and Sen. Jeanne H. Lucas, D-Durham, the bill is similar to last year's failed Senate Bill 812. That bill, introduced by Sen. William N. Martin, D-Guilford, would have required illegal immigrants to have only two years' attendance at a N.C. high school and a diploma in order to qualify for in-state tuition. Lucas is the only one among SB 987's sponsors to have also sponsored last year's measure.

In late May, Hispanic activists protested outside the General Assembly in favor of the measure.

The issue of granting undocumented individuals resident tuition levels is before several state legislative bodies, and it has been passed by some states, including California and Texas. The issue was quashed in Virginia in November 2002 when the attorney general, Jerry W. Kilgore, issued a memo stating that Virginia's public colleges and universities should not admit illegal immigrants and should reserve their slots for legal residents and taxpayers.

In November 2001, officials at the City University of New York reversed a long-standing policy giving illegal immigrants access to in-state tuition rates. CUNY's vice chancellor for legal affairs, Frederick P. Schaffer, said the policy violated federal immigration law. The New York legislature later voted to extend in-state tuition back to illegal immigrants who attended high school in New York for two years and applied for admission in a public New York institution within five years of receiving a diploma.

The federal immigration law that CUNY's vice chancellor argued the policy violated was passed in 1996. It reads in part, "An alien who is not lawfully present in the United States shall not be eligible on the basis of residence within a state (or political subdivision) for any postsecondary education benefit unless a citizen or national of the United States is eligible for such a benefit (in no less an amount, duration, and scope) without regard to whether the citizen or national is such a resident."

During the deliberations in Texas, Rep. Debbie Riddle, R-Houston, drew activists' fire for criticizing the idea. "Where did this idea come from that everybody deserves free education, free medical care, free whatever?" she asked in the *El Paso Times* in

March of this year. "It comes from Moscow, from Russia. It comes straight from the pit of hell. And it's cleverly disguised as having a tender heart. It's ripping the heart out of this country."

Riddle's criticism of that idea was characterized as "immigrant bashing" and "culturally insensitive" by Hispanic lawmakers quoted in the *Houston Chronicle*.

**Fewer NC students at UNC-CH?**

The second idea under discussion was first proposed in UNC-CH's newly released academic plan ([www.unc.edu/provost/academicplan03.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/provost/academicplan03.pdf)), now before the university's trustees. It urges trustees to "Reassess the implications of the 18 percent cap on undergraduate out-of-state students." If the trustees agree, they would have to gain the UNC Board of Governors' approval, then be accepted by the legislature, for the proposal to become policy.

According to the UNC-CH plan, the state's current cap "is more restrictive and rigid compared with those governing UNC-Chapel Hill's peer campuses." Worse, some of the brightest students in N.C. go out of state for a college education. As a result, "the University must decline admission to thousands of exceedingly bright out-of-state applicants whose presence on campus would add to the geographic, intellectual, artistic, and cultural diversity of the student population, as well as offset the 'brain drain' of North Carolina talent to other states." UNC-CH wants "relief from the current out-of-state enrollment cap."

In an interview with *The News & Observer* of Raleigh on June 2, UNC Board of Trustees chairman Tim Burnett said the cap should be raised to 25 percent.

Burnett laid out several cases for raising the out-of-state enrollment cap. He said that an "effective argument with the legislature" would be if UNC made the case based on "the diversity factor," meaning increasing the proportion of out-of-state students would "enrich greatly" the education "experience" of those N.C. students who do gain admission to UNC-CH by that diversity. Burnett noted also that "we have 15 other campuses that provide a baccalaureate curriculum, so everyone's not going to get into Chapel Hill."

Burnett also cited the familiar justification that "our education system is the best economic engine we have" and that "the brainpower of our citizens is the future of this state" in order to make the case for "giv[ing] them [*sic* — the antecedent is 'our citizens' although the intent is clearly 'UNC-CH students'] the best education we can."

The latter justification seems almost at odds with Burnett's third justification, in which he argued "we have a lot of alumni who are living elsewhere and doing well and wanting their children to do well." This argument was the money factor, especially "[a]t a time when we're relying on more private money." Because "we have to turn [children of those out-of-state alumni] away from Carolina," Burnett said, "that makes it kind of hard to get them to stroke a pen across a check."

Burnett added, "We're not talking about an alumna with a dimwitted child"



Sen. Eric Reeves sponsored S.B. 987, a bill to extend in-state tuition to illegal immigrants.

but "students who would raise the bar for everyone."

That sentiment animated the editorial in *The Daily Tar Heel* of May 29. Editorial writer Jeff Silver wrote that despite UNC-CH Chancellor James Moeser's vision of making UNC-CH "the best public university in the nation" (Moeser's words), "the well-read annual *U.S. News & World Report* rankings... have not provided Moeser with any evidence that his plan is working, with UNC-CH hovering at fifth place among public universities for years." Silver continued, "So how can UNC-CH move up, both in the magazine's rankings and in general?"

The answer: "The UNC-system Board of Governors must allow the University to increase the number of out-of-state students it enrolls each year," Silver writes. "First and foremost, the excellence of the student body is hampered significantly by the 18 percent cap."

Raising the out-of-state enrollment cap from 18 to 25 percent, however, is essentially the same as lowering the in-state enrollment "cap" from 82 to 75 percent. It would effectively be a real cut in in-state enrollment. For UNC-CH's in-state enrollment (the total number of in-state students) not to decline under that change, it would have to increase its overall enrollment by at least 9 1/3 percent.

Cutting in-state enrollment would also appear counter to one of the key issues behind the higher education bond issue: a pending enrollment increase in North Carolina. For example, the Sept. 15, 2000, *N&O* quoted UNC President Molly Broad telling Rotarians in High Point about the bond issue: "But this is not as much about bricks and mortar as it is about providing opportunity for your children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and fueling the economy of North Carolina." Also, a pro-bond brochure entitled "Higher Education: Shaping North Carolina's Future," published by the UNC-CH Office of Government Relations and NCFEO, said the bond would "enable Carolina to welcome a possible enrollment increase of 5,000 new students over the next ten years."

As for the UNC-CH report's concern about "brain drain" and having to turn away "exceedingly bright out-of-state applicants" because of the current cap, the *DTH* of April 1 reported that Steve Farmer, senior associate director of admissions, described UNC-CH's incoming freshman class as "the strongest academically in University history." CJ

# Salaries for UNC System Faculty Compare Favorably Among Peer Institutions in Region

By JENNA ASHLEY  
Editorial Intern

RALEIGH

Faculty salaries in the University of North Carolina system compare well with those of their peers, according to a study released in May by a Virginia public-policy think tank. The study, "Compensation of Campus Faculty: How Virginia Compares Within the Region," was published by the Thomas Jefferson Institute ([www.thomasjeffersoninst.org](http://www.thomasjeffersoninst.org)) and conducted by Pope Center for Higher Education Policy analyst Jon Sanders. It compares faculty salaries and compensation at colleges and universities in Virginia with those at peer institutions nationally or regionally.

The Jefferson study adjusts 2001-02 salary data compiled by the American Association of University Professors according to area cost-of-living data from ACCRA, an association of chambers of commerce, in order to compare "institutions' salary and compensation averages in terms of purchasing power." It looks at 443 institutions in total, comparing them according to their peer categories as specified by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Universities in the category of doctoral/research-intensive are compared with national peers, and universities in the rest of the categories - doctoral/research-intensive, masters I, masters II, baccalaureate-liberal arts, and baccalaureate-general — are compared with peers in Virginia's "competitive region": New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The study examines salaries and compensation for three levels of faculty, assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor. It ranks the results, gives each category's average adjusted salary or compensation, and also shows where the 60th percentile falls in each ranking. The reason for showing the 60th percentile line is because, as the report explains, "Virginia policy has been for years to strive to ensure public university instructors receive a salary of at least 60 percent of their peers."

The crucial aspect in the Jefferson study is its comparison of salaries that have been adjusted for purchasing power. The author explains that the flaw in "comparing raw [salary] averages at one campus to another" is that "geographic areas differ in terms of cost of living, sometimes dramatically." The report notes also that "pay is just one of the many factors that go into a professor's decision of where to teach" and that the study "makes no pretenses of being able to quantify either institutional quality or any of the many other factors that go into deciding where to teach."

As Jefferson Institute Chairman and President Mike Thompson explained in the foreword, adjusting salaries according to purchasing power "give[s] our public policy leaders, our business leaders, and the media the ability to compare salaries and compensation in a fair manner where the purchasing power of the dollar was equalized."

## UNC pay well above peer averages

As the accompanying table shows, UNC system salaries in 2001-02 — with few exceptions — were not only above peer averages, but also would have met the Virginia public-policy goal. Only at UNC-Asheville were faculty salaries below their peer averages. Salaries for associate professors at UNC-Greensboro and Elizabeth City State University were only slightly above their peer average.

For the other UNC schools, salaries for full, associate,

and assistant professors were not only above the regional or national average, but also in the upper 40 percent among their peers in every category.

### Comparing UNC Faculty Pay, Adjusted for Purchasing Power, With Those of National or Regional Peers

School (Category)	Faculty Level	Adjusted Salary	National Peer Avg.
NC State (DRE)	Full	\$ 91,700*	\$88,600
	Assoc.	66,900*	62,900
	Asst.	58,200*	53,300
UNC-Chapel Hill (DRE)	Full	102,200*	88,600
	Assoc.	71,300*	62,900
	Asst.	59,600*	53,300
<hr/>			
School (Category)	Faculty Level	Adjusted Salary	Regional Peer Avg.
East Carolina (DRI)	Full	\$79,800*	\$80,300
	Assoc.	62,900*	60,700
	Asst.	53,300*	49,800
UNC-Greensboro (DRI)	Full	82,300*	80,300
	Assoc.	60,500	60,700
	Asst.	51,700*	49,800
Appalachian State (M1)	Full	72,700*	66,800
	Assoc.	60,400*	54,300
	Asst.	49,100*	45,400
Fayetteville State (M1)	Full	72,900*	66,800
	Assoc.	62,300*	54,300
	Asst.	53,800*	45,400
NC A&T State (M1)	Full	70,400*	66,800
	Assoc.	60,800*	54,300
	Asst.	53,900*	45,400
NC Central (M1)	Full	81,000*	66,800
	Assoc.	62,700*	54,300
	Asst.	53,500*	45,400
UNC-Charlotte (M1)	Full	87,100*	66,800
	Assoc.	64,500*	54,300
	Asst.	56,500*	45,400
UNC-Pembroke (M1)	Full	78,200*	66,800
	Assoc.	57,300*	54,300
	Asst.	48,900*	45,400
UNC-Wilmington (M1)	Full	72,200*	66,800
	Assoc.	56,600*	54,300
	Asst.	49,600*	45,400
Western Carolina (M1)	Full	71,600*	66,800
	Assoc.	58,900*	54,300
	Asst.	49,300*	45,400
UNC-Asheville (BLA)	Full	66,800	67,800
	Assoc.	49,800	53,500
	Asst.	42,000	43,800
Elizabeth City State (BG)	Full	56,400*	52,900
	Assoc.	44,300	44,300
	Asst.	41,100*	38,000
Winston-Salem State (BG)	Full	73,400*	52,900
	Assoc.	63,600*	44,300
	Asst.	52,800*	38,000

An asterisk (\*) denotes salary above the 60th percentile among national or regional peer institutions.

Salaries in italics are below the regional peer average.

Categories are: DRE = Doctoral/Research University-Extensive; DRI = Doctoral/Research University-Intensive; M1 = Masters I University; BLA = Baccalaureate University-Liberal Arts; BG = Baccalaureate University-General.

The region is Virginia's "competitive region," made up of the following: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Source: Jon Sanders, "Compensation of Campus Faculty: How Virginia Compares Within the Region," published by the Thomas Jefferson Institute, April 2003.

# Another Summer Reading Dud at UNC

Last year, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's summer reading program managed to stir up controversy and even litigation by choosing Michael Sells' *Approaching the Qur'an* as the book incoming freshmen were expected to read. The problem with that book, which overlooks Islam's propensities toward intolerance and violence, was not that it was promoting religion, but that it was a waste of the students' time. With so many great books available, why bother with one that just slaps a smiley face on the serious problem of militant Islam?



Jon Sanders

This year's choice is no better, and arguably it's worse. Incoming freshmen are assigned to read Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*. The book recounts the author's experiment of abandoning her writing career for a few months to live as a low-paid worker. She worked as a waitress, a maid, and as a Wal-Mart sales associate. The work she found tiring, the conditions often unpleasant, and the pay barely adequate for a no-frills existence. Very enlightening — "(Not)."

The dull, sometimes whiney narrative is capped off with a chapter that rants against free-market capitalism. For example, Ehrenreich complains that the working poor can't find affordable and convenient housing because the wealthy buy up all the land for "condos, McMansions, golf courses, or whatever they like." It's just unenlightened griping without a hint of sober economic analysis — an infomercial for the liberal welfare policies she favors.

*Approaching the Qur'an* was a waste of time, but *Nickel and Dimed* is truly pernicious. The book is designed to lead readers to believe that there is something "terribly wrong" with the United States because life is not easy for the poor. While Ehrenreich does not expressly advocate more government redistribution and intervention in the management of business, there is no doubt that she intends to sow those seeds. Having incoming students read this feeble book makes it seem as though UNC-CH is pushing a leftist, government-enhancing agenda, rather than trying to enhance student knowledge and reasoning ability.

The topic of poverty in the United States was recently examined by two excellent economists, W. Michael Cox and Richard Alm, in their book *Myths of Rich and Poor*. If UNC-CH were interested in intellectual diversity, it could have had students read both books and then compare them. Unfortunately, the summer reading committee decided that students should read only the book that draws a negative conclusion based on a tiny sample of personal experience, rather than one that draws a positive conclusion based on a wide-ranging evaluation of economic data and trends.

Perhaps, however, it isn't too late to salvage something from the wreckage. The UNC-CH administration could decide to require the Cox and Alm book (or some other book that argues against welfare and governmental intervention) in order to provide a counterweight to *Nickel and Dimed*. The cost would be small and the intellectual benefits considerable.

But of course, that idea wouldn't get a moment's consideration in Chapel Hill. The solution, therefore, is to turn to private enterprise. I suggest that one of the non-leftist student organizations on campus seek financial support so that it can make copies of *Myths of Rich and Poor* available to students who aren't content to hear just one side of the story. It might also be possible to email incoming students during the summer to let them know that there are books such as *Myths of Rich and Poor* that they might want to read along with *Nickel and Dimed*.

Mooser promised to continue choosing "provocative" books after last year's uproar. I think he ought to focus on finding books that are intellectually broadening instead.

## Course of the Month

## Unlike Parrots, Anthropologist's Students Don't 'Think Critically'

At many N.C. universities, an introductory anthropology course would deliver on a promise similar to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Anthropology 10 course description:

### ANTH 10: GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY

*An introduction to anthropology, the science of humans, the culture bearing animal. Topics considered: human evolution and biological variations within and between modern populations, prehistoric and historic developments of culture, cultural dynamics viewed analytically and comparatively.*

Under lecturer Alison Greene, however, this introduction to anthropology became "a daily diatribe against [President] Bush's Iraq policy," according to the March 2003 *Carolina Review* ([www.unc.edu/cr](http://www.unc.edu/cr)). In a May follow-up, Publisher Steve Russell cited examples of Greene's commandeering the course to attempt indoctrination. Greene showed a film entitled *Greetings from Iraq*, on the suffering of Iraqi people after the first Gulf War. She assigned the book *Guests of the Sheik*, which discussed life in a Shiite Muslim village in southern Iraq (a book that in itself is not out of the purview of even a general anthropology course), but she did so apparently to have an excuse for "injecting more political material into the course." Greene also introduced as course text an email from a friend of hers identified only as a "retired military expert" who "appears to claim that nuclear weapons are the only weapons of mass destruction" — but she neither distributed the email to the class nor clarified its author's qualifications.

Greene's course has also been discussed online in PoliticallyRight.com ([www.politicallyright.com/May2003/article4.htm](http://www.politicallyright.com/May2003/article4.htm)). UNC-CH masters student Chris Speck wrote that Greene "would lecture on [the Iraq war] directly, or make off-hand comments if her lectures did not deal specifically with Iraq. She showed the class antiwar websites such as [www.iraqbodycount.com](http://www.iraqbodycount.com)."

Speck interviewed several people in the class. The following comments are taken from Speck's article:

- "On the very first day of class she told us that she was against the war in Iraq and that she intended to make this a topic of discussion... In some lectures she would spend a half an hour talking about Iraq's weapons program"

- "If she didn't talk about Iraq in every class, she did it at least once a week... I told her that I would like to see her teach both sides of the argument, and she told me that she felt she only had enough time to present one side. She said that students can always turn on CNN to get a more pro-American view."

- "I remember one time when she was discussing [[iraqbodycount.com](http://iraqbodycount.com)] and one guy raised his hand and asked where the site was for the civilian casualties that had been used by Saddam as human shields, and she basically dismissed it and didn't pay attention to him."

- "In a class that I'm paying for, that is part of a requirement, I would like to have a teacher that is more unbiased."

What *CR* termed "the most egregious example of Greene's fixation on Iraq" was a section on Greene's midterm

exam. Following are questions 37-39 from that exam, with the "correct" answer given in bold:

37. In the video, *Greetings from Iraq*, the filmmaker demonstrates that U.N. sanctions mandated following the Gulf War of 1991

- effectively weakened Saddam Hussein's dictatorship.
- produced rampant inflation.
- resulted in dramatic increases in malnutrition and related diseases among children.
- made basic medicines and hospital supplies difficult or impossible to acquire.

**e. ANSWERS "b.," "c.," and "d." are all TRUE.**

38. According to material presented in lecture written by a retired military weapons, munitions, and training expert, \_\_\_\_\_ are "weapons of mass destruction" (WMD). In contrast, \_\_\_\_\_ are "area denial" and or terror weapons.

- only nuclear weapons; chemical and biological weapons**
- only nuclear and biological weapons; chemical weapons
- nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons; land mines
- only nuclear and chemical weapons; biological weapons
- only chemical and biological; nuclear weapons

39. Using the definition above in combination with the findings of U.N. weapons inspectors, it is possible to state definitively that Iraq clearly \_\_\_\_\_ "weapons of mass destruction."

- possesses, has used, and intends the future use of
- does NOT possess**
- has exported
- intends to supply terrorist groups with
- formerly possessed but now has destroyed all of its

In the May issue, *CR* publisher Steve Russell interviewed Greene by telephone. According to Russell,

*In the telephone interview, Greene quickly dismissed student concerns, although she acknowledged that "a small number have been expressing upsetness." When asked specifically about her students' negative perceptions of the materials present in class, she said, "What I present in my teeny tiny bit of time has turned out to be too controversial, too hard for them, too upsetting, too threatening." It would appear that she believes that the concerned students are not intelligent enough to appreciate her methods. "A lot of people coming from North Carolina high schools do not have experience thinking critically," Greene later said.*

Apparently more do than Greene expected, thus the "upsetness" over, in one student's words, her "turn[ing] the class into a political machine" and that he "didn't sign up for POLI 41," the disgust over testing based on an unsupported and unverified personal email message, and the complaints that, in another student's words, she "throws stuff out without empirical support." *cj*

## Report: Human-Capital Contracts Needed for Higher-Ed Financing

By JON SANDERS

Assistant Editor

RALEIGH

A report from the Cato Institute suggests an alternative method for paying for higher education than student loans: human capital contracts.

The report, "Human Capital Contracts: 'Equity-Like' Instruments for Financing Higher Education," written by Miguel Palacios of the University of Virginia's Batten Institute, explains the advantages of human-capital contracts over student loans, using the idea of education financing as investment in human capital. Higher education offers investment returns, but they vary widely, owing to the student's diligence in completing his studies, his skills, and his field.

As Palacios writes, "The difficulty in valuing the investment and the illiquid nature of the asset makes student loans very risky for lenders. Therefore, private-sector loan institutions have stayed away from financing education in the past."

Rapidly rising costs of, and demand for, higher education have, however, created a need for new methods of finance beyond subsidized federal loans, as now there are capable students who lack the resources to finance their education. Building on ideas of Milton Friedman, Palacios argues for the creation of "an instrument that allows investors to share in the success of students, as well as their failures." His solution, hu-

man-capital contracts, would be an "equity-like investment" through "a contract by which an individual obtains resources to finance his or her education by committing a percentage of his or her income for a pre-defined period of time after graduation."

What this means is that the amount the investor will receive during the predetermined "repayment" period will be uncertain. It could be less than their investment, but just as easily it could be more. The graduate's interests are aligned with the investors' — if he does well, they do, too.

"Human capital contracts are convenient for students and investors for at least four reasons," Palacios writes. "(1) they relieve the student from any uncertainty about being able to make fixed loan payments, (2) they virtually eliminate default due to financial distress, (3) they are means and needs blind, and (4) they give a subsidy to those who most need it during the repayment period."

Palacios lays out several issues of human capital contracts for investors, among them being the freedom to construct different types for different fields of study and also concerns over the legal framework protecting the investors. He also notes that the idea is already beginning to take hold. "My rich uncle currently funds students using human capital contracts," he writes, "Others plan to follow."

The report is online at [www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-462es.html](http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-462es.html). *cj*

## CAROLINA JOURNAL Publisher John Hood Garner's Praise for His Most Recent Book:

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— Chris Edwards, Cato Institute

Look for *Investor Politics* in bookstores or at [www.TempletonPress.org](http://www.TempletonPress.org).

## Campus Sex Studies

**Obscene Classes in the Interest of Salvation, If Not Research**By JON SANDERS  
Assistant Editor

**T**his spring Bill O'Reilly, host of Fox News' "The O'Reilly Factor," devoted several segments to the obscene goings-on in a human sexualities class at the University of Kansas. Viewers were told how Professor Dennis Dailey showed "highly explicit" material including nude images of little girls, said he understood how some could be pedophiles, held a "wheelchair sex day" in class, showed pornographic films, compared one photograph of a female's spread genitals to the Virgin Mary, and made obscene gestures to students who demonstrated offense.

Any one of those actions would warrant a review likely leading to suspension or firing by the university as it dealt with the outcry from feminists, activists for the disabled, Catholics, or civil rights activists, let alone the public at large — *if the professor were in any other discipline*. Professors in other subjects have been investigated for sexual harassment for far less. In sexuality studies, however, gratuitous offensiveness is regarded as necessary to teach the class because sexuality studies aren't about instruction, they're about reforming society. Like drill instructors building soldiers by first tearing down their former selves, sex "scholars" tear down their students' existing ideas of sexuality and morality before filling them with their salvatory notions of sexual licentiousness. This they accomplish through shock and revulsion techniques that are obviously inappropriate, not to mention actionable, in any other classroom.

The standard justification for these courses is to "open students' minds" — an open-ended catch phrase arrogated from old panegyrics to the idea of Education itself and misapplied to the attempted destruction of students' morality. Indeed, a key reason for the courses is to impose the sex profs' own morality, where iniquity is abstinence, unrepentance is virginity, heresy is "saving oneself for marriage" (which not only limits one's sexual exploits and partners but also constrains one to only a one-partner, heterosexual experience), salvation is acceptance of the doctrine of absolute sexuality, and spiritual growth is one's progress in accepting and sampling from all areas of what they call a "continuum of sexuality." Evangelism is pornography, especially films, which often focus on the

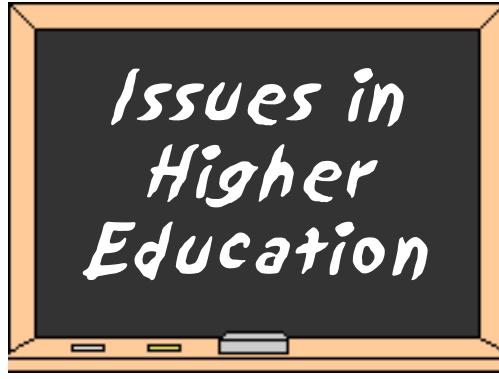
"salvation experience" of the pitiable yet enticing wretch.

The academy takes this aspect quite seriously. Consider the American Association of University Professor's vaunted Alexander Meiklejohn Award for Academic Freedom, which is given infrequently and only, according to the AAUP, "in recognition of an outstanding contribution to academic freedom." The AAUP gave the award twice in the 1990s: to State University of New York at New Paltz President Roger Bowen in 1998 and to Nassau Community College President Sean Fanelli in 1995. Bowen's "outstanding contribution to academic freedom" was defending (on the grounds of "the time-honored tradition of [academic] free expression") SUNY-New Paltz's conference entitled "Revolting Behavior," which featured a panel on sadomasochism, pornography, demonstration and hawking of sex toys, the antics of a bisexual stripper, free lesbian sex manuals (and some for sale), even a pamphlet on how to clean up after "Blood Letting Sexual Activities." Fanelli was defending a human sexuality professor who had come under fire for, among other things, showing slides of an American flag inserted in a penis and of a penis in a hot dog bun, assigning students to visit gay bars or interview prostitutes, and urging females to discover their own sexuality by either masturbating or urinating on a mirror.

Again, those were the only contributions of the past decade that the AAUP deemed outstanding enough to honor.

There are, of course, more reasons than just sexual evangelism behind the courses. There's homosexual activism, for one. In 2002 a report issued at the behest of University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Executive Provost Robert N. Shelton urged revising "existing courses to include material relevant to Sexuality Studies," developing "new courses in Sexuality Studies," and establishing a "Program in Sexual Studies under the auspices of the Office of LGBTQ Life & Study" — "LGBTQ" being the report's acronym for "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer-identified."

There's also the beer and circus aspect.



Universities, save in their promotional material to parents of high-school seniors and select communications with students, parents, and legislators, no longer regard themselves as places of learning but places of research. Yet undergraduates, while

not sophisticated enough to do the grunt work, pay the bills, and society at large (curiously referred to by the students as "the real world") expects them to get an education. Fortunately, it sees a degree as an acceptable proxy for an education. Universities need only to change their formerly rigorous degree requirements to much looser ones, and students can still get those degrees without taxing too much of the professors' research time and also be able to sign up for more interesting courses in the process (which are less taxing of their time, too).

College kids love talking about themselves, about celebrities, and about sex. Not coincidentally, the most rapidly expanding college "disciplines" are gender and ethnicity studies (the study of me), pop-culture studies, and sex studies.

Tangential to the above, there's also the matter of convenience. Whereas others, even other professors, would get fired and even

sanctioned for devoting office time and resources to the pursuit of pornography, sex professors get paid for it. They get sent to the porn conferences to "research" and meet their favorite porn stars. And their supreme perk is being allowed to share their predilections with dozens of newly "legal" young adults every year. (Speaking of that "legal" — one of the prime concerns of the conferences is lowering if not eliminating that limit, to open preteens minds, of course.)

It's difficult to tell which justification is prime. It isn't easy to look past the cult-of-sexuality quotient, with its self-serving proclamations of open-mindedness. The other reasons are compelling in their own right, however.

It may even be that convenience is the most important, and as it is also the most unspeakable, the other justifications could be merely excuse-fishing in the anything-goes scumpond of postmodern academe.

Regardless, they all share a common weakness — the fact that such teaching is radically divergent from what "the real world" expects from a college education — and therefore a common foe: anyone who fills the real world in on their dirty secret. Witness what the two award-winners of the 1990s had done — fought valiantly in the aftermath of public knowledge.

Thus it matters not whether O'Reilly and others like him are lucifers or just party-poopers; it matters that they are there at all. For in Justice Brandeis' cogent observation, "Sunlight is the best disinfectant." *cf*



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## Town and Country

## Tax cuts urged in Rockingham

About 80 people, most of them wearing "I support a tax decrease!" stickers, filled the Rockingham County commissioners' chamber in Wentworth on June 10 to ask its members to cut government spending and lower taxes, the *News-Record* of Greensboro reported.

"The people who pay the bills are asking you to reduce spending," Tommy Harrington, an Eden lawyer, told the commissioners. "Not doing so would indicate that the county government is unconcerned with the problems of county people."

Harrington is one of a group of people that presented the commissioners with a petition seeking tax cuts. They gave the commissioners another 1,000 signatures a week later, on June 10, bringing the total to 3,000 signatures. The list included County Tax Assessor Charlie Thomas.

After receiving the first petition, commissioners scrapped plans to build a new courthouse and asked the county manager to provide them with a revised budget that included a property tax rate of 65 cents per \$100, down from the current rate of 69 cents per \$100. Even with a 65-cent rate, many homeowners, who have seen property values rise on average between 20 and 30 percent this year, would pay higher taxes.

The speakers at the meeting urged the commissioners to reduce the property tax rate below 65 cents per \$100. Most speakers listed the litany of problems facing the county: Unemployment is up to 8.7 percent; industries continue to leave; and home foreclosures continue to rise.

## 1,000 attend Stokes hearing

Residents angered by a Stokes County budget that includes cuts and changes to the schools' budget June 10 demanded that Sandy McHugh resign from the county commission and from her post as interim county manager, the *Winston-Salem Journal* reported.

More than 1,000 people attended a public hearing on the Stokes County budget. Some questioned McHugh's experience in putting together a budget, and others called for commissioners Joe and John Turpin, who are brothers and often vote with McHugh to form a majority, to stand on their own on issues.

The Turpins and McHugh, all Republicans, have pledged that they won't vote to raise taxes. The \$32.8 million proposed county budget recommends keeping the current tax rate of 62 cents for every \$100 of property value.

The budget is a political ploy so that they can say that they passed a balanced budget with no tax increase, said Todd Martin, principal of Mount Olive Elementary School. He asked for McHugh to resign and said that it appeared that McHugh did not consult with Commissioner Leon Inman, who is a retired assistant principal, or schools Superintendent Ron Carroll before putting together her proposed school budget. cj

## Picture That: Traffic Cameras Multiply

Legislation allows Charlotte to become first city in N.C. to catch speeders on film

By DONNA MARTINEZ  
Associate Editor

RALEIGH  
When some North Carolina cities began using cameras to catch drivers running red lights, privacy advocates expressed concern that Big Brother had found a home at busy intersections around the state. But a General Assembly bill expected to become law this session authorizes the Charlotte-Mecklenburg police department to expand its use of cameras to catch speeders. That has civil libertarians fearing that Big Sister is joining her nosy sibling to infringe further on citizens' right to privacy and the presumption of innocence.

"This is just a couple of steps away from cameras on 24 hours a day," said Jim Harper, a Washington-based lawyer and editor of *Privacilla.org*, a 3-year-old online think tank that researches and writes about privacy issues, including photo radar enforcement. Harper said that while there's no expectation of privacy on a public street, the scenario developing in North Carolina represents "the Big Brother infrastructure." And, he cautions, don't be surprised if it continues to grow. "The next step is more cameras at more places, more pictures of more things."

## Trying to reduce accidents

Not so, says Boyd Cauble, executive assistant to Charlotte's city manager and the person who lobbied for the bill on behalf of the city. He said this effort is simply a way to reduce traffic accidents and speeding in areas with high incidents of one or both problems. "I see this as expanding the technology of radar in speed enforcement. You have an appeals process, so I don't buy that argument," Cauble said of concerns about privacy.

The bill gives the Charlotte-Mecklenburg police department the authority to implement a three-year pilot program using radar-activated cameras in police vehicles stationed around its jurisdiction. The program is expected to begin in early 2004 and is set to end in July 2006. Its effectiveness will be evaluated by comparing pre- and post-program accident data in the areas outfitted with cameras, Cauble said.

Fourteen locations have been selected based on their accident history, congestion, and speeding tickets, said Keith Bridges, public affairs director for the Charlotte-Mecklenburg police department. The law stipulates that a specially trained police officer must operate and monitor the equipment whenever it's being used. How fast is considered speeding? That's up to the officer's discretion, as it is now, Bridges said.

Once the officer determines the speed at which drivers will be considered in violation, the cameras will be set to photograph vehicles exceeding the limit. A \$50 ticket, in both English and Spanish, will be mailed to the registered owner, along with the incriminating photo. The owner can either pay the fine or appeal it.

"We want to slow them down. That's what we're getting at here," Bridges said, pointing to the 64 people killed in traffic accidents in the area during 2002: 49 vehicle occupants and 15 pedestrians. "We're not spying inside your car," he said, when asked about the privacy issue.

Trying to save lives is a noble intention, but that mindset is part of the problem, cautioned Harper, who formerly worked as counsel for the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and has testified before Congress about red-light cameras. "There are good reasons to do this and use them more," he said. "All of this adds up to mission creep. Now is the time to say no, this isn't the North Carolina I want," he said.

Sen. Phil Berger, R-Rockingham, concurs. "If you allow the nature of the problem to allow you to ignore long-established rules, you're heading down the wrong road. It's a bad precedent to be setting," Berger said.

Public safety outweighs privacy concerns as long as the cameras are used in an appropriate manner, said Rep. Martha Alexander, D-Mecklenburg, one of the bill's primary sponsors. "Speed kills. It's a major problem in Mecklenburg County. The police feel it will be a major help to them," she said in defense of the bill.

But Sen. Bob Rucho, R-Mecklenburg, disagrees that a one-size-fits-all fine will effectively deter speeding. To do that, he explained, the amount of the fine should increase with the severity of the infraction. Rucho reserved his strongest condemnation of the bill for what he described as its fundamental flaws. "It flies in the face of the Constitution. You have to prove yourself innocent, take a day off work and maybe lose money to do it," he said, describing the appeals process. "We have the right to face our accuser. In this case, the accuser is a camera, not a person."

Regardless, Alexander maintains there have been few problems with the citations issued for red-light photo radar offenses and, therefore, there's no reason to expect problems with the new program.

She cites anecdotal evidence from friends who have told her the red-light camera warning signs force them to pay special attention to their driving. "Hopefully, it will be the same with this," she said.

## Spreading to other cities

Rep. Rick Eddins, R-Wake, shares his colleagues' concerns about privacy and wonders whether the program will eventually spread to his district. He also sees a financial motive in the bill, pointing to the fact that tickets generated by the cameras will result in the fine but not in insurance or driver's license points. "It's a constant



Red-light cameras paved the way for other electronic enforcement.

battle, these fees. If it's costing citizens more money, what's the difference whether it's a fee or a tax? The result is the same," Eddins said.

Cauble ardently disputes that the city has a financial motivation, but he admits it's a tough sell. "I know it's hard to get people to believe that this is not a revenue enhancement issue," he said. In fact, Cauble questions whether the ticket fines will cover the program's costs. After expenses are paid, any net profit is destined for the local school system, he said.

Cauble estimates start-up capital expenditures of \$200,000 to buy two or three cameras and, perhaps, special vans.

But that's just the beginning. Officers will need special training, the program will be advertised in local media, and 3-foot by 3-foot warning signs will be produced and posted 1,000 feet on either side of the speed traps. While the city will own the equipment, it may contract with a private firm for photo processing and mailing of tickets, yet another cost.

Cauble said a final tally is difficult to calculate at this point.

While the bill applies only to Charlotte, Berger agrees with Eddins that it may well follow the path of red-light cameras and expand to other cities and towns. "I'd be surprised if it didn't spread," Berger said.

Where will photo enforcement end? Eddins isn't sure and he's hesitant to contemplate what may come next. But at this point, Alexander isn't concerned about the impact her bill may have on paving the way for even more uses of cameras to monitor citizens. They're already with us, she said. "Think about where cameras are; we have them more places than we probably know."

Alexander is right, Harper said. "We have to push back. Is this the end result we really want?" he asked. "Ordinary people should be talking about this." cj

## Passenger Enplanements at North Carolina Airports by Year

City	1996	1998	2000	2001
Asheville	248,501	284,239	277,189	256,215
Charlotte	10,892,494	11,400,748	11,469,282	11,548,952
Fayetteville	165,140	167,505	149,214	131,286
Greensboro	1,292,951	1,306,003	1,402,168	1,317,519
Greenville	47,423	52,151	44,856	34,536
Hickory	28,615	26,856	16,010	NS
Jacksonville	66,632	64,574	38,279	29,349
Kinston	15,573	16,038	NS	NS
New Bern	65,791	65,284	85,639	77,726
Raleigh	3,138,402	3,561,792	5,191,077	4,890,606
Rocky Mount	14,417	12,240	NS	NS
Southern Pines	21,437	25,915	17,751	11,986
Wilmington	119,231	235,923	255,782	233,881
Winston-Salem	11,005	11,055	NS	NS

Notes: Charlotte and Raleigh include substantial amounts of connecting passengers.  
NS: under 10,000 passengers a year and/or service dropped.

## Flights unlikely to return

## Five N.C. Cities Lose Air Service

By MICHAEL LOWREY  
Associate Editor

CHARLOTTE  
December will mark the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the world's first airplane flight, which took place at Kitty Hawk. To commemorate the event, the state is conducting a yearlong celebration. While flight has tremendously changed society, cities in North Carolina are losing scheduled airline service. Aside from the state of the economy and the aftereffects of Sept. 11, fundamental changes in the airline industry make it unlikely that passenger flights will again grace airfields in several of the state's cities.

In 1999, 14 North Carolina cities had scheduled airline service. They were Asheville, Charlotte, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Greenville, Hickory, Jacksonville, Kinston, New Bern, Southern Pines, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem. Today, Hickory, Kinston, Rocky Mount, Southern Pines, and Winston-Salem no longer have service.

Flights from most North Carolina cities are limited to service to US Airways' Charlotte hub, where passengers can connect to flights to many other cities. Asheville, Wilmington, and Fayetteville feature service from both Delta and US Airways. Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh all are served by a variety of airlines, which provide an even wider range of destination choices.

## The economy and Sept. 11

The airline industry has always been cyclical. In good times, more business and individuals have the discretionary income to fly. Conversely, in bad times, there's less demand for air travel. In addition to a weak economy, people's willingness to fly has been diminished by the events of Sept. 11.

An October 2002 survey showed that air travel on routes of 200 to 400 miles was down by 22 percent in the year after Sept. 11. The Boyd Group, a Colorado-based aviation consulting firm, projects that airline traffic in the United States will not return to its 2000 levels until about 2008.

Airlines have reduced or eliminated marginal routes in these tough times. The Hickory area has been hard hit, with an unemployment rate currently at 8.1 percent. In Rocky Mount, the unemployment rate reached 9 percent in April 2003. For much of 2002, the region experienced more than 10 percent unemployment.

Service to these smaller markets, which are near, respectively, Charlotte and Raleigh, was halted in 2001 and 2002. Service is unlikely to resume, barring significant

changes in population and income.

## Regional jets arrive

While the state of the economy and the public's reduced willingness to travel after Sept. 11 have shaken the airline industry, many smaller communities would have had difficulties retaining air service even in better times. The large-scale introduction of "regional jets" is causing sweeping changes in the industry, including the elimination of service to many smaller cities.

Traditionally service to secondary markets has been provided on 19-50 seat turboprop aircraft such as the Jetstream 31, Beech 1900, and de Havilland DHC-8. Regional jets, in contrast, typically seat 50 to 70 people, and are faster and have greater range than turboprop aircraft.

In May, US Airways placed an order for 170 additional regional jets. Its commuter partners already operate 110 of the aircraft. The company noted:

"The RJs also will enable us to increase hub feed by adding new markets that were too distant for turboprop aircraft, and replace current turboprop flying, which will please many customers who prefer jet aircraft. Regional jets will allow us to replace and complement larger jet aircraft on routes with poor to marginal performance, which then can be redeployed to operate in more profitable destinations, such as the Caribbean and on other routes where we currently do not fly."

The airline had already started flying to both Little Rock, Ark., and Montreal from Charlotte on 50-seat regional jets. It has just begun offering nonstop service between Wilmington and New York City's La Guardia Airport using a regional jet. The carrier is also replacing larger Boeing and Airbus aircraft with regional jets on flights between its Charlotte hub and St. Louis.

As more regional jets enter service, they will replace turboprops on the routes from Charlotte to the eastern part of the state. Given their larger size and higher operating costs, a substantial amount of demand must exist for such service to be profitable.

With typical costs and revenue yields, three regional jet flights a day would require roughly a combined 100 passengers to break even. Allowing for reduced flight schedules on weekend and holidays, 30,000 passengers a year would seem a minimum number to sustain even minimal regional jet service.

Given recent market patterns, whether more than seven airports in North Carolina can consistently generate such passenger levels is an open question. *cj*

## Local Innovation Bulletin Board

## NYC Crime Rates Explained

During the 1990s, crime rates in New York City dropped dramatically, even more than in the United States as a whole. Violent crime declined by more than 56 percent in the city, compared to about 28 percent nationally. Property crimes tumbled by about 65 percent, but fell 26 percent nationally.

How did the Big Apple do it? According to researchers at the National Bureau of Economic Research, a single percentage point decline in the jobless rate decreased burglary by 2.2 percent and motor vehicle theft by 1.8 percent.

A 10 percent increase in the minimum wage translated into 3.4 to 3.7 percent fewer robberies and 6.3 to 6.9 percent fewer murders.

However, the most effective crime reduction strategy was an increase in the number of criminals arrested for felonies, according to the study. Felony arrest rates rose 50 to 70 percent in the 1990s. When the number of arrests for burglars rose by 10 percent, the number of burglaries fell by 2.7 to 3.2 percent. When the arrest rate of robbers rose by 10 percent, the number of robberies fell by 5.7 to 5.9 percent. In the case of murder, the decline was 3.9 to 4 percent; in the case of assault, 2 to 2.4 percent, and for motor vehicle theft, 5 to 5.1 percent.

Reported in the *NBER Digest*, January 2003; based on Hope Corman and Naci Mocan, "Carrots, Sticks and Broken Windows," Working Paper No. 9061, July 2002, National Bureau of Economic Research.

## German bottle deposits

A new deposit law on cans and bottles has sharply reduced beverage sales in Germany, just when that country's economy may be on the brink of recession.

Since the first of the year, customers have had to pay a deposit of one-fourth to one-half a euro, about 29 to 58 U.S. cents, on all carbonated soft drinks as well as beers sold in cans or plastic bottles. That compares to a deposit of a nickel required in some U.S. states.

The wholesaler that handles half of German canned drinks says its sales are off by 20 percent. Makers of cans and

bottles are reporting 20 percent to 60 percent drops in their sales. Beverage industry executives are confounded that Germans seem sufficiently enraged by the new law to give up drinking beer.

The new law was meant to stem the growing popularity of disposable containers. Businesses that accept the returns report growing mountains of bottles and cans because there is no nationwide system in place to handle them.

"For Germany, where recycling is practically a national religion, government regulation is plentiful and planning is prized, the tumult has come as something of a shock," observers report.

Reported in the *New York Times*.

## In my tribe

Researchers are noting a new migration pattern. They say an increased number of people are moving to places that have lifestyles or attitudes similar to their own. Many people say they are moving to a city that "feels right," not necessarily the one with jobs that pay the most. For example, the black population of the Atlanta metropolitan region increased by 460,000 in the 1990s, nearly double the number of any other metro area.

Demographers point out that Austin, Texas, attracts liberal-minded software developers, while conservatively inclined tech geeks head for Dallas.

Today's fastest growing metropolitan areas have expanded by becoming magnets for talent, fueling the development of places such as Austin, Atlanta, and Raleigh-Durham, in the South; Minneapolis and Chicago in the Midwest; Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle in the West; and New York, Boston, and Washington in the East.

Conversely, "low-tech" cities such as Springfield, Mass.; Youngstown, Ohio; Syracuse, N.Y.; Cleveland, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh, have lost significant numbers of people ages 20-34.

More than one-third of cities lost members of this age group in the 1990s, experts report, while cities such as Austin, Denver, Las Vegas, Phoenix, Dallas, and Atlanta witnessed population explosions often far in excess of 50 percent composed entirely of this age group.

Reported in the *Washington Post*. *cj*

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## Another 'Smart Growth' Myth: U.S. Is Running Out of Space

A perennial argument for "smart growth" and compact urban development is that we are running out of open space. But how much open space is really left? Data available from the 2000 Census show that at least 94.6 percent of the United States is rural open space.

The Census Bureau counts population and land area in a variety of categories:

- Urbanized areas include contiguous areas of 50,000 people or more at densities of 1,000 people per square mile or more;
- Urban clusters include contiguous areas of 2,500 to 50,000 people at densities of 1,000 people per square mile or more;
- Places include, in addition to the above, any incorporated area or other concentrations of people identified by the Census Bureau.

Specific definitions of these and other census terms can be found at [www.census.gov/geo/www/tiger/glossary.html](http://www.census.gov/geo/www/tiger/glossary.html).

More than two out of three Americans live in urbanized areas. These areas collectively cover 2 percent of the nation's land area.

Counting urbanized areas and urban clusters together, nearly four out of five Americans live in an urban setting. Urbanized areas and urban clusters cover 2.6 percent of the nation's land.

Remaining places account for just 4.4 percent of the U.S. population, but they cover 2.8 percent of the land. Obviously, their density is far lower than urbanized areas and urban clusters.

The average urbanized area has nearly 2,700 people per square mile, and the average urban cluster has about 1,500 people per square mile. But the average place (outside of urban areas) has just 133 people per square mile.

### Non-urban places

In many cases, this is because small towns have large corporate boundaries, only portions of which are occupied. This is most noticeable in Alaska, where many cities have legal boundaries that include thousands of square miles of unoccupied land. As a result, the density of Alaska's non-urban places averages just 7 per square mile.

Non-urban place densities in Arizona, California, Hawaii, Montana, Nevada, and Wyoming average 30 to 100 people per square mile.

In all other states except Nebraska, non-urban place densities range from 100 to 500 per square mile. Nebraska is the only state whose non-urban places approach urban densities: 805 people per square mile.

So are places "developed"? The Census Bureau counts them as "rural." Only people living in urbanized areas

or urban clusters are counted as "urban." At the same time, a town of 1,000 people is obviously not "rural open space."

Conservatively, only those areas outside of any "place" can be considered rural open space. But it is clear that large portions of the rural places are also rural open space.

Together, urbanized areas, urban clusters, and rural places occupy 5.4 percent of the nation's land, while urban areas alone cover just 2.6 percent. Rural open space thus covers 94.6 percent to 97.4 of the land.

On a state-by-state basis:

- Four states — New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island — are 30 to 40 percent urbanized and, counting rural places, 40 to 44 percent developed;
- Delaware and Maryland are 15 to 20 percent urbanized and 18 to 23 percent developed;
- Florida is 11 percent urbanized and 16 percent developed;
- Six states — Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Tennessee, New Hampshire, and North Carolina — are 6 to 10 percent urbanized and 10 to 13 percent developed;
- All other states are less than 7 percent urbanized and 10 percent developed.

Although California is the nation's most populated state, it is hardly running out of land. More than 94 percent of Californians live in urban areas, which cover just 5.1 percent of the state.

When rural places are added, no more than 8.6 percent of the state is developed.

Since California's rural places have an average density of just 93 people per square mile, most of its land area probably qualifies as rural

open space.

The nation's second-most populated state, Texas, is even less heavily developed: 2.7 percent urbanized and 5.0 percent developed.

Unfortunately, data from the 2000 census are not comparable with numbers from the 1990 census because the Census Bureau changed many of its definitions.

Among other things, urbanized areas were redefined to exclude many undeveloped areas. This led, on average, to a 10 percent increase in population density of urbanized areas.

Despite growing populations, the 2000 census reported many areas were smaller than measured by the 1990 census. The new data are probably more accurate, but it is hard to tell from them how fast land is being urbanized. *CJ*

Randal O'Toole is senior economist with the Thoreau Institute ([www.ti.org](http://www.ti.org)) and the author of *The Vanishing Automobile and Other Urban Myths*.



Randal O'Toole

**Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Tennessee, and North Carolina are 6 to 10 percent urbanized and 10 to 13 percent developed.**

### From Cherokee to Currituck

## U.S. OKs Charlotte's Light Rail; Construction to Start in the Fall

By MICHAEL LOWREY

Associate Editor

CHARLOTTE

The Charlotte Area Transit System has received federal environmental approval of the first of its five transit lines, setting the stage for construction to begin soon. At the same time, a local group was protesting the proposed routing of another rail line, which might require the relocations of hundreds of graves in two historic cemeteries.

With federal environmental approval, CATS is expected to act quickly to buy land along the future 10-mile light-rail line. The route will run from uptown Charlotte south along South Boulevard to just short of Interstate 485 in Pineville.

CATS has also recently received word from the federal and state governments that they will fund a portion of the work on the line. The federal government will pay for half the cost, and the state government will pay for another one-fourth. The remaining one-fourth of the cost is paid for by an additional half-cent sales tax for transit in Mecklenburg County. Construction is expected to start this fall on the \$371 million project, with completion expected in 2006.

The line will have 14 stations, though only the seven farthest from the city center will have parking lots. This is in keeping with the system's desire to have light rail serve as a means of redevelopment

the area along the corridor into higher-density, more transit-dependent communities. Government and private facilities, such as libraries, medical offices, and recreation facilities will also be encouraged near transit stations. A number of trolley cars will also run along a two-mile segment of the light-rail line.

The second transit line to be built is expected to be from uptown Charlotte to the towns in the northern part of Mecklenburg County. CATS has selected commuter rail equipment for the route, which is expected to be built along existing railroad routes.

Community protests, however, may influence the system's exact routing. Alongside the railroad tracks in uptown Charlotte lie the historic Elmwood and Pinewood cemeteries. Relatives of those buried there are strongly protesting any plan that requires graves to be moved.

"It's morally unacceptable that they become a victim of their own success," said Mecklenburg County Commissioner Jim Puckett to *The Charlotte Observer*.

The Elmwood and Pinewood cemeteries were first used in 1853 and contain the graves of some of the city's most prominent citizens.

Nancy Pethel, who has relatives buried in Pinewood cemetery, was even more blunt in her comments to the newspaper. "They don't have a feeling for those who have put all their work and time in Charlotte, North Carolina. Their invested interest is no more than the dollar sign, and I don't believe you can make a comparison between the dead and the dollar sign."

Those seeking to preserve the cemeteries note that up to 945 graves could be affected by the commuter rail line. A recent rally attracted more than 100 protesters to the cemeteries.

### Cumberland revaluation

At least every seven years, state law requires that counties revalue properties for tax purposes. This year, Cumberland County did its required revaluation.

Before the revaluation, the county had among the highest property tax rates in its region, at 92.5 cents per \$100 in valuation.

Property tax revenues came to \$113.4 million last year. Allowing for a typical 2 percent increase in revenues because of new construction, county officials estimated the tax should bring in \$115 million this year. With the new property values, that translates to a tax rate of 88 cents per \$100 of (reassessed) valuation.

County Commission Chairman Tal Baggett told *The Fayetteville Observer* the 88-cent rate "appears to be revenue neutral."

"That's what we promised to taxpayers, and we didn't know what that figure was going to be, other than it would be lower," he said.

Still, revaluation does create winners and losers. Those whose property value went up less than the average amount may

see lower tax bills. Those living in areas with faster-than-average property value growth are likely to be paying more.

The county estimates that the average property has appreciated by 11.7 percent over the past seven years.

*The Fayetteville Observer* estimated that for a

homeowner with a property formerly valued at \$150,000 that increased the average amount would see his property taxes increase by from \$1,388 to \$1,474.

### Surry County school funding fight

Having three school districts in one county offers a real sense of competition and choice in education. It can also lead to, as recent events in Surry County demonstrate, a lot of bickering about money.

Surry County is one of the few counties in the state that still has more than one school district. In addition to the Surry County schools, Mount Airy and Elkin each have their own school districts.

The county commission recently approved a \$59 million bond referendum, with \$50 million to be split among the three systems based on average daily membership and the remaining \$9 million going to the city school systems for improvements at their high schools.

As might be expected, the county school system objected, and refused to support the referendum unless the remaining \$9 million was split based on enrollment as well or it got an equivalent amount of money. The county then agreed to provide the extra money over time, though not as part of the bond package.

This prompted the Surry County Board of Education to ask for a guarantee in writing for the extra money. "We're just asking them to stand by what they have already said," Surry County school board member Earlie Coe told *The Mount Airy News*.

If the county does not provide the guarantee, it will continue to oppose passage of the referendum. In the alternative, the Surry County schools would support a \$50 million bond package split on the basis of average daily membership. *CJ*

**Relatives of those buried in Elmwood and Parkwood cemeteries are strongly protesting any plan that requires graves to be moved.**



# Cmdr. Scott Waddle: Overcoming the Storm With Faith

By JONATHAN JONES

Editorial Intern

RALEIGH

Scott Waddle was the captain of the submarine USS Greenville when it surfaced and accidentally sank a Japanese fishing boat off the coast of Pearl Harbor about two years ago. Nine of the boat's crew were killed, and the tragedy dominated headlines around the world for weeks afterward.

Waddle was interviewed by *CJ* on June 10, a day after he spoke at a John Locke Foundation luncheon.

*CJ: Your book is titled The Right Thing. In the context of the tragic event of February 2001, what exactly did the right thing mean?*

**Waddle:** Telling the truth and being accountable for my actions and the actions of my crew regardless of where mistakes might have been made. One thing about commanding at sea is that responsibility and accountability are absolute. It's something that can't be delegated. A commanding officer, the individual that serves in that position, ultimately ends up as the focal point for both good and bad. And on that day a very tragic accident took place where the captain of that submarine, which was myself, ended up being the focus of international and domestic media attention.

*CJ: How difficult was it to carry through with what you knew was your duty, in practical terms, outside of just what you knew was right?*

**Waddle:** I would say probably the most difficult event in my life. This didn't require one single act of accountability; it required multiple acts. For a period of two to three weeks before the court of inquiry was held in Pearl Harbor, the official inquiry and fact-finding body into the cause and contributing factors, there was a lot of media speculation. The National Transportation and Safety Board interviewed folks as part of an independent investigation separate from the Navy's, and some of their facts weren't necessarily truthful. That tended to sensationalize and feed the media frenzy. It made my position very difficult and challenging. It wasn't just one single act of being accountable or standing in front of the media to say I am responsible for the acts of my crew. It was working with my attorneys to make sure the facts as I saw them and knew them to be were put on the table. It was corroborating information and checking against technical databases from information we could acquire. It was telling some of the painful truths that existed.

I can tell you that looking at the overall scheme of things and the timeline it would lead one to believe that I was rushed, I was hurried. As a result, I cut corners. A prudent man would come to that conclusion. As an independent assessor, I would too. Knowing that I was there, part of that plan, integral in that decision process, I know what I thinking, what I did, what I thought what the outcome would be. As a result I had to be true to myself, true to my crew, and true to my maker.

And so all of those things culminated in doing what was right, standing tall, being accountable, being responsible, and not shirking that responsibility despite whatever personal costs there may be to my pro-

fessional reputation. Whatever humiliation or embarrassment was secondary. Nine lives were lost. The most important objective to me was to determine the truth and ultimate cause as to why that horrible event happened.

*CJ: How much damage control did the Navy or Pentagon try to engage in and to what extent did this compound your difficulties, and that of your crew, in dealing with the event?*

**Waddle:** From the public affairs and media control perspective, I am critical of the Navy and how they handled it. I believe that if you look at the timeline, this accident took place at 1:43 p.m. on a Friday afternoon in Hawaii, 7:43 p.m. on the East Coast where the Pentagon is located. Late at night, Friday evening, most people were gone, looking for the weekend. It's probably not the time when you're going to have the A-team to combat a media crisis. This was a media crisis, a global event that was communicated around the world literally within an hour of the

accident. There was no way possible the Navy could attain the facts they needed to put into place damage control efforts, contain the problem, get in front of the wagon. The Navy was behind this the whole time. As a result, it did have an adverse impact on the relationships the United States had with the Japanese government at the time.

There were other issues: comments from a colonel stationed at Okinawa weeks or months before my accident that were off color and fueled the angst of the Japanese people living on that island and they called for the removal of U.S. military forces. It's not an occupation, just a military presence, something negotiated with surrender at the end of World War II. The very fact we have a continued military presence is something that is not appreciated by the Japanese people. It is, however, when fears of escalated war arise with North Korea then the Japanese people are more than willing and pleased to have us there. You can't have it both ways.

*CJ: How does this play into the role of the Navy's media responsibilities?*

**Waddle:** It was a very difficult hand they were dealt. The fact civilians were on board and that wasn't disclosed immediately, but came out as part of a NTSB inquiry, was embarrassing for the Navy.

Instead of full disclosure as the military knew it at the time, information was released in an effort to try to not cause a lot of overall concern because the Navy wasn't sure what the public response would be. There's a long-standing relationship the military has with the media and it's not one that's favorable. From the time I was in the Navy as a young officer I was taught not trust the media. You don't trust the media, because what you say could be skewed and words turned against you, taken out of context. Always offer a live interview and one that's not recorded, out of fear sound bites could be taken and provide a phrase or statement that's contrary to the theme of the

interview or the intent of the interviewee. So there were multiple challenges, and unfortunately, I don't believe the Navy was as well-prepared in this particular instance as they could have been.

If you look at what happened in the Air Force with the friendly-fire case, an unfortunate event where Canadian troops were killed on the ground as a result of friendly fire. The Air Force, I believe, did a much better job in releasing information as best they knew. I know that Charles Gittins, my attorney, is also representing those officers. And they are experiencing the same challenges that I did with my former service. It's a difficult place to be. All of that is in the big media puzzle, and that's why yesterday I made the comment that the actions our defense team took were heralded as being a great media planned strategy. There was some strategy involved, but it wasn't with the intent to manipulate public opinion. It was to get the facts out there, unpleasant as they may be, early so that it was less painful later on in the inquiry.

*CJ: What's the nature of the relationship you have with the men with whom you served? Do you now have a sense of closure?*

**Waddle:** A sense of closure came when I took my trip to Japan in December 2002 at my own expense to fulfill a promise I made to the families. I had been promised by Admiral Fargo, then serving as commander and chief of the Pacific Fleet and is now serving as the commander of the U.S. forces in the Pacific, that at a time deemed appropriate the Navy would support my travel to Japan. I asked for their help, saying I did not have the financial means to get there. Ultimately, I did make it to Japan in December, although it was a year and two months after I retired from the military. That event was to fulfill a promise and to meet with families I did not have the chance to apologize to personally in April 2001. That event helped me in closure.

About the relationship with my crew, they no longer exist aboard the USS Greenville. With a turnover rate of about 30 percent per year, almost all crew members who had served with me are gone and off the ship. But of those I was close to, I still keep in touch with them, not on a daily basis, but I'm there to offer help, advice, mentorship on their careers.

*CJ: What is your definition of effective leadership?*

**Waddle:** Effective leadership means taking care of your people. That includes quality-of-life issues, their professional development and growth. It includes mentoring them to grow and assume the next positions of responsibility. It's establishing standards that have some flexibility, not rigid adherence to standards, but standards in place that allow individuals to question and improve upon standards such that the entire process as a whole is better. It's fostering teamwork and camaraderie. It's taking all the basic elements that Maslow stated were important: providing shelter, security, food, and all of the basic needs. It's also building on those needs and helping individuals grow collectively and as singles. Trust is important. Being a good listener is equally important. You have to give feedback and listen to the information that sometimes is not pleasant.

The difference between my leadership style and what was in place on other sub-

marines and nuclear vessels throughout the Navy was a rigid adherence to protocol. Adherence to procedures in that way sometimes took the human element out of the equation and made it very difficult for people to grow. When you're constantly berated and criticized, and positive feedback isn't used, people will work effectively under what I would call that adverse condition for a short period of time, primarily out of fear.

*CJ: In the book you write about not taking one moment with your wife and daughter for granted. What would you say to someone who has not undergone a life-altering experience like you have?*

**Waddle:** My perspective on life has changed dramatically as a result of this incident. Things that once were important are not quite as important anymore. Events that would normally bother me don't impact in the way they used to. Getting cut off by someone or aggressive driving, someone that is rude, it's easier to think, "go ahead," and accommodate. I enjoy the company I visit with more; I cherish that time more so now than I did before. I hope this experience can somehow impact the lives of others favorably. If anyone is experiencing challenge in their life, difficulty, or even great success, this is a story that can help achieve a little bit of focus and learn some things of value as a leader, spouse or family person

*CJ: How was your transition back to private life?*

**Waddle:** It was rough at first. The military is very structured, and work in the corporate sector, although my experience is limited, is certainly different than what I was used to in the military. There's a camaraderie that exists in the military because they serve side by side, not on intimate terms, but they are very close. You are very much a part of another person's life for a long period of time. When on a submarine enclosed in an environment with 140 men, that is the case. My crew was my family. I knew more about them and they about me than anyone in my workplace knows.

It's safe to say the majority of the people where I work don't know who I am, where I've come from, what I did before, and know nothing about me. Most people don't care. The rules are different; the interests are different in the corporate sector. You have a human resource department tasked to take care of human-related issues.

On a submarine, the officers have to absorb those challenges. The captain's job on a submarine is multifaceted and not just limited to taking charge and leading a ship out of port into battle and back home. Leadership is something that can be used in any vocation, crisis, family environment. It's a tool that if used properly and effectively is very good. There's positive leadership in the military, and there's positive leadership in the corporate sector. There's bad leadership in the military, and there's bad leadership in the corporate sector.

*CJ: You have spoken and written about the role of faith in your life, how it helped you through the accident. What changes have come to you in this area since then?*

**Waddle:** God is a source of strength. When everything else is gone, and nothing else is left on the table, faith is a remarkable source of strength. In my case, I have a questioning attitude, as there is an element of the unknown. But at times when it is very dark and you are alone, and that element of uncertainty is overwhelmingly powerful, it is nice to fall back on.



Scott Waddle

**God is a source of strength. When everything else is gone, and nothing else is left... faith is a remarkable source of strength.**

## From the Liberty Library

• In *The Generation of Trust: How the U.S. Military Has Regained the Public's Confidence Since Vietnam*, David King and Zachary Karabell show that the newest generations of Americans, Generation X (born 1961 through 1975) and especially Millennials (born after 1975), trust the government — and the U.S. military in particular — more deeply than their Baby Boomer parents ever have. Relying on extensive polling data, the authors note that the increased confidence in the leaders of the military since the end of the Vietnam War is an anomaly as trust in most other institutions has declined. Baby Boomers remain highly suspicious of the military because of what they saw in Vietnam when they were coming of age. Yet children born since the mid-1970s grew up with a very different picture: a more professional all-volunteer force and markedly better battlefield performance. Published by the American Enterprise Institute, see [www.aei.org](http://www.aei.org) for more information.

• The Gulag, the vast array of Soviet concentration camps, was a system of repression and punishment whose rationalized evil and institutionalized inhumanity were rivaled only by the Holocaust. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, dozens of memoirs and new studies covering aspects of that system have been published in Russia and the West. Using these new resources as well as her own original historical research, Anne Applebaum has written *Gulag: A History*, a fully documented account of the Soviet camp system, from its origins in the Russian Revolution to its collapse in the era of glasnost. Published by Doubleday, learn more at [www.randomhouse.com/doubleday](http://www.randomhouse.com/doubleday).

• In *Off with Their Heads: Traitors, Crooks, & Obstructionists in American Politics, Media & Business*, syndicated columnist and political analyst Dick Morris points an accusing finger at the many ways the public has been lied to and misled, pickpocketed, and endangered. Whether it's Bill Clinton, who ignored mounting evidence of impending terrorist catastrophe throughout the 1990s, or members of Congress, who quietly sold democracy down the river in exchange for lifetime incumbency, Morris "rips the cover off the cowardly and duplicitous figures who have sacrificed America's interests for their own." More at [www.harpercollins.com/hc/aboutus/imprints/regan.asp](http://www.harpercollins.com/hc/aboutus/imprints/regan.asp).

• Inspired by newspaper clippings he kept about two former African dictators accused of cannibalism, Italian journalist Riccardo Orizio set out to track down tyrants around the world who fell from power — to see if they had gained any perspective on their actions, or if their lives and thoughts could shed any light on our own. The results of his efforts are chronicled in *Talk of the Devil: Encounters with Seven Dictators*. "Chilling and comical, rational and absurd," Orizio's book brings into focus forgotten history and people viewed as evil incarnate. From Walker & Company, see [www.walkerbooks.com](http://www.walkerbooks.com) for more details. CJ

## Book Review

## Language Police: Blowing the Whistle on Texts

• Diane Ravitch: *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn*; Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, 255 pps \$24.

BY KORY SWANSON

Contributing Editor

RALEIGH  
Conservative readers of Diane Ravitch's *The Language Police* will take no solace in her alarming and saddening exposé of how left-wing political correctness and right-wing religious fundamentalism (the language police) have distorted and damaged American public education.

For Ravitch has written an indictment about a basic assumption dear to many conservatives: that by censoring what children read, parents, and like-minded educators, can change society to reflect their worldview.

Within the context of the world of textbook publishing, this comes crashing down on publishers as a demand that they shield children from words and ideas that contain what the censors deem the wrong models for living. "With enough censorship," Ravitch writes, "the language police believe they might create a perfect world."

Ravitch finds this basic assumption — that controlling the content of what is read in public schools will create a perfect world — to be nonsensical for two primary reasons. First, schools do not control or dominate every aspect of a child's life. Children are influenced by their families, their friends, their communities, their religious institutions, and especially popular culture. "Much as they [the censors] hope to limit what children see and hear," Ravitch says, "they do not have the means to do it."

Further, for Ravitch, censorship, for whatever purpose, should be repugnant on its face "to those who care about freedom of thought, to those who believe that minds grow sharper by contending with challenging ideas."

In this, Ravitch is clearly in the camp of those who argue, as Dorothy Sayers does in her classic 1947 essay, *The Lost Tools of Learning*, "that the sole true end of education is simply this: to teach men how to learn for themselves; and whatever instruction fails to do this is effort spent in vain."

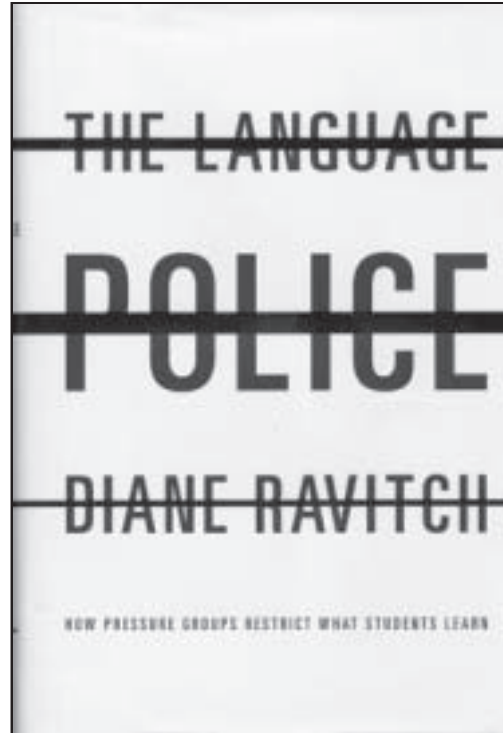
And in vain, we pursue an educational protocol that, as Ravitch says, is a "flight from knowledge and content...[that] has harmed our children and diminished our culture...it is a systemic breakdown of our ability to educate the next generation and to transmit to them a full and open range of ideas about important issues in the world."

Ravitch is passionate that freedom in education must prevail: "Intelligence and reason cannot be developed absent the judgment that is formed by prolonged and thoughtful study of history, literature, and culture, not only that of our own nation, but of other civilizations as well."

## Censorship and textbook industry

The problem is that this assumption, that controlling what is read in public schools will create a perfect world, has become ubiquitous. Ravitch calls it "silent censorship." Like the frog in a pan of water being heated so slowly that it does not notice that it is being boiled, silent censorship has come to dominate public education with nary a squeal from the American public.

The language police have ingeniously implemented a social engineering scheme that is endorsed by publishers, the states, and the federal government. It is a feat that



would be the envy of the grand masters of communism and fascism.

## How has this happened?

Ravitch deftly cuts through the noise and exposes a situation that allows the language police to have an undue influence on American public education.

At the heart of the matter is the state textbook adoption process. There are more than 20 states, including North Carolina, that have statewide adoptions. But two states, Texas and California, are the most important states because of the size of their school systems. What these two states decide has a significant impact on the fate of individual textbooks and their publishers.

As Ravitch explains, this cartel-like behavior warps the publishing marketplace by putting too much power in the hands of California and Texas. It raises the cost of publishing, favors publishers who have the deepest pockets, and drives out small publishers. There are now four main publishers in the textbook market. Only one of them is American-owned.

Ravitch says the textbook industry "now operates like a procurement process rather than a competitive market place."

In this environment, it is easy for aggressive pressure groups, no matter how small and unrepresentative, to threaten a textbook company with

humiliation and loss of market share by lobbying states not to adopt textbooks to which these groups object.

"It is the leverage in the two big states," Ravitch says, "that has enabled extremists to manipulate the states' requirements to fit their own political agenda." Texas was known for years as the state where conservatives had great influence on the choice of textbooks. In California, publishers had strict social prescriptions to meet if their books were to be considered.

The bottom line is that if a textbook publisher wants to sell books, then it has to offer a product that is bland and noncontroversial. And how does a publisher know what these guidelines are?

## Language police and bias guidelines

The chapters on bias guidelines boggle the mind. Ravitch found that bias guidelines are ubiquitous in the textbook industry. The guidelines go beyond eliminating

bias in texts and test passages. A strange amalgamation of left-wing political correctness and right-wing religious fundamentalism infuses the guidelines, "guidelines that aim to create a new society, one that will be completely inoffensive to all parties."

And the only way to get there is through heavy censorship.

The bias guidelines are promulgated by four agencies: educational publishers, test development companies, states, and scholarly and professional associations. Each agency's guidelines significantly overlap with each other.

These guidelines are developed, Ravitch says, as a "form of preemptive capitulation" that shields each agency against determined advocacy groups. Without anything to object to, adoption by the states of a publisher's textbooks stands a greater chance.

The consequence of these guidelines is that it has become policy to regulate what writers are permitted to say about specific groups or topics in society. What is written must be acceptable to all sorts of interest groups, Ravitch says.

These groups, in turn, are invited to review, and in most cases, censor, passages that pertain to them. If a group does not like what is written about them or about a topic, it gets changed to language that is acceptable.

Censorship is not an issue in this process. What is at issue is that the textbooks be written in a sensitive and inoffensive manner. Textbooks written in conformity with the guidelines ensure a conformity of language and thought.

As Ravitch says: "With the best intentions, the publishers have consented to a strict code of censorship."

## What can be done?

There are three things that need to be done to rid American public education of the regime of censorship.

First, Ravitch calls for an end to state-based textbook buying. She wants to see a true marketplace develop where responsibility for materials used in the schools is given to teachers and local schools. Publishers would have to be responsive to literally thousands of prospective buyers, not just a single state school board.

Deregulating the textbook adoption process would create a competitive market.

Second, Ravitch calls for complete transparency. "The strongest protection for censorship," she says, "is public ignorance." But the public has a right to know what publishers, the states, and the federal government are doing to educational materials.

They must be forced to bring their decisions regarding educational materials before the public for its scrutiny.

Finally, Ravitch calls for teachers who are actually educated in the subject matters they teach. Well-educated teachers would not need to rely on textbooks for their sole source of information about a topic. Well-educated teachers are natural enemies of censorship.

But beating the scourge of censorship, Ravitch says, can only be accomplished if we have the will to fight it.

She desperately wants to believe that we have the resolve. CJ

## Book Review

**Creative Destruction: Cowen Explodes Myths of 'Native' Cultures**

• Tyler Cowen: *Creative Destruction: How Globalization Is Changing the World's Cultures*; Princeton University Press; 2002; 171 pp.; \$27.95

By **GEORGE C. LEEF**

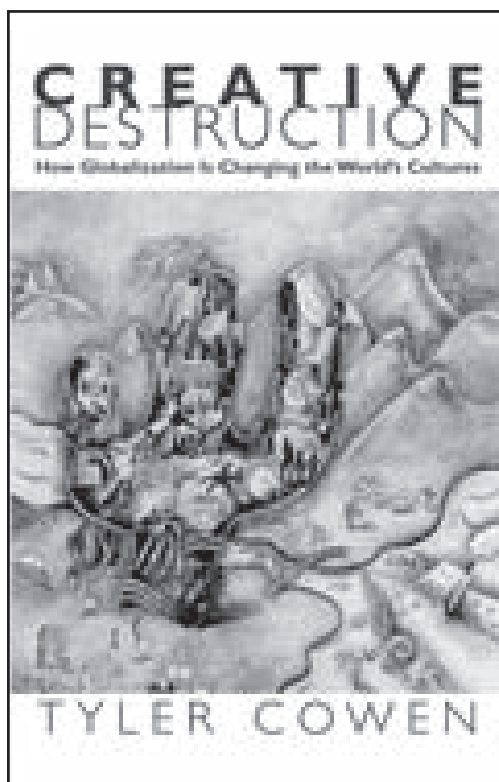
Contributing Editor

**I**f you go to one of the periodic anti-globalization tantrums of the Left, one of the gripes you will hear is that globalization means "American cultural hegemony." That is, when "we" build McDonald's restaurants or sell designer jeans in culturally different nations, we're guilty of undermining, if not destroying, the indigenous culture. Culturecide is nearly as bad as genocide, and we had better stop it!

**Trade's impact on culture**

The protesters have never thought deeply about the relationship between culture and trade (for that is all globalization comes down to — ever-widening trade), but Tyler Cowen certainly has. In his latest book, the George Mason University economics professor carefully analyzes the impact of globalization on culture and finds that, as Schumpeter said of the process of competition generally, it's a case of creative destruction. When the people of Culture A encounter the range of arts, products, technologies and so forth of Culture B, they may end up abandoning some aspects of their culture for things they prefer from Culture B. But those choices should not be lamented, Cowen argues.

He begins with a crucial insight: "Individuals who engage in cross-cultural exchange expect those transactions to make



them better off, to enrich their cultural lives, and to increase their menu of choice. Just as trade typically makes countries richer in material terms, it tends to make them culturally richer as well." We are used to hearing the antiglobalist crowd rant about "cultural domination," but the spread of cultural influence is not a case of "ours" somehow taking over "theirs." It is a matter of individual actions. If Chinese teen-agers like listening to Western pop music rather than traditional Chinese music, for example, that isn't domination. It's peaceful change.

Cross-cultural exchanges, Cowen points out, have the effect of increasing diversity within cultures while at the same

time decreasing diversity among cultures. Using the example above, when Chinese add American pop music to their cultural mix, they now enjoy a wider range of choices. However, in doing so, the difference between Chinese and American cultures has decreased. That bothers some cultural "purists," who think it akin to species extinction when "we" start to contaminate the "authentic" cultures in other parts of the world.

**Poppycock about "pure" cultures**

Cowen treats the cultural purist position with disdain. First of all, there aren't really any pure cultures. With many interesting illustrations, he demonstrates that what we may think of as authentic native cultures are the products of considerable cross-cultural exchange, usually having taken place long before people were paying attention to the phenomenon. Consider the steel drum music that is associated with Trinidad. Where did the steel drums come from? The answer is that American military forces brought many with them during World War II. The "authentic" music of Trinidad was based on bamboo percussion, which the Trinidadians happily abandoned when American steel drums became plentiful.

Similarly, Cowen points out that Navaho weavers hardly have a culturally pure product. Their dazzling geometric designs were not indigenous to the Navaho culture, but were borrowed from the ponchos of Spanish shepherds living in northern Mexico, designs which the Spanish had adapted from the Moors. Moreover, once machine-spun yarn and chemical dyes became available, the Navaho eagerly experimented with and began using them.

So the notion that there are "authentic" cultures turns out to be erroneous. But even if we arbitrarily denominate the current cultures of China, Trinidad, the Navaho, etc. as "pure," so what? Does it follow that Western antiglobalists are doing those people a favor in trying to protect them against contamination from Western influences? Cowen has no patience for that argument, writing that "poorer societies should not be required to serve as diversity slaves." That's what the elitist position comes down to. People in all those exotic places with their quaint, "authentic" cultures should be denied the opportunity to adopt aspects of Western culture that they would like, in order that some elitists can bask in the warm glow of knowing that they have helped protect against the ravages of capitalism.

Besides its resounding call for a laissez-faire approach to culture, *Creative Destruction* has a delightful side dish for the reader: some embarrassing truths about one of the most overrated men of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely Gandhi. Gandhi railed against Indian purchases of British textiles, calling them "defiling," and "our greatest outward pollution." He insisted that Indians, no matter how poor, to burn their foreign garments. Evidently, Gandhi regarded Indian weaving as "authentic" and foreign textiles as somehow a desecration of Indian culture. Cowen has sport in pointing out that "Western technologies provided critical pieces of the economic network behind Indian handweaving." Gandhi comes off like a cranky authoritarian.

Antiglobalist windbags need "issues" to grumble about. The supposed destruction of native cultures is one of those issues. Thanks to Tyler Cowen for showing that it's nothing but hot air. *CL*

## Book Review

**The Dismal Science: Exposing Victorian Opposition to Free Trade**

• David Levy: *How the Dismal Science Got its Name*; University of Michigan Press; 2001; 320 pages; \$52.50

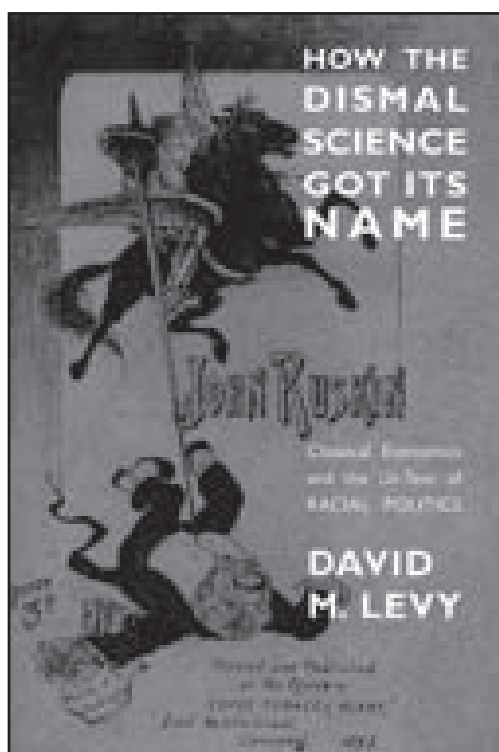
By **KAREN I. VAUGHN**

Guest Contributor

**F**or about 150 years, economics has been known as the "dismal science." While perhaps few remember that it was Victorian writer Thomas Carlyle who coined the term, the phrase invokes sympathy from those who find economic theory difficult and mundane. What most people do not appreciate, however, is the reactionary, even abhorrent context within which Carlyle made his famous pronouncement.

In this important book, David Levy provides an exhaustive and authoritative account of that context. Levy exposes a shocking truth: The Victorian literary opposition to political economy had less to do with the dreariness of economic theory than it had with the consequences of free-market economy. That is, these Victorians (including in addition to Carlyle, John Ruskin, and to some degree, Charles Dickens) despised the flourishing of a market economy because it provided more goods to the lower classes and fostered equality of people regardless of class or race.

Levy's thesis is as surprising as it is provocative. Generations of students have been taught that the Victorian critics of capitalism were the good guys, the defenders of the working class against the cruelties of early capitalist exploitation. By calling attention to the miserable condition of the



working classes in Britain through essays, letters and novels, they were demonstrating a humanitarian concern absent among economists of their day. Levy shows that the underlying view of humanity and society that motivated these Victorian critics was not so appealing as we were led to believe.

Often pointing to the middle ages as a paragon, they believed that society was composed of a natural hierarchy wherein the lower orders are to be cared for by their betters to whom allegiance and deference is owed. At the bottom of the social hierarchy

were the Irish and blacks whom they considered to be sub-human and incapable of self-governance.

The unapologetic pro-slavery views of Carlyle and Ruskin come as a shock to the modern reader. While not completely unknown to literary scholars, such ideas tend to be wrapped in a blanket of silence. Levy removes the blanket and exposes such writings as Carlyle's, "Occasional Discourses on the Negro Question." In this odious essay about Jamaican former slaves, Carlyle claims that blacks are incapable of managing freedom. Emancipation of Jamaican slaves, he argues, has left them bewildered and unwilling to work. The only solution is to re-enslave them while reforming the laws to encourage more benevolent masters.

While the call for re-enslavement was extreme, Carlyle's view of blacks was central to the critics of capitalism. They argued that rather than worry about the conditions of far distant sub-humans such as Jamaican blacks, it is more important to be concerned about the plight of the fully human if low status British working class. Capitalism, they argued, renders British laborers worse off than black slaves (a claim that Levy proves false), and so their improvement takes precedence.

Such reactionary ideas did not go unchallenged. Levy shows that at this time, slavery was opposed by a coalition between utilitarians (including the classical economists) and Evangelical Christians.

Despite their differences, both groups believed that there was a single human nature, implying a universal equality among

men. They also held that the greatest happiness principle of the utilitarians was equivalent to Christianity's golden rule. Slavery violated both precepts because on the one hand, slaves were suffering unhappiness and redressing their ills would increase utility, and on the other, no one would choose to be enslaved himself so no one has a right to enslave others.

This review can barely scratch the surface of Levy's scholarship. For instance, there is no room to do justice to his claim that Dickens' novel *Hard Times* must be read in conjunction with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to fully understand the nuances of the text. The same is true for the essay wherein Levy explores the implications of Adam Smith's contention that humans are the only species that trades with one another and that trade is a function of speech and reason. Hence, Levy argues, Smith's system of economics shows trade to be the logical starting point of economic theory and not rational choice, an insight almost lost to 20th century economists.

While the arguments of this fascinating book can be difficult and the reasoning sometimes elusive, the importance of the message and the light it sheds on the relationship between the foundational assumptions of economic theory and a benevolent view of human association make it well worth the reader's effort. *CL*

Karen Vaughn is professor of economics at George Mason University.

## Grade Inflation: We Should Care

Last year, Harvard Professor Harvey Mansfield made headlines when he denounced the amazing degree of grade inflation at Harvard — 91 percent of the students graduated with honors — and stated that he would in the future issue two sets of grades. One would be the official grade reported to the administration. The other would be the grade that he thought the student had actually earned. Few students greeted the new policy with enthusiasm.

Grade inflation certainly is not unique to Harvard, though. It is rare to find a school that isn't infected with it.



George Leef

Duke Professor Stuart Rojstaczer has made quite a study of grade inflation and has a website showing the trends at a large number of schools. Go to [www.gradeinflation.com](http://www.gradeinflation.com) to see for yourself. At UNC-Chapel Hill, for example, the average grade rose from 2.39 in 1967 to 2.98 in 2001. Rojstaczer's data demonstrate that grade inflation is prevalent at schools large and small, public and private.

OK, but should we care? Some people don't think so. Education gadfly Alfie Kohn calls grade inflation "a dangerous myth" and dismisses the idea that anything is amiss by claiming that if grades are rising it's because college students are getting better and better.

Anyone who is familiar with today's college students, however, knows otherwise. Students today, on the whole, study less than students of past generations, yet think themselves entitled to good grades anyway. As Peter Sacks explained in his book *Generation X Goes to College*, the typical college student today views himself as a consumer buying a product — a bachelor's degree. Just as with the purchase of a pair of shoes or a CD, he expects to get it with a minimum of "hassles" such as reading, writing papers, and enduring criticism for any academic shortcomings. No, it certainly isn't the case that rising grades are deserved because students are superachievers.

There are several good reasons why we should regard grade inflation as a problem.

For one, there is the matter of motivation. If students know that everyone gets A's or B's, many will decide that the benefit of trying one's hardest simply isn't worth it. Why slave away over a paper for an A when a feeble, sloppy effort gets you a B? Why miss out on all the campus fun for that additional grade point?

Second, giving higher-than-deserved grades is a kind of fraud. Undeserved grades convey misleading information to prospective employers and future schools. The purpose of having grades is to distinguish among students regarding their academic achievements. By compressing everyone at the top of the scale, grade inflation makes it hard to separate high achievers from those who are mediocre.

Third, because grade inflation is not uniform among academic fields, it tends to lure students into those areas where professors are known to be easy graders (generally the "soft" disciplines like English and education) and repel them from areas where rigorous standards have not given way (such as math and physics). Consequently, we wind up with a population less familiar with the kind of thinking that goes into science — an ignorance that political demagogues often capitalize on.

Grade inflation ought to be a high concern of college administrators, but there is little evidence that they are willing to fight to stop it. CJ

## Editorials

# SCANDAL SHEETS

## Newspapers practice 'civic journalism'

The Jayson Blair scandal revealed a lot more about today's newspaper business than journalists would like to admit.

Sure, Blair showed how stupid editors at even a newspaper as big and revered in the industry as *The New York Times* can be. Since the scandal broke, columnists from coast to coast have had a field day either assailing or defending affirmative action. And publishers across the land have told editors to scrutinize their hiring policies and personnel-management practices.

But, the fact is, just as blindly and tragically, newspapers for several years have been following other policies of social engineering that have severely damaged their credibility.

Sometime in the late 1980s or the 1990s, editors got the notion that their newspapers were old-fashioned. Journalists thought they weren't contributing enough to society, or certainly, not raising social "awareness" among the ignorant masses. In the grand scheme of things, journalists mused, there was a much more important role for them to play in world affairs than simply to report current events. The world needed saving, and journalists believed, surely, they were qualified to become saviors.

### The age of 'civic journalism'

No more inverted pyramid, they decided, that's old hat. No more "just the facts, ma'am" reporting. So long, objectivity.

Shaping public policy — adhering to a leftist agenda — became standard operating procedure at many of the nation's large newspapers. Some in the newspaper business called it "civic journalism." Others referred to it as "enterprise" reporting.

Most readers and practitioners of traditional journalism called it propaganda.

The philosophy grew as newspaper conglomerates continued to buy newspapers across the country, and smaller papers adopted the liberal agenda. "Comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable" was the battle cry.

Anecdotal leads and dramatic storytelling became the modern journalists' tools that would effect change and help shape public policy. To ensure their messages would be noticed, journalists decided that no longer should they relegate their opinions to the editorial pages. No sir. The new journalists decided they should parade their prejudices in the news pages — preferably in huge centerpieces on the Front Page.

They measured their achievement by the number of

new government programs that could be attributed to their handiwork. To increase their chances of success, journalists systematized their approach to coverage. After their stories were published, reporters badgered politicians to see what the public's servants intended to do about the grave social injustices the stories had uncovered. Politicians, fearful of media backlash and unfavorable publicity, introduced legislation that would fix the "crisis." Then the reporters wrote stories explaining what Senator So-And-So had done, or had failed to do. Following the "news" coverage, editorials reinforced the newspapers' lobbying campaigns.

### Journalists suffer self-delusion

Somehow, though, journalists who ventured into the brave new world had to find a way to assuage their consciences and to mitigate criticism that they were compromising the core principles of their profession. Rationalization allowed journalists to do that. They told themselves and admitted to the public that journalists were no different than ordinary folk; they harbor prejudices, and their work, naturally and inescapably, was bound to reflect their foibles.

Like a sinner half committed to repentance, journalists believed that mere recognition, and admission, of those infirmarys would appease their own pangs of guilt and silence their critics. Such introspection would appear to be commendable. But, as any member of Alcoholics Anonymous will attest, self-analysis is useless unless it's backed up by sincere, day-to-day commitment to

**They must renounce subjectivity and restore a culture in the newsroom that embraces core journalistic values...**

change.

*The New York Times*, mostly because it had no other choice, confessed its sins. Its executives promised that they would conduct a full review of its hiring policies, its use of anonymous sources, and its procedures to double-check accuracy. Later, its two top editors resigned.

That, alone, is not good enough. *The New York Times* — and other newspapers that idolize and practice its brand of journalism — must dig deeper if they hope someday to regain any shred of the public's trust.

They must renounce subjectivity and restore a culture in the newsroom that embraces core journalistic values such as accuracy, integrity, and fairness rather than guile, persuasiveness, and overbearing social consciousness. They must eradicate advocacy from their news pages. Then they must institute systematic procedures that prevent activism from returning.

Blind allegiance to racially based affirmative action triggered the scandal at *The New York Times*. Howell Raines, its executive editor, admitted as much in a talk to his staff. Because of that allegiance, Raines and other editors at the newspapers allowed, and actually encouraged, Blair to violate traditional journalistic values.

Executives at many other newspapers fear they, too, have been following affirmative action's path toward scandal. They say they have launched internal investigations.

While they're at it, they might want to investigate and reconsider their radical transformation from being objective conveyors of information to becoming shameless promulgators of propaganda. CJ

# Not So Hot

State attracting few growth companies

Amid all the evidence of North Carolina's lackluster economic performance — the lowest growth rate in the region, the highest rate of job loss in the region and one of the worst in the United States, etc. — comes another indicator that speaks directly to the state's bias against investment and enterprise.

*Business Week* magazine publishes an annual ranking of the top 100 "hot growth companies" in America. Selected from a national database of 10,000 publicly traded corporations, these firms exhibit strong growth in sales, earnings, and return on capital. They form the dynamic core of a changing economy — the enterprises that are at the forefront in replacing the job and investment opportunities being lost in older industries.

Not a single North Carolina company made the list in 2003.

Ours is the 11th most-populous state in the union. In recent decades, our economy has outperformed the average. North Carolinians have gotten used to thinking of themselves as progressive, as a leading force for new ideas and endeavors in the South. But in the *Business Week* survey, out of 23 "hot growth companies" in the region, none was a North Carolina-based enterprise. Florida and Tennessee boasted five apiece; Texas four; Alabama, Virginia, and Maryland two each; and South Carolina, Georgia, and even lowly Louisiana one each.

Was this just a fluke? Not likely. While North Carolina's record in attracting "big fish" facilities from elsewhere has been spotty, its record in cultivating startups and entrepreneurs has gotten downright appalling. For example, Gov. Mike Easley, former Gov. Jim Hunt, and the General Assembly have worked together to expand the state's previously modest offerings of targeted tax breaks, government grants, and other "incentives" to mostly large corporations. A recent survey by the Fluor Corporation ranked North Carolina's incentives as the most generous among 12 Southern states for manufacturers and No. 2 for "super projects."

But another recent study, this one by the Washington-based Small Business Survival Committee, ranked North Carolina dead last in the region for fiscal and other policies affecting small businesses and entrepreneurs.

## A clash of economic philosophies

This is more than just a political or legislative struggle between large and small companies, or between those on the inside of the political process and the majority on the outside. It reflects a difference in philosophy about how and why economies prosper.

One notion, deeply embedded in the minds of many politicians because of their faulty education in economics and history, is that free enterprise is inherently unstable and incapable of fostering good, long-run decisions. Its adherents believe that the main impediments to growth can and should be "fixed" by government.

They want the state to "invest" public dollars into new ventures, into research centers, into various ways of subsidizing what they believe to be the "industries of the future." They acknowledge that raising taxes has some economic cost, but they believe that spending the proceeds on public education, public construction, and even public services like Medicaid can more than offset the deleterious effects of taxes. Many politicians contend that a state can be "progressive," and its economy prosperous, only to the extent that its leaders are willing to "pay for it" through raising taxes.

This is the ruling philosophy of the political class in Raleigh, reflecting not only near-unanimous Democratic belief but a goodly number of Republican believers, as well. And to put it generously, it is contradicted by sound theory and real-world experience.

The alternative view — and the one currently in vogue in most of our neighboring and competing states — is that high tax rates discourage entrepreneurs and investors from building new growth industries. Core public services do help economies grow, but their value isn't infinite. Policymakers must make hardheaded decisions about government spending, informed by sound economics and constitutional principle.

If throwing government dollars at education, research, planning, and the public-sector equivalent of stock-picking was a viable strategy for economic growth, then the history of the world during the past half-century would have been dramatically different.

With some of the highest marginal income tax rates in

the country and a growing and costly regulatory burden, North Carolina is poorly positioned for the dynamic changes now working their way through the economy. Protecting old industries and paying a few big companies to site their plants in our state (for a few years) aren't viable options for long-term economic development. Nor is subsidizing more students to obtain more degrees or researchers to publish more papers.

North Carolina should be where the investors and entrepreneurs of the future want to live, work, and build new businesses. It isn't. Let's do something about that before it's too late.

## SPREE-FREE?

Explaining North Carolina's budget woes

Our new friend Elaine Mejia, fiscal policy analyst at the North Carolina Budget and Tax Center, has written a new report that purports to disprove the notion that a "spending spree" during the 1990s set the stage for the state's recent budget woes.

The paper is short, fact-filled, and admirably to the point. Longtime observers of the public-policy scene in Raleigh will note that Mejia's center, part of the N.C. Justice and Community Development Center, has been a sometime sparring partner and a sometime ally of *Carolina Journal's* publisher, the John Locke Foundation.

On this issue, we must spar.

The paper offers two main contentions. First, what appears to have been significant growth in North Carolina state spending during the past decade was almost entirely due to Medicaid growth. And second, even when Medicaid is included, the amount of growth is so underwhelming that it couldn't possibly explain the predicament that state lawmakers are debating.

The gist of our disagreement with Mejia is her choice of starting dates for her analysis. Here's a brief fiscal history lesson. North Carolina posted dramatic spending growth during the 1980s. Then in 1990-91, the state endured a recession. The 1991 session of the state legislature brought a combination of spending restraint and tax increases to address projected budget deficits over the next two years (fiscal 1991-92 and fiscal 1992-93).

After these two years of nominal growth (and a slight decline when adjusted for inflation and population growth), the state budget took off like a rocket. Then, starting in 2000-01, another recession brought another series of budget deficits — with which state politicians are still grappling today.

Mejia's tracking of the fiscal trend begins in 1990-91, and thus captures two years of recessionary budget declines (in real, inflation-adjusted terms). It ends in 2002-03, after two more years of budget declines (again, in real terms). In between, from 1992-93 to 1999-2000, the state's General Fund budget grew at a rapid rate, up 27 percent even after adjusting for inflation and population growth. During this period, by the way, the budget expanded by 25 percent when Medicaid is excluded, so it can't be blamed for most of the growth.

A longer-term analysis is also illustrative. From 1981-82 to 2001-02, state spending nearly doubled in inflation-adjusted, per-person terms.

The statistics in the Budget and Tax Center report aren't incorrect. But they don't tell a full and meaningful story about North Carolina government growth. Lawmakers did go on a spending spree — in the 1980s — and then enacted the largest tax increase in state history to force taxpayers to clean up their mess. Then, without sensing the irony, they went on another spending spree in the 1990s, and again enacted major tax increases in 2001 and 2002 to try to clean up their latest mess.

No, the rapid budget growth of the 1980s didn't persist into the early 1990s. And, no, the rapid budget growth of the 1990s didn't persist into 2001 and 2002. North Carolina's boom-and-bust fiscal cycle is striking, when the data are viewed in context.

One last point: a Deloitte Consulting study for *Governing* magazine found that from 1996 to 2000 — the period during which state spending really ramped up nationwide — North Carolina ranked second in the United States in average annual budget growth, at about 7 percent, compared to a national average of about 4.75 percent. Now, North Carolina is the only state that is considering a third straight year of significant tax increases (New Jersey joined us in raising taxes in 2001 and 2002, but is considering only major gambling taxes this year).

It's not a pretty picture, no matter how one tries to dress it up.

## State Needs a Tiff — about TIFs

North Carolina policymakers desperately need to have a tiff about TIFs. That's tax-increment financing, by the way. It's a device regularly used by local governments in other states to issue government debt without a vote of the people. It involves designating a zone and allowing rising property values within that zone to pay off bonds with higher property-tax collections.

For decades now, local officials in North Carolina have been trying to get state lawmakers in Raleigh, and then state voters in a referendum, to amend the constitution to allow localities to use TIFs to finance "economic development" projects such as parking decks, sports arenas, and convention centers. For decades now, they've failed. Most recently, the General Assembly submitted the question to voters in a 1993 referendum. It was defeated.

But in May, the N.C. Senate voted 43-2 for another referendum. Too bad. TIFs are a bad idea for several reasons, but the key one is that they would likely enable local politicians to insert their power — and their tax-free bonding ability — into risky economic endeavors far outside the proper scope of government.

TIFs are supposed to be worth the trouble because they enhance local economies in some way. But careful research in states with a long history of using TIFs has failed to show this. For example, two researchers at Iowa State University examined their state's growing use of TIFs. From 1989 to 1999, the number of TIFs localities more than doubled, and the total value of property within TIF districts rose from \$650 million to \$4.2 billion. But property values rose outside the districts, too.

"The TIF ultimately is supposed to increase and enrich the tax base through job growth, population retention or growth, earnings gains and trade enhancement," they concluded. "But between 1989 and 1999, our analysis shows TIF-increment spending at the county level has not yielded measurable and distinct fiscal, economic or social outcomes." They also found that the system was forcing taxpayers outside of TIF districts to shoulder a disproportionate cost of providing government services.

A similar study of TIFs in the Chicago area found that their use was, at best, simply shifting development and job creation around within the city, not creating net new jobs. Statewide, a separate study by Lake Forest College and University of Illinois researchers found that Illinois cities without TIFs grew faster than cities with them.

The issue of TIF bonds for "public" development is intertwined with a larger one about government assistance for business. The main reasons why politicians want more ways to issue debt are 1) it's a way for private companies to gain access to tax-free bonds and 2) there are money-losing projects, such as sports arenas, that companies want to exploit but not have to pay for.

In both cases, to provide corporate welfare is to warp the market. Why should projects with political connections be able to divert investment from deserving private projects simply on the basis of a tax break? And why should any taxpayers be compelled to finance the activities of multi-million-dollar sports teams or tourism industries?

TIFs don't represent the potential downfall of North Carolina, but they will set a bad precedent and, like so many other dubious schemes, they will raise public expectations of economic growth that will not be met. Here's hoping the N.C. House debates the issue more thoroughly.

John Hood

Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation, publisher of *Carolina Journal*, a syndicated columnist, and host of "Carolina Journal Radio," now broadcast each week on a dozen stations across the state.

## Editorial Briefs

*Farmers harvest insurance payments*

Crop insurance allows farmers to protect a season's production of nearly 100 commodities, on more than 200 million acres, against nearly any misfortune. Although it is a government program, private insurance companies market the policies, collect premiums, pay claims, and make large underwriting profits.

Currently, 18 insurance companies participate in the program, and they make up one of the most profitable parts of the property and casualty industry, says insurance-rating company A.M. Best.

About 800,000 farmers now purchase federal crop insurance.

This fiscal year, reflecting payments for the 2002 drought, farmers as a group are collecting about \$3.75 for every \$1 they spent on crop insurance. The cost to taxpayers for crops that failed in 2002 hit \$3.9 billion, up 75 percent from what the program cost in 2000.

Although crop insurance was supposed to replace ad hoc disaster-aid bills, President Bush signed a \$3.1 billion bill in February for drought and other recent losses. It sweetens the payout for farmers who bought crop insurance. Those who didn't buy crop insurance for the 2002 season can get aid if they promise to purchase insurance in the next two years.

The Agriculture Department occasionally endorses insurance offerings that practically invite farmers to fail. One deal in Texas in 1999 insured watermelons planted in the fall. But weather stacks the odds against melons planted at that time of the year. South Texas farmers planted lots of fall melons, lost much of the crop, and reaped a total of \$21 million in insurance payouts.

"Rampant fraud goes on in crop insurance," says Bill Mateja, an assistant U.S. attorney in Lubbock, Texas, who won convictions of five cotton and wheat farmers accused of falsely collecting \$700,000 under the program.

Reported in the *Wall Street Journal*.

*Deductions subsidize expensive homes*

Tax deductions intended to encourage homeownership nationwide are working to subsidize expensive areas.

Buy a home in an expensive East or West Coast city and you will be showered with decades of tax savings, primarily from the mortgage interest deduction. Buy a home in Peoria or Pittsburgh, and you'll get nothing, because deductible interest or property taxes are so much less.

After reviewing median home sale prices in 125 urban areas and calculating the tax benefits buyers would receive, researcher Scott Burns discovered that in the 25 lowest-price areas, anyone buying a median-price home would receive virtually no tax benefit.

If you bought a median-price home in Fargo, N.D., you would enjoy total tax savings of \$67 over two years; every year thereafter, your tax savings would be zero. Buy a median-price home in places like Daytona Beach, Fla.; Topeka, Kan.; or El Paso, Texas, and there are no tax benefits ever.

Looking at the other end of the price scale, Burns found that homes in the 25 most expensive areas of the country range in median price from \$516,400 in San Francisco to \$189,900 in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

San Diego, the fourth most expensive area (Orange County, Calif., and Boston rank second and third, respectively) has a median home sale price of \$379,300.

Assuming a 3 percent down payment, a 5.5 percent interest rate, a 1 percent of market value tax rate and a 30 percent tax rate, San Diego home buyers can expect tax benefits of \$59,161 over a 23-year period — 15.6 percent of the purchase price.

Buyers in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the 25th-ranked area, receive \$17,134 in tax benefits over 18 years on median-price homes — the tax benefits are worth 9 percent of their original purchase price.

Reported in the *Dallas Morning News*. CJ

## Economists Debunk Myths of Urban Sprawl

By MICHAEL L. WALDEN

Contributing Editor

Sprawl is a word that has acquired a negative connotation in our language. Mention sprawl and the immediate image in most minds is of subdivisions gobbling up farmland and pristine forests and causing commuters to sit in time-wasting traffic jams to and from work. Many politicians say they are for "smart-growth," which is a kind of fuzzy, ill-defined alternative to "nasty" sprawl.

Unfortunately, there has been little dispassionate, logical analysis of the causes and consequences of sprawl. But no more. Now there is a new study from the prestigious National Bureau of Economic Research that increases our understanding of sprawl. In *Sprawl and Urban Growth*, economists Edward Glaeser and Matthew Kahn debunk many of the myths about sprawl with rigorous analysis and empirical investigation.

Sprawl is simply low-density development. Rather than economic activity being concentrated in central, high-density places, households and businesses are spread across the landscape in lower-density subdivisions and communities.

The driving force behind low-density development is households. Urban economists have long taught that households face a fundamental trade-off in their residential location. They can live close to work and shopping on land that, because of its accessibility, is more expensive. In this case, commuting costs will be low, but housing costs will be high, thereby motivating less consumption of housing space. Or, households can live farther from work and shop on cheaper land, allowing them to afford more housing space but forcing longer commutes.

In horse and buggy days, when time costs of commuting were high, most households except farmers lived close to work and shopped in high-density dwellings. There was nothing romantic about living in crowded apartments on top of shops — it was a matter of economic necessity.

The development and proliferation of the automobile dramatically changed the economics of this trade-off. Commutes that were previously unthinkable were now possible. The auto allowed households to "have their cake and eat it too." The auto allowed households to move out of dense central cities, buy cheaper land, and therefore consume more space, and still have a reasonable commute to work and shopping. Plus, over time, many jobs and shopping followed households to the suburbs and reduced their commuting time.

Critics of sprawl argue that the government contributed to this low-density development by subsidizing roads. Not so, says Glaeser and Kahn. The vast majority of highway spending (70 percent) is financed by user fees in the form of gasoline taxes. In contrast, the subsidy rate of public transportation is much higher.

Even if one accepts that low-density development has occurred as a result of households making choices in their

self-interest — that is, pursuing lower-cost land and greater housing space — there can still be negative consequences of these choices. Three often mentioned bad results from sprawl are greater commute times, reduced open space, and increased air pollution.

Glaeser and Kahn address each of these head on. Regarding commute times, they reveal a startling statistic. Average commute times to work are actually greater in

more dense metropolitan areas than in less-dense areas. A big reason is the inflexibility of mass transportation systems more commonly used in high-density metro areas. Mass-transit systems can't deliver commuters from the doors of their residences to the doors of their work destinations.

Therefore, the total time of commuting using a mass-transit system includes the time of getting to the transit stop, the time on the transit vehicle, and the time getting from the transit stop to the destination. Autos are more time-efficient on the first and third components, and may also be more efficient on the second component when the multiple stops of mass transit systems are considered.

Glaeser and Kahn also show it's incorrect to claim sprawl has significantly reduced the amount of open space in the country. Only 5 percent of the country is developed. The amount of land devoted to forests has actually been increasing. Furthermore, if residents desire more open space in their neighborhoods, they can accomplish this by voting for more public spending on park space or by participating in land trusts. Although low-density development is related to greater automobile use, technological advances have caused air pollution levels to fall in recent decades. Glaeser and Kahn call this the "greening of the automobile." Automobiles are more environmentally friendly today than ever before, and the reductions in pollutant emissions per auto have more than offset the increase in driving.

The Glaeser and Kahn study makes clear households have generally benefited from sprawl. Indeed, sprawl has resulted from residents consciously making decisions to improve their standard of living. Certainly, low-density living isn't the choice of every household, as witnessed by the increase in inner-city living by some middle- and upper-income households in recent years. But developers realize most households will trade a longer commute for more living space.

Any efforts to artificially limit sprawl will reduce the well-being of households, especially households that haven't attained the dream of a single-family home in a low-density development. Such a move would be replacing the dreams of the many with the plans of the few. CJ



Michael L. Walden

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*Franken incensed by 'conservative bias'*

## A Message for Liberals Seeking Media Coverage: Bring It On!

By DONNA MARTINEZ

Associate Editor

I admit it. I'm a C-SPAN junkie. I don't recognize the pop divas and Hollywood stars that stare out from the grocery store checkout line, but I can recite the bios of the main players in the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill scandal from memory. It's not uncommon to find me in front of the TV with a bowl of popcorn watching the latest congressional hearings into who knew what, and when, in the never-ending supply of government scandals.

Several weeks ago, I settled in for an afternoon of what C-SPAN does best: laid-back author interviews, this time from Book Expo America 2003 in Los Angeles. But instead of the usual talking-head session, the live forum featured comedian Al Franken hammering Fox News Channel's Bill O'Reilly with accusations of lying and misleading the public. Franken, revered by the Hollywood Left, spewed, sputtered, and gesticulated in what could have been a "Saturday Night Live" skit. Like many elements of that tired program, Franken showed poor taste and wasn't funny.

It seems that conservatives are Franken's targets in his new book, *LIES, And The Lying Liars Who Tell Them: A Fair and Balanced Look at the Right*. Wade through the histrionics and Franken's C-SPAN act was a textbook example of the

RALEIGH



Donna Martinez

liberal playbook: spit venom, call those who disagree with you names, and above all, avoid discussing the facts.

As part of his O'Reilly rant, Franken said he believes conservative bias dominates the media, a ridiculous notion for sure, and he put viewers on notice that the Left isn't going to take this perceived unfairness any longer.

That's when I laughed. Not at Franken's lame antics, but at the prospect of him, and others like him, speaking out more frequently on behalf of liberal ideas. Think about it. The more air time these people are given, the more uninformed they look. His verbal attack seemed to be a first strike of what may be coming soon from leaders of the Left who think they're being shortchanged in the media and public policy debate.

This fall, well-connected doom-and-gloomers will open the doors of a liberal Washington-based think tank dubbed the American Majority Institute.

Championed by former Clinton Chief of Staff John Podesta and others, AMI is the latest attempt to convince Americans the country needs more money for more programs, for even more people.

Hard to believe, but liberals have concluded that their impact has diminished because their message is being blocked by conservatives. If a level playing field existed, they surmise, voters would flock to the polls to support

liberal candidates and issues. Enter AMI, the organization they believe will lead to endorsement of their policies by overwhelming numbers of Americans. It hasn't occurred to them that communication isn't their problem. It's the opposite. The more people learn about their message, the more likely they are to reject it.

Conservatives have missed the most significant point of the AMI announcement as well. Instead of welcoming a new debating opportunity, some have launched into explanations of why another left-leaning think tank isn't necessary, citing laundry lists of liberal media bias and the dominance of the Left on college campuses and within influential nonprofit groups aligned with Democrats.

True enough, but the most savvy thing conservatives can do is welcome the opportunity to expose liberal ideas for the ineffective and outdated social and economic policies they are. Not since Bill Clinton lectured the country on what the definition of "is" is, has the Right received such a gift. The institute will no doubt receive national exposure and media credibility from the get-go. Its representatives will be guests on talk shows and town hall meetings from coast to coast, all leading up to the 2004 presidential election. This exposure to liberalism's shortcomings will be vivid, helping to create an understanding of the opportunity and compassion of conservatism.

Personally, I can't wait. The more the AMI crowd explains its liberal message, the laughter Al Franken will hear from future audiences won't be because of his jokes. They'll be laughing at his ideas. *CJ*

## Universities Use 'Diversity' to Rob Individuals of Intellectual Property

By R. E. SMITH JR.

Guest Contributor

University officials believe they have the power to foster America's ideal vision of diversity. They presume to know that vision. Yet, none exists beyond academia. They see themselves using their presumptive power to instruct Americans who don't have academic foresight. So goes current wisdom spawned at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington and other colleges.

Academic foresight, it seems, demands greater ethnic focus on campus. The mission payoff, they say, will eradicate "lingering consequences" of unequal treatment suffered by some minorities, and the "most onerous effects of birth into unfavorable circumstances." The burden of life is assumed to be too much for some to bear, so universities must insulate what they presume to be poor, weak souls from potential insults and other perceived transgressions.

The feudal view from higher-education visionaries is based on looking back in order to see Utopia ahead; what former communist David Horowitz has described as "a vision to nowhere." Correcting past and perceived injustices by imagining perfection reminds us of other failed and discredited, impractical socialist projects. But it still lurks in academia. Here collectivism has safe haven. The public university is rarely scrutinized.

WILMINGTON

Harmony, unity, solidarity — true integration, we are told, are goals of the fanciful. Academic seers want to permeate every part of higher-education programs with their utopian world view. The visionaries are on a quest to make presumably unfavored students feel "comfortable," and achieve a "higher degree of tolerance for all cultures." Academia would build a facade suited to their particular purpose — an idealistic scheme to impose on others their remorse and feelings of inadequacy. Yet their ploy is nebulous and undefined.

Meanwhile, the real world goes on. It functions well without forced manipulation. People work out their differences; they learn to deal with imperfection. Faculty and students don't need a nanny-university controlling activities, deeds, and even words that might offend.

Most universities now have speech codes that are themselves offensive. All should be offended by the suggestion that "diversity" be codified. But a more insidious problem exists.

Horowitz said utopians must destroy the old order before they can install a new one. Socialists throughout the globe have tried to stamp out existing societies to impose their invariably oppressive plots.

The newest code word for that revolutionary solution is "diversity." Eli Lehrer, in his article "Unfree Speech" in *The American Enterprise*, cites an example of suppression at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. They

prohibit behavior that "destroys the environment of tolerance and mutual respect."

Actually, the university seeks to destroy the environment of free exchange, honest expression, and open dissent. "Diversity," as promoted at universities, stigmatizes minorities, polarizes the campus, and has nothing to do with a multiplicity of thoughts and ideas.

The diversity movement is a tentacle of the socialist octopus. Horowitz defines socialism as "a plan for morally sanctioned theft" — taking what others have produced. The university, once a place that demanded excellence, elevated knowledge, and encouraged heterogeneous intellectual thought, is being stolen from us. Increasingly, the higher-educational process is being subverted. False premises, lower expectations, and subversive policies are replacing the old order.

The aim is to reconstruct the academic environment into victim identities and group preferences with their separate courses, departments, and programs. Rather than unified, campuses are being split apart by a forced, unnatural system.

The unique identity of the individual and personal thinking is being taken away. Since all thoughts and ideas originate with individuals, subverting them to groups, in essence, is a kind of thievery — the taking of our intellectual property. Hopefully, this vision will not stand the test of time. *CJ*

## Letter to the Editor: Author Rebuts Review of 'Equal Rights for All'

To The Editor:

I am grateful to George Stephens for reviewing my book, *Equal Rights For All. Special Privileges For None. Principles of American Populism*. It is gratifying to think that he found the subject matter interesting.

Stephens makes several errors of scholarship in his review which must be corrected to avoid a taint on the credibility of *Carolina Journal*, if left unchallenged.

In the first instance, Stephens states that I made a factual error in citing Madison as the author of Federalist No. 71. Stephens fails to truthfully denote that my citation is a direct quote on p. xi, properly citing Gordon Wood's book, *The Creation of The American Republic: 1776 - 1787*, (UNC Press, 1969). p. 599.

Stephen's failure of scholarship to correctly note this citation, but attributing it to me, is compounded by his factual confusion over the authorship of Federalist No. 71. Gordon Wood ascribes the authorship of No. 71 to Madison.

Second, Stephens alleges that I "equate" the political philosophy of Hobbes and Locke. This allegation is false. I

note on Page 30 the core ideological differences between the two writers. For Hobbes, the primary human urge is to dominate others, while for Locke, it is to accumulate property. I go on throughout the book to compare and contrast the two writers. There is nothing in my book about an "equivalency" between the two authors.

Third, Stephens alleges that I am wrong in my presentation of Madison's advocacy of the Senate as a preserve for the wealthy aristocrats. Madison played the decisive role in the compromise that created the U.S. Senate. Stephens suggests that Madison's initial advocacy of the Virginia Plan should be given greater historical primacy than Madison's work in securing the final outcome. If Stephens is in possession of some historical evidence to suggest that Madison did not broker the deal, as it emerged, then Stephens should immediately bring that new, previously unknown evidence to the light of the entire academic world.

Stephens is a property rights libertarian, who has a definite point of view of history, and a definite political agenda. He has used the occasion of his review in *Carolina Journal* to promote his libertarian agenda, under the thin

vener of scholarship, to attack a Republican Populist ideology. His political technique does not work well in the context of *Carolina Journal* because the *Journal* and the Locke Foundation have a 13-year track record of clean, credible scholarship. Thinly veiled partisan attacks in this context are easily detected and defused.

My book is about the conflict in America between the cultural values of individualism and collectivism. I use the historical experience of the agrarian populists as a tableau upon which to draw out what happens when common citizens with an individualistic ethos seek greater control over political decisions, especially those decisions which involve the concentrated holdings of wealth and private property of social groups with a collectivist orientation. Greater citizen participation in those types of political decisions is obviously a great source of concern to a libertarian property rights advocate, like Stephens, whose primary orientation is that those with the greatest amount of property should have the greatest political power.

Thomas E. Vass  
Swift Creek, NC

# Rhode Island: A Pipsqueak Pilferer of History

*State that should be dissolved makes much ado about nothing; copy of the Bill of Rights belongs to N.C.*

By PAUL CHESSE  
Associate Editor

Duke University law Professor Walter Dellinger was right when he said, "We could have done without Rhode Island." Not only could we have done without it, but we can still do without it, and it would be best for the country if we get rid of it immediately.

Duke's constitutional specialist uttered his remarks in the context of a statement to *The News & Observer* of Raleigh about the recovery of North Carolina's stolen copy of the original draft of the Bill of Rights.

"North Carolina's copy of the Bill of Rights is uniquely important," Dellinger said. "We're the state, with Rhode Island, that held out and declined to join the union until there was a Bill of Rights. We could have done without Rhode Island, but we were hardly going to be a contiguous union with a foreign country between South Carolina and Virginia."

## Rumblings in Little Rhody

His remarks caused an uproar in ruinous Rhody, where a state senator sponsored a resolution that protested Dellinger's comments, and declared the diminutive state's (imagined) important role in the founding of the nation. The proclamation passed and was sent to Dellinger, who immediately backpedaled and said, "As a constitutional historian, I have always considered Rhode Island just

about my very favorite state." Trying to make good, Dellinger chalked up his appreciation for the little state that could to its "feisty quality."

I understand the good professor's desire to smooth ruffled feathers, but intentional or not, his first remarks need to be amplified, not disavowed.

Sure, exuberance in the public square can sometimes be a positive thing, but in the case of Rhode Island, there is hardly any "quality" in its feistiness. Usually its obstinacy is only for obstinacy's sake. The word "feisty" is derivative of the word "feist," which Webster's defines as "a small, snappish dog" — how appropriate in this case.

## Least and dead last

Being a Rhode Islander means you bear the inferiority complex that comes with living in the state that is dead last in importance. Presidents never visit there, except to shut up the "snappish dog" once every 10 years or so. T.F.

Green Airport is a semipopular destination for travelers trying to avoid the hassle of Logan Airport in Boston, which is where people would rather go. Green is even billed as "The Hassle Free Gateway to New England." In other words, "the airport to use when you want to go somewhere else."

What celebrities has Rhode Island contributed to popular culture? Ruth Buzzi, David Hartman, and the Farrelly brothers — whoopee.

How about sports Hall of Famers? Do you remember Gabby Hartnett, Frank Frisch, and Nap Lajoie? Shake those cobwebs out of your brain.

And what is the point of the Pawtucket Red Sox? This Triple-A club is the farm team for its parent in Boston, which is less than an hour's drive away. Why settle for inferiority?

These examples may seem trivial, but let's get to the most important reason to eliminate Rhode Island: rampant liberalism. Little Rhody can't even elect entertaining liberals like Tip O'Neill, Michael Dukakis, and Barney Frank, all of neighboring Massachusetts.

No, Rhode Island voters keep sending Patrick Kennedy back to the U.S. House, perpetuating Papa Ted's leftist legacy in the most mundane of packaging. Not only are they contributing to the country's destruction, but they are boring it to death as well.

And the only Republican that can get elected in Rhode Island is a liberal one. Voters there repeatedly sent John Chafee to the U.S. Senate until he died in 1999, and now continue to impose his son Lincoln upon us.

Worse, Rhode Island's politics may be more corrupt than Chicago's. Last June, Providence Mayor Buddy Cianci was convicted of racketeering conspiracy by a federal jury. He had been re-elected in 1991 after a previous term as mayor. His earlier tenure ended after he pleaded no contest in 1984 to charges of beating his wife's lover with a fireplace log. In 1998 former Gov. Ed DiPrete was convicted on 18 charges of racketeering, bribery, and extortion. For Rhode Islanders to elect anybody colorful, I guess he must be a criminal too.

It's time for the federal government to dissolve Rhode Island's power structure and make it part of Connecticut or Massachusetts (it's not worth splitting). This pipsqueak state contributes nothing of value to the rest of the nation, and in fact needs to be protected from itself. *cj*

*Paul Chesser grew up in Rhode Island.*



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