

INDIANAPOLICY

Review

Vol. 26, No. 4, Fall 2015



Still Pretending to Help

Urban Malaise in Indianapolis

"A future that works"

*In Congress, July 4, 1776,
the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United
States of America:*

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

INDIANA POLICY

Review

Vol. 26, No. 4, Fall 2015

A FUTURE THAT WORKS

Our mission is to marshal the best thought on governmental, economic and educational issues at the state and municipal levels. We seek to accomplish this in ways that:

- Exalt the truths of the Declaration of Independence, especially as they apply to the interrelated freedoms of religion, property and speech.
- Emphasize the primacy of the individual in addressing public concerns.
- Recognize that equality of opportunity is sacrificed in pursuit of equality of results.

The foundation encourages research and discussion on the widest range of Indiana public-policy issues. Although the philosophical and economic prejudices inherent in its mission might prompt disagreement, the foundation strives to avoid political or social bias in its work. Those who believe they detect such bias are asked to provide details of a factual nature so that errors may be corrected.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Charles S. Quilhot
Byron S. Lamm
T. Craig Ladwig

Donna Volmerding, Copy Editor
Lisa Barnum, Graphic Designer
Elizabeth Ladwig, Project Editor

MEMBERSHIP

Only active members and registered media are given interior access to the archive at www.inpolicy.org. The active membership can be defined as those members who have donated \$50 or more to the foundation within the past year. It is the staff's preference to consult these active members when selecting issues for panel discussions in their regions. It is also the staff's preference to contact active members when seminars and events are scheduled in their regions. In any case, the foundation makes available its work and publications as resources permit. Memberships are tax-exempt. The Indiana Policy Review Foundation is a nonprofit Indiana corporation, established in January of 1989 and recognized under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Service Code. Its officers and staff can be reached at: PO Box 5166, Fort Wayne, IN, 46895; director@inpolicy.org or under the "contact us" tab at www.inpolicy.org. The foundation is free of outside control by any individual, organization or group. It exists solely to conduct and distribute research on Indiana issues. Nothing written here is to be construed as reflecting the views of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before the legislature or to further any political campaign.

A TALENT FOR PRETENSE

‘If you can believe a woman has a penis, then you can believe just about anything.’

Tom Huston, in his essay “General Lee Down the Memory Hole” (p. 36) comments that the one thing liberals do really well is pretend — pretend it is Selma Alabama in 1965, pretend the nuclear family is irrelevant, pretend enemies are disarmed by ideas, pretend prosperity is created by decree, pretend there are no borders, pretend backward is forward.

In this office, we’ve begun to call it Huston’s Law. In its support, we can cite a list of recent headlines ranging from Caitlyn Jenner’s new identity to the erasure of Gen. Robert E. Lee from history. “If you can believe a woman has a penis, then you can believe just about anything,” Huston writes in his inimitable style.

The value is not in a scathing characterization of liberals — they are what they are and always have been — but in an awareness that we are not rising to the challenge that pretense represents.

For liberals, unchecked by a grounded school system or independent mass media, are free to pretend that their various social arrangements and political reforms (trending now to the totalitarian) will produce the same results in freedom and prosperity. Only they promise it will be better in the long run.

Well, the long run is getting pretty long now. We have spent 50 years and \$22 trillion so far on just the Great Society. In our cover essay (pp. 4-10), Patrick Oetting, a Fort Wayne native working for the PovertyCure Initiative of the Acton Institute, takes a hard look at Mayor Greg Ballard’s “Your Life Matters” (YLM) project, a pretentious campaign seeking to rescue young Black males in Indianapolis, inspired by the usual do-good drivel and seemingly timed to the presidential election campaigns.

Oetting’s analysis finds the YLM report simplistic, hurried and narrow, even as such reports go and especially so when you consider the challenges facing these particular youth.

More disappointing is the report’s indifference to the traditional but also innovative role of the Black Indianapolis churches, a role that not only would seem obvious to the casual observer but is well documented by experts.

Pope John Paul II focused on it in his 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus* and applied the Principle of Subsidiarity, that nothing should be done by a larger and more complex organization that can be done as well by a smaller and simpler organization.

Indeed, according to a companion essay from our archives by Dr. Marvin Olasky (pp. 11-17), small and simple Christian churches, not mayoral task forces, hold the key to raising young Black men from urban malaise.

In the midst of the *Indianapolis Star* hoopla leading up to the release of the YLM report, we read that, after 40 years of organizational contortion and posing, African-Americans represent only 4.78 percent of newsroom staffs, virtually the same as 50 years ago.

That low percentage begs some sort of explanation. Perhaps the quality if not the quantity of African-American journalists has improved.

That is subjective, of course, but there is a study showing that if you raise entry-level salaries for teachers, say, you don’t

necessarily get more good teachers. What you get is more applicants who, although attracted by the higher pay, really wanted to be doctors or lawyers but found the tests too hard.

Perhaps journalism, like teaching, is a calling independent of recruitment campaigns or even salary. Independent of preferred racial proportions.

Surely, though, there is more opportunity today at the executive level. Or maybe not. April Ryan of The American Urban Radio Network reports that Blacks make up only 10 percent of staff in even the politically

correct Washington bureaus, traditional doorways to senior management. Consider in context that 24 percent of journalism-school graduates are Black.

Somewhere in there is why this foundation works for equality of opportunity and not equality of results. Tangentially, we are reminded that what liberals have long pretended to be progress is in fact a throwback to a time “when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people,” to quote Calvin Coolidge on the subject. “Their ideas are not more modern but more ancient than those of the Revolutionary Fathers,” he said of the pretenders of his day (oh, had FDR listened).

It is worse now, of course. Our very civilization is the object of not only pretense but derision. Here is a Syracuse University history professor writing in the *New York Times* this summer: “I think that what modern philosophers call ‘pure’ reason is a white male Euro-Christian construction.”

Yes, that happens to be so, and it has worked everywhere in the world that it has taken root — regardless of social standing, church denomination, sexual identification or deoxyribonucleic acid.

That’s why the sociologist Charles Murray asks us to quit pretending, stand up and “preach what we practice” — that is, the unique set of principles so carelessly dismissed as the outdated ideas of old, dead and (presumably) straight Anglo-Saxon white men. — *tcl*

“By the spring of 1991, in parts of Washington, D.C., capital of the richest nation on earth, the proportion of (illegitimate births) was as high as 90 percent. There was no point in trying to pretend that one-parent families and illegitimacy were anything other than grave social evils, devastating for the individuals concerned and harmful for society, leading, as they inevitably did in many cases, to extreme poverty and crime.”

— Paul Johnson in
“Modern Times”

Still Pretending to Help

A critique of Mayor Ballard's "Your Life Matters" project.

by PATRICK OETTING

In 2014, the Indiana Black Expo in conjunction with the Indianapolis Mayor's Office was commissioned to draft the "Your Life Matters" (YLM) Task Force Report. The task force was given 90 days to complete what was to be an opus on the state of Black youth in Marion County.

The impetus was a recognition "that prison, violence and death are much too often the end results for disconnected young Black men, and that prevention and intervention strategies are necessary to combat the root causes of disparities at all levels."¹

The task force was to explore the subjects of unemployment, mentoring, justice and re-entry, education and health as they relate to Black male youth in Marion County. The goal of the YLM initiative was fourfold:

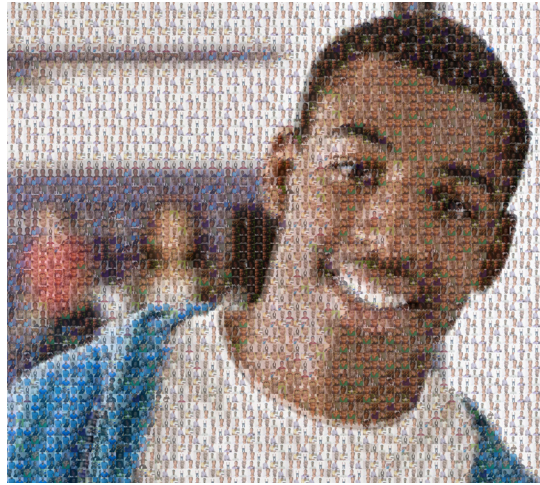
- Collect and review data to better understand the challenges facing Black men in Indianapolis.²
- Consult with experts, including service providers, non-profit organizations, philanthropists and academics.³
- Conduct research in their areas that focus on evidence-based models and strategies.⁴
- Observe program models and survey organizations in Indianapolis to better understand gaps in service, program needs and opportunities for expansion or adjustment to more directly target Black males.⁵

Background and Reservations

Shortly after announcing the launch of YLM, Mayor Greg Ballard made the decision to commit Indianapolis to the "My Brothers Keeper Community Challenge" created by the White House. Indianapolis and Ferguson, Mo., were among the first cities to accept the challenge.

Barack Obama posed six heretofore unattainable goals for all children in Indianapolis and the other cities that committed to the program. The goals ranged from "ensuring all children enter school cognitively, physically, socially and emotionally ready" to "ensuring all youth out of school are employed."⁶

Several days after the Baltimore riots, Mr. Obama announced an expansion of even this ambitious program with creation of the "My Brother's Keeper Alliance," whose primary mission would be to "eliminate the gaps in opportunity and achievement for boys and young men of color."⁷



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

These goals are of course admirable. Their discussion, however, must leave room for reasonable concern as to whether they are realistic, whether they acknowledge the scope and complexity of the situation for boys and young men in the worst areas of Indianapolis, areas that a former mayor described as having "dropped off the table."⁸

This analysis finds the YLM report hurried and shallow, even as such reports go and especially so considering that the recommendations, even if

feasible, hardly match the grand objectives. In a sentence, about the only thing it gets right is that these young men are in immediate need of rescue from an urban malaise.

It is particularly disappointing that the authors are indifferent to the traditional but also innovative role of the Black Indianapolis churches, a role that not only would seem obvious to the casual observer but also is well documented by research. Indeed, these Christian churches may hold the key.

The leadership that churches can provide (the example of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Charleston uplifts us all) is of such importance, and its mention in the report so slight, it is difficult to exclude the thought that the YLM Task Force has taken an adversarial position for some unstated reason.

In any case, the costs of the omission will be discussed later in this report. In addition, an accompanying essay by Dr. Marvin Olasky, who visited Indianapolis 15 years ago specifically to learn from the accomplishments of the Black churches there, underscores the seriousness of the oversight.

Almost as troubling is the YLM's reliance on skin pigment as an explainer of the problem and, by logical reduction, the designer of its proposed solutions. It is inconceivable that after 60 years of the most vigorous civil-rights legislation and adjudication, plus 22 trillion dollars in wealth transfer, the creation of yet another race-tested superstructure is the answer.⁹ That it is proposed at the level of municipal government and school district should be alarming.

"Racism does not have a good track record," Dr. Thomas Sowell famously said. "It's been tried out for a long time and you'd think by now we'd want to put an end to it instead of putting it under new management."¹⁰

It is well known that Black male youth have historically performed statistically worse than their Caucasian

male counterparts when it comes to education, employment, prison entry and recidivism.¹¹ Saying that over and over again is not a solution. It is important to identify the underlying foundational and systemic causes.

Lastly, there are both non-profit and for-profit organizations making significant and sustainable changes in the situation of young Black men such as those living in Indianapolis. The YLM report does highlight multiple organizations but it keeps a grossly inadequate list. Later in this paper, additional organizations and approaches will be offered for comparison.

All said, the YLM task force provides us with a set of vague, detached and in some cases failed recommendations — pretenses rather than solutions. You will be hard pressed to find a new idea or innovative recommendation in its 49-page report.

The Principle of Subsidiarity

The Indiana Black Expo, in its “The State of our Black Youth,” reports that 40 percent of Black children in Indianapolis live in poverty and 60 percent in single-parent households. In addition, the employment rate for Black male youths is triple the average youth unemployment rate in Marion County. A Black male youth is 30 percent less likely to have a mentor than a Caucasian male youth, more likely to receive a general diploma than a Core-40 diploma, and has a 1:3 chance to go to prison in his lifetime compared with a 1:17 chance for his Caucasian counterpart.¹²

These are tragic odds. They beg serious reflection and a realistic response to what is inarguably a dire situation. Aside from pending social and political crises, each of us has a personal moral obligation to help those living in material poverty — both inside our families and in our community at large.

Again, since the mid 1960s, Black male youth have been making significantly less progress statistically compared with their Caucasian counterparts — not only generally but also in Indianapolis specifically.¹³ This lag has been apparent despite a socio-political environment sympathetic to spending ever-greater amounts on individuals living below the poverty line,



Patrick Oetting, a graduate of Bethel College and a former intern here, works with the Poverty Cure Initiative of the Acton Institute. The mission of his group is “to ground our common battle against global poverty in a proper understanding of the human person and society, and to encourage solutions that foster opportunity and unleash the entrepreneurial spirit.” He wrote this at the request of the foundation.

and that has been true regardless of growing concerns about a negative effect from such spending.¹⁴

Clearly, though, we can no longer operate under the assumption that throwing money at a problem will solve it. We need to search

for more innovative solutions.

One alternative approach is found in “the principle of subsidiarity.” It is the idea that nothing should be done by a large and complex organization that can be done as well by a smaller and simpler organization. In the context of Indianapolis, any activity to help young Black men that can be performed by a more decentralized entity, should be.¹⁵

It is a key principle of Catholic social thought and a compelling argument generally for increasing personal freedom. It is an effective counter to the passion for centralization and bureaucracy that is the Welfare State, and it is the reason Pope John Paul II took to task the “social-assistance state” in his 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus*.¹⁶

The principle allows us to see that the solution for Indianapolis is not likely to be found in entities formed by large groups represented by a mayor’s office or even the headquarters staff of the Indiana Black Expo. Rather, it is more likely to be found in individuals who hold the most local knowledge — those living, working and worshipping in the community.

Yet, in the opening section of the YLM report the task force recommends that any effort meet these two stipulations:

1) “Ensure the YLM initiative either resides in the mayor’s office or an outside organization that has the capacity and expertise to lead such effort.”¹⁷

“Nothing should be done by a large and complex organization that can be done as well by a smaller and simpler organization.”

— The Principle of Subsidiarity

In his January 1964 State of the Union address, President Lyndon Johnson proclaimed, ‘This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America.’ In the 50 years since that time, U.S. taxpayers have spent over \$22 trillion on anti-poverty programs. Adjusted for inflation, this spending (which does not include Social Security or Medicare) is three times the cost of all U.S. military wars since the American Revolution. Yet progress against poverty, as measured by the U.S. Census Bureau, has been minimal, and in terms of President Johnson’s main goal of reducing the ‘causes rather than the mere ‘consequences’ of poverty, the War on Poverty has failed completely. In fact, a significant portion of the population is now less capable of self-sufficiency than it was when the War on Poverty began.

— Abstract, Robert Rector and Rachel Sheffield, “The War on Poverty after 50 Years,” the Heritage Foundation, Sept. 15, 2014

“Only hardened skeptics have trouble accepting that widespread belief in a Supreme Being improves the strength and health of our communities. Government can accomplish more by working with faith-based groups than it can ever achieve by circumventing them.”

— Steven Goldsmith

2) “Drives the development of successful cross-sector community collaboration by prioritizing funding for programs that meet multiple needs of the target group or work collaboratively with other organizations with expertise in additional areas to address interrelated issues faced by this group.”¹⁸

Again, *Centesimus Annus* warned specifically against such centralization: “(It) leads to a loss of human energies and an inordinate increase of public agencies which are dominated more by bureaucratic ways of thinking than by concern for serving their clients, and which are accompanied by an enormous increase in spending.”¹⁹

But a thought running through the YLM report is to “scale up” — a bureaucratically hip word for maintaining the status quo. The research presented here indicates it is more likely to result in an increase in bureaucracy than a sustainable improvement in the situation of young Black males.

Whatever, to merely keep doing what isn’t working but at an incrementally greater pace doesn’t seem so much a recommendation as an admission of policy bankruptcy. Aren’t there any new ideas to address the grave problems faced by young men in the subject Indianapolis neighborhoods? One is hard pressed to find them in the YLM report.

Mentoring

In his book “Renewing American Compassion,” Marvin Olasky provides a “how to” for administering community development. He identifies seven principles necessary for success: affiliation, bonding, categorization, discernment, employment, freedom and faith. We will be focusing on just two here — bonding and faith.²⁰ They can serve as the cornerstones for true community renewal.

The following line from the YLM report raised this reader’s expectations, providing a clear and unarguable statement of what happens in a young man’s life in the absence of strong mentors, of bonding:

The consistent, enduring presence of a caring adult in a young person’s life can be the difference between staying in school or dropping out, making healthy decisions or engaging in risky behaviors, and realizing one’s potential or failing to achieve one’s dreams.²¹

The report, alas, does not go on to explain the fundamental reasons why bonding and mentors are important. Nor, as noted, does it recognize the full potential of the faith and religious community.

“Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can

prevail in exclusion of religious principle,” George Washington said.²² Policies ostensibly constructed to help young Black men that have their focus outside of the religious community will miss their mark.

Robert Putnam, in his book “Bowling Alone,” makes a pertinent observation about the religious infrastructure in communities:

Religious worshipers and people who say religion is important to them are much more likely than other persons to visit friends, to entertain at home, to attend club meetings, and to belong to sports groups; professional and academic societies; school service groups; youth groups; service clubs; hobby or garden clubs; literary, art, discussion, and study groups; school fraternities and sororities; farm organizations; political clubs; nationality groups; and other miscellaneous groups.²³

If, as both research and common sense tell us, religion can play a role in community development and community involvement, why does the YLM report treat it so lightly? And specifically, why did the authors decide that Indianapolis Black churches could hardly make a contribution to any plan to help young Black men?

A former mayor of Indianapolis had something to say about that: “Only hardened skeptics have trouble accepting that widespread belief in a Supreme Being improves the strength and health of our communities,” Steve Goldsmith told Olasky during a fact-finding visit to the city for this foundation. “Government can accomplish more by working with faith-based groups than it can ever achieve by circumventing them.”²⁴

This spring, *the Indianapolis Star* published the editorial, “Helping Indy’s Young Black Males Requires Citywide Effort.” It was meant to inspire more readers to become mentors and attract more funding to support the mentoring programs recommended by YLM.²⁵

It missed the point: Indianapolis doesn’t need to find funding to encourage mentorship; the mentors already exist. A quick Internet search finds 515 Christian churches in the Indianapolis area.²⁶ Add non-Christian or Jewish places of worship and the number could be closer to 600.

What then does Indianapolis really need? For starters, increased involvement by Black male youth in the existing religious community. That is where the mentors are, many of them searching for young men to lift up.

The research of the sociologist and former Peace Corps volunteer Charles Murray demonstrates that not only does participation in the religious community produce healthier communities through civic involvement, it produces happier ones.

In his book, “Coming Apart,” Murray reports that 49 percent of Caucasian families, rich or poor, who attend worship services, say they are happy. That compares with only 23 percent who never attended worship services.²⁷

Why would that be any different for Blacks?

The concern with the YLM report is not that Indianapolis Black churches aren’t involved in various ways. Obviously, many of those connected to the institutions listed as contributors to the general effort have church affiliations. What is lamented is that there is no attempt by YLM to build on the work of individual churches and pastors, as described in detail by Olasky — those who have been working for years to improve just the few blocks in their most immediate neighborhood.

The omission of such a faith-based strategy, either as a result of careless analysis or mere animus, discredits the YLM report and poorly serves its supporters and others sincerely concerned about the situation of young Black men in Indianapolis.

Employment

The Black unemployment rate among young adults in Marion County was 27 percent in 2012, notes the YLM report.²⁸ It adds, almost as an asterisk, that the reason might be a scarcity of role models and career mentors and a subsequent lack of self-worth:

Organizations interviewed that work with Black males cited an urgent need to help young men who lack male role models or career mentors. These young men need assistance developing life skills, confidence and, in some cases, according to one service provider, “strong validation that their lives have meaning.”²⁹

Not only is this just common sense but also it was identified decades ago. The Black family has been deteriorating since the mid-1960s as a result of the loss of role models.

In 1960, prior to Lyndon Johnson’s implementation of the Great Society, only 22 percent of Black children were raised by a single parent. By 1990, this number had increased to 66 percent.³⁰ Currently, 72 percent of Black children are being born to single mothers.³¹

These statistics should be read with an understanding that children with no father at home, regardless of race, are four and five times more likely to be poor than those with two married parents in the household.³²

“The formula for escaping poverty as an adult has nothing to do with race: Graduate from high school, wait until you are married to have children and work full-time,” wrote Heather Mac Donald in a recent article for *the National Review*.³³

While MacDonald may be oversimplifying the situation, only 2 percent of those who follow these three rules find themselves below the poverty line.³⁴ If the proportion of children living in single-parent families had remained at the 1970 level, then the child poverty rate in 2012 would have been 5 percentage points lower.³⁵

All of this challenges the hypothesis that the problem is race specific. It may be more constructive to think of unemployment and youth poverty as a family-structure problem rather than either a problem that solely pertains to race or a lack of mentors.

One-trillion dollars a year are spent on programs for the disadvantaged, according to Ron Haskins of Brookings.³⁶ This number has increased exponentially since 1960, yet we have failed to see a subsequent reversal in the number of people living below the poverty line.³⁷

This is cause — or at least should be cause — for concern. Every indication is that the structure of the current welfare system results in an increase in fatherless homes not just in the Black community but in all communities. This merits only a passing reference in the YLM report.

It is a reasonable conclusion based on decades of research that government, in attempting to remedy a dire situation, has in fact created unintended incentives that foster single mothers, absent fathers and throw young children into an inescapable cycle of poverty.

One such unintended incentive is the “welfare cliff,” an economic model developed

“The formula for escaping poverty as an adult has nothing to do with race: Graduate from high school, wait until you are married to have children and work full-time.”

— Heather Mac Donald
in a recent article
for *National Review*

To sell the poverty program, its backers had to give it the protective coloration of ‘jobs’ and ‘education,’ the Job Corps and Operation Head Start, things like that, things the country as a whole could accept. ‘Jobs’ and ‘education’ were things everybody could agree on. They were part of the free-enterprise ethic. They weren’t uncomfortable subjects like racism and the class structure — and giving the poor the money and the tools to fight City Hall. But from the first that was what the lion’s share of the poverty budget went into. It went into ‘community organizing,’ which was the bureaucratic term for ‘power to the people,’ the term for finding the real leaders of the ghetto and helping them organize the poor. And how could they find out the identity of these leaders of the people? Simple. In their righteous wrath they would rise up and confront you. It was a beautiful piece of circular reasoning. The real leaders of the ghetto will rise up and confront you; therefore, when somebody rises up in the ghetto and confronts you, then you know he’s a leader of the people. So the poverty program not only encouraged *mau-mauing*, it practically demanded it.

— Tom Wolfe, “Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers,” 1970

STILL PRETENDING

There is one certain way to increase parental involvement, one that the task force addresses only in passing — that is, to allow parents to choose their child's school.

by Pennsylvania welfare officials.³⁸ It represents the amount of net income a person would need in order to match their current net income plus welfare benefits.

It is referred to as cliff for good reason. There is a dramatic dropoff in welfare benefits as income increases. “The single mom is better off earning gross income of \$29,000 with \$57,327 in net income and benefits,” a Pennsylvania official notes, “than to earn gross income of \$69,000 with only net income and benefits of \$57,045.”³⁹

In fact, some calculations estimate that if a single mother were to raise her income from \$29,000 to just \$30,000, she would lose nearly \$10,000 in welfare benefits per year.⁴⁰

Public policies that produce such disincentives force single mothers to both stay in poverty and forgo marriage, because even a small increase in earned income results in a large decrease in total income.

Unemployment and fatherlessness are built into the system regardless of any continued racial prejudice. Black male youth are not unemployed and living in poverty primarily because of skin color but rather because of deterioration in the family unit.

Education

The YLM Task Force takes aim at specific policies and codes in its analysis of local education, which make up 14 pages of the report. No other section displays such detail. Clearly, someone had a bone to pick with current education policy. From the report:

Over the last 30 years, education policy research has continued to show an increase in racial disparities in multiple aspects of schooling and these disparities interconnect with racial disparities in poverty and crime. Educational disparities have been shown in suspensions, expulsions, dropouts and academic achievement, including performance on AP assessments, college readiness, special education identification and high school graduation.⁴¹

There is merit in focusing on education, but the task force wastes precious time on specifics such as expulsion rates at the expense of fundamental principles such as family structure. Education is not an end; it is a means. Expulsion is not just a school problem; it can be a life disaster.

The report takes note that out-of-school suspension rates in Indiana of Black male youth in public schools (27 percent) are the second highest among all states.⁴² In fact, in some Marion County districts, out-of-school suspensions represent more than 60 percent of the student population.⁴³

In any case, Black male youth are graduating at significantly lower rates in nearly all school

districts in the Marion County area. The effects of these low graduation rates produce negative externalities far greater than a simple lack of educational achievement.

The YLM report aptly dubs this the “School-to-Prison Pipeline.”⁴⁴ Graduation rates combined with a large out-of-school suspension rate result in many Black male youth spending their school-age years behind bars.

This is a problem that must be addressed for community transformation to take place. As noted, when individuals finish school they are much more likely to rise above the poverty line and go on to live successful adult lives — regardless of race.

As we know, for the last few decades Black male youth have lagged significantly behind their Caucasian male counterparts nationally in nearly all educational categories. But has this always been the case?

It is forgotten that between 1960 and 1965 Black education outcomes were improving significantly.⁴⁵ What changed?

In studies involving over 25,000 children using nationally representative data sets, those who lived with only one parent had lower grade-point averages, lower college aspirations, poorer attendance records and higher dropout rates than students who lived with both parents.⁴⁶

A more recent study found that children, unsurprisingly, were likely to have educational-development impairment if their families had multiple social issues.⁴⁷

Once more, home structure appears to play a more crucial role in a child's education than expulsion policies or even skin color, which brings us back to where we started — the family.

Students spend six to seven hours a day, five days a week in the classroom. This is a relatively short period of time. While teachers are certainly able to impact their students, it is obvious that what happens outside the classroom can have a great effect on development. And it should be obvious that when parents seem unconcerned with their child's academic growth, for whatever reason, it limits the potential for academic success.

The YLM Task Force is impressed with recommendations that teachers should become expert in things like “restorative justice” or “positive behavioral intervention support systems.”⁴⁸ These abstract concepts are dwarfed in importance, however, by the degree of actual parental involvement in a student's life.

And there is one certain way to increase such involvement, one that the task force addresses only in passing — that is, to allow parents to choose their child's school.

Not only does this increase parental involvement, it forces schools to compete for

enrollment. And when competition exists in school systems, the students win.

Indiana launched the Choice Scholarship Program in 2011.⁴⁹ It was a step in the right direction. To quote Murray, “A voucher system is the single most powerful method available to us to improve the education of the poor and disadvantaged.”⁵⁰

Since its limited implementation, there has been an increase in ISTEP+ pass rates, graduation rates, IREAD-3 pass rates, end-of-course assessment pass rates, Advanced Placement (AP) participation and AP assessment pass rates. Additionally, the number of A-rated schools has increased from 856 in 2011 to 1124 in 2014.⁵¹

Vouchers are not magic, but they empower parents and afford students the opportunity to attend schools that best fit their needs. The task force would waste precious public attention fiddling with the details of a system that fits nobody’s needs, least of all the young Black men whom it is so miserably failing.

Another Way to Look at It

So how does Indianapolis reverse this trend, one so pronounced that it concedes almost three-fourths of Black children to single-parent homes?

The line of thinking recommended by the YLM defines the problem rather than the solution. Here is some sample language from the report: “A large-scale pathways to employment initiative” that “brings together city leadership, its workforce investment board, private sector, educational institutions and philanthropy.”⁵²

This is the sort of top-down gobbledygook that created the cycle of dependency, poverty and unintended incentives in Indianapolis. It is disappointing that the YLM Task Force did not seriously explore other approaches, some of them decidedly promising, programs based on subsidiarity rather than centralization.

Let’s start with one example: Robert Woodson, through his work at the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, has developed programs that *both begin and end* with the individuals who live and work in a seemingly impoverished community. He describes his approach in an interview with the Poverty Cure Initiative of the Acton Institute:

At the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise we go in to low-income, crime-infested neighborhoods and we ask questions that professional service industry and scholars never ask of poor people. We ask them not how many children are dropping out of school or in jail or on drugs; we want to know how many people are raising children that have not succumbed to the lure of drug addiction, have not become predators. And once we find them we apply “Miracle Grow” in the form of

training and technical assistance and then introduce them to sources of financial support. And so we are able to grow remedies that are indigenous to these low-income, high-crime neighborhoods by reaching out to grassroots leaders that are in poverty but not of poverty. They are in drug-addiction neighborhoods but they are not of those neighborhoods.⁵³

In the same interview, Woodson goes on to say: “We look at our grassroots leaders as the last antibodies. They are indigenous to the body; they are closest to the source of disease. So therefore if you strengthen the body’s immune system the body will heal itself.”⁵⁴

Woodson would build up existing assets, both in community and family structures. We forget that these communities, although troubled by high crime rates, high dropout rates and a lack of mentors, do possess an important asset — human capital.

Once existing mentors and leaders are identified, development can begin from the inside out rather than outside in, as is the case with most government programs.

It is a shame, given its premier media coverage, that the YLM Task Force did not include such an alternative in its report. Indianapolis has lost another opportunity for a wide-ranging, constructive public discussion of what the cynical will no doubt continue to view as an unsolvable problem.

For throughout the country there are innovative organizations making an impact on the lives of Black male youth through decentralized programs led by leaders in the particular community. These programs operate with low overhead, leveraging existing resources to make an exponential difference in the lives of young Black men.

Indianapolis citizens, wealthy and not, should know about them. Here are two of the more successful and innovative.

• *Jobs For Life* in Raleigh, North Carolina, works through local churches across the United States and in other countries providing job training to individuals in impoverished communities. Its mission statement is to “engage and equip the local church to address the impact of joblessness through the dignity of work.”⁵⁵ “The very first thing that God gave us when he made us was a J.O.B.,” says David Spickard, president of Jobs for Life. “It’s in our DNA to work. The church has a unique opportunity to provide a unique solution to the job problem in communities all across the world.”⁵⁶ Here is one group taking advantage of assets that already exist in local communities. Through an approach that focuses on the church, Jobs for Life has had an impact in 300 cities in 41 states and equipped more than 5,000 students with

Robert Woodson, through his work at the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, has developed programs that *both begin and end* with the individuals who live and work in a seemingly impoverished community.

STILL PRETENDING

This reviewer could not help wondering how the valuable resources allocated to this project could have been better used to further the stated goal, *i.e.*, to improve the well being of Black male youth in Marion County.

job skills.⁵⁷ Moreover, many of these students receive real jobs (as opposed to jobs created through government initiatives) on graduating from the program.

- *Hustle Phoenix* in Arizona helps men and women start businesses that contribute to their local urban community. Oye Waddell, the group's president, says they do this by guiding participants along three separate avenues: intellectual capital, social capital and financial capital.⁵⁸ Each participant is provided with a nine-week entrepreneurship course, a team of volunteer experts from churches in the Phoenix area (lawyers, business leaders, accountants, etc.) and the funding needed to get their businesses off the ground. Hustle Phoenix focuses on individuals living in the three lowest-income zip codes in Phoenix, as well as those reentering the community from prison.

Conclusion

Today we are subject to more and more frivolous studies that demand money and time without providing any new or pertinent information. There seems a penchant for the obvious. For example, a respected medical journal reported recently that "a reduction in exposure to ambient fine-particulate air pollution contributed to significant and measurable improvement in life expectancy in the United States."⁵⁹

The Your Life Matters Report, despite the unquestioning support of *the Indianapolis Star* and other opinion-makers, serves up comparably simplistic and narrow answers to complex and pressing questions.

This reviewer could not help wonder how the valuable resources allocated to the project could have been better used to further its stated goal, *i.e.*, to improve the well being of Black male youth in Marion County.

Finally, the 90 days allowed to complete the report seemed more suited for a publicity campaign than a policy study. Such a hurried timeline does not inspire confidence in the seriousness of the effort. Nor does an implementation period (18 months) that runs coincidental and parallel to a presidential election campaign.

Recall Barack Obama's idealistic goal for the YLM associate program, "My Brothers Keeper." Indianapolis and the other cities that signed on were to ensure that "all children enter school cognitively, physically, socially and emotionally ready and that all youth out of school are employed."⁶⁰

Even if achievable, such a goal would have required years of examination and discussion

before proposals were presented for peer review, let alone public discussion.

Instead, we have a hastily assembled document on historically intractable subjects, myopic in scope, filled with empty promises and potentially harmful direction. Its only obvious value is as a community-organizing framework for some yet to be revealed political effort.

The question for the rest of us, those sincerely concerned long term about Indianapolis Black men, is how to move forward from here.

The next step, once the failure of any centralized approach is understood, should be to fully explore subsidiarity and related faith-based programs. Real transformational relationships can be made that way. The solutions will be found — can only be found — inside the challenged communities themselves.

Fredrick Douglas, the escaped slave and social reformer, had advice in that regard:

"Everybody has asked the question, 'What shall we do with (us)?' I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us. Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us."⁶¹

Q

Endnotes

1. Report to the Mayor. "Your Life Matters." YLM Task Force, p. 3. November 2014.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. My Brother's Keeper Community Challenge. The White House. 2014: <http://www.mbkchallenge.org/executives/>

7. *Ibid.*

8. Marvin Olasky. "How a City Should Work," *Indiana Policy Review*, p. 21. Winter, 2000.

9. Robert Rector and Rachel Sheffield. "The War on Poverty After 50 Years." The Heritage Foundation, Sept. 15, 2014: <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/09/the-war-on-poverty-after-50-years>

10. Thomas Sowell. Interview with Glenn Beck. *Fox News*, May 28, 2009.

11. Charles Murray. *Losing Ground*, pp. 24-52. Basic Books, 1994.

12. *Op. cit.*, "Your Life Matters," pp. 5-6.

13. *Op. cit.*, Murray.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. David A. Bosnich. "The Principle of Subsidiarity.." *Religion and Liberty*, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 9. 1996.

16. Pope John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus: Encyclical Letter from The Vatican," Sec. 5, paragraph 48. May 1, 1991.

17. *Op. cit.*, YLM Task Force, p. 10.

18. *Ibid.*
19. *Op. cit.*, Pope John Paul II, Sec. 5, paragraph 48.
20. Olasky. *Renewing American Compassion*. Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc. 2003.
21. *Op. cit.*, YLM Task Force, p. 16.
22. George Washington. "Farewell Address of 1796."
23. Robert Putnam. *Bowling Alone*, pp. 66-67. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks. 2000.
24. *Op. cit.*, Olasky. "How a City Should Work."
25. Editors. "Helping Indy's Young Black Males Requires Citywide Effort." *Indianapolis Star*. April 18, 2015: <http://www.indystar.com/story/opinion/editorials/2015/04/17/editorial-plight-young-black-males-serious-solve-half-measures/25944279/>
26. Ashley Haynes. "Penny Post: 515 Churches." *Historic Indianapolis.com*. Feb. 19, 2014: <http://historicindianapolis.com/penny-post-515-churches/>
27. Murray. *Coming Apart*, p. 259. New York: Crown Publishing Group. 2012.
28. *Op. cit.*, "Your Life Matters," p. 11.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
30. Sowell. "A Legacy of Cliches." *Creators.com*. 2015: <http://www.creators.com/conservative/thomas-sowell/a-legacy-of-cliches.html>
31. Heather Macdonald. "The Shameful Liberal Exploitation of the Charleston Massacre." *National Review*, July 1, 2015: <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/420565/charleston-shooting-obama-race-crime>
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Isabel V. Sawhill. "How Marriage and Divorce Impact Economic Opportunity." Brookings Institute, May 6, 2014: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/05/06-family-structure-poverty-sawhill>.
36. Ron Haskins. "Poverty and Opportunity: Begin with Facts." Brookings. Jan. 28, 2014: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2014/01/28-poverty-opportunity-begin-with-facts-haskins>
37. *Op. cit.*, Murray, *Losing Ground*, p. 24-52.
38. Gary D. Alexander. "Welfare's Failure and the Solution." Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. July 2012: http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/-alexander-presentation_10063532278.pdf
39. Patrick Oetting. "In Welfare Systems, Two Plus Two May No Longer Equal Four." Acton Institute, July 24, 2014: <http://blog.acton.org/?s=Welfare+Cliff>
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Op. cit.*, "Your Life Matters," p. 25.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
45. *Op. cit.*, Murray, *Losing Ground*, p. 103.
46. Sara McLanahan. *Growing Up With a Single Parent: What Hurts, What Helps*. United States of America: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1994.
47. Jessica Shepherd. "Quarter of Children Performing Poorly Due to Problems at Home, Study Finds." *The Guardian*, Feb. 7, 2012.
48. *Op. cit.*, "Your Life Matters," p. 30.
49. Indiana – Choice Scholarship Program. Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice: <http://www.edchoice.org/school-choice/programs/indiana-choice-scholarship-program/>
50. *Op. cit.*, Murray, *Losing Ground*, p. 224.
51. *Op. cit.*, Indiana – Choice Scholarship Program.
52. *Op. cit.*, "Your Life Matters," p. 13.
53. Robert Woodson. Interview with Michael Miller. PovertyCure.
54. *Ibid.*
55. David Spickard. *Jobs for Life* (in discussion with PovertyCure, June 2015).
56. *Ibid.*
57. From the *Jobsforlife.org* web site.
58. Oye Waddell. *Hustle Phoenix* (in discussion with PovertyCure, June 2015).
59. Anthony Bradley. *Black and Tired: Essays on Race, Politics, Culture, and International Development*, p. 65. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.
60. *Op. cit.*, *My Brother's Keeper* Community Challenge.
61. Fredrick Douglass. "What the Black Man Wants" (speech at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Boston, April, 1865).

The 90 days allowed to complete the report seemed more suited for a publicity campaign than a policy study. Such a hurried timeline does not inspire confidence in the seriousness of the effort.

If crime is to a significant degree caused by weak character; if weak character is more likely among the children of unmarried mothers; if there are no fathers who will help raise their children, acquire jobs and protect their neighborhoods; if boys become young men with no preparation for work; if school achievement is regarded as a sign of having 'sold out' to a dominant white culture; if powerful gangs replace weak families — if all these things are true, then the chances of reducing by plan and in the near future the crime rate of low-income Blacks are slim. In many cities there are programs, some public, many private, that improve matters for some people. But the possibility that these programs can overcome the immense burdens confronting poor, badly educated, fatherless children is remote. — *James Q. Wilson, "Crime," Hoover Institute, 2000.*

STILL PRETENDING

Appendix: Organizations listed as assisting in the development of the YLM Plan of Action, April 2015

100 Black Men of Indianapolis
 AIM Mentoring
 Annie E. Casey Foundation
 Bethlehem House
 Big Brothers Big Sisters - Central Indiana
 Boy Scouts of America - Crossroads of America Council
 Boys & Girls Clubs of Indianapolis
 Bright Associates, Inc.
 Brothers United
 Center for Education and Evaluation Policy
 Central Indiana Community Foundation
 Central Indiana Recovery Services work group
 Christamore House
 Christel House Academy
 Department of Metropolitan Development
 Indianapolis Department of Public Safety
 City of Indianapolis – Mayor’s Office
 City of Indianapolis – Mayor’s Office of Education Innovation
 City of Indianapolis – Office of Reentry
 City-County Council of Marion County and Indianapolis
 Coalition for Homelessness Intervention and Prevention
 Community Health Network
 Community Resurrection Partnership
 Covering Kids & Families
 Cummins
 Damien Center
 Domestic Violence Network of Greater Indianapolis
 Drug-Free Marion County
 Effective Black Parenting
 EmployIndy
 Eskenazi Health
 Fairbanks School of Public Health
 Fathers & Families Center
 Forest Manor Multi Service Center
 Franciscan St. Francis Health
 GIPC/Plan 2020
 Girl Scouts of Central Indiana
 Goodwill Industries
 Greater Indianapolis NAACP
 HARD
 Health & Hospital Corporation
 Health Foundation of Greater Indianapolis
 HealthNet
 Horizon House
 Indiana 211 Partnership, Inc.
 Indiana Association of Black Psychologists
 Indiana Black Expo
 Indiana Bureau of Motor Vehicles
 Indiana Charter School Board
 Indiana Civil Rights Commission
 Indiana Commission on the Social Status of Black Males
 Indiana Department of Correction
 Indiana Department of Correction (Parole)
 Indiana Minority Health Coalition
 Indiana Primary Health Care Association
 Indiana University

Indiana Works Council, Region 5
 Indiana Youth Institute
 Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce/Business Opportunities Initiative
 Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department
 Indianapolis Public Schools
 Indianapolis Urban League
 Indy Parks
 Indy Reads
 Indy Star
 IndyGo
 I.U. Health
 I.U. School of Medicine
 Ivy Tech Community College
 Keep Indianapolis Beautiful
 Kheprw Institute
 Libertad Counseling
 Light of the World Christian Church
 Local Initiative Support Corporation
 Marion County Commission on Youth
 Marion County Community Corrections
 Marion County Jail
 Marion County Public Health Department
 Marion County Reentry Coalition
 Marion County Sheriff’s Office
 Marion County Superior Court – Probation
 Marion Superior Court - Juvenile Division
 Marion University
 Mays Chemical
 Mental Health America of Greater Indianapolis
 Metropolitan School District of Franklin Township
 Metropolitan School District of Warren Township
 Metropolitan School District of Wayne Township
 Midtown Community Mental Health Center
 National Council on Educating Black Children
 Neighborhood Christian Legal Clinic
 PACE
 Peace Learning Center
 Purpose of Life
 Radio One
 Raphael Health Center
 RecycleForce
 Shalom Health Center
 St. Vincent Health
 Starfish Initiative
 TeenWorks
 Ten Point Coalition
 The Bloom Project
 The Bridge Leadership Foundation
 The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis
 The John H. Boner Center
 Trusted Mentors
 United Community Centers
 United Way of Central Indian
 University of Indianapolis
 U.S. Attorney’s Office, Southern District of Indiana
 Use What You’ve Got Ministry
 Volunteers of America
 YMCA

HOW A CITY SHOULD WORK

Christian faith once opened doors
to opportunity in Indianapolis.

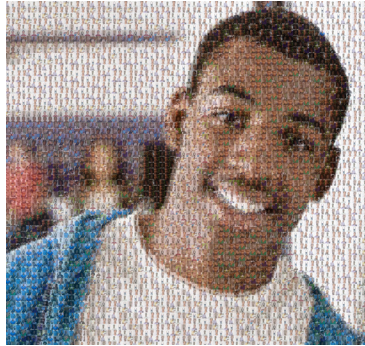
The following was written for the winter 2000 issue and predicts the current discussion regarding inner-city Indianapolis. The author, whose work first described what is known as “compassionate conservatism,” was drawn to the city by the success of the church-based social programs of then-Mayor Steve Goldsmith.

by MARVIN OLASKY

To some journalists, compassionate conservatism sounds like “reinventing government,” the paradigm of the early 1990s, because both ideas emphasize local decision-making, flexibility and competition. That’s true, and reporters who see “reinventing” as hype should be skeptical about compassionate conservatism, but they should also take seriously the dimension of faith — more potent than a drive for efficiency — that this new paradigm brings to the table. From what I had heard, Indianapolis would be a good place to see whether the attempt to reinvigorate faith-based organizations could bring civil society back to the inner city, but I was also skeptical, for I’ve been disappointed with claims about philanthropic wonders many times before.

My son, Daniel, and I drove into Indianapolis, which on approach did not seem like much of a wonder. The city rises out of the flatland with no natural landmarks — no navigable river, no seven hills — to indicate why it should be on its spot rather than on some other spot 10 or 50 miles away. With its straight streets and square look, the city appears wholly man-made. When Pierre L’Enfant mapped Washington, D.C., he at least had to take into account a major river, the Potomac. When L’Enfant’s assistant Alexander Ralston came to the center of Indiana early in the 19th century to develop a new site for the state capital, he did not have to pay much attention to the White River, a shallow stream that ran through a swampy settlement until then known as Fall Creek.

Some residents who moved in with the state government in 1825 were encouraged when the National Road (now U.S. 40) burst across the plains in 1834. They expected an industrial boom — sawmills, paper mills, factories — when the Central Canal was built on the White River in 1836.



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

But industry departed when the White River’s muddy shores proved too fluid to maintain the canal. Only in 1847, with the coming of the railroad, which prized dull, level ground, did the man-made environment become just as workable as one that naturally had river transport and inexpensive water power.

The city’s lack of natural advantages did make for one setback early in the 20th century when it battled to become the center of the new automobile industry.

City leaders gained an upper hand in marketing when on Memorial Day, 1911, they inaugurated the Indianapolis 500, which has become the most-attended annual single-day sporting event in the world. But it was easier to get steel and coal into, and vehicles out of, Detroit-by-the-Great-Lakes. Indianapolis remained a grain and livestock center, and its growth in the second half of this century came via not only man-made products but also high-tech ones: first Eli Lilly and Co., the pharmaceutical king, and then automation, robotics and computer software companies.

We tried to get the lay of the land of a city without landmarks. As we drove up Meridian Street, the north-south avenue that divides the city’s hemispheres, the economic stratification resembled a saga of 20th-century American economic history.

The area between 30th and 38th Street seemed like a Depression, although one boasting not the “shotgun frame” houses of Texas but semi-painted duplexes. North of 50th Street and onward into the 60s, however, affluence emerged. Elegant residences and massive stone church edifices dominated this promised land that seemed to stretch all the way past 90th Street and into a new millennium.

The View from the 25th Floor

When we rode the elevator to what is known in Indianapolis as “the 25th floor,” the top one at city hall, we saw the panorama from above. Mayor Steve Goldsmith gazed out from the large windows of his conference room and told us of concentric circles emanating from downtown. He pointed below to a small circle of gentrification. He gestured out further to a



Marvin Olasky, Ph.D., a friend of the foundation, is editor-in-chief of *WORLD* magazine. This is adapted from an essay written for the winter 2000 issue when he was with the Acton Institute. The foundation brought Dr. Olasky to Indiana in the spring of 1995 to speak on faith-based anti-poverty programs in front of audiences in Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. He is the author of more than 20 books, including “The Tragedy of American Compassion” and “Renewing American Compassion.” Copyright © Marvin Olasky. Reprinted with permission. All rights reserved.

HOW A CITY SHOULD WORK

The key was identifying and working with the numerous part-time pastors committed to transforming their blocks. “When they had problems with bureaucracy, our goal was to make sure those problems were solved. The roadblocks became our problem, not theirs. We thought that they should not have to shop the bureaucracy.”

— Former Mayor Steve Goldsmith

drop-off-the-table descent into poverty. He extended his arm almost parallel with the floor to indicate a middle-class circle further out, and affluent homes on the horizons. Some 850,000 human beings in all live in Indianapolis, and 1.2 million in the metropolitan area, with most trying to find their proper distance from the urban bulls eye. Goldsmith then turned our attention from the horizontal to the vertical, not only the view of the ground from the 25th floor but the relationship between belief in God and hope for man.

“Only hardened skeptics have trouble accepting that widespread belief in a Supreme Being improves the strength and health of our communities,” he said. “Government can accomplish more by working with faith-based groups than it can ever achieve by circumventing them.”

Goldsmith is a thin man of average height who would fare well against urban tough guys only if they were coming out of a Bible study. Still, since he is Jewish, it was surprising to learn that the crux of his mindset was the importance of the cross: “In many of our most troubled neighborhoods, the most important asset is the church.”

Goldsmith showed irritation as he described how the past generation of government officials have been not only reluctant to work with those assets, but also hostile. He described his initial experience in spending some federal summer job money through faith-based organizations that reached out to neighborhood children.

When a state regulator complained that he had violated the terms of the agreement, Goldsmith expressed surprise, for that summer the money had actually been used for children rather than stolen. But the regulator complained “you allowed the young men and women in the program to participate in a voluntary prayer before lunch.”

Goldsmith’s major initiative has stressed how the 25th floor can help those on the ground come together in action. He has built what is called the Front Porch Alliance (FPA), a civic switchboard that in the past several years has worked with faith-based and other civic organizations to develop 800 partnerships for neighborhood action. Staffers left the 25th floor to hit the ground and knock on the doors of churches and small businesses. They set out to learn how to help neutralize the government bureaucracies that have often kept leaders from doing basic things to improve their neighborhoods.

This jujitsu use of government to beat government has led to some “pretty basic” successes, Goldsmith says: “Churches get titles

to crack houses down the street. Twenty or so churches have small contracts to maintain neighborhood parks. They meet the children and often involve them in their programs.” The goal, he stressed, is “enough government participation to be supportive, not enough to distort.” The key is identifying and working with the numerous “part-time pastors committed to transforming their blocks. When they had problems with bureaucracy, our goal was to make sure those problems were solved. The roadblocks became our problem, not theirs. We thought that they should not have to shop the bureaucracy.”

Goldsmith had also paid attention to the negatives (high taxes, red tape, bad schools) that drive middle-class people away. Realistically pessimistic about the reinvention of public schools in his city, Goldsmith (like Rudy Giuliani in New York) has been using his bully pulpit to promote Catholic schools. But he has succeeded on the tax front by emphasizing competition in service provision; here is like those government reinventors who put up a real fight instead of switching back to mega government approaches. Contracting out microfilm services saved nearly \$1 million over three years; window washing, \$45,000 over the same period; printing and copying, \$2.8 million over seven years. Competition to service the city’s swimming pools and utilities saved nearly \$500,000 over seven years. The city saved \$15-20 million on trash collection over three years. So it went, area by area, with every function except police and fire put out for bid. Total savings: \$400 million.

Some city functions were privatized (since when are municipal employees the best managers of golf courses?), but Goldsmith emphasized that his goal was competition, not necessarily privatization. He encouraged government employees to compete for contracts, as long as they could do a quality job for a lower cost than others. Tax-saving stories emerged. The street repair department had 36 middle managers supervising 90 crew members. Faced with having to put in a competitive bid, union members recommended sending out four workers and one truck to fix problems, rather than two trucks with up to eight workers, including a supervisor. Those requests were granted, and the union won the contract by cutting overall costs more than 25 percent, without reducing service levels.

Creating more efficient government is important, but we also wanted to know if government, which in recent decades has often hindered the work of religious groups, could this time provide help. Yes, Goldsmith insisted,

as long as officials partnered with rather than patronized potential allies. Outsiders heading into inner cities could err by arrogantly assuming that they knew best, or by simply handing out money like a blind sugar daddy to those who styled themselves as heroes but were actually hustlers. The key to success was commitment to spend time listening and then work hard doing. A Front Porch Alliance, Goldsmith said, will work “anywhere there are committed people.”

That was his view — but how did that work out at street-level, in the areas where (according to the stereotypes) commitment was hardest to find? Just as denizens of the different circles tend to view their non-neighbors stereotypically, so “the 25th floor” sounds like a phrase that, coming from an inner city resident, would be less like a term of endearment than one to be used scornfully and followed by spitting on the sidewalk. It was time to leave the mayor’s marble-patterned, cherry-trim conference table and head into what Goldsmith had called the “drop-off-the-table” circle of poverty. . . .

Assessing the Front Porch Alliance

The best time to gain a realistic view was 5 p.m., Miller time in some places, when half a dozen Westside pastors sat down with us to talk about the changes they had seen since the passage of welfare reform in 1996. Mel Jackson, part-time pastor of Christian Love Baptist Church, has a weekday job with the housing authority. Jackson, a thoughtful, gray-bearded gentleman wearing tortoiseshell glasses, a Panama hat, and a gold tie, was optimistic. He spoke of seeing “positive results on a daily basis in the properties I manage.” He said that out of 78 families, only 10 were still hooked into the central welfare program; three years before, the figures might have been reversed. Jackson added, “The majority of persons learn that the barriers are not so great. You don’t see as much standing around, as much idleness.”

Rev. Ananias Robinson, president of Westside, echoed Jackson’s sense of positive neighborhood change. His gray mustache and goatee, along with the lack of an index finger on his left hand, suggest not only the years but the mileage he has accumulated. He told about how Goldsmith in 1998 brought in Boston minister Eugene Rivers, hoping that he would inspire local pastors to follow his model for street-based interaction with gangs. Prodded by Rivers, the Indianapolis pastors started going out on weekly “faith walks” at night to make contact with people, especially young men, who were hanging out on mean streets. The pastors held “resurrection forums” in which drug dealers and others were invited to change their lives. They

offered dealers help in getting honorable jobs. Excitement reigned for several months, but then people grew tired and the night walks stopped.

Rev. Roosevelt Sanders, who resembles George Foreman, talked about fighting the open-air drug market near his Mount Vernon Community Missionary Baptist Church. As he strove to set up a drug treatment and job training program, the Front Porch Alliance kicked in \$5,000 and help with grant proposals that enabled his church to buy a couple of old houses and turn them into treatment centers. “Lots of politicians make lots of promises,” he said. “They’ll court you, and once in office they’ll develop selective amnesia.”

But the FPA said it would help us, and it did. It put together a team of people to identify funding possibilities. It put proposals together. It didn’t drop us when the process was slow. Then, by promoting favorable news coverage, it helped us to get additional donations.”

Rev. Roger Holloway, the only white pastor in the group, reported that he and his Jesus is the Word congregation were so turned on by the new urban possibilities that they changed building plans. Wearing a collarless yellow shirt, navy blue shorts, and white sandals — the opposite of the formal dress of the black pastors — Holloway described how his church had planned to build a new, small sanctuary and school on land it owns five miles north of the inner city. Plans changed, however, when FPA proposed that the church, along with a bank, health clinic and small grocery store, build on a five acre plot the city owned. To think of churches as a vital part of redevelopment — how unusual.

To offer some city funding for the school, despite its religious nature, is also extraordinary. For his part, Holloway is adamant about the liberty he expects to have: “I’ll take the money, but I’m going to preach Christ, no strings that way, doc.”

Such agreements are not a problem for Goldsmith, who has done at the city level what the Constitution’s preamble asks the federal government to do: promote the general welfare (as contrasted with providing for the common defense). The FPA has not provided programs but has promoted the work of community groups that push residents to pick up trash instead of whining about it, or to tell police what they know instead of viewing officers as enemies. “A lot of us used to sit around the barber shop all day and complain,” Williams said, “but now we work together.” The key to practical change has been a willingness to emphasize the practical rather than the theoretical. “Separation of church and state is for people

“Lots of politicians make lots of promises. They’ll court you, and once in office they’ll develop selective amnesia.”

— The Rev. Roosevelt Sanders

HOW A CITY SHOULD WORK

The Front Porch Alliance built links among churches or between churches and other groups. It introduced many congregations, especially smaller ones, to a world of funding and social services and potential partners that most knew nothing about. It also deconstructed government for them, helping to create a trickle-up government.

who went to law school and all they got to do is argue constitutional law,” Williams stated.

It may have been a problem for other people in Indianapolis as well. With Goldsmith during the summer of ’99 preparing to leave the mayor’s office after eight years, Democrat Bart Peterson surged into the lead for the November election by pledging to hire more police, and said little about encouraging the work of faith-based folks who — when successful — reduce the need for police. Williams said, “Our rights are violated when there’s a shooting on the street corner, not when someone is praying.” In his mind, more prayer would mean fewer shootings. But others did not make the connection, and the American Civil Liberties Union scoffed at it.

Juvenile Courts and Gyms

We met others in Indianapolis who defied the conventional understanding of church-state separation. One rebel, Judge James Payne, a silver-haired, self-defined “professional doodler,” is now opening up Indianapolis’s juvenile court system to faith-based groups. Payne can obviously get along well with teens. When my son stood up upon Payne’s entrance and said with the awkward formality of a 14-year-old doing his duty, “I’m pleased to meet you, Judge Payne,” the judge reciprocated with crinkly eyes and a slight bow, “I’m pleased to meet you, Daniel Olasky.” Then Judge Payne lined up his cell phone on a piece of paper, edged in the lines and began drawing away. The doodles that day were jagged rather than rounded, as fitted someone who deals with rocky lives rather than smooth transitions.

Payne was wearing a red tie with drawings of happy children on it, but most of the children he is responsible for are not smiling. He has jurisdiction over 10,000 to 12,000 cases each year of parental abuse and neglect and juvenile delinquency. Delinquents at the end of the century are not just stealing hubcaps, he explained tiredly, but are building adult-length rap sheets with guns and cocaine regularly cited. It’s what parents do, however, that leaves Payne inclined to declare a whole culture guilty: “We see fetal alcohol use, mothers on drugs physically and emotionally aggressive with children. We see children whipped — I’m not talking about spanking here, but whipping — from neck to knee with an extension cord.”

How can these children be helped? For years the juvenile justice system has paid secular social workers to work with troubled families and delinquent children, with the social workers typically spending four hours per week per family over a six-month period. But actions that lead people to Payne’s courtroom usually occur

at only three times during the day: 6-8 a.m., 3-5 p.m. when children are through with school, and 8-10 in the evening. That timing makes part of the problem obvious: “Most of our counselors work 8-5, so they miss two out of three, and they’re not there for the third, because we have counselors saying, ‘I won’t go into that home. What an awful neighborhood!’” Part of the solution also seems evident: “What if we find people with the faith to go into those homes at all hours? That’s a lot better than lecturing people in offices. It’s the difference between telling a person to clean out the refrigerator for cockroaches, and coming alongside the person to do the work together.”

Out of that thinking emerged Payne’s plan to provide equal opportunity for people from religious communities. He sent out 100 invitations to groups from various religions, and 40 people came to informational meetings. Muslim leaders did not respond. Jewish leaders said, accurately, “Our children don’t get into trouble with your system.” Christian groups applied. They had to pledge to have ministers or other trained counselors available for contact during weekends and evenings, and to provide 24-hour crisis-intervention coverage. All nine Christian groups that met the criteria were accepted and, in the first year of the program, received 211 referrals. Five secular agencies, all larger than the faith-based ones, also applied, and received about 500 referrals.

Only families that indicate a preference for a faith-based counselor are assigned one — and now, counseling from a Muslim or Jewish base can be arranged upon request. That’s vital in this and all other relations between government and faith-based organizations: Synagogues and mosques need to be on a level playing field with church or atheistic groups. Payne’s program has been developed with such fairness that it might not be hugely controversial, except that money is changing hands. Counselors receive a payment of \$800 after the first 30 days (by which time a treatment plan has to be produced), \$800 more after the first 90 days, and a final \$800 when the case is closed, which takes an average of six months.

Is it proper for government to be paying church groups? Payne has thought about this considerably and concluded that “In the 1960s, the federal government drove out churches and families. How now do we get them back into the process? We can invite them now to come back in out of the goodness of their hearts, but they’re not equipped to do this.” Payne sees a government obligation — “We drove them out; how do we get them back in?” — and is looking forward to studying the comparative

performance of religious and secular counselors; one more year of experience probably will be needed to set up a good research study. The Indiana Civil Liberties Union, not wanting to wait that long, sent Payne a threatening letter that noted, "You'll be watched closely." His response: "Fine."

Clearly, the process of creating a level playing field for religious organizations will not be smooth or easy. Payne noticed the T-shirt my son was wearing in the Big Ten country of Indiana — University of Michigan, National Champions 1997 — and remarked on how much his contest with anti-religious forces was like football. The comparison, he and my son could agree, worked two ways. First, football is not just a contact but a collision sport. Second, one side or the other is advancing the ball — and at least in 1999, Payne was in control, carefully working the ball down the field.

The difference between Payne's situation and that of school voucher proponents is striking. In education, church-state separationists and teacher unions are fighting to preserve union rules and the educational status quo at all costs. Nevertheless, the courts are showing signs of recognizing that taxpayer money can end up in religious hands as long as parents have free choice. In the areas under Payne's supervision, he is the court, and the children he is trying to help are those whom everyone else (including their parents) have discarded. Maybe both ACLU-types and the public are reluctant to take away the last hope of change.

Shortly after we left Payne, we heard a story of what one group of young criminals had done, and the amazing turn that story had taken. We were visiting Tim Streett, 36, minister of urban outreach for the E 91st Street Christian Church, a congregation in the circle of affluence barely visible from Goldsmith's window. Streett's blue shirt, khakis and black shoes would not make him stand out in that crowd, but they are not standard issue where he works: the Jehovah Jireh ("God provides") Sports Club (JIREH) in the Martindale-Brightwood neighborhood, part of the "drop-off-the-table-poor" circle.

Streett and his wife have a young child, and new fatherhood had brought fresh to Streett's mind the event that changed his life when he was 15 and living in a northern suburb of Indianapolis. As he and his dad were shoveling snow, young men from the inner city drove up, demanded money, and then fatally shot the father in front of the son's eyes. The natural step down for Streett would have been a descent into bitterness, but over time "God called me to work among the black community and to forgive the killers." He wrote to the murderer,

who is on death row, but received no response. He did receive a response from the driver of the car and went to visit him in prison: "He had been going to chapel and reading the Bible, but he later told his mom that when he saw me come through the prison gates, he knew the gospel was real."

Streett wrote letters to help the prisoner's sentence of 90 years get reduced to 45, setting up (with good behavior) a release date of December 2001. Streett explained that the driver "had a job, then had some trouble," and went out that day to steal but not to kill: "Now he talks to children, telling them 'be careful who you hang out with, because what your friends do you'll be doing.'" Streett in turn has been helping children from backgrounds like his dad's killer to hang out with different types of folks. When his affluent church gave him the go-ahead and promised funding for an inner-city work, Streett asked pastors who make up the Community Resurrection Partnership (one of the groups aided by the Front Porch Alliance) what they would like. The indirectly-government-funded answer came back: an after-school sports program.

Here's where Streett once again started coloring outside the lines. Instead of just offering basketball and inspiring more children to fixate on their minuscule chance to become the next Michael Jordan, he decided to expose children to sports they had never encountered. He contacted Paul and Carol Cannada, both former Junior Olympic gymnasts. Paul, who now serves as executive director of Jireh Sports, is short, black and strong, with a neck like a bull, forearms that rival Popeye's, and the mental toughness and communication skills to convey the emphasis on focus and determination that is integral to gymnastics.

Streett and others "prayed for an abandoned building" to house the vision. A donation of \$100,000 made possible purchase of a warehouse that had been abandoned for a decade. Renovations began in August 1997, with volunteers, including many children, doing most of the work, and others donating money and equipment. Volunteers cut, planed, and padded balance beams. They erected parallel bars that would allow gymnasts to swing through the rafters. They built a floor-to-ceiling climbing wall and a tumbling track, and jammed into big rooms other gymnastics equipment and wrestling mats, while setting aside smaller rooms for tutoring and computer training. Opening day came in January 1998; in 1999 JIREH served 220 children in after-school programs during the school year and 450 during the summer.

"What if we find people with the faith to go into those homes at all hours? That's a lot better than lecturing people in offices. It's the difference between telling a person to clean out the refrigerator for cockroaches, and coming alongside the person to do the work together."

— Judge James Payne

“A Promise to Keep” reduced the number of pregnancies but officials at the state health department said Mrs. Jackson could not receive funding to bring the program into public schools. The problem was not program content but Mrs. Jackson’s employer: the Catholic archdiocese of Indianapolis.

Now the Streetts live next to JIREH, and the Cannadas live just down the street. Within the center posters on white brick walls bring home the big lessons: Honesty, Respect, Self-Discipline. “Did you show self-control today?” one poster asks, and then heads to practical issues: “I used quiet words when I was upset.” JIREH has developed a volunteer base of coaches who look at six to eight children as their discipleship group; the great majority of the mostly black children have never had a dad in their homes, and this is their opportunity to respond to male leadership. Gymnastics is now accompanied by lessons in classic wrestling, which some children are surprised to find does not include the World Wrestling Federation moves they and my son admire. (Paul Cannada says, “They have to plan moves, so they learn patience and the importance of fine-tuned technique.”) Lessons on character development come at the end of each class, with everything filtered through a biblical lens.

It’s a long way from 91st Street to 23rd Street where the center is located, but the 91st Street church pays the salaries of Streett and Cannada, and encourages members to come to classes. Partly because of the distance, few do.

The parent church also picks up costs such as liability insurance, which are almost insurmountable for some nonprofit groups running sports programs where injuries are not a matter of if but when. (Since it has a \$15 million facility, the percentage increase for JIREH’s liability insurance is not great.) Residents of JIREH’s neighborhood also pay something; as Jay Height on the east side had found out, poor people (like the affluent) give little respect to something that is free.

The much-in-demand gymnastics class costs \$16 for eight weeks; the standard club Again, wrestling costs 25 cents per class and tutoring in math, reading, and other subjects costs 50 cents. The much-in-demand gymnastics class costs \$16 for eight weeks; the standard club price for such a course would be \$70.

Purists object to taxpayers subsidizing faith-based programs, but in one sense taxpayers have for decades. About half of all charitable giving from individuals goes to religious organizations and is tax-deductible. Religious groups generally do not pay state sales taxes. Their property is generally immune from local property taxes. Each level of government has seen merit in such arrangements, and the tax-exempt status of religious organizations has rarely caused conflicts or jeopardized their liberty. Offering of tax-free status has allowed governments to promote the general welfare. If the 91st Street church no longer had tax-exempt status, its

contributions would probably decrease and its costs rise, and the church might not be in a position to subsidize Jireh Sports.

Eve Jackson and the Proper Role of Government

Building a new vision of church-state cooperation rather than hostility has sometimes been hard, especially when money changes hands. Eve Jackson ran into problems when she attempted to expand a peer-mentoring program that paired abstinence-committed older teens with younger teens.

The program, “A Promise to Keep,” had reduced the number of pregnancies, diseased bodies and broken hearts among private-school students, but officials at the state health department said Mrs. Jackson could not receive funding to bring the program into public schools. The problem, they specified, was not program content, but Mrs. Jackson’s employer: the Catholic archdiocese of Indianapolis.

Goldsmith, however, knew of “A Promise to Keep,” endorsed it and recommended an application, on the assumption that the state would turn it down and a useful lawsuit could result. But when the Front Porch Alliance walked Mrs. Jackson through the grant-writing process, state officials backed off, and “A Promise to Keep” received \$100,000 over a four-year period. The lawsuit was put off, although she still expects one eventually. Her attitude when offered access to taxpayer money is: take it when the funding helps and does not hinder, but always be prepared to leave it.

Defending others and guiding them through labyrinths, not handing out big bucks, is what the Front Porch Alliance does best. The FPA has made grants of less than \$500,000 a year, peanuts by major metropolitan standards. That limited funding has probably been helpful in keeping staffers from daydreaming about elephantine projects; instead, they have faithfully upheld the civic switchboard model. The Catholic school at Holy Angels Church, which serves 193 children (all of them black, 90 percent of them non-Catholic), needed something very simple: three hours a week at a nearby city gym for physical-education classes. FPA made the connection, and the school gained permission to use the gym free of charge, since Goldsmith’s policy is to waive customary fees for church groups using park buildings.

Similarly, when the church pastored by Roosevelt Sanders needed a zoning change but could not afford the blueprints and site plan required to apply, the FPA linked the church with an architect who provided 10 hours of pro bono work. When Raytheon upgraded

its computers and had numerous 486s to give away, FPA arranged to have church groups get them. In all these areas, government was promoting the general welfare but not doing the providing itself.

Can and should the faith-based groups do more? Indianapolis is far from Eden. Four of five inner-city public school sixth-graders fail basic skills tests. Over half of those students live with a single parent. (Billboards advertising paternity testing show a baby with a Pinocchio nose under the headline, "Is His Mother a Liar?") One veteran first-grade teacher said her charges "won't stay on task; they constantly hit each other. They just get no supervision whatsoever at home. I ask them what they talk about at the dinner table, and they look at me like I'm crazy."

At the end of the decade, the continued crime problem was showing the limits of both government and the faith-based havens that neighborhood community centers were becoming. Police officials and Goldsmith, an ex-prosecutor, studied and applied strategies that have been successful in other cities: crime-mapping, gun-tracing, foot- and bike-patrols, and taking seriously the minor, "broken window" incidents that lead to a crime-accepting culture. But as crack cocaine invaded Indianapolis in the 1990s, later than in larger cities, violent crime increased as it had in New York before the crack wave there peaked and partially subsided. One Indianapolis social worker noted that 90 percent of her students knew a person who had died of unnatural causes.

We saw improvements in pockets, but the same question that resounded in the ears of journalists concerned with poverty a decade ago blasted into ours: And why not do more? We learned that Indianapolis residents consider it impolite to honk when traffic tie-ups occur. That's all to the good, but troubled neighborhoods need more than gentility. Their great need, as Art Farnsley of the city's Polis Center puts it, is for "information ombudsmen," people like Kathy Dudley in Dallas and Barbara Elliott in Houston who can connect what is going on in local churches and neighborhood associations with what is happening in corporate and city hall offices.

The Front Porch Alliance has served that function in Indianapolis, building links among churches or between churches and other groups. It has introduced many congregations, especially smaller ones, to a world of funding and social services and potential partners that

most knew nothing about. It also deconstructed government for them, helping to create a trickle-up government.

The laws of political gravity suggest trickle-down as the common pattern, and Indianapolis may once again submit to those laws. The key to past success was the willingness of city hall insiders to cut through red tape on behalf of faith-based folks. But Democrat Bart Peterson was elected mayor, and ministerial members of the Front Porch Alliance did not know the type of response they would receive when they asked the new administration for expedited help. Recognizing the political cycle, Goldsmith moved 90 percent of the Front Porch Alliance staff and activities to a nonprofit Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center that he hoped would be funded by groups such as the Lilly Foundation, the Indianapolis Foundation and the United Way.

But that move raised the question: Is the idea of a government unit deconstructing other units of government, and surviving, an impossible dream?

Maybe so, but other governors have started their own versions of Front Porch. The fire may spread.

We all tend to use the term 'evil' without being willing to define it. It is not quite a synonym for 'bad,' since we cannot talk of an evil orange, except poetically, or an evil performance of the violin. It is certainly not a synonym for 'wrong.' 'Right' and 'wrong,' we recognize, are terms with variable referents — in other words, what is right at one time can be wrong at another. In a period of war against Germany, it can be so wrong to be friendly with Germans that you may be shot for it; in a period of peace, it can be right to be friendly with them, or at least a matter of neutral import. It is right to obey whatever laws are in force at a given time, and wrong to deliberately flout them. We cannot take right and wrong very seriously, since they shift and waver so much. We need absolute terms like 'good' and 'evil.' Our attitude toward good is curiously noncommittal or halfhearted; we are more used to being told not to commit evil than exhorted to do good.

— Anthony Burgess,
"The Clockwork Condition,"
June 4, 2012, *The New Yorker*

The great need was for "information ombudsmen," people who could connect what is going on in local churches and neighborhood associations with what was happening in corporate and city hall offices.

FLIPPING HAMBURGERS; ADMINISTERING SCHOOLS

There is no way to compute the financial cost of the massive government regulation of our schools. Education officials have titles that hide the fact they exist only to comply with laws and regulations.

By JEFF ABBOTT

Upon graduating from high school, Joe bought a vendor's cart. For the first few years, he did well selling hamburgers, hot dogs, Reubens, Cubans and an assortment of delectable sandwiches. Joe's reputation spread and his business expanded by multiples. He was able to provide employment to dozens of sandwich-makers in many carts.

But some in Joe's town began to view his business as a "public" enterprise since he was using public sidewalks and selling his delights to the public. Others resented Joe's profits and organized to lobby the Congress of the Peoples Republic of America, as it had come to be called.

This Congress of the People began hearing complaints from a group of patrons from South Asia, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt, Eritrea and Ethiopia that none of the sandwiches contained Ajwain, carom seeds (*Trachyspermum ammi*). They wanted spices in their sandwiches that reminded them of their homelands. And the Congress, in an effort to be responsive, passed a law requiring all carts to have sandwiches containing the spices exuding aromas pleasing to these people.

Word got around. A contingent of Vietnamese lobbied the Congress for sandwiches containing Cudweed (*Gnaphalium*). Then a Cuban contingent demanded a law requiring Cuban oregano (*Plectranthus amboinicus*). A Paraguay and Brazil contingent wanted similar considerations regarding Leptotes bicolor. Australians complained that there wasn't any Dorrigo (*Tasmannia stipitata*).

Others petitioned for Epazote (*Dysphania ambrosioides*); Fingerroot, krachai, temu kuntji (*Boesenbergia rotunda*); Golpar, Persian hogweed (*Heracleum persicum*); Hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*); Pandan flower, kewra (*Pandanus odoratissimus*); and dozens upon dozens of other spices with aromas pleasing to this group or that.

Joe couldn't afford to pay foodology consultants to tell him where to buy the required exotic spices. Nor was he able to buy those spices he could find at a price that kept his sandwiches competitive. And his



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

friend, Jill, who bought the business, went bankrupt after a psychotic breakdown brought on, some said, by trying to keep track of all the sandwich ingredients required by the new laws.

The government took over at this point, declaring that not only was the making and selling of sandwiches a public activity but essential to the common good. Now, with government-employed specialists such as doctors of foodology, directors of sandwich-

making, managers of sandwich quality, official state inspectors of sandwich rules compliance and numerous other helpful government employees, politicians were happy to announce that sandwich-making and selling had been saved.

But it hadn't been saved, really. None of Joe's old customers liked the People's Hamburger Cart or its conglomerated, government-regulated and managed sandwiches. Sales dropped off and taxes quadrupled to pay for all the government helpers. The national debt increased to fund the related government services said to be essential to proper sandwich-making.

From Hamburgers to Public Education

Members of the United States Congress are smart, real smart. They take money from the taxpayers from all the individual 50 states, then give some of it back after taking a cut for federal employees and federal overhead. And they attach plenty of strings to the money they return to the states, especially for an inarguable good such as education.

Typically, the amount of federal funds a public school corporation receives is less than 10 percent of the district's total revenues. And know that these federal funds have no other source than taxes collected from taxpayers in each state.

But Congress has passed dozens upon dozens of laws governing hamburger carts — er, public schools — regulated by thousands upon thousands of pages of statutes and administrative rules. So for less than 10 cents on the dollar, Congress has taken effective control of local school districts throughout the country. Where Congress has not taken



Jeff Abbott, Ph.D., J.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is an education consultant based in Fort Wayne. Abbott, who also is an attorney, was the superintendent of several public-school systems in Indiana, including the East Allen County School District. Most recently, he taught graduate students in education at Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne.

control, state legislatures and state departments of education have stepped in.

Returning to our sandwich metaphor for a moment, although the various interest groups may have been initially pleased with the aroma, the spices, of a law, the totality of the governing rules make the “sandwiches” produced by many public schools inedible. Indeed, although individually the special-interest considerations might seem a good idea, together they just plain stink in a policy sense.

And none of this is the fault of the hard-working teachers and principals inside. They toil daily in the difficult job of educating children under the weight of government regulation.

And state legislatures, like Congress, pile on more regulation. They do so ostensibly to “reform” public education with new laws and rules each session. The rationale, sardonically, goes like this: “We certainly don’t want any teacher or principal to be able to exercise any professional judgment; the task is too important and must be reserved to legislative bodies and state departments who know better than those who work with children every day in the classroom.”

But fewer and fewer people are buying the public-school sandwiches. The upper class and elitist politicians long ago fled the system. Now, in the past couple of decades, an ever-shrinking middle class is abandoning public schools to place their children in parochial schools, charter schools, private schools and home schools.

Congress and state legislative bodies long ago removed any sense of professionalism and pride from the teaching and school-management professions. Their ever-increasing laws take away more and more discretion from teachers and principals, the best of whom are leaving their professions. Those who remain are likely to merely go through the motions of educating their students.

This excessive regulation not only has a human effect, it has a financial one. The federal government not only has a Department of Education with thousands of employees, but also there are other federal agencies that have employees devoting much of their time to “helping” govern public schools. And each state has dozens upon dozens of employees whose main job is to enforce the federal and state laws that supposedly help public schools.

At the local level, many medium and large school districts have central-office positions (*e.g.* Assistant Superintendent for Special Education; Director of Federal Programs; Manager of Accountability; etc., etc., etc.) devoted to enforcing the federal and state laws. Small school districts do not have the revenue for such

specialized staff. However, they must comply with all this massive regulation the same as larger school districts. So their superintendents, principals and even teachers are assigned the task of learning the laws and enforcing them upon themselves. Compliance — not freedom — is the mantra of today’s public school.

There is no way to compute the financial cost of all this massive government regulation of our schools. Federal jobs have job descriptions that hide the real truth, *i.e.*, that they exist to enforce compliance of the laws.

So do states. Many job descriptions hide the fact that legal compliance is the essence of the job. Further, many positions have dual responsibilities, compliance along with other duties.

The same is true at the district level. Some jobs obviously exist solely to enforce compliance with these laws. Most local schools, however, distribute this compliance function to many different people who have varied responsibilities.

Even if a survey were done asking school staff to state the amount of compliance activity, it is likely to be underreported. Such self-reporting is seldom, if ever, a reliable way to gather accurate data.

Suffice it to say that the cost of administering and enforcing compliance with the massive amount of government regulation of public schools is in the tens of millions of dollars in each state, and could easily reach into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

All of these costs could easily be reduced if there was the political will in Congress and the Indiana Legislature. By simply deregulating the public schools and opening a free market for K-12 public education (as exists at the college level) all the money spent on regulating could either go to tax relief or to improved classroom learning, or a combination of both.

Government does have a proper role in public education. It can establish levels of funding for children who are more difficult to educate and who require greater resources than others. Government can establish free markets in which parents can choose their children’s schools based upon honest and accurate information. It can require honesty and transparency from all K-12 educational providers.

What government cannot do is to continue to heap more and more regulations onto the backs of teachers and principals without expecting that one day all of this will collapse, burying teachers and principals in its bureaucratic rubble.

All of these costs could easily be reduced if there was the political will in Congress and the Indiana Legislature. By simply deregulating the public schools and opening a free market for K-12 public education (as exists at the college level), all the money spent on regulating could either go to tax relief or to improved classroom learning, or a combination of both.

An 1878 advertisement for the Oliver Chilled Plow boasted: “Buy no other. Will last for years, and no blacksmith’s bill to pay. It is the only guaranteed chilled plow made.” That wasn’t hyperbole.



INDIANA AT 200

ANDREA NEAL

For the past 10 years, the foundation has distributed Andrea Neal’s biweekly essays on Indiana public-policy issues. Twenty-five Indiana newspapers have routinely published her column, making her one of the most widely read opinion writers in the state. Beginning with the spring 2013 journal, her essays began focusing on another passion — Indiana history. Neal will produce 100 columns before December 2016 that describe Indiana’s most significant historical events, generally in chronological order, tying each to a place or current event in Indiana that continues to tell the story of our state.



A Better Plow, Thanks to Oliver

(June 28) — Though his name is not nearly as familiar as John Deere’s, James Oliver of South Bend revolutionized agriculture with his invention of a new type of plow.

An 1878 advertisement for the Oliver Chilled Plow boasted: “Buy no other. Will last for years, and no blacksmith’s bill to pay. It is the only guaranteed chilled plow made.”

That wasn’t hyperbole. At its height, Oliver’s company produced 300 plows a day, exporting them to such faraway places as Japan, Germany and Mexico.

The story began in Scotland, where James was born in 1823, one of nine children to George and Elizabeth Oliver. “An older brother and sister had immigrated to America, and they sent letter after letter home begging the rest of the Oliver family to come,” says Travis Childs, director of education at the History Museum in South Bend. They did come — when James was 12.

Reports of cheap land and jobs lured some of the family to St. Joseph County, where Oliver demonstrated an intense work ethic. He cut and sold wood, did menial chores and worked as a farm hand. He cast molds at a foundry. He packed flour into wooden barrels at a gristmill. He mastered carpentry skills in a cooper’s shop.

In 1847, Oliver went to work for the St. Joseph Iron Company, which made plows and castings. All of these experiences prepared him to become South Bend’s leading industrialist. In 1855, he invested in a foundry that made

cast-iron plows, and began looking for a way to make a better one.

Plows, of course, are as old as agriculture itself, necessary to turn and break up soil to make it arable. The standard plow consists of two main parts: a moldboard, the curved piece that lifts up and turns over the sod, and the blade that does the cutting, known as the plowshare.

In Oliver’s day, both cast iron and steel were used, but steel was scarce and expensive and cast iron was soft. That caused dirt to stick to the moldboard, forcing farmers to stop every few minutes to clean it.

In 1857, Oliver received his first patent for “An Improvement in Chilling Plowshares.” A chill is a mold that cools liquefied metal rapidly, making the metal harder on the surface. Over the course of several decades, Oliver obtained 45 patents aimed at producing sharper and firmer cutting edges while maintaining flexible, more break-resistant turning pieces.

In 1871 *the South Bend Register* observed, “If he keeps on improving his plow, it will soon have no rivals in the country.” To keep up with demand, the Olivers opened a new factory complex in 1876 with five buildings, 400 employees and a 600-horsepower Harris Steam Engine to power the machinery.

After James Oliver died in 1908, his son J.D. took over the company and directed two more decades of innovation. He and his family lived in close proximity to the factory in a 38-room mansion called Copshaholm. Today the house is open to the public as part of the South Bend museum complex that includes the Studebaker National Museum and the History Museum.

Changing economics forced the Olivers to take the company public in the late 1920s. Stockholders approved a mega-merger that kept the Oliver name alive in tractor and tool production for some time, but it was subsumed in a series of consolidations and plant closings in the 1970s.

The South Bend factory closed in 1985; its smokestack and boilerhouse still stand in a new industrial park named after the man who changed the face of plowing.

Gene Stratton-Porter

(June 15) — Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, John Burroughs. To this list of famous American naturalists, add the name Gene Stratton-Porter of Indiana.

Decades before the modern environmental movement began, Stratton-Porter warned against human activities that could lead to

climate change. Also a best-selling fiction author, Stratton-Porter brought the beauty of the earth to the masses through her nature books, photographs, essays and poems.

Barbara Olenyik Morrow, in her biography of Nature's Storyteller, observed that Stratton-Porter took readers "to a place where many had never been or where they wanted to return – to flowering meadows and clean-smelling woods and marshes alive with birdsong."

Stratton-Porter was a native Hoosier, born in 1863 and raised in Wabash County by parents who loved the outdoors and all God's creatures.

As a child, Geneva Grace spent hours bird watching on the 240-acre family farm called Hopewell. As an adult, she intensely studied birds, moths and flowers, photographing and drawing them, writing about them and working for their preservation.

She was supported in her pursuits by her husband, whom she wed in 1886 and who called her Gene. Charles D. Porter was an Adams County businessman 13 years her senior. At first the couple lived in his hometown of Decatur, but the neighborhood did not suit his wife.

After the birth of their daughter Jeannette, the family moved to Geneva, where Stratton-Porter worked with architects to design a grand two-story "cabin" with a Wisconsin cedar exterior and a colonnaded porch. The home was dubbed Limberlost after the nearby Limberlost Swamp that was blanketed with wildflowers and swarming with wildlife.

It was an ideal laboratory for her nature studies, and it was from here that Stratton-Porter launched her writing career at age 36.

Her first published piece in 1900 was an article in Recreation magazine lamenting a fashion trend of the day: women's hats trimmed with bird feathers. Her first novel, A Song of the Cardinal, was the story of a lovesick bird that found his mate.

It was her fourth novel, published in 1909, that brought Stratton-Porter international fame. A Girl of the Limberlost tells of a poor but determined girl who sold moths and caterpillars to pay for her schooling. When the story opens, the girl is at cross-purposes with her widowed mother; by book's end, the relationship is restored, and the girl has found romance and happiness.

Although some critics panned Stratton-Porter's works as saccharin, readers loved them. From 1910 to 1921, five of her novels made the top 10 bestseller list for fiction. The author was so wealthy that, when she decided to change scenery again in 1914, she bought land in her own name and paid for the construction of a house herself.

The draining of the Limberlost Swamp for commercial purposes had destroyed much of the habitat she used as inspiration. Her new home, the Cabin at Wildflower Woods on Sylvan Lake, offered 120 acres of fields, woods and gardens for an outdoor workshop. Today both Limberlost and Wildflower Woods are operated by the Indiana Department of Natural Resources as historic sites open to the public.

In 1919, Stratton-Porter went to California to pursue movie-production opportunities and never returned full-time to her husband or Indiana. She died in a car accident in 1924. Some years after her death, her descendants arranged to have her body moved back to be buried amidst the flora and fauna of Wildflower Woods.

Railroads Transformed Indiana

(June 1) — Study a map from the late 19th century and it's easy to see how Indiana became known as the Crossroads of America. Like spokes on a bicycle wheel, railroad lines extended from Indianapolis in 12 directions. Tracks crossed the state from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River, Terre Haute to Richmond and everywhere in between.

"By 1880, the steam railroad had triumphed over all other forms of transportation in Indiana," said the historian Clifton J. Phillips in "Indiana in Transition, 1880-1920." The network of rail lines linked Indiana to major markets of the Midwest: Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Louisville, Pittsburgh and St. Louis.

The rise of the railroad is the story of Indiana's economic development. Trains carried passengers, of course, but more importantly they carried freight: corn, coal, tobacco, petroleum and lumber, to name a few. And they did so more efficiently than boats or wagons.

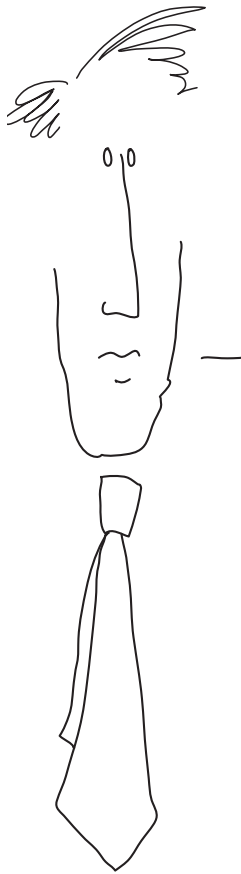
Canals had proved to be financially impractical for moving freight. In Indiana, they were plagued by frequent flooding, freezing in winter and costly maintenance of locks, gates and bridges.

Roads weren't much better. Imagine the challenge of transporting Indiana limestone, weighing 175 pounds per cubic foot, in a carriage on a macadam trail. But riding on flatcars, slabs could be hauled almost anywhere — and they were: to North Carolina for the Biltmore Estate, to New York for the Empire State Building and to the nation's capital for the Washington National Cathedral.

By the time railroads came to Indiana, the technology was somewhat advanced. Steam power developed in the 18th century in England where the world's first public passenger steam train ran in 1825.

The rise of the railroad is the story of Indiana's economic development. Trains carried passengers, of course, but more importantly they carried freight: corn, coal, tobacco, petroleum and lumber, to name a few.

The Monon served Union forces during the Civil War by carrying troops, ammunition, food and medicine.



In the United States, the Baltimore & Ohio was the first commercial passenger and freight service, chartered in 1827, and still operating today as CSX Corporation.

Indiana's first major steam railroad, completed in 1847, was an engineering marvel. The Madison & Indianapolis line, 86 miles long, climbed a steep hill just north of Madison on its way to Indianapolis. European visitors and Hoosiers alike were impressed by the ease with which a train of cars, pulled by a British engine, made the ascent.

With that success, rail construction exploded. In 1850, Indiana had 200 miles of completed track. By 1880, 4,000 miles of track covered 86 of 92 counties.

Railroads transformed villages into thriving towns and cities almost overnight. North Judson in Starke County is an example. At one point, 125 trains a day passed through the community

on four different rail lines including the Chesapeake & Ohio, Erie, New York Central and Pennsylvania. Today, Hoosiers can relive the experience by riding a vintage caboose at the Hoosier Valley Railroad Museum in North Judson.

"I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy."
(John Adams)

Perhaps Indiana's most famous railroad was the Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville, a combination of several early lines running north to south through Indianapolis and nicknamed the Monon from a Potawatomi Indian word meaning "swift running."

The Monon served Union forces during the Civil War by carrying troops, ammunition, food and medicine. In April 1865, a Monon engine pulled President Lincoln's funeral train at 5 miles per hour 90 miles from Lafayette to Michigan City.

The Monon Connection Museum houses a large private collection of railroad memorabilia, including dining-car china, lanterns and brass steam locomotive bells and whistles.

Although the interstate highway took the place of the railroad in the 20th century, Indiana's economy still relies on 3,884 miles of active track for carrying freight. Indiana ranks in the top 10 states in the country for employment, wages and tonnage carried through the state.

Lew Wallace

(May 18) — Upon the death of Lew Wallace, *The New York Times* struggled to sum up — in a single headline — the 77-year-old Hoosier's accomplishments. "Won Fame in Many Ways," it declared.

Wallace, his 1905 obituary noted, "achieved widespread distinction as a lawyer, legislator, soldier, author and diplomat" and was a man of "exceptionally refined manner, broad culture and imposing personal appearance."

It was quite a resume for someone who lost his mother to consumption at age 6, hated school, gave fits to teachers and spent much of his life in small-town Crawfordsville.

By the time of his death, Wallace was internationally known, a Renaissance man whose celebrity was comparable to Gen. Dwight Eisenhower's after World War II, evangelist Billy Graham in the 1960s and '70s, and author J.K. Rowling after *Harry Potter* and the *Sorcerer's Stone* — combined.

"I think his greatness lay in his ability to see the critical center of an issue, his personal integrity and willingness to address difficult issues, and his fearless curiosity," says Larry Paarlberg, director of the General Lew Wallace Study & Museum in Crawfordsville.

Born in Brookville in 1827, Wallace first came to the nation's attention during the Civil War when as major general he commanded troops in the Tennessee battles of Fort Donelson, Fort Henry and Shiloh. In 1864, he was promoted to Commander of the 8th Army Corps and saved Washington, D.C., from Confederate assault at the Battle of Monocacy.

Following the war, he served as a judge at the Lincoln assassination trial and presided over the trial of Henry Wirz, commander of the infamous Andersonville prison where thousands of Union soldiers died.

In 1878, President Rutherford Hayes appointed Wallace to be governor of the New Mexico Territory. In 1881, Wallace became minister to Turkey.

Though impressive, none of these distinctions brought him the acclaim that came from *Ben-Hur*, his novel published in 1880 that tells the story of Jesus through the eyes of a Jewish noble condemned for a crime he did not commit.

Ben-Hur was the best-selling novel of the 19th century, translated into 20 languages and still available today in mass-market edition. It was made into a movie in 1925 and remade in

1959 starring Charlton Heston, a production that broke box-office records and won 11 Academy Awards. A new version, with Jack Huston and Morgan Freeman, is scheduled for February 2016 release.

Wallace did most of his writing of Ben-Hur under a beech tree on the property of the Crawfordsville home he occupied from 1868 until his death. Although the house was sold outside the family and remodeled beyond recognition, much of the original Wallace property remains. The carriage house, Wallace's personal study and a 3.5-acre arboretum have been preserved as a museum and natural space open to the public.

Wallace himself designed the study as a place to read, write and entertain. Around the exterior, a limestone frieze features hand-carved faces from Wallace's books, including Ben-Hur's Judah, Ben-Hur and Tirzah.

Paarlberg labels the study "a 19th-century man-cave" that brings Wallace's many passions to life. Wallace is one of two Hoosiers honored with a statue in the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. (The other is Gov. Oliver P. Morton). A copy of the statue is on the museum grounds adjacent to the study.

Famous, Infamous at Crown Hill

(May 4) — It is the nation's third largest cemetery and a "Who's Who" of Hoosier heroes. One president, three vice presidents and 11 governors are buried there.

The grave of poet James Whitcomb Riley occupies the highest point — the "crown hill" — and is one of the most popular tourist sights in Indianapolis. So is the less grandiose burial place of bank robber John Dillinger, an Indianapolis native who became nationally known in the late 1920s as Public Enemy No. 1.

Crown Hill Cemetery, incorporated as a nonprofit institution in September 1863, reveals Indiana's history in a way few landmarks can rival. Federal judge and former Congressman Albert S. White put it this way at the cemetery's dedication in 1864: "Let it be the glory of Crown Hill that the rich and poor, the proud and humble alike may enter here." Some 400 people attended the dedication on June 1, 1864. A band played anthems, local preachers delivered prayers, and a poet read a few verses.

The first burial took place the next day. Lucy Ann Seaton, young wife of an army captain, died from tuberculosis, the leading cause of death in the United States at that time. The prayer of her husband appears at the base of the stone, "Lucy, God grant I may meet you in heaven."

Another early burial was Josephine Jones, 14-year-old daughter of an African-American gravedigger. "From the beginning, Crown Hill was a place of racial and economic diversity," observes Douglas A. Wissing, co-author of *Crown Hill — History, Spirit, Sanctuary*, published on the occasion of the cemetery's sesquicentennial.

The oldest remains are those of pioneers, most originally buried at City Cemetery — renamed Greenlawn — and transferred to Crown Hill after city officials declared the first graveyard unsuitable for a growing population.

In 1866, 708 Union soldiers who died in the Civil War and had been interred at Greenlawn were transferred to Crown Hill and reburied on land subsequently bought by the federal government for use as a national cemetery. In 1933, remains of 1,616 Confederate soldiers who had been prisoners of war at Camp Morton in Indianapolis were moved to a "Confederate Mound," also national cemetery property. Greenlawn closed in 1890.

Landscape architect John Chislett of Pittsburgh designed Crown Hill, intentionally mixing elements of a nature park with burial plots to create a peaceful, inspiring setting.

More than 200,000 people have been buried or entombed in mausoleums at Crown Hill. Most prestigious is Benjamin Harrison, 23rd president of the United States, who is buried alongside First Lady Caroline Harrison in Section 15, Lot 37.

Adjacent to the Harrisons is author/playwright Booth Tarkington, winner of two Pulitzer Prizes. Business leaders laid to rest at Crown Hill include Lyman S. Ayres, who founded the L.S. Ayres Department Store in 1874; Eli Lilly, who launched the pharmaceutical company of the same name in 1876; and banker William H. English, who built the English Hotel and Theater.

Sports figures range from Edward "Cannonball" Baker, who won the first race at the Speedway and drove in the first Indy 500, to Robert Irsay, who brought the Baltimore Colts to Indianapolis in 1984.

Crown Hill Cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973. A list of notables buried on the grounds is available at:

http://www.crownhillhf.org/docs/CrownHillNotables_lastname.pdf

In 1933, remains of 1,616 Confederate soldiers who had been prisoners of war at Camp Morton in Indianapolis were moved to a "Confederate Mound."

BACKGROUNDS

Expert commentary on Indiana issues of moment.

“The Confederate battle flag is a symbol with powerful meanings, but let’s not pretend those meanings are the same to every person, and that the “win” is the triumph of one group over another.”

— STALEY

The Flag Flap (Unreduced)

by SAM STALEY

(July 3) — I have avoided talking about the Confederate battle-flag debate because I figured I had nothing to add, and it was a lose-lose situation. Then I read this article from USA Today reporting on their poll showing that Americans are “split” on what it symbolizes and lamenting how polarized the public is. But this polling is exactly the kind of thing that creates the polarization that leads to gridlock on important social and policy issues.

It’s not the polling per se but the reductionist way the questions are designed and posed, setting up false choices that pit disparate but legitimate values against each other. Consensus can never be forged when this is done (as I interactively show my Florida State University students in my class on conflict resolution in land use and urban planning).

Take this poll on the Confederate battle flag as an example. The question was: Is the Confederate flag a symbol of racism or a symbol of Southern history and heritage? The results should not be surprising: 42 percent said it was a racist symbol and 42 percent said that it was a symbol of Southern history and heritage. That’s because the flag is both and the two issues are independent because contemporary supporters believe the flag stands for different things. I don’t know one modern-day southerner who believes that slavery is or was justified. But they do believe the South is disparaged culturally and politically in the U.S., and they also believe the Old South was about much more than slavery. They also see the Civil War through the prism of protecting state sovereignty and dignity, a view consistent with a reading of the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the debates at the Founding.

Of course, the Civil War was more than protecting state sovereignty. It wasn’t just that the South was on the wrong side of history. Slavery was an inherently evil institution and inconsistent with the most fundamental principles of this nation’s founding. As long as it continued, something like the Civil War was inevitable as the nation matured into its principles.

Samuel R. Staley, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is director of the DeVoe L. Moore Center at Florida State University.



But that doesn’t dismiss the fact that, for many contemporary southerners, the flag is not seen as a racist symbol — most don’t harbor racist attitudes

or beliefs, are deeply embarrassed by the institution of slavery and the century of terrorism inflicted on minorities during the Jim Crow era. (Lynyrd Skynyrd and other Southern rock bands flew the Confederate flag at concerts in the 1970s and 1980s, but they were not promoting or condoning racism; in fact, their attitudes were tolerant and inclusive.)

At the same time, the flag is a racist symbol because the South chose to fight to protect its sovereignty literally on the backs of millions of black slaves and the marginalization of free blacks in Southern society. This was the worst kind of slavery (yes, there are different kinds of slavery) because it was deeply racist, paternalistic and institutionally dehumanizing. Southerners have to own this part of their heritage; they can’t pick and choose based on contemporary political convenience if heritage and history is their argument in support of the flag.

So, if we really want to develop meaningful dialogue on how to deal with the Confederate flag, let’s stop ignoring the complexities of history and have a real discussion on the values that matter. The Confederate battle flag is a symbol with powerful meanings, but let’s not pretend those meanings are the same to every person, and that the “win” is the triumph of one group over another. That, again, is a reductionist and redistributionist approach that divides rather than unites.

Instead, let’s recognize the legitimate values on both sides and work from there: For a large number of Americans, the flag represents support for a vile and evil institution that has handicapped this nation from its founding. For another large group of Americans, the flag represents regional pride and independence (and not racism).

Do Southerners really want to display a symbol that is so reviled by such a large group of fellow Americans who believe in individual freedom and self-determination? Do critics of the flag really want to marginalize, dismiss and trivialize people because they believe in independence, self-determination and the desire

to be validated for their legitimate contributions to society?

I actually don't think Americans are that divided on the Confederate battle flag, but we won't find

consensus using an us-versus-them framework. The two sides are talking past each other, and a resolution will be found only when they meet each other from a position of mutual respect and a sincere attempt to understand the opposite position. Let's start from the truth of the values as they define them — not how we wish to see them — and work from there.

Dylann, Dzhokhar and the Devil

by CECIL BOHANON

(June 22) — We saw the face of evil in Charleston, South Carolina. A 21-year-old man, Dylann Roof, took the lives of nine innocent people who had welcomed him into their house of worship. If any crime calls for the death sentence, this is it.

We saw the same face two years ago in Boston when a 26-year-old man and his 19-year-old brother planted a bomb at a marathon race killing three and maiming many more. The younger brother Dzhokhar Tsarnaev has just been sentenced to death; his older brother Tamarlan was killed in police pursuit.

Progressive pundits were quick to accuse conservatives of being hesitant to label the Charleston murders as white racism. Interestingly, two years ago conservative pundits were quick to accuse progressives of being hesitant to label the Boston murders as Islamic terrorism. In my humble opinion, the charges are both right and wrong.

It is important to call evil what it is and name its source. Philosophies of white supremacy and Islamo-facism are wicked. It is perfectly reasonable to critically analyze the source of evil and consider ways of mitigating its influence. But I am not sure that trying to identify what source of evil is the biggest evil or which minion of the devil is Satan's greatest servant is a productive discussion.

I think we can all learn from the great 20th-century Russian author and philosopher Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who saw first-hand the horrors of the Soviet system. He exposed it at great risk to himself in his book, "The Gulag Archipelago." He recognized evil as very real and very wrong, but also pointed out that no human being is authorized to become too self-righteous

Cecil Bohanon, Ph.D., is a professor of economics at Ball State University.



all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them.

He went on to tell us: "But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being . . . sometimes it is squeezed one way by exuberant evil and sometimes it shifts to allow enough space for good to flourish." He concludes:

Confronted by the pit into which we are about to toss those who have done us harm, we halt, stricken dumb: it is after all only because of the way things worked out that they were the executioners and we weren't.

It was reported that the Charleston murderer stated he "almost did not go through with it" because the church folks were so nice to him. The angels almost conquered the demons. However, Dylann Roof made his choice. He is responsible for his actions. He must pay the price. Justice must be done.

Calls for justice, humility and forgiveness are not mutually exclusive. Let us condemn evil in all its forms but also pray for mercy to protect our own souls from its wiles.

The GOP Fallout from RFRA

by TOM HUSTON

(Jun 20) — The number one item on the agenda of the Indiana Democratic Party these days is gay rights. It is all that party leaders talk about, and it is all that the party's principal organ — *the Indianapolis Star* — writes about.

There are a number of reasons why the gay agenda has top priority among Hoosier Democrats: 1) The lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community is a key constituency that provides the party with talent, money, energy and votes; 2) public opinion has shifted dramatically on the issue of gay marriage and affords the party an opportunity to reach beyond its current base; and 3) with the shadow

Tom Charles Huston, J.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, served as associate counsel to the president of the United States.



in condemnation — but for the grace of God go I.

In *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn said emphatically:

So let the reader who expects this book to be a political expose slam its covers shut right now. If only it were

"I am not sure that trying to identify what source of evil is the biggest evil or which minion of the devil is Satan's greatest servant is a productive discussion."

— BOHANON

“Governor Pence is in a tough spot, and it wasn’t social conservatives who put him there. They will, nonetheless, be expected to pay the price for the unforced errors of the governor and Republican legislators.”

— HUSTON

of Barack Obama hovering over them, they don’t have much else to sell that Hoosiers are buying.

Social conservatives are unnerved by the dispatch with which Republican legislators headed for the tall grass when the gay Left turned its heavy artillery on Gov. Mike Pence. I don’t know why there was such surprise at that; ducking out when the going gets tough has been the hallmark of a Republican legislator since the Left decided to drive Richard Nixon from office.

It was not just Matt Tully of the Star who scared the hell out of those legislators who voted for the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA): Republican donors, Republican civic-leaders-for-hire and Republican mayors in Marion, Hamilton and Tippecanoe counties whispered “boo” and sent shudders up their flexible spines. Looking for a quick exit and offered a choice among doors marked “Ignore ‘em,” “Repeal it” and “Surrender,” they quite predictably rushed through door no. 3.

By amending the RFRA bill to exclude from its provisions any defense against infringement on religious liberty at the demand of the LGBT community, Republican legislators turned the principle at stake on its head and implicitly conceded what they had previously denied: That the measure as drafted authorized “discrimination” against gays. Having made this concession, they made inevitable the incorporation at the next session of the General Assembly of LGBT as a protected class under the Indiana Civil Rights Act.

Thanks to Senator David Long and Speaker Brian Bosma, the gay lobby ended up the legislative session with the best of both worlds: It won on the substance of the matter immediately at issue, and it was assured success in achieving its ultimate legislative objective but was afforded 12 months to continue agitating the issue to the presumed benefit of the Democratic Party.

Governor Pence is in a tough spot, and it wasn’t social conservatives who put him there. They will, nonetheless, be expected to pay the price for the unforced errors of the governor and Republican legislators. I can hear it now: “Suck it up, conservatives: with your help we can whack 0.05 percent off the marginal tax rate.”

A Long Campaign

by TOM HUSTON

(June 17) — Lots of people seem to think it is inappropriate for unauthorized people to seek the presidency. While they don’t seem to agree on who does the authorizing, Democrats are convinced that too many aspirants are trying to climb aboard what they love to call the Republican clown car, and nervous Republicans

are worried that too many choices are a bad thing except when shopping at Nordstrom Rack.

A brief review of the proceedings of the Republican and Democratic national conventions over the course of a century reveals that a dozen or so candidates trolling for votes at the convention was the norm. As late as 1968, eleven candidates received votes on the first ballot at the convention that nominated Richard Nixon. While only three of them were arguably “serious” candidates, several others believed with good reason that under remote but not impossible circumstances they could be nominated.

As so many traditional practices that have been abandoned in the name of progress, spirited competition among multiple candidates for a presidential nomination is now deemed unseemly. Why this should be so is not clear to me, but likely it is because the public suffers from historic memory fatigue and assumes that what they have experienced in recent years is the way it always has been.

It is the right of every person who believes the presidency is within grasp to throw his or her hat in the ring. It is equally the right of every voter to dismiss a declared presidential candidate as a fraud, charlatan, deluded egotist or money-grubbing misfit. Since no one ought to be under the illusion that politics is a profession for gentlemen (or ladies), the messy, unsavory process by which egos will be deflated, illusions shattered and careers upended should not turn any stomachs or elicit any retching.

I am partial to political brawls, and the more brawlers, the better the brawl. Good government types, on the other hand, are offended by the notion that politics is a blood sport. They would prefer to select candidates by a display of “up twinkles.”

I don’t find the notion of a “serious” candidate for the presidency useful. I have no doubt, for example, that Sen. Lindsay Graham is credentialed, prepared to wage a credible campaign and convinced that he ought to be president. Notwithstanding his seriousness, it is difficult for me to conceive of the circumstances under which he could win the nomination. I have a similar view of the prospects of Huckabee, Perry, Pataki, Kasich and Santorum. Of course, I may be wrong-headed, and one or more of these fellows might make the cut.

The conventional wisdom is to dismiss out of hand the three candidates who have never held public office: Ben Carson, Donald Trump and Carly Fiorina. The last nominee

of this class was Wendell Willkie, the CEO of a public utility company who was nominated at the 1940 Republican national convention. With the exception of military heroes — Taylor, Grant and Eisenhower — the only successful nominee without prior elected experience is Herbert Hoover, the Secretary of Commerce in the Harding and Coolidge cabinets.

In an age in which race, class and gender are defining characteristics for the chirping sect that drives public discussion, the notion that an African-American, female or billionaire could be a viable Republican candidate is not beyond the pale. I dismiss Donald Trump's prospects out of hand, and I am dubious that Dr. Carson will make it to the Iowa caucus. Carly, however, I have pegged as a potential breakout candidate if she can make it into the nationally televised A Team debate.

In the 19th century, the party pros yearned for an "available" candidate, a fellow such as Warren Harding who looked like a president, had no enemies, never expressed an offensive view, adhered to the party orthodoxy and could be relied upon to take care of his friends. The Donor Class has replaced the party bosses in the Republican nominating process, but it is equally as interested in an available candidate as any of the fellows in the smoke-filled room at the Blackstone Hotel who plucked Senator Harding from obscurity.

This cycle, Governor Bush is Mr. Available. Senator Rubio's brush with controversy in the Gang of Eight immigration fight taints his availability, but, in a crunch, that is unlikely to deter the Donor Class from rallying to his support if Jeb is derailed early. Governor Walker, while doubtless acceptable in a crunch, has stirred up too much controversy during his term as governor to fully qualify as available. He is a strong candidate nonetheless.

Senators Cruz and Paul are rock-the-boat candidates who have to be taken seriously but who are fighting the odds in a party that is little inclined post-Reagan to kick up much dust in a political struggle. Each is likely to hang on past the customary sell-by date, but at some point prior to the convention, Rand Paul is going to have to pull the plug on his presidential candidacy and devote himself to holding his Senate seat, which will be contested in 2016.

In the normal course, only two or three of these candidates will still be in the game by the time of the Ohio, Florida, Missouri and Illinois primaries on March 15. Which of the contenders those will be, I haven't the slightest idea.

Although not normally inclined to fantasy, in my gut I have a sense that this race could be more protracted than we anticipate, that it could go all the way to the convention. I wouldn't take that to the bank, but the pieces are in place for a protracted struggle.

Redefining the 'Thin Blue Line'

"In a recent Quinnipiac poll of New York City voters, 61 percent of black respondents said they wanted the police to actively enforce quality-of-life laws in their neighborhood, compared with 59 percent of white voters." —Heather Mac Donald in the June 14 Wall Street Journal

by JOE SQUADRITO

(June 15) — Before we let the media redefine what it means to be a police officer, it would be wise to explore the word's origin. The modern word *police* is based on the French word *policia*. It was the term used by the Romans during their occupation of Western Europe. The meaning, regardless of origin or age, is the same: "the power of the people."

Police then and now were empowered to enforce the rules of society and to protect lives and property. It is important to note that the police were empowered to enforce the rules of the people whom they served and not the rules that police themselves might contrive. If there were no rule or law in a particular case, then there was no violation.

Indeed, throughout the history of policing it has been true that where society is corrupt in one form or another so are the police, and in that order. Today in America, the problem is not corruption as it is found in large parts of the world but allegations of police misconduct in the form of excessive force.

On that point, U.S. police administrators do everything within their means to ensure that only the best applicants are selected for recruit training; it would be counterproductive to do otherwise. Applicants are screened psychologically, academically and physically.

Nationally the statistics vary, but on average only one in every 100 applicants passes the initial set of police examinations.

Joseph M. Squadrito, an adjunct scholar of the foundation, served two terms as Allen County sheriff.



"Throughout the history of policing it has been true that where society is corrupt in one form or another so are the police, and in that order."

— SQUADRITO

BACKGROUNDS

“Not much more than 50 years ago, a historical eye blink, famine still had its way with most of humanity. But nowadays famine is almost exclusively the product of bad governments.”

— IPPEL

There are background investigations and oral interviews, polygraph screening and, of course, months of make-or-break training followed by probationary periods of up to 18 months in some jurisdictions.

In spite of all this, recruiting errors occur and police administrators must deal with them straightaway. Remember that when police officers are recruited, there's only one pool of applicants from whom to draw — the human race with all of its shortcomings.

I spent 12 years as an Inspector of Police in Internal Affairs and can say that neither my superiors nor subordinates would tolerate police misconduct. They dealt with it promptly on all levels. In fact, statistics released in the last decade show that only .1 percent of police officers violate their code of conduct — a better record than clergy and many other professions that must meet the expectations of public trust.

For police officers, that expectation is complicated by the fact that they are the only uniformed representatives of government in a constitutional republic. They are the venting points for society's general and specific grievances. And as a first-responder, the uniformed officer has to deal with chaos and tragedy that in itself subjects him or her to criticism and second guessing.

For almost a year now, we have seen individual police officers criticized for excessive force or overreaction in certain situations. Some of the same critics voice concern over police inaction in other situations.

More citizens are capturing police-involved incidents with their cell-phone cameras, and there are demands that police wear body cameras (a dream come true for both the broadcast media and the defense bar).

Just where will all this take us as a society? Where does the media attention to allegations of racism and a robo-cop mentality merge with reality?

I have no answer. Ultimately, though, you should hope that any new definition of “police,” however complicated by the demands of the job today, is based on an oath to serve the “power of the people.” For how we are policed, and what reforms if any are necessary, is not a determination that should be made in haste or out of political expediency.

Rather, the future of the “thin blue line,” the emblem that President Franklin Roosevelt used to characterize the police and its protective relationship with the citizenry, should be defined by the needs of our society and its

broadest well-being — not the self-serving interests of any one individual or group.

The Obesity ‘Epidemic’

by BRUCE IPPEL

(June 12) — It is called an obesity “epidemic.” Now an epidemic in my profession is something that sneaks up when you're unprepared, when you're minding your own business and wreaks havoc.

So obesity is no more a human epidemic than cars are an automotive epidemic. We did it on purpose. Famine and thinness have been the usual human experience since time began. If your tribe wasn't able to find enough food or didn't have super-efficient metabolism, then the women stopped having periods and the next generation didn't materialize — end of story.

Everyone in your family, office and bingo club is the product of a successful search for food. Not much more than 50 years ago, a historical eye blink, famine still had its way with most of humanity. But nowadays famine is almost exclusively the product of bad governments. What happened?

Imagination and inventiveness happened. They unhinged humans from the rest of life on the planet. Every species goes through boom-and-bust population cycles. The nastier things eat the cuter things until they've eaten most all of them and then the nastier things starve. Whether it's beetles, bacteria or grizzly bears.

Using those God-given uniquely human traits — imagination and inventiveness — we learned how to avoid and kill all manner of beetles, bacteria or bears. We also learned how to better propagate some life forms such as wheat and chickens. And then we ate them — so, slowly, more people; slowly, more inventiveness and imagination. Then we took over the planet and took our place in the boom part of the cycle permanently.

Now the billions of us call inventiveness “science.” We call imagination “marketing.” These uniquely human qualities are insatiable. This plays out providing more than enough bushels of wheat and corn thanks to the science,

Bruce Ippel, M.D., is a solo rural family physician in central Indiana and an adjunct scholar of the foundation. He and his wife of 43 years have 10 children.



and you hook all that to marketing and you get prosperity. Corn can become pasta and whiskey. Wheat becomes croissants and doughnuts. Mix in more science, and marketing it all becomes cheap. Thus the obesity epidemic.

And now our finely tuned science and marketing are working on this so-called epidemic. Perhaps the marketing can find ways to make garbanzo beans and herbal teas outsell hot wings and slushies — I'm not holding my breath.

Finally, in my profession I'm seeing our science try to make your metabolism, which is geared for famines, more like mine, which automatically burns off most all my extra calories. That's something medical science can market. Win-win.

Why This Economist Cans His Own Spinach

by CECIL BOHANON

(June 18) — On June 6, I harvested a bushel basket of spinach and mustard greens planted in early April. Most of the crop was washed, chopped, placed in 10 half-pint Ball jars, and processed for an hour in a pressure canner yielding about two kilograms of cooked greens for future consumption. The rest of the crop went to a spinach salad my wife and I had with dinner.

Economists teach about the benefits of specialization, so isn't an economist who cans his own vegetables schizophrenic? The economist should specialize in producing economic commentary and use the proceeds to buy greens in the market. So why do I can food?

Well, er, because it's cheaper to grow greens than to buy them: The spinach and mustard greens were "free"? But not really. I had to buy the seed, extra soil, soil enhancers, canning jars and lids. Add the time, effort and sweat I put into the soil preparation, the planting, watering, weeding, harvesting, washing, chopping, cooking and processing the greens, and my half-pint jars are likely the most expensive canned greens on the face of the planet.

So should I say I am adopting a philosophy of oneness with the earth, living only on food I produce on my own; I am part of the whole food — local food movement and nothing is more local than your backyard? No, that doesn't work either.

My wife and I dressed our spinach salad with blue cheese, olive oil and balsamic vinegar. These dressings were not harvested from our backyard, but came from exotic and far-off places such as

Wisconsin, Italy and Greece. If we only ate what we produced, our household's caloric intake would decline by 99 percent.

It feels good and wholesome to eat your own lettuce and dine on a free-range chicken bought from a local farmer you know by name (perhaps both the farmer's and the chicken's name). But let's face it — most of us are going to get our food from the mass, impersonal, corporate food-supply chain.

OK, how about this: Food grown in the backyard is better quality than the store-bought stuff. This is going somewhere. Saturday night's home-grown spinach is as fresh as it gets, and any genuine Hoosier can recite the delights of home-grown tomatoes. On the other hand, when a slug slinked out of the backyard lettuce on my plate last summer, my youngest son was not convinced by my defense: "Look, son, extra natural protein!"

So in the final analysis, the backyard vegetable farmer pursues his hobby because he likes it. It probably isn't helping his pocketbook or the planet; it isn't about high ideals or virtue; it's just fun, and that's all it needs to be — no other defense needed even for an economist.

The late Russell Kirk reported that during World War II, the city of Geneva, Switzerland, offered residents individual garden plots in public locations. They were so popular that, after the war, citizens of the city wanted them to continue.

Economist Wilhelm Roepke thought the program was great; economist Ludwig von Mises thought it was a boondoggle. Upon touring the plots, "Von Mises shook his head sadly: 'A very inefficient way of producing foodstuffs,' he lamented. 'Perhaps so,' Roepke replied. 'But perhaps a very efficient way of producing human happiness.'"

The Unconstitutionality Of the Two-Party System

by ANDY HORNING

(June 2) — Nearly all of what we call "issues" — the unraveling economy, a ridiculous healthcare system, rising prices, even militarized police and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria — are just symptoms and side effects of a much worse problem.

It makes all our talk of ideology, libertarian versus authoritarian, or even "left" versus "right," whatever those mean anymore, not just irrelevant but a costly distraction. The problem

"The economist should specialize in producing economic commentary and use the proceeds to buy greens in the market. So why do I can food?"

— BOHANON

“We shouldn’t have parties at all, really. Equality under law is fundamental justice, and mandated by Indiana Constitution’s Article I, Section 23.”

— HORNING

is corruption; we have a crony-network-crime-ring running the nation and much of the world. Here is what can be done about it in three steps:

First, take away the unconstitutional special powers and immunities seized by the private clubs called the Democratic and Republican parties. We shouldn’t have parties at all, really. Equality under law is fundamental justice, and mandated by Indiana Constitution’s Article I, Section 23. So let’s defrock these charlatans and thieves. Let independents and third parties have equal rights to election-related commissions and ballots. End primary elections, which implicitly provide more money, public attention, free advertising and media promotion to only Democrats and Republicans at the actual expense of all alternatives. End the special powers and immunities of precinct committeemen, which only Democratic and Republican parties are allowed to have. In case you think that having written special powers and privileges into Indiana Code make the self-appointed “major” political parties legit, Indiana Constitution’s Article I, Section 25, makes it clear that legislation cannot transgress the constitution. Read it; much like the U.S. Constitution’s Tenth Amendment, it’s the single most important sentence in Indiana Law.

Second, kill central banking. Yes, audit the Federal Reserve Bank system, repudiate unconstitutional/illegal debts and otherwise clean up the mess. Andrew Jackson was right — moneychangers are inherently “a den of vipers and thieves,” and we must rout them out. Sound money is critical to freedom, so ending the accounting tricks and thieving traps of central banks is the single most important step. That’s why it’s constitutionally mandated by the Indiana Constitution’s Article 11, Sections 3 and 7, as well as the U.S. Constitution’s Article I, Section 10. But it’s highly unlikely we’ll be able to address the bankers until we take away their two-party puppet show diversions. Look at the campaign donations from the financial sector, and you’ll see why this is step two.

Third, stand down the Empire. Our fear-aggression syndrome isn’t just costly and destructive, it makes us less secure, less prosperous and certainly less free. Not only have all our wars since WWII been unconstitutional, but the actual design of our military has been unconstitutional since 1903 by the federal constitution’s Article I, Sections 8 and 10; Article II, Section 2; the Second and Fifth Amendments; Indiana’s Article 2, Section 9; and Article 12 (the whole thing). This also

should be done immediately, but it’s unlikely that most people will see just how bad it has become (and how right Dwight Eisenhower was about it) until we unmask this monster by taking away that crony-network-crime-ring. Also, look at the campaign donations from the military-industrialist sector. Look at how no state of sustained warfare can exist without debt-based fiat currency. You’ll see why this is step three.

Joe Biden, proving that even a broken clock is right twice a day, said: “Fighting corruption is not just good governance. It’s self-defense. It’s patriotism.” Very well, let’s make 2016 the year we do that right.

Parties Overwhelmed By New Interest Groups

by **STEPHEN M. KING**

(May 28) — The lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community (LGBT) and its supporters are looking with anticipation to the Supreme Court’s expected favorable ruling on the constitutionality of same-sex marriage sometime in late June. Previous court rulings have danced around the issue of the constitutionality of same-sex marriage. The upcoming ruling is expected to address it directly.

U.S. society and culture are more favorably disposed toward acceptance of same-sex marriage and the gay lifestyle in general. A 2013 Pew survey found nearly 61 percent of Americans are in agreement with the legitimacy of same-sex marriage, compared with only 27 percent 20 years ago. Thirty-six states plus D.C. have legalized same-sex marriage, with many states passing legislation or referenda, and not solely relying on court decrees to institutionalize same-sex marriage. A full 70 percent of the U.S. population lives in areas where same-sex couples are permitted to marry.

Why is this happening? Why is there such a dramatic reversal, even push, for acceptance of same-sex marriage and the homosexual lifestyle in general? The typical responses are: 1) culture drives politics; 2) 21st-century Americans, as opposed to previous generations, are more

Stephen M. King, Ph.D., is a political scientist and adjunct scholar of the foundation who teaches in central Indiana.



tolerant, empathetic and progressive in their thought process, translating into acceptance of non-traditional values and lifestyles; and 3) institutions such as the church and traditional families have less influence in shaping traditional values.

Marco Rubio, Republican presidential candidate, contends that if these cultural trends continue unabated, orthodox Christian teaching will soon be labeled hate speech, and de facto, religious freedom will be stymied. He may be correct. However, I contend there is another reason why we see the sudden rise in support for same-sex marriage and homosexuality: It is because of a breakdown in the political party system and a disproportionate increase in the political power of interest groups.

James Madison and a majority of the Founders were correct in warning against the avarice and divisions of disparate political “factions,” including political parties and interest groups. Modern political scientists such as E. E. Schattschneider, author of the classic *The Semi-Sovereign People*, differ with Madison and contend that the best opportunity for citizen input in the political system is through a well-structured political party as opposed to competing interest groups.

Schattschneider argued that “the outcome of every conflict is determined by the extent to which the audience becomes involved . . .” The wider the scope of the argument — what Schattschneider calls the “socialization of conflict” — the greater the interest of the general public. And since political parties are large-scale organizations, and interest groups are small-scale organizations, Schattschneider concludes that political outcomes that favor the public interest would come through parties, not interest groups.

So, what has happened to Schattschneider’s claim? Like so many social scientists of the 1940s to 1960s “golden era” of political parties, Schattschneider did not anticipate the rapid decline and de-emphasis of political parties, particularly as a political mobilization mechanism. Parties were designed to aggregate interests; interest groups work in the opposite directions — they defuse, devolve and disaggregate political interest, shaping policy to meet specialized factions, as Madison labeled them. Groups are pitted against each other, fighting for scarce resources and even scarcer political support.

Schattschneider knew this, and thus his famous dictum: “The flaw in the pluralist

heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent” was a warning that interest-group politics, unlike political parties, have a narrow scope of influence and, de facto, should be resisted.

Pro-homosexual, pro same-sex marriage advocacy groups, of which there are hundreds in the U.S. alone, are well-heeled organizations, wielding sufficient political influence at both the national and state levels. Organizations such as GLAAD and others have substantial financial resources at their disposal. For example, the 2012 National LGBT Movement Report reports \$158.4 million in giving to LGBT causes; this is an 11 percent increase from 2011.

Some wealthy LGBT-movement donors such as Paul Singer (a hedge-fund CEO who has donated more than \$10 million over the last several years, created the Paul E. Singer Foundation promoting LGBT initiatives and contributed nearly \$2 million to the American Unity PAC) are successfully pushing a radicalized agenda of same-sex marriage and LGBT civil rights.

The goal of the pluralist political game is “win at all costs,” regardless of traditional-issue positions. All policy positions are subject to public opinion, with many public officials more interested in maintaining political power than achieving goals that benefit the whole of society and community.

Political parties today are antiquated organizations that do not have the financial, organizational and goal-oriented wherewithal to compete with the hundreds of thousands of interest groups that form coalitions and networks, that team with public-opinion polls to meet self-seeking private interests as opposed to community-seeking public interests.

So, who was correct: Madison or Schattschneider? My vote is for the Founding Fathers.

Indiana’s Two-Faced Tax System

by TOM HUSTON

(May 19) — Indiana has developed a two-tier tax structure that reflects a political ingenuity that only money could buy and only George F. Babbitt could rationalize (from the book “Babbitt” by Sinclair Lewis). The word *Babbitt* has come to mean a “person and especially a business or professional man who conforms unthinkingly to prevailing middle-class standards.”

“Political parties today are antiquated organizations that do not have the financial, organizational and goal-oriented wherewithal to compete with the hundreds of thousands of interest groups that form coalitions and networks, that team with public-opinion polls to meet self-seeking private interests as opposed to community-seeking public interests.”

— KING

“The whole concept of state-sponsored economic development is a fraud and delusion. If you want to encourage economic development, establish a fair tax and regulatory regime and get out of the way.”

— HUSTON

The first tier is the traditional tax scheme pursuant to which residents pay income, sales, property and other taxes for the purpose of funding state and local governments. The mix of taxes and the relative rates are grounds for legitimate debate, but overall it is a system that inflicts less pain on individuals than is true in most states, and which may or may not (depending on your partisan perspective) enhance economic competitiveness, which Republican legislators define as low corporate tax rates and which is one step above godliness in the Chamber of Commerce scale of values.

The second tier of taxation is what may be defined as a negative tax system, one in which the state pays the taxpayer rather than the taxpayer paying the state. This is not to be confused with the negative tax or guaranteed annual income proposed by Nobel laureate Milton Friedman 60 years ago. What we have here is payola on a scale so vast but so little noted that it receives less attention than the number of beep-outs in a Kanye West concert.

This negative tax system employs handouts, subsidies and payoffs in the form of free land, property tax abatement, tax credits, interest-free loans, tax-increment financing and other legal graft to reward friends, pick winners and undermine free enterprise. The payola is justified as economic development that generates competitiveness that, as every Indiana Chamber of Commerce legislator of the year understands, is one step above godliness. The beneficiaries of these incentives are large corporations, owners of professional sports teams, real-estate developers, political insiders and members of the Lucky Sperm Club who are smart enough to hire the best-connected lobbyists, make the largest political contributions, hand out the most free tickets to sporting events, treat Matt Tully to lunch and dinner, and sponsor fundraisers in a gambling hall that no member of the Indiana legislature has yet figured out is a gambling hall.

Tax grafting by mayors, governors and state legislators grows every year as more little piglets struggle to get on the public teat. Here we see Chamber of Commerce competitiveness in full flower. Competition among the rich to get richer is one of those sausage-making scenes that you don't really want to witness up close, but it is an inevitable part of economic life. Ugly but necessary, we closely regulate the manner in which the butcher goes about making sausage. Although equally ugly, we don't do diddly about politicians skinning the have-nots for the benefit of the haves.

In the beginning, most of these economic-development “incentives” were tied to job creation. A new or expanding business would be awarded tax abatement or other tax benefits based on the promise of creating a specified number of new jobs within a designated period. Often these jobs didn't materialize, but at least the rationale for the program was rooted in some claimed economic benefit to the community. The Rolls-Royce subsidy detailed by the Indianapolis Star on Sunday breaks new ground in that Indiana taxpayers will write a \$17,000,000 check to a British-owned, multi-billion dollar corporation without that corporation pledging to create a single new job in Indiana. On top of this largess, the Ballard administration has awarded millions of dollars in property-tax abatement to Rolls-Royce without any undertaking by the latter to create one new job in Indianapolis. Essentially, Indiana taxpayers are paying Rolls-Royce to continue to do business in the state.

The proponents of these subsidies will insist that they are a reasonable price to pay to keep the jobs that Rolls-Royce presently has in Indianapolis. This is the rope-a-dope standard justification for economic-development spending.

Politicians argue that if government doesn't cave in the face of what is at root extortion, workers will lose their jobs. On the corporate side, it is deemed executive negligence if a CEO doesn't seek to extort from government as much as he/she possibly can. This is a scene out of the Godfather played out every day in county seats across the state.

Barack Obama upped the ante on economic-development spending when he measured the success of his stimulus program not by how many jobs it demonstrably created but by how many jobs it allegedly saved. Hoosier Republicans from Gov. Mike Pence to Mayor Jim Brainard have latched on to this policy of economic make-believe and have backed it up with other people's tax dollars.

How do you decide whom ought to be paid by taxpayers in gratitude for their willingness to employ Indiana workers? How do you decide how much they should be paid? Ed Peace, Rolls-Royce lobbyist and former member of Congress from Indiana's old 7th District, bids \$20,000,000; Brandt Hershman, chairman of the Senate Tax and Fiscal Policy Committee, makes a counteroffer at \$15,000,000; and the House sponsor suggests a compromise

at \$17,000,000? Why not \$10,000,000 or \$30,000,000? Why Rolls-Royce and not a dozen Indiana-based manufacturers that, in the aggregate, will this year invest millions in new equipment and continue to employ thousands of Indiana residents?

There is simply no objective, rational economic basis for making these sorts of decisions, so they are all ultimately political decisions. Politics is what feeds the beast of lobbyists, political consultants, fundraisers and hangers-on. That is what drives legislators to favor this interest over that one. It is what justifies trade missions paid by private interests that consist of insiders taking their spouses on a fun trip to China. The whole concept of state-sponsored economic development is a fraud and delusion. If you want to encourage economic development, establish a fair tax and regulatory regime and get out of the way.

Pain Medicine and 'Book Covers'

by **BRUCE IPPEL**

(May 15) — The word “can’t” in the catchphrase “you can’t tell a book by its cover” not only can mean beyond difficult but also illegal or nearly so — at least here in these Newnited States where it’s now called profiling and is prohibited.

For example, even though the sex industry is illegal most places, a seductively dressed gal struttin’ her stuff on certain street corners is not to be arrested or even questioned as a prostitute — or being female for that matter. S/he, until proved otherwise, is just looking to meet new friends.

But you may encounter profiling that is not only encouraged it’s often mandated — my patients, for example. I’m a family doc, and I have learned that you really can’t tell a book by its cover. I have a number of honorable, law-abiding, pleasant patients who look like scumbags. Some also talk like scumbags, but when you get to know them and what makes them tick . . . well, their good stuff is an open book.

Still, I live in the real world. I’ve learned that most people who look and act like scumbags fit the profile; they are scumbags. My office usually bows out of doctoring them pretty quickly. I’ve been blessed with a nearly clairvoyant staff.

But my patient lookalikes, they’re at risk — at the pharmacy. And it’s not the pharmacist’s fault, it’s all our fault for voting in lawmakers

who think we can control behaviors by making them illegal. (I’m pretty sure God knew the Ten Commandments weren’t going to keep the Israelites from screwing up.)

A quarter century ago, we docs were loath to treat chronic pain with the strong stuff. It was a slippery slope; drug addicts easily hid among the real patients. Then government made a law requiring us to give whatever it takes to slake the severe pain of any and every likely patient . . . or get your hind end sued off.

It created a toxic situation. Up sprung the first generation of pain clinics — real pain clinics doing good. Now, though, the medical policing boards, never strict, have their hands tied when a bad apple shows up giving too many Oxy’s to too many “patients.” There’s no meter for pain like there is for sugar. Treat bad pain or else. It’s the law.

The lawyers, to give left-handed praise, keep our food supply, cars and recreational equipment safer than anywhere in the world by suing any company foolish enough to make something not as safe as humanly possible. But they have an uphill climb making any case against the medical industry’s bad apples because of that law.

Re-enter profiling. Rather than fix a bad law (I have suggestions), our elected officials add another layer of bureaucracy.

Now it’s the pharmacist’s turn. Our government punishes the drugstore chains for not second-guessing the doctors — sort of like if you go to the corner station to gas up and they refuse because you gas up too often or your car isn’t clean enough. You can get refused at the pharmacy window with a valid Rx and cash money for similar judgments by the store’s pharmacy tech. It’s called “due diligence.”

For any prudent business must protect itself by exercising such due diligence. Here in Indiana, the pharm-tech can lose his job if he fills Rx’s for people who might fit the wrong profile. You might not get your legitimate pain or other medicine if anything about it or you is “suspicious.” The definition depends on who is at the window.

I tell these patients to cool down and go to a different pharmacy on a different day. Next time they show up at that window, they should try to look more like Tom Sawyer than Fifty Shades of Grey.

For-Profit and State-Run Outfits

by **CECIL BOHANON**

(May 11) — A simple insight I teach introductory economics students is that for-profit firms strive to maximize profit. What is

“Our government punishes the drugstore chains for not second-guessing the doctors — sort of like if you go to the corner station to gas up and they refuse because you gas up too often or your car isn’t clean enough.”

— IPPEL

“One is reminded of the Soviet nail factory directed to produce one ton of nails that produced a single, very large one-ton nail.”

— BOHANON

more important, however, is that all for-profit firms, from a roadside taco stand to the largest company, receives constant feedback as to how they are doing through the metric of profits and losses. Economic losses send a clear signal that the firm is doing something wrong and gives it an incentive to change. Economic profits send a clear signal that the firm is doing something right.

Is this system perfect? Of course not. Signals can be misread. Lots of firms incur losses before they become profitable. Today's profits can quickly erode because of changing conditions. And of course, profits can be obtained illegally, fraudulently, unethically or by cajoling government to rig the market. Nevertheless, profits are a powerful tool keeping a firm focused and are a pretty clear signal of how well the firm is doing.

A major problem in public enterprises is there are no equivalent signals to profits and losses. Let us examine an area of intense public interests and scrutiny: higher education. Over the last decade, the main funder of public universities, state legislators, have demanded more accountability from the ivory tower. This demand for accountability has emerged for a host of reasons that are for the most part valid. The goal is to generate “better educational outcomes.”

But what exactly does that mean? What metric shall be used to measure “better?” What have emerged are two: the 4-year graduation rates of students and the number of science graduates. In Indiana, a large component of state funding rests on an institution's “success” on these margins. Yet everyone knows there is much more to higher education than getting through in four years and being a science major. At best, this is an imprecise and clumsy metric of success.

Go back to a for-profit firm: If the new Apple gizmo works better in a way that is pleasing to its customers, the gizmos fly off the shelf and Apple's profits rise. If Apple can find a less costly way of producing its gizmos while maintaining its quality, Apple's profits rise. In any firm, there are hundreds of margins for improvements in product quality and hundreds of potential margins for cost reductions. For-profit firms are constantly seeking out those margins. Increased profits are an indication that the right ones have been chosen, whereas declining profits or outright losses are an indication of the opposite.

In publicly funded enterprises, the process is very different. A government agency thinks up margins of improvement, which chooses the ones that can be measured. The public enterprise is rewarded by how well it performs

on those margins. However, because there is no profit mechanism in place, how does anyone know whether the chosen margins are the best measures of success, poor measures of success or wrong measures of success? One is reminded of the Soviet nail factory directed to produce one ton of nails that produced a single, very large one-ton nail. Why not direct all faculty members to pass all students independent of performance and insert some ersatz science component in all courses?

Of course, the response of both bureaucrats and administrators is that we need more detailed metrics, more studies (state funded of course) and a better-managed process. Yet a more complex formula is likely to become unmanageable, will open more ways to game the system and generate more unanticipated consequences. It will produce more one-ton nails.

There is simply no good way out of the problem — it is an inherent problem in any not-for-profit enterprise. Most all of us agree that many socially useful enterprises cannot or should not be run for profit. The argument above is more an observation than a critique. The simple fact is the information given by profits can't be given if there are no profits.

A Simple Guide To Presidential Politics

by CECIL BOHANON

(April 27) — The 2016 presidential race is anybody's guess. Hillary Clinton is the Democratic front-runner as of now. There is no clear front-runner among the Republicans. In fact, no prospective Republican candidate polls more than 20 percent among GOP voters. Although my crystal ball is cloudy, I think a simple observation about the American electorate coupled with a bit of history give us some insight as to where the race may be going.

About one quarter of the American electorate can be described as Barry Goldwater conservatives and about the same proportion as George McGovern progressives. These voters are ideological, adamant in their viewpoint, often quite engaged in the political process and, barring an act of God, unwilling to change how they vote. This isn't a criticism, just an observation.

The remaining half of the voting population splits between those voters who are truly independent middle-of-the-road voters — or wishy-washy wimps if you want to put a mean spin on it — and those who lean to the right and those who lean to the left. The left-leaners might be described as Clinton Democrats, while the

right-leaners are Bush Republicans. Although members of both groups usually vote as expected, some leaners can be persuaded to vote for the other side, while the true independent middle-of-the-roaders are always up for grabs.

These are some indisputable facts: Goldwater and McGovern lost while Bush and Clinton won. Moreover, Goldwater and McGovern didn't just lose; they were pounded. On the other hand, Bush I and Bush II won three out of four presidential elections while Bill Clinton won twice, although their wins were by no means landslides. This history seems to imply that only a centrist can win, although their margins are usually unimpressive.

But there are two significant outliers. In 1980, Ronald Reagan — a Goldwater conservative — beat Jimmy Carter by a comfortable margin in both the popular vote and the Electoral College, and trounced Walter Mondale in 1984 in both votes.

So it seems to me that the cards will fall one of two ways. If there is no major foreign-policy crisis and the economy shows slow improvement in the next 12-15 months, it will be a Clinton-Bush race of "centrists." Who wins depends upon whose "baggage" is worse and whether the McGovernites and Goldwaterites can be persuaded to support the middle-of-the-road nominees from their respective parties. On the other hand, if a major economic or foreign-policy crisis occurs or appears to be imminent, then there is a good chance we could see something like an Elizabeth Warren-Ben Carson race. The side that wins will be the one that has the most success in persuading the centrist voters that their opponent is a nut-job wacko. Stay tuned — this is going to be fun.

Adam Smith on RFRA's

by CECIL BOHANON

(April 13) — Travel back to 1956 to a professional meeting of psychiatrists. Most in the group are smoking cigarettes, thinking nothing of it. Most also agree that homosexuality is a mental disorder. Fast forward to 2015 to a similar group. No one dares light up a cigarette and the overwhelming majority thinks being gay is not a disorder and are appalled by the suggestion that it is.

Yes, how times and social mores change. And just so you know — I don't think being gay or a smoker is a mental disorder — but that is not my focus. The issue I'd like to raise is — why do people of all perspectives seem to go absolutely bat-guano bonkers over all this? My favorite philosopher, Adam Smith, gives some insights.

In *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith argues that humans keenly desire the approval of others and as adamantly do not want the disapproval of others. This all works pretty well when everyone is on the same page as to what is right and wrong. But what about when people disagree about what is right and wrong action?

Smith tells us "unmerited reproach" is "very severely mortifying": This is 18th-century language that if A condemns B's actions and B does not think B is doing anything wrong, B is going to be outraged, understandably so. Moreover, Smith tells us "... if you have ... no indignation at the injuries I have suffered ... we become intolerable to one another;" this means that if you, third party C, do not confirm that B is in the right, she is going to defriend you on Facebook. The whole thing gets nasty.

Who are A and B? A is the religious conservative who believes gay marriage is sinful and refuses to bake a cake for a gay wedding — and B is a gay person who is about to get married to her partner. Or the identities can be reversed with no damage to the point: sparks are going to fly between A and B and most everyone around them.

I suspect the heated rhetoric about this issue will not subside and will continue for quite a while. Like the abortion issue in which both sides make claims to the moral high ground, there is little room for conciliation. When each side thinks the other is wicked, tolerance is difficult.

But there are some voices of reason and generosity. Gay Californian Courtney Hoffman donated \$20 to Memories Pizza, the small-town pizzeria "outed" by an ambitious television news-team into confessing it would not cater a gay wedding. Ms. Hoffman and her partner operate a small kettle-corn stand, "and if they were asked to set up at an anti-gay marriage rally, they would have to decline." In the post that accompanied her gift she stated, "As a member of the gay community, I would like to apologize for the mean-spirited attacks on you ... I know many gay individuals who fully support your right to stand up for your beliefs and run your business according to those beliefs."

It is also a hopeful sign that many of the conservative Christians who oppose gay marriage are also condemning the hate that often comes from their side of the aisle.

Many conservatives are recalling that the iconic and beloved Christian writer C.S. Lewis married a divorced woman against the canons of the Anglican Church of his time. Quite a sin on his part; oh, but that was in 1956. Is marrying a divorced woman a sin today? Not so much now. How things can change.

"About one quarter of the American electorate can be described as Barry Goldwater conservatives and about the same proportion as George McGovern progressives."

— BOHANON

THE SOUTH WALL

A grumpy review of the post-modern media.



The idea that by erasing historic memory and reimagining the past you affirm your commitment to equality is impeccable logic if you are a self-righteous, pandering wuss.

The Left's Hatchets Have Grown Dull

(July 24) — Among the higher form of journalism found at *the Huffington Post* is a hatchet job on Donald Trump by Olivia Nuzzi, a former intern for Anthony Weiner who gained fame two years ago by rewarding her employer with a pompous and self-serving expose of his New York mayoral campaign operation, whereupon Weiner's communications director denounced the twenty-something Nuzzi as (among other less reputable things) a "slutbag."

Consistent with her reputation, Ms. Nuzzi dredges up the ghost of Roy Cohn to explain Trump's intemperate disposition and conjures in her imagination all sorts of theories and suppositions which, as one should expect of her class of journalists, are passed off as facts and assertions.

Trump can take care of himself, but if this is the best the scandal mongering Left can do, he doesn't have a whole lot to worry about. — *tch*

The Not-So-Illustrious Star

(July 12) — There are 11 stories in the 30-page "A" section of *the Sunday Star* today that are arguably "hard" news. Only four of those stories were written by *Star* reporters. The newspaper is little more than a shoppers weekly with some news fill, some soft lifestyle pieces and a lot of left-wing opinion. — *tch*

Gen. Lee Down The Memory Hole

(June 29) — In a recent column, David Brooks of *the New York Times* called for the name of Robert E. Lee to be stripped from schools, highways, bridges and other monuments and memorials except for those, such as Washington and Lee University, which are clearly related to his post-war activity.

The idea is that by erasing historic memory and reimagining the past, you affirm your commitment to equality and your opposition to racial discrimination. The logic is impeccable if you are a self-righteous, pandering wuss, but there are simpler remedies for the problem Brooks has identified that don't require us to

change letterheads, redo maps and cram history down the memory hole.

Liberals are remarkably good at playing pretend. If you can believe a woman has a penis, then you can believe just about

anything, so why shouldn't they pretend that the only Lee that anyone ever had an intention to honor is the Lee who, old, tired and without property or means, served as headmaster of a down-on-its-luck college in the Shenandoah Valley? In the meantime, normal people — those who are capable of a nuanced view of history — can go about life in the ordinary course and, as occasion may demand, accord the general such degree of respect or admiration (or contempt and disparagement) as they believe is justified by the principles they hold dear.

It is not clear to me why Brooks singles out General Lee for special treatment. He has historically been a more sympathetic figure than, say, Jefferson Davis or Nathan Bedford Forrest, both of whom have their names upon a number of buildings, roadways and monuments around the country. Lee was merely one of hundreds of regular army officers who resigned their commissions and took up service in the Confederate Army. Of the thousands of men who, according to Brooks, qualified for the gallows, only former president Jefferson Davis refused to seek a post-war pardon and take the required loyalty oath. Notwithstanding his stubborn pride, in 1978 his citizenship was restored by special act of Congress. The restoration measure was sponsored by Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield and signed into law by Georgia's Jimmy Carter, neither of whom was known to be a Lost Cause romantic.

I have yet to see Brooks or any of his like-minded Jacobins explain why a triumphant Union enraged by the assassination of its president and with the South prostrate and at its mercy did not remand to trial, let alone convict, a single rebel for treason. Neither Lee nor any of the other ranking military officers of the Confederacy were detained or subjected to legal process. Only Davis was singled out for punishment. He was jailed at Fort Monroe until bailed in 1867 upon \$100,000 bond furnished by Horace Greeley, Commodore Vanderbilt and other Yankee bondsmen. Indicted in March

of 1868, the case against him was abandoned by the federal government and a general amnesty issued in December of that year. The Republicans did not wish to put the question of the constitutionality of secession to a jury and, following adoption of the 14th Amendment, the troublesome issue of double jeopardy was raised in Davis' defense.

What we have witnessed in the past week is a second-guessing of the appropriate response to the triggering of a civil war. Those most intimately involved determined for reasons that seemed compelling to them that no useful public purpose would be served by criminalizing what was a political act. The issues most clearly in contention – the right of secession and the right to hold slaves – were settled by military action. Thus settled, the better course was thought to be reconciliation, not retribution.

Brooks and his ilk seek a judgment of Lee and of the South that a victorious Union, at the time when a decision mattered, was unwilling to render. The neo-Maoist Cultural Revolution the Left is churning up in the name of equality is not likely to produce any beneficent results. It not only distorts but rebukes history. It is better that the Left exercise its right to pretend and leave the rest of us alone. — *tch*

A Parade for Our Times

(June 25) — The record-breaking two-and-a-half-hour Cadillac Barbie IN Pride Parade last week was a great success. Aside from the visual interest, it signaled that a new culture had arrived, the old one having been redefined to a point of irrelevance.

Progress, you say, down with bigotry!

OK, but let's reflect in passing. The event was given above-the-fold coverage by the "Equality Matters" reporter of *the Indianapolis Star*, which in itself tells you a lot, *i.e.*, newspapers are now creating desk titles from parade banners.

Whatever, parades are no small matter — anything but. Originally meant to demonstrate military power, they have evolved into grandiose, sometimes raucous and always colorful celebrations of what a community believes at its heart, what makes it happy, what it wants respected, honored. Parades are meant to be meaningful. That's why you need a permit.

What about the meaning of the Indianapolis parade? Did it have to do with same-sex marriage and such? Or was it a demonstration of the power of a new culture to transform what we consider — dare it be said — wholesome? If so, the parade served notice of this power, a power to be ignored on penalty of ostracism or worse.

Decades ago, when this cultural revolution was nascent, southern agrarian Donald

Davidson addressed it in his essay "Some Day, in Old Charleston." In his case, too, it was a parade that inspired reappraisal.

The attention of Davidson, writing in 1957, was drawn to a drum major parading through Old Charleston leading the marching band of the new suburban high school. He noted that the position once was purely functional, keeping drill time for military columns so that movements could be executed precisely. The drum major before him, of course, was something else entirely:

An occasion (the parade) has been exploited for purposes that will not bear examination. The drum major has turned into a follies girl, a bathing beauty, a strip-tease dancer. The baton, once used to give commands to the band, becomes the ornament by which the drum majorette attracts attention to her charms. The band, less and less important, gets along the best it can and becomes, in fact, a jazz orchestra accompanying the drum majorette's dance. . . . But it is not the bare flesh of drum majorettes in their quasi-march that per se is immoral. It is the misuse of the ceremony of gallantry, implied in all march music, that is immoral in itself and that is symptomatic of a deeper immorality.

When cultural definitions change so markedly, Davidson expected us to be curious enough to ask what was happening — really happening. He warned that communities accepting without question a "perversion of the beautiful" were in a state of disequilibrium that made them dangerous.

Granted, that is a leap from a seemingly joyous parade on a fine June day in Indiana. Nonetheless, you are invited to follow his thinking and apply his question to our situation: Could the implications of our own parade, and the influence implied by the participation of so many of our largest corporations (200 marchers from Eli Lilly and Company alone), portend social and political turmoil for Indiana?

First, if there is danger projected by the Cadillac Barbie IN Pride Parade it is unlikely to be limited to one institution, *e.g.*, traditional marriage. The excitement over same-sex marriage is secondary. Rather, the danger that some see is this cultural wave that will swamp all institutions in its path.

At which we are reminded that a constitution is a mere institution, one of the more fragile features of organized human society. And can we trust a judiciary, also the subject of cultural pressures, to stop those who would rewrite the oaths taken by our judges, our police officers, our prosecutors? Rewrite them in ways that erode a thousand-year legacy of individual liberty? Can you spell *King vs. Burwell*? *Obergefell vs. Hodges*?

A final example: This last week the arbiters of the new culture grew strong enough to declare

"The drum major has turned into a follies girl, a bathing beauty, a strip-tease dancer. The baton, once used to give commands to the band, becomes the ornament by which the drum majorette attracts attention to her charms. The band, less and less important, gets along the best it can and becomes, in fact, a jazz orchestra accompanying the drum majorette's dance."

— Donald Davidson

THE SOUTH WALL

There is a sophisticated marketing tool, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, that can measure the long-marked tendency of survey respondents to answer questions in a way that will be viewed favorably by others.

anathema the historic banner of the Army of Northern Virginia, arguably nothing more than a regional identifier in recent times. It won't be seen flying in any more parades.

More progress, you say, down with racism!

How, though, should we treat other flags?

To what is it proper to pledge allegiance now?

The American flag? It, too, has a history that

offends many, and for hundreds of reasons. And

this is a good place to end — with a thought too

pathetic to contemplate further. — tcl

Walter Mitty Polls the Governor

"Quiet, man!" said Mitty, in a low, cool voice.

He sprang to the machine, which was now going

pocketa-pocketa-queep-pocketa-queep. He began

fingering delicately a row of glistening dials. 'Give

me a fountain pen!' he snapped. — "The Secret

Life of Walter Mitty" by James Thurber in the

March 18, 1939, New Yorker

(June 19) — Walter Mitty is alive and well editing *the Indianapolis Star*. This week — in his head — he launched a daring multi-faceted preemptive raid on enemy forces within the governor's staff, all in the nick of time, on the day before the governor began his reelection campaign.

First came *the Star* news desk's embrace of opinion surveys from a political journalist and an opponent of the governor. The governor is not only unpopular, the pollster informs us, but we know exactly why: He is lackadaisical in pursuing expanded rights for lesbians, gays and transgenderists. In alerting the governor in time to change his course, *the Star* — in its own mind — saves the day.

Ta-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa.

Next came artillery strikes in the form of an analysis piece and an opinion column asking questions of the when-did-you-quit-beating-your-wife variety: 1) "How Can the Governor Save Himself" and 2) "How Will the Governor Respond to Polls Showing Ongoing Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) Fallout?"

Ta-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa.

The editors — at least in their own minds — are single-handedly rescuing Indiana and the governorship from a fall on the wrong side of history. Again, it was all quite admirable and all quite imaginary. It might as well have been concocted driving Mrs. Mitty to her appointment at the hairdresser.

Even so, hints of real life could be glimpsed through the gauze of self-aggrandizement. A voice is heard asking whether the opinion survey took into account a "social desirability bias." Measuring views on public policy affecting unknown individuals of private

sexual dispositions would seem to be a tricky business for journalists. People avoid appearing judgmental even anonymously over the phone.

There is a sophisticated marketing tool, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, that can measure this long-marked tendency of survey respondents to answer questions in a way that will be viewed favorably by others. The bias takes the form of over-reporting "good" responses and under-reporting "undesirable" ones.

It would be interesting to know, then, given the spin of recent news coverage, how an opinion survey asking Hoosiers anything about the RFRA would score on the scale. A better gauge of true public opinion might be how many Hoosier politicians are printing bumper stickers in sync with the newspaper's agenda.

Not many? Perhaps candidates are reading other opinion surveys, those advising caution in reordering the structure of a 240-year-old constitutional republic.

Most troublesome to some of us is that a monopoly newspaper would try to push its readers and ultimately the governor into a critical, irreversible policy position using dubious opinion samples rather than an actual public discussion. Here is *the Star* editor in his best shame-on-you voice:

Passage by the General Assembly and a signature by the governor to add legal protections for sexual orientation and gender identity are the only actions at this point that can repair the political damage.

Can Pence get there? It won't be easy for him, and for some of those around him. Still, for a leader who has repeatedly and adamantly said that he abhors discrimination, it ultimately should be an acceptable step, intellectually and emotionally.

Acceptable, perhaps, if the governor is living in a dream world of politically crafted polls and journalistic flimflam.

Ta-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa BAM.

That would be the sound of *the Star* hitting a wall of accountability. — tcl

Goodbye *Indy Star*, et al.

"Even though I made (donations to the Clinton Global Foundation) strictly to support work done to stop the spread of AIDS, help children and protect the environment in poor countries, I should have gone the extra mile to avoid even the appearance of a conflict." — George Stephanopoulos on "Good Morning America"

(May 26) — It is obvious to the fully awake that they can no longer depend on the national media to keep them informed or even to tell

the truth. And it is not simple bias, although that certainly is a feature.

For it is prescience, not point of view, that is the coin of an information system. It is what builds reader trust. It is the *raison d'être* of a free press. Big Journalism forgets that.

Here in Indiana, Matt Tully and *the Indianapolis Star* are intent on running this governor out of the state — on a rail, if possible.

OK, fair enough, the Fourth Estate and all that. What troubles me is that the editors don't challenge the governor point by point. Rather, the technique is to draw a line through the field of issues, call it "history" and declare the governor on the wrong side of it.

Newspapers once discouraged such a cavalier approach. I witnessed the firing of a 30-year veteran for introducing Bob Dole as his "friend." And at the next desk, the field-and-stream columnist was shown the door for mentioning in print (per remuneration) that he drove a Ford Ranger. Reader trust was thought that important.

No more. Veteran columnist Cal Thomas makes the point in regard to a recent Gallup finding that confidence in the media's ability to report the news fully, accurately and fairly is at an all-time low:

The major networks (and newspapers) don't seem to care; they plod on as though they have no problem, blaming cable news and other factors for their ratings decline. No other business treats its customers and potential customers this way.

The Star's customers have had recourse for some time; that is, their personal computers are equipped with Internet software. They allow you to be your own publisher, hiring and firing editors and reporters as information values dictate. Your news desks are Twitter, MailChimp, YouTube, Facebook and a host of blogs and web sites, all with features that alert you to postings by certain reporters on certain subjects in certain geographic regions and at the time of your choosing.

This is more than high-tech fun and games. Even now in an immature form, the Internet constitutes the most predictive power since Martin Luther printed his first pamphlets. There never has been so much tailored information available at the touch of a finger — and it can be updated, compared and assessed immediately without the clatter of Teletype.

Soon, a new generation of Hearsts, McCormicks and Pulitzers will create the audience loyalty to attract strong advertising bases. They will be able to staff comprehensive newsrooms, even foreign bureaus. We have yet to see what competitive, Internet-equipped information systems look like.

Meanwhile, we are learning to trust even our personal, ad hoc media configurations, much of which can be organized on our phone or even watch. They keep us ahead of events and thwart those who would manipulate us. And it is free — unless of course the government takes it over.

Which, interestingly, doesn't seem to trouble journalists of the Tully and Stephanopoulos stripe. But who needs them? — *tcl*

The Star Saves the Governor

"Ultimately the question Pence needs to answer: Is he willing to do what it takes to push himself to be bolder, to be more inclusive, to build bridges with people who have different world views, to show passion for the state and for the people he serves?" — Tim Swarens, editorial page editor of the Indianapolis Star

(May 13) — With an *Indianapolis Star* columnist openly advising him on how to save his career, the governor is in a miserable place indeed.

Do we need a word picture of just how miserable? He is standing in black high-top Chucks listening to a pot-bellied Red Auerbach demonstrate the Rick Perry method of shooting underhand free throws.

For if the governor has made mistakes, he at least knows now that American politics is shifting. He understands — perhaps better than anyone in Indiana — that the past may not be prologue. The editors of *the Star*, locked in a 1970s dream world, are oblivious to all that.

At a time when the polls are measuring utter disgust with expanding, ever-more-intrusive government, the state's largest newspaper thinks it has its finger on the governor's problem: He's "too timid," *the Star's* Tim Swarens criticizes; he isn't expanding and intruding enough.

Thank goodness the governor is planning a trade mission (wink-wink) to China and will be well beyond *the Star's* circulation area. Otherwise, in his doldrums he might be tempted to take up Swarens' recommendation to make his number-one priority a truly aggressive, Hegelian preschool program.

"The bottom line is that all families want what is best for their children," Swarens approvingly quotes one of his experts, "and what is in the best interests of their children is also in the best interest of our city's economic and social well-being."

Well yes, and a good thing, or would we have to change what we think is best for our children? What parents freely choose as "best" is one thing, and what Swarens formulates as

Even now in an immature form, the Internet constitutes the most predictive power since Martin Luther printed his first pamphlets.

No matter how much Matt Tully might wring his hands and wrench his heart, mothers and fathers (or their freely and carefully chosen surrogates) teach 3- and 4-year-olds what they need to know about life — or not.

a last-resort, subsidized, government-heavy daycare system is another.

The Star's Matt Tully is not put off by such reactionary talk. He has declared Mayor Greg Ballard's preschool plan a success in Indianapolis. How does he know that already, with the start date months away? Let our Tom Huston, with tongue in cheek, explain:

"I am amazed that thousands of families have applied for free babysitting services from the city of Indianapolis. No wonder Tully declares the program a resounding success before the first child is dropped off at the daycare door. If Ballard offered free housing and a Mustang in every garage he would have another successful program to his credit."

Tully mistakes as a social-engineering triumph that more than 5,000 low-income families have applied to someone called the Indianapolis Deputy of Education for scholarships to take care of their children. It in fact would be a triumph if this deputy, whose office you can presume is near the deputy charged with fixing our potholes, could be trusted with such a delicate task as jump-starting our children's lives.

There is a stack of discouraging research collected by our foundation on this point, but let's leave it at this:

A properly high-minded, politically correct, government-designed preschool is more likely to insist that its charges use wooden spoons (because "most of the world uses wooden spoons") than instill that which makes preschool valuable, *i.e.*, the self-discipline and social skills that allow our children to grow into valued, independent and happy members of society.

For no matter how much we wring our hands and wrench our hearts, mothers and fathers (or their freely and carefully chosen surrogates) teach 3- and 4-year-olds what they need to know about life — or not.

And if the governor is taking advice on how to "save his career," he should take that simple observation and run with it, not an empty promise of another silly government program. — *tcl*

No 'Indiana Mandate' For Gregg or Pence?

"If a book can lead a state out of the wilderness, this is it." — *Lead editorial in the May 14, 1992, Indianapolis Star*

"By increasing K-12 appropriations by \$474 million, the 2015 budget contains the largest increase in K-12 education in the state's history." — *press release, April 30, 2015, from the Indiana House of Representatives Republican caucus, part of a historic supermajority*

(May 1) — The last time John Gregg launched a campaign for governor, he tried to introduce a *Roorback*, that is, a book damaging to the reputation of a political opponent, in his case Mike Pence. It was a tried-and-true tactic dating back to James K. Polk. It should have worked.

The Indianapolis Star accepted Gregg's depiction of the book as "extreme." The Pence staff (a skittish bunch, as we learned this week) admitted that their candidate contributed to the work, however nominally, but disavowed it in gestalt. So far so good.

A *Roorback*, though, doesn't work well unless it falsely characterizes. And unfortunately for Gregg, the 1992 book was readily available, registered in the Library of Congress under the title, "An Indiana Mandate," there on the shelf for all of its supposed extremism to be reviewed and compared.

Those few journalists who looked it up found mainly essays on policy and economics by accredited authors, many holding doctorates in the subject matters addressed — boring stuff, by campaign standards.

It was remembered that Gregg had written a note only a few days after the book's release expressing thanks for his gift copy. And it turned out that *the Star* at about the same time had praised the book in an above-the-fold editorial (*reprinted on the following page*). The extremist tag was not sticking.

The Gregg people shifted to more effective tactics, employing a brilliant television campaign ending with Gregg shaking his head in dismay to deliver a folksy, ego-pricking dismissal: "Mike Pence, God love 'im."

Partly as a result, Gregg did better than most expected against a Republican opponent in a Republican state riding the coattails of a popular Republican incumbent.

This next campaign, though, before the fur begins to fly, begs a few questions: 1) Does Gregg plan to run against an updated "Indiana Mandate" in a post-Obama America; and 2) on the other side, would the governor's prospects be more sure had his administration given the original mandate's recommendations a higher priority?

To inform your answers, here are excerpts from that long-ago work:

Repeal the Collective Bargaining Act — The state as employer has a fiduciary duty to provide fair pay and working conditions and to respond fairly to grievances. Public-sector collective bargaining, however, holds the taxpayers and dissenting employees hostage for the benefit of unions and their favored politicians.

Reject Crony Capitalism — Gone (from Indianapolis's \$630-million economic-development contract with the now defunct United Airlines hub) was any reference to a minimum-average salary. In fact, gone was any promise to Mayor William Hudnutt that, in return for the city's contribution, the facility would employ any specific numbers. Instead, United could count any net new employees anywhere in the state, plus any "ancillary" employees who might be employed by a new business even vaguely connected with United.

Require a Supermajority to Call a Short Session — The legislature's "short" session was sold to the public with the idea that it would be used only to consider matters of emergency. Since its passage, each short session has considered hundreds of bills, almost none of them emergencies. Legislators have used the session to do what voters expressly asked them to avoid — expand government unnecessarily.

Ensure School Choice — Give any Hoosier parent a voucher — or better, a tax credit — that

they can cash in at any school anywhere in the state. Such "backpack" funding would let the market reward those teachers and principals and schools who know how to teach.

Enact Tort Reform — Indiana tort law provides only incentive, never penalty, for frivolous litigation. The resultant cost in nonproductive human energy, not to mention higher overhead and increased insurance premiums, is incalculable. Let's require losing plaintiffs of civil lawsuits to pay the costs incurred by the unjustly accused defendant.

Dignify Work and Self-Determination — Welfare assistance, especially as it affects able-bodied adult men, creates a subculture of dependence that destroys each generation born into it. Legislation should recognize that it is in the recipient's own interest that government aid not be allowed to be more than a respite from even the most grievous misfortune and disadvantage. Achievement within human society requires by definition overcoming obstacles, some unfair and others unavoidable. — *tcl*

A Roorback doesn't work well unless it falsely characterizes. And unfortunately for Gregg, our 1992 book was readily available, registered in the Library of Congress, there on the shelf for all of its supposed extremism to be reviewed.

'Indiana: An Escape Route'

If a book can lead a state out of the wilderness, this may be it.

It is *Indiana Mandate: an Agenda for the 1990s*, issued this week by the Indiana Policy Review Foundation. Its editor is right when he suggests that the new paperback is loaded with facts and ideas that threaten the status quo.

Samples:

- 'Less than 30 percent of the money spent in our largest school systems ever makes it to the classroom.'
- 'Forty percent of the case files reaching a sentencing judge do not include a complete criminal record.'
- 'Experts predict that the state will have to raise an extra \$450 million next year at a cost of 60,000 Hoosier jobs.'
- 'High-paid executives routinely receive over \$4,000 a year in tax subsidies toward the purchase of health insurance.'
- 'Why doesn't the minimum wage help those in whose name it is defended — our young, untrained inner-city youth?'

The pocket-sized, 150-page book contains tough iconoclastic and highly informative writing by J. Patrick Rooney, Dr. Chad Davis, Douglas Kmiec of Notre Dame and other experts who discuss the press, leadership, the major parties, term limitation, regulation, abortion, lobbying, bureaucracy, the litigation explosion, current policies on taxation, the state budget, education, conservation, welfare, government-run versus privatized services, employment, private property, special interests and other vital topics. Each chapter ends with a list of suggested reading.

Indiana's major political parties 'are virtually bankrupt of new ideas,' said Mike Pence, former Republican candidate for Congress and president of the foundation, a non-profit research organization established in 1989, which advocates, as Pence puts it, 'a free market and traditional values.' . . . *Indiana Mandate* is likely to make a lot of people angry. It is certain to make a lot of people think, which is the point. That can spark debate which, if things go well, can produce healthy change.

— *Lead editorial, the Indianapolis Star, May 14, 1992*

THE OUTSTATER

What Indianapolis doesn't want you to know.

Indiana's super majority appears to serve primarily to protect a political class. It does so with pro-business rhetoric that obscures continuous rounds of vote-trading that undercut or circumvent market and labor forces.

A Broader Measure Of the Business Climate

"We have the best state legislature in America. Together we've made Indiana the fiscal envy of the country. We've balanced budgets, funded our priorities, maintained strong reserves, and still passed the largest state tax cut in Indiana history." — 2015 State of the State Address

(July 7) — Imagine an Indiana in which voters have an independent, unscripted gauge of economic policy, one that projects actual opportunity for workaday Hoosiers. In mind is something more substantive than the usual posture and boosterism or, worse, political manipulation.

For Republicans, sorry to say, the closest thing is the "Legislative Vote Analysis," released each summer by the Indiana Chamber of Commerce. This is analysis that doesn't analyze — not, at least, in a way that measures the climate for business here. Rather, it prescribes the preferences of the special interests du jour by "scoring" a list of select floor votes.

Fred McCarthy, an Indianapolis lobbyist for almost four decades, critically examined this role in a special issue of *The Indiana Policy Review*, "Reawakening the Chamber." He related our situation to that of airline passengers having been informed by the captain that, although they were lost, they were making good time with a strong tailwind.

"Such is the governmental-business relationship in Indiana," McCarthy wrote. "There is a certain amount of economic activity, but there is cause to question where it is headed, who are its navigators."

Writing for *the Wall Street Journal*, economist Stephen Moore is less circumspect: "Thanks to an astonishing political transformation, many chambers of commerce on the state and local levels have been abandoning (traditional) goals. They're becoming, in effect, lobbyists for big government."

The realpolitik is that the majority of the super majority worries less about whether a vote makes economic sense for a constituency than whether the Chamber will score it. Republicans who rank low can expect to meet well-funded opposition in a primary election.

Taking a look at this session's Chamber rankings, our Tom Huston found that solid conservatives in the Senate ranked in the bottom half of Republicans. "You get a pretty good idea of what the Chamber is interested in when they single out a liberal Democrat, Christina Hale, for praise for help in moving its agenda," he concludes.

Finally, our Dr. Tyler Watts reviewed in detail the method behind the Indiana Chamber's scoring. He warned that there are both social and economic costs to state policies driven by a Chamber agenda: "Those who have the most to gain from a more liberalized, competitive marketplace, such as the unemployed and the poor, tend to be economically uninformed and not prone to activism. And opportunities that are lost because resources are politically shifted to favored constituents are invisible but nonetheless real. Subsidies are not free."

Watts looked forward to legislative analysis that takes greater care to address free-market principles, "especially when faced with proposed legislation that so clearly smacks of waste, cronyism and subsidies."

For discussion's sake, on the desk is a draft copy of such an independent analysis that covers the last two sessions. It is based on free-market considerations and stands in dramatic contradistinction to the Chamber rankings. The average score of Republicans in both the Senate and House (most of whom scored high on the Chamber ranking) falls below 50 percent on average. Indeed, only three hit 75 percent in the Senate; none did in the House.

If those percentages hold in a final analysis, it suggests that Indiana's super majority serves primarily to protect a political class. It does so with pro-business rhetoric that obscures continuous rounds of vote-trading that undercut or circumvent market and labor forces. And the Chamber directors, like the mercantilists of Shakespeare's England, have the political skill to turn such hypocrisy to their advantage on any given issue.

There may not be any such thing as economic morality. It is difficult to accept, though, that the Chamber's position on, say, regional economic development is less corrupting than organized labor's position on wage controls. Both are damaging to the whole but not before benefiting the few.

Democrat voters don't seem bothered by any of this. Republicans just seem befooled.

A Lutheran Uprising? Not Likely

(June 30) — Lutherans are known as apolitical even in Fort Wayne where Germanfest is just another summer weekend. So the news was greeted with an emotion as close to surprise as Lutherans allow when one group's president issued a politically edged press statement.

Until that moment, you see, some in this fiercely independent Lutheran community didn't know for sure they had a president. They certainly didn't imagine he would have a topical opinion. Could it be that in the midst of the current public-policy babel the most somnolent of Lutherans are awakening?

The statement, from the 6,000-congregation Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS), was in response to the same-sex marriage ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States. The church president recognized the "inherent and equal value of all people" and the "divinely given dignity of all people, no matter their sexual preference" while reminding us that we are all sinners and that only the "blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, cleanses us from all our sins."

At the same time, he warned that through coercive litigation "governments and popular culture continue to make the central post-modern value of sexual freedom override 'the free exercise of religion' enshrined in the Bill of Rights."

But the overriding concern, according to Mark Oetting, an LCMS member and the owner of a New Haven insurance agency, was made clear: It is that the church never distract from its sole purpose of spreading the gospel. Also, Lutherans today are keenly attuned to Scripture regarding "legitimate authority." Oetting says that reflects a reexamination of the historic relationship between church and state, not only in Germany in the 1930s but going back to the Peasant Rebellion of Martin Luther's own time.

Oetting carries a pamphlet, "Render Unto Caesar and Unto God: A Lutheran View of Church and State." It explains Luther's Two Kingdoms doctrine, which Oetting and others argue is the basis of capitalism and modern economic theory.

That doctrine was what James Madison, principal author of the First Amendment, credited as leading the way to the Constitution's distinction between the nation's ecclesiastic and civil spheres, of church and state. Lutherans see themselves as occupying a great middle ground with one leg in heaven and another planted

firmly, independently, pragmatically and with a degree of political contrariness here on earth.

So, will Lutherans mass on the Capital Mall, will Republican strategists talk of holding the "Lutheran vote," will there be announcement of a Lutheran vice presidential nominee, a Lutheran to the Supreme Court?

No, they aren't interested. The LCMS doesn't have a lobbyist in Washington and, again, its president almost never speaks on political issues. Instead, the church believes in educating its members and children to live according to Christian principles wherever, whenever and however they enter the public square.

"You can't stop a bird from flying over your head," Oetting quotes Martin Luther, "but you can stop it from building a nest in your hair." And that's about as close to a political philosophy as you're going to get from these Lutherans. — *tcl*

Safe at any Speed

(June 4) — The most heartfelt arguments of those who favor larger government contend that otherwise life would be unsafe. Those arguments have been spectacularly successful, but are they based on truth?

Food purity has been the pluperfect example since Upton Sinclair wrote "The Jungle," a novel based on the Chicago packing industry. But why would people dependent on the business of selling us food want to make us sick on their food? The sardonic may suspect that politicians merely yell "fire" so they can claim credit for putting one out.

Sinclair's prose aside, have we reduced the number of people sickened or just increased costs for consumers? Even the liberal economist John Maynard Keynes warned Franklin Roosevelt that it would be a mistake to assume that bureaucrats are any less evil (or incompetent) than businessmen.

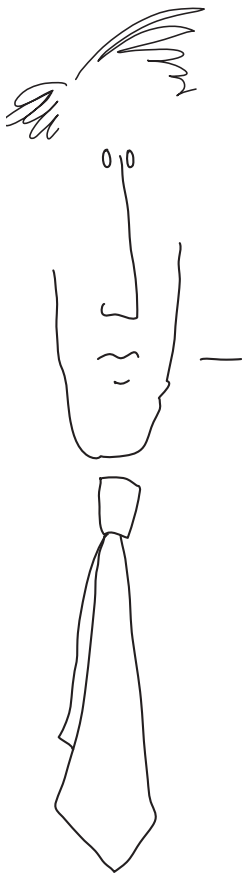
Today, with the government spending \$4.7 billion a year for a food-and-drug bureaucracy, are the imposed standards that much more effective over what an unregulated industry would impose voluntarily? Which brings to mind seat belts. How many of those saved by seat belts would not have been wearing them in any case? And did requiring airlines to make parents buy an extra ticket to belt in their infants save lives or merely create the economic necessity to travel long distances on relatively more dangerous roadways?

Surely, though, we can agree that speed kills. Without speed limits, drivers would be crashing their cars all over the place. That, too, is arguable. Modern roads are engineered

"You can't stop a bird from flying over your head but you can stop it from building a nest in your hair."

— Martin Luther

These days, in seriously contested primaries, the support of the local GOP chairman may not mean much. Nor do certain editorial boards. And what the state central committee thinks is especially irrelevant.



to safely accommodate speeds 15-25 percent higher than posted.

And there is a pile of studies showing that traffic deaths are unaffected by changes in speed limits — up or down. Affected are long-run shippers in the Midwest and Great Plains that suffer a per-mile disadvantage in competition with short-run shippers on the coasts.

A friend of this foundation, Stephen Moore, studied speed limits for the Cato Institute. He collected comparisons of traffic data before and after Congress repealed the 55-m.p.h. limit in 1995. His conclusion:

Almost all measures of highway safety show improvement, not more deaths and injuries, since 1995. Despite the fact that 33 states raised their speed limits immediately after the repeal of the mandatory federal speed limit, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration reported in October 1998 that “the traffic death rate dropped to a record low level in 1997.” Moreover, the average fatality rate even fell in the states that raised their speed limits.

What does make a difference are drivers going at wildly varying speeds. A traffic officer will tell you sotto voce that if you want to be safe on the highway, ignore the posted limit and stay with the traffic flow. Thus Indiana’s “slowpoke law” goes into effect next month, an admission that limits imposed by government aren’t always a matter of engineering, physics or economics but sometimes only a matter of posture.

Is there another explanation for a law that requires drivers

observing the speed limit to pull aside for drivers breaking it? Yes, says a spokesman for the Indiana State Police, it’s “just common sense.”

And as the Cheshire cat told Alice in Wonderland, “If you don’t know where you’re going, any road can take you there” — at any speed, wearing your seatbelt and reading your food labels. — *tcl*

Could You Win a GOP Primary?

(June 6) — Have you ever wanted to run for office? Ever wanted to convince a friend to run for office? Let’s conduct a reality check to test the political waters:

- Are you running against an incumbent especially liked by old Republican regulars?
- Are you going door-to-door rather than relying on big-media advertising buys?
- Have you refused an invitation to participate in a rigged debate sponsored by a local television station?

• Does your opponent have the endorsement of either the Indianapolis Star or the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette?

• Is the local GOP chairman supporting your opponent, however tacitly?

• Has your opponent adopted the issue positions recommended by the Indiana Republican State Committee?

• Have you kept your opponent from getting to the right of you on any issue, rhetorically or actually?

As you have guessed, the questions reflect particular changes in Indiana Republican politics. These days, in seriously contested primaries, the support of the local GOP chairman may not mean much. Nor do certain editorial boards. And what the state central committee thinks is especially irrelevant.

Once the Indiana Republican Party could rely on a strong election-day turnout from a vaunted apparatus, and that was true regardless of the candidate. The job of the party chairman was to dampen issue fights between elections and compromise on any policy challenges that might pop up. The idea was to suppress general interest so the apparatus could prevail. Matters of principle tend to rile them up, to paraphrase a former Allen County GOP chairman.

A political scientist and adjunct scholar of this foundation, Dr. Stephen M. King, notes that well-funded factions have co-opted this strategy.

These groups (the gay lobby is cited) defuse, devolve and disaggregate traditional political interests, Dr. King says, fighting the party for scarce resources and even scarcer political support:

Political parties today are antiquated organizations that do not have the financial, organizational and goal-oriented wherewithal to compete with the hundreds of thousands in interest groups that form coalitions and networks, that team with public opinion polls to meet self-seeking private interests as opposed to community-seeking public interests.

The Indiana GOP seems oblivious to the problem that King identifies. Its election strategy is pretty much what it was a generation ago — dampening issue differences and compromising policy, and then depending for victory on a party apparatus that no longer exists.

Sometimes it suggests the pathetic. Two recent state GOP chairmen stepped back on the political stage only to demonstrate tin ears. Their semi-endorsement of the most liberal rated member of the Indiana congressional delegation fell flat. The parade that the ex-chairmen thought they were leading had turned off on a side street.

Which brings us to those great populist educators, the metropolitan newspapers. For good reason or bad, they have come to think of themselves as advocates of “correct” policies rather than honest arbiters of the political debates. As a result, their endorsements, compared with outstate papers, have missed the mark spectacularly in recent years, the editors blindsided by one electoral upset after another.

For when you take on the role of advocate, you become less interested in facts or at least those that don’t fit a narrative. That makes it hard to be predictive, which, big media forgets, is why you have subscribers and viewers at all. And it follows that if readers can’t trust your medium, no matter the circulation, they are unlikely to trust the candidates promoted therein. Propaganda has its limits.

All of this considered, if you answered yes to the questions on the reality check, congratulations. You have a good chance of winning your primary. Now, on to the general election . . . — *tcl*

The Dukes of Democracy

“Be thankful we’re not getting all the government we’re paying for.” — Will Rogers

(May 26) — Members of the coffee group are discouraged by the announcement that their senator will retire after only a single undistinguished term. The members, several of whom worked hard on this guy’s earlier campaigns, are searching for a better way to manage political succession.

They all agree that the system is broken. We don’t have public servants who are provided pensions but pensioners who occasionally provide the public a service. They are more likely to be candidates for defenestration than retirement.

Harry Truman returned to Independence after his presidency. His daily routine involved a walk through his neighborhood, greeting old friends along the way; a few hours writing in the study; lunch with more friends; a few more hours writing; another walk; dinner with Bess and to bed — all in the house from which his political career had begun three decades earlier.

How much could that have cost? There was no phony foundation for Nigerian cash drops, no inflated speaking or consulting fees for the spouse and children, no personal jet. Today, even a county official can lay claim to enough of his neighbors’ tax money to escape to better company and more pleasant surroundings, freeing himself from the demeaning job of meeting the expectations of a bothersome constituency.

There is nothing wrong with paying men of this ilk to leave the state or, better, the country. There’s more to it than that, though, more to it than money — and we’re talking about piles of money.

The most powerful politicians not only retire comfortably but with a family fortune. Our nation, strangely and incongruously, seems to be drifting back toward peerage. The dukes, earls, barons and viscounts of democracy win their titles not on the field of battle but by crafting campaign promises.

On the desk are clippings that quantify this deviation from the Truman example:

- Fifty percent of retiring senators and 42 percent of retiring House members stay in D.C. and become lobbyists. That is compared with 3 percent in 1974.

- Last year, the combined net worth of members of Congress went from \$150 million to \$2.1 billion.

- The minimum net worth of the Senate is nearly \$570 million, with 50 senators topping \$1 million. The House has a minimum net worth of \$1.53 billion, with at least 138 millionaires.

- Taxpayers paid a total of \$3.5 million last year in pensions and benefits to the four living former presidents, including \$2.25 million to just two of them — George W. Bush and Bill Clinton. (Franklin Roosevelt denied Herbert Hoover even a security detail.)

These are the fellows, please know, who want to means-test your Social Security check before they embark for the Caribbean. But again, the money only tracks a philosophical shift. More critical is the realization that we are losing our constitutional republic to pompous, self-serving frauds.

For nobody seriously thinks that a majority of Americans would approve payouts to such ingrates and expatriates. And nobody argues that the big money is justified by service. It is won trading favors — the favors of one special interest (the political class) for the favors of any of a thousand other special interests seeking government advantage.

If reform seems too painful, consider a return to an honest-to-goodness spoils system. Those who take bribes at least have an incentive to preserve the bribers. Thus the Pendergast Machine spits out a Harry Truman and Tammany Hall an Al Smith.

And if not that, then a heredity monarchy. It will deliver a Henry VIII or an Elizabeth I at least now and again. — *tcl*

We don’t have public servants who are provided pensions but pensioners who occasionally provide the public a service. They are more likely to be candidates for defenestration than retirement.

Q *Ancient Athens had a process, ostracism, in which each year the citizens voted on the politician most destructive to the democratic process and then expelled him. In Indiana in 2015, which one would get your vote?*

DAVID LONG — “We really, really do *not* want to get into an Article V Convention of States.”

ANDRE CARSON — “Too far left of what most even moderate Hoosiers want for government.”

MIKE PENCE — “What a fake. He takes up space in Congress for years claiming to be a Christian Conservative, then throws Richard Mourdock under the bus in 2012 and flip-flops on abortion. Then, in 2015, instead of supporting religious liberty, he caves to pressure and ends up supporting Gay rights. He has now alienated both sides, including the base of his own party. He’s so afraid to make a decision and make anyone mad that he has made everyone mad.”

GLENDA RITZ — “Aside from her lack of decorum in any meetings, she seems to lack the leadership, accountability and vision to hold the office for which she was elected.”

MITCH DANIELS — “Poor decision-making regarding free markets and the wishes of his electorate.”

GLENDA RITZ — “Bipolar, and doesn’t play well with others. Moody. Tantrums. For someone who runs state testing for our children, she couldn’t correctly follow directions for her gubernatorial campaign.”

MIKE PENCE — “The one guy with the power and duty to set it all right by the state and federal constitutions, and he does much the opposite.”

GLENDA RITZ — “As a union organizer, she puts the welfare of the teachers in her union over the children. She, like most union organizers, has deluded herself into believing that what she’s doing really is best for public school students.”

MIKE PENCE — “Governor Pence and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) debacle. While there are many worthy of being ostracized, no other wields as much status as the governor. Pence simply was a pigheaded pandering jackass throughout the entire RFRA mess. He deserves every bit of ridicule that he receives for it.”

ANDRE CARSON — “Because his far left ideas are not in sync with most Hoosiers or even America at large.”

JOHN BOEHNER — “He is the linchpin of Republican treason.”

Fourteen of the 116 members contacted completed this quarter’s opinion survey for a response rate of 12 percent. The survey was conducted August 5-6.

People who know about opinion surveys don’t think much of ours. The sample is inherently biased and so small as to be little more than a focus group. The questions, sometimes confusing, are casually worded and transparently drive at one point or another. That said, we have learned to trust our members and eagerly await their thoughts on this and that.

THE DESTINIES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED

*From an essay on the signers of the Declaration of Independence
by Rush H. Limbaugh Jr., distributed by the Federalist Magazine*

• **Francis Lewis** — A New York delegate saw his home plundered and his estates, in what is now Harlem, completely destroyed by British soldiers. Mrs. Lewis was captured and treated with great brutality. She died from the effects of her abuse. • **William Floyd** — Another New York delegate, he was able to escape with his wife and children across Long Island Sound to Connecticut, where they lived as refugees without income for seven years. When they came home, they found a devastated ruin. • **Phillips Livingstone** — Had all his great holdings in New York confiscated and his family driven out of their home. Livingstone died in 1778 still working in Congress for the cause. • **Louis Morris** — The fourth New York delegate saw all his timber, crops and livestock taken. For seven years he was barred from his home and family. • **John Hart** — From New Jersey, he risked his life to return home to see his dying wife. Hessian soldiers rode after him, and he escaped in the woods. While his wife lay on her deathbed, the soldiers ruined his farm and wrecked his homestead. Hart, 65, slept in caves and woods as he was hunted across the countryside. • **Dr. John Witherspoon** — He was president of the College of New Jersey, later called Princeton. The British occupied the town of Princeton, and billeted troops in the college. They trampled and burned the finest college library in the country. • **Judge Richard Stockton** — Another New Jersey delegate signer, he had rushed back to his estate in an effort to evacuate his wife and children. The family found refuge with friends, but a sympathizer betrayed them. Judge Stockton was pulled from bed in the night and brutally beaten by the arresting soldiers. Thrown into a common jail, he was deliberately starved. • **Robert Morris** — A merchant prince of Philadelphia, delegate and signer, raised arms and provisions which made it possible for Washington to cross the Delaware at Trenton. In the process he lost 150 ships at sea, bleeding his own fortune and credit dry. • **George Clymer** — A Pennsylvania signer, he escaped with his family from their home, but their property was completely destroyed by the British in the Germantown and Brandywine campaigns. • **Dr. Benjamin Rush** — Also from Pennsylvania, he was forced to flee to Maryland. As a heroic surgeon with the army, Rush had several narrow escapes. • **William Ellery** — A Rhode Island delegate, he saw his property and home burned to the ground. • **Edward Rutledge** • **Arthur Middleton** • **Thomas Heyward Jr.** — These three South Carolina signers were taken by the British in the siege of Charleston and carried as prisoners of war to St. Augustine, Fla. • **Thomas Nelson** — A signer of Virginia, he was at the front in command of the Virginia military forces. With British General Charles Cornwallis in Yorktown, fire from 70 heavy American guns began to destroy Yorktown piece by piece. Lord Cornwallis and his staff moved their headquarters into Nelson's palatial home. While American cannonballs were making a shambles of the town, the house of Governor Nelson remained untouched. Nelson turned in rage to the American gunners and asked, "Why do you spare my home?" They replied, "Sir, out of respect to you." Nelson cried, "Give me the cannon" and fired on his magnificent home himself, smashing it to bits. But Nelson's sacrifice was not quite over. He had raised \$2 million for the Revolutionary cause by pledging his own estates. When the loans came due, a newer peacetime Congress refused to honor them, and Nelson's property was forfeited. He was never reimbursed. He died, impoverished, a few years later at the age of 50. • **Abraham Clark** — He gave two sons to the officer corps in the Revolutionary Army. They were captured and sent to the infamous British prison hulk afloat in New York harbor known as the hell ship "Jersey," where 11,000 American captives were to die. The younger Clarks were treated with a special brutality because of their father. One was put in solitary and given no food. With the end almost in sight, with the war almost won, no one could have blamed Abraham Clark for acceding to the British request when they offered him his sons' lives if he would recant and come out for the king and parliament. The utter despair in this man's heart, the anguish in his soul, must reach out to each one of us down through 200 years with his answer: "No."



Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze, oil on canvas, 1851



Thomas Hoepker, photograph, Sept. 11, 2001

Please Join Us

IN THESE TRYING TIMES those states with local governments in command of the broadest range of policy options will be the states that prosper. We owe it to coming generations to make sure that Indiana is one of them. Because the foundation does not employ professional fundraisers, we need your help in these ways:

• **ANNUAL DONATIONS** are fully tax deductible: individuals (\$50) or corporations (\$250) or the amount you consider appropriate to the mission and the immediate tasks ahead. Our mailing address is PO Box 5166, Fort Wayne, IN 46895 (your envelope and stamp are appreciated). You also can join at the website, <http://www.inpolicy.org>, using your credit card or the PayPal system. Be sure to include your e-mail address as the journal and newsletters are delivered in digital format.

• **BEQUESTS** are free of estate tax and can substantially reduce the amount of your assets claimed by the government. You can give future support by including the following words in your will: "I give, devise and bequeath to the Indiana Policy Review Foundation (*insert our address and amount being given here*) to be used to support its mission." A bequest can be a specific dollar amount, a specific piece of property, a percentage of an estate or all or part of the residue of an estate. You also can name the foundation as a contingency beneficiary in the event someone named in your will no longer is living.



"The Battle of Cowpens," painted by William Ranney in 1845, shows an unnamed patriot (far left) firing his pistol and saving the life of Col. William Washington.

INDIANAPOLICY

Review

An Indiana Journal of Classical Liberal Enquiry
Observing its 26th Year