

INDIANAPOLIS

Review

Fall 2020

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China's Influence in Bloomington

Students from China in 2019-2020 paid over \$80 million to IU-Bloomington in tuition and fees. This is close to half the total amount of funding that the school gets each year from the state of Indiana.

“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.”



Vol. 31, No. 3, Fall 2020

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.

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Wednesday Whist

Solipsists Unite!

(July 3) — Solipsism, the late Charles Krauthammer liked to say, is the belief that the whole world operates pretty much like suburban Boston, his euphemism for any place in America where self-satisfaction and shallow thinking rule.

Indiana plenty of self-satisfaction and shallow thinking, particularly in the governor's office in Indianapolis and with the trustees at Indiana University. Neither has demonstrated due diligence in distinguishing between a person of Chinese ancestry and an agent for a self-interested or even hostile foreign power.

We start with the governor because he's the most visible of our solipsist. Eric Holcomb thinks that when the Chinese government invites him to visit for a week it is interested in helping him create good jobs for Hoosiers. It may or may not occur to him that everyone he meets there has been put in place by the CCP (Chinese Communist Party).

So the trip may make interesting conversation back home at an Indianapolis dinner party but the State Department has begun to outline the CCP's strategic goals for these junkets. Let us just say that they don't conform to the governor's oath of office.

Shortly after Holcomb returned from his recent trip to China (just ahead of the Wuhan virus) his office distributed a picture of his governorship displaying a decorative plate at an

event feted by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

That sounded harmless enough until the State Department revealed that it was a front group for the CCP's official foreign influence agency, the United Front Work Department, which targets U.S. governors and state-level politicians in an attempt to influence policy here — policy, it can be assumed, that would not be kind to Hoosier free markets and individual rights.

"It's a different Chinese Communist Party today than it was 10 years ago," said Secretary of State Mike Pompeo recently. "This is a Chinese Communist Party that has come to view itself as intent upon the destruction of Western ideas, Western democracies, Western values. It puts Americans at risk."

Early this year the secretary warned specifically that the CCP maintains a list of U.S. governors ranking them as to their usefulness. A Chinese think tank that is a partner with the United Front Work Department gives Holcomb and 19 other American governors its highest rating of "friendly" (as opposed to "hostile" or "unknown").

Hoosiers, taking into account Holcomb's overall good character and affable disposition, must trust that the criteria for the rating is

nothing more serious than relative gullibility.

In any case, the governor would benefit from an afternoon with a real businessman from China, and he wouldn't have to travel thousands of miles. Elmer Yuan, a former Hong Kong investor now in the United States, breaks down the communist China threat this way: "You have to understand the communist mentality.



Communists think they're at war all the time. They use unconventional warfare — tactics you never would have imagined."

PIVOTING TO IU, Martin Luther had an epigram that might apply to the unconventional warfare that China is waging here. "You cannot keep birds from flying over your head," he said, "but you can keep them from building a nest in your hair."

Building a nest — that is what some believe has happened in regard to the CCP during the administration of Michael McRobbie. They say that the IU president, who arrived in Bloomington 23 years ago from his native Australia, abided CCP "nests" in the form of so-called "Confucius Institutes" and similar groups, and did so years after they were known to be a danger to U.S. security.

A U.S. Senate report charged that the Confucius Institutes spread propaganda on more than 100 college campuses across the country, spending \$150 million over the last decade to limit criticism of China's political policies. Here is Sen. Marco Rubio questioning a witness at a Senate Intelligence Committee hearing in 2018:

"Last week I wrote a letter to five higher education institutions about the Confucius institutes, which are funded by China, Chinese government dollars at U.S. schools. And it is my view they're complicit in these efforts to covertly influence public opinion and to teach half-truths designed to present Chinese history, government or official policy in the most favorable light. Do you share concerns about Confucius institutes as a tool of that whole of society effort and as a way to exploit the sort of naive view among some in the academic circles about what the purpose of these institutes could be?"

The American Associations of College Professors also criticized the institutes, charging in a formal statement six years ago that they posed a threat to the country's national security. It

wasn't until shortly after the Senate report, however, that McRobbie closed the Confucius Institute associated with IU.

McRobbie, by any assessment, is a good friend of China. Since becoming president in 2007, he has made eight trips there, often leading large groups. His administration was proud to tell the local newspaper in McRobbie's first year in office that enrollment of students from China increased 23 percent. And even before assuming the presidency he established the first of many cooperative research programs.

"In the 2019-2020 academic year, students from China paid just over \$80 million to IU Bloomington in tuition and fees alone," reports Margaret Menge in this issue of *The Indiana Policy Review* (pp. 6-12). "This is close to half the total amount of funding that IU Bloomington gets from the state of Indiana each year, which is around \$200 million." Students from China represent fully a third of all foreign nationals on campus.

Moreover, a Chinese dissident, Charles Lee, told Menge that the great number of students from China at American universities, unlike students from other countries, have taken an oath of loyalty to the Communist Party and as such can be considered security threats.

So with over two thousands students from China enrolled at IU this last fall it made sense for Menge to ask a McRobbie spokesman whether he thought any had absorbed American values.

"Is there any real evidence that it's worked at all," Menge pressed, "that any students from China who have studied at IU have renounced communism or become dissidents, or returned to China and worked to reform and liberalize it. Is there was anything remotely like this?"

"That's not how it works," the spokesman shot back.

Well, maybe in solipsism land it doesn't, but at a tax-funding Indiana university it should. — [tcl](#)

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IU President Michael McRobbie in China with Prof. Liu Baocun of Beijing Normal University during a 2016 trip.

Students from China Bring Big Money, Clout, to IU

Chinese nationals contribute \$80 million a year to IU-Bloomington's bottom line but some say they pose a threat to free speech and academic integrity.

Margaret Menge, an alumnus of IU, is a veteran journalist now working from Bloomington. She has reported for the Miami Herald, Columbia Journalism Review, Breitbart, the New York Observer, the American Conservative and United Press International.



(July 5) — March 6 was a busy morning on the campus of Indiana University.

Every seat in the auditorium in the new, glassy, Hamilton-Lugar School of Global and International Studies was taken and people were standing up both aisles and against the back wall, in between the tripods and cameramen.

The head of the school, former diplomat and Obama foreign policy advisor Lee Feinstein, had just walked in with U.S. Sen. Todd Young. The president of IU, Michael McRobbie, had arrived a

few minutes earlier, taking a seat in one of the first few rows with longtime former Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton.

Senator Young was there to give a lecture at the university's "America's Role in the World" conference. He spoke at some length at the podium before taking a seat in a chair on stage to be interviewed by longtime Indianapolis TV reporter John Stehr.

Stehr launched into his interview with Young energetically:

"You know . . . you, toward the end there, you mentioned the Coronavirus," he said, "and there was a report today on NBC and, I don't know if you've heard this and I don't mean to hit you with this cold, but maybe it's not surprising to you that, the report is China has launched a disinformation campaign now about the Coronavirus, saying it may not have originated in China after all. Given that kind of approach . . ."

But then Stehr stopped mid-sentence and turned his head toward the back of the room. Because someone was yelling.

A tall Asian man in a black sweater was angrily calling out, "That is wrong! That is wrong! That is a lie!" and telling Stehr that China did not do what he is saying China did, or saying what he says China said.

All eyes were on the man, and everyone seemed to be holding their breath to see what would happen.

Nothing happened.

No one moved toward him. No one addressed him. Not Feinstein, or McRobbie, or Stehr.

"You can carry on now with your conference," the man finally said, with a dismissive wave of his hand, as if to command the release of everyone's attention.

Every head turned back toward the stage, and Stehr continued, asking Young how difficult it is for the United States "to work with China in dealing with the threat that the coronavirus brings to the world."

But what had happened?

Had a citizen of China just prevented or tried to prevent an American journalist from asking a question of an elected United States senator? On American soil? At an American university? With the university president sitting right there?

It's unknown if Stehr heard what the student from China was saying, or if he edited his question to mollify the man.

But Young, at least, seemed to pay no mind, going on to talk about the "garbage information" China was providing about the coronavirus, and saying he thought the 2022 Olympics should be moved out of China because China is running a "fascist state" and holding "several million Uighur Muslims" in "modern-day concentration camps" while also forcing women to abort their children and persecuting residents of Hong Kong.

The man in the black sweater said nothing, but stood stony-faced glaring at the two speakers on stage.

The Numbers

As of the fall of 2019, there were 2,295 students from China enrolled at IU-Bloomington, far more than from any other country.

Everyone notices. It is hard not to. On some evenings and weekends when school is in session, half the shoppers in the east-side Kroger are students from China.

They are seldom seen with American students, and are almost always in twos and threes and fours, speaking Mandarin and making no eye contact with non-Chinese.

Locals will often tell you that they see a few of the students from China whipping around town in high-end luxury cars like Maseratis.

In 2019, the student newspaper, the Indiana Daily Student, published an [article](#) about a 20-year-old from China who founded a luxury car club for students on the IU campus that he calls Lucky 7. It has 30 members, he told the newspaper, all of whom are Chinese with the exception of a couple of Americans.

The article ran with a photo of the student, named Longjie Lin, sitting on the hood of his

BMW i8 with its butterfly doors flipped up. The car sells for around \$150,000.

Who are these students who can afford such expensive vehicles? Why are they here?

The cost for a foreign undergraduate student to attend IU about \$53,408 a year. This is the amount of money that IU estimates they'll need for nine months of school and living expenses. It includes \$38,314 for tuition and fees (the same amount that out-of-state students pay), plus \$11,263 for room and board, \$1,585 for health insurance and \$2,246 for books and miscellaneous expenses.

In the 2019-2020 academic year, students from China together paid just over \$80 million to IU Bloomington in tuition and fees alone. This is close to half the total amount of funding that IU Bloomington gets from the state of Indiana each year, which is around \$200 million.

Charles Lee, a Chinese dissident who came to the United States in 1991 to attend Harvard Medical School and was imprisoned in China for three years when he went back, now lives in New Jersey where he helps lead the Tuidang movement, to educate Chinese about the true nature of communism.

He says that China strictly controls who gets to go abroad, and who doesn't, something most Americans probably don't know.

"Here's the thing," he said in a phone interview in June, "If you are a Chinese student inside China, and he or she views something against Communist Party, he's not going to be able to get out. He going to be in trouble, unless he confess, you know sort of confess, you know write something, 'I'll never criticize Communist Party,' something like that . . ."

Lee says almost all students from China — most likely 99 percent, he says — have either been in the Young Pioneers or the Youth League, two Chinese Communist Party organizations for young people.

"Once you enter these organizations," he said, "you have to swear, swear to follow the communist guidelines all your life or something, you devote your life to the communist deed or something. So when you take an oath, then that oath will follow you."

Lee says it's a "huge problem" that American universities have admitted so many students from China who have sworn an oath to the Chinese Communist Party. At the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign, where he studied for a time, Lee said there were actual Communist Party meetings held on campus.

He believes that every student from China is potentially a spy, in particular those who study medicine or biology or engineering.

"They recruit everybody possible, you know, from university," he said of the China's Communist Party. "Before you go out of China, they would come to you and say, 'This is what you're going to do . . . You need to give us information regarding this technology . . . you need to bring new technology to China.' It's to every Chinese students, they must go through this, unless what you study is not important to them."

'That's not How It Works'

In May, I had called Chuck Carney, the spokesman for IU, and asked a rather pointed question: whether it was moral for Indiana University to host and educate so many young Communists, or at least the sons and daughters of Communists, who support a regime that puts religious minorities into concentration camps and sees the United States as its No. 1 enemy.

"Well, I would put it this way," he replied carefully. "Indiana University's mission from reaching well back into and then before, but certainly with Herman B. Wells, was to bring Indiana to the world. And part of that is what Wells himself did. He was integral in World War II Europe in setting up the first free universities in Germany, which is to give an example of the history of this university of trying to be a beacon of where education can shed light on a lot of the world. And it's our mission in part to try to instill what the values are of higher education in this country to people from all over the world."

I ask which values.

He lists "free thinking" and "discussion of difficult topics" and allowing an "open forum," and problem-solving.

I ask if it has worked.

"Well, I think that that kind of goal, changing the world, is something that is ongoing," he said. "You don't ever say that we've reached success, (that) we can stop."

But, I ask, is there any real evidence that it's worked at all — that any students from China who have studied at IU have renounced communism or become dissidents, or returned to China and worked to reform and liberalize it? Is there anything remotely like this?

"That's not how it works," he snapped.

Maybe it's not. But more than 300,000 students from China are now studying at American universities every year. If their exposure to American ideas about free speech and free inquiry had any real effect, wouldn't we be seeing some evidence of it?

I ask Charles Lee that question when I talk to him a few weeks later.

"They hate this country," he responded. "In China they listen or watch TV all the time you know from the Communist Party. America is like imperialist. A good thing for them, 'Ok, China is rising up, we're going to take over the United States.' So that's their mentality."

He went on to say that even if their mind was changed a little by their experience in the United States, it wouldn't make a difference.

"If you go back to China, you still cannot do anything," he said, "and most of the time those who have come back to China, they would work within the system, within the communist system. So they're not going to have any influence in the way of freedom of speech, that kind of thing, no. They would distance themselves, you know, not to say anything against Communist Party. So, it's not in the way people have hoped that students, you know, go back and change the country. It never have been that way."

Most Hoosiers would be shocked to find out how little most students from China in Bloomington actually are exposed to in the way of different ideas and different perspectives.

I happened to connect with a young man who just graduated from IU in May — a Uighur, a Muslim from the autonomous region in China called Xinjiang. He speaks both Uighur and Mandarin Chinese, and is friendly with some of the Han Chinese students here in Bloomington.

“I will not say they are communists,” he tells me when I ask about the Han Chinese students. “I will say they are, like, manipulated by communist ideas. They can connect limited information, you know. Chinese have like their own information system that they get information off. Like they don’t get Fox News, they don’t get CNN, they don’t actually see that.”

He said the students from China studying at IU never watch American television of any kind.

“It’s just like, in China the environment is like the U.S. is like your enemy, you know. Like every information or every idea from the U.S. like ‘Made in USA’ is like terrorist.” “Not terrorist,” he says, correcting himself, “but it’s the bad idea. It’s against the communist ideology and Communist Party.”

He said students from China communicate with their friends and get all of their information from a Chinese app called WeChat. And they communicate on WeChat entirely in Mandarin Chinese, not English.

He says he doesn’t think they access any American news sources, with the exception of maybe law students or others who have to for their classes.

The Indiana Policy Review agreed not to use the student’s name as he is seeking asylum in the United States, believing that he’ll be thrown into a

Top country-of-origin totals for the fall semester 2019 on the IU-Bloomington campus.

Grand Total	43,260	100.0%
United States	36,307	83.9%
China	2,295	5.3%
India	1,258	2.9%
South Korea	645	1.5%
Canada	232	0.5%
Taiwan	211	0.5%
Unknown	155	0.4%
Mexico	98	0.2%
Saudi Arabia	94	0.2%
United Kingdom	90	0.2%
Brazil	89	0.2%
Myanmar	82	0.2%
Indonesia	80	0.2%
Germany	78	0.2%
Turkey	77	0.2%
Vietnam	66	0.2%
Japan	60	0.1%
France	59	0.1%
Hong Kong	56	0.1%
Thailand	56	0.1%
Israel	52	0.1%
Italy	52	0.1%
Pakistan	50	0.1%
Malaysia	47	0.1%
Iran	45	0.1%
Russia	42	0.1%
Australia	41	0.1%

concentration camp for “re-education” if he returns to China. He said he started to speak with some of his friends from China about the CCP’s persecution of Uighurs, and they agreed with him, but cannot say anything outside of their small circle of friends.

“They know about the Communist Party doing the wrong thing and they agree. They know my situation and know that it’s the wrong thing to do,” he said.

Tibetans in Bloomington

Charles Lee, the dissident, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee’s subcommittee on human rights in 2016 about the mass murder by the Chinese Communist Party of Falun Gong practitioners — a mass murder that is ongoing today. Falun Gong is a movement that combines slow-moving exercise call *qigong* with spiritualism and is modeled on Buddhism, with some aspects also of Taoism, as practitioners describe it. It emphasizes truthfulness, compassion and forbearance.

In 1999, the Chinese government launched a campaign to eliminate Falun Gong and by 2001, estimates were that 1 million Falun Gong practitioners were imprisoned and being killed for their organs to meet a growing demand for organs for transplants — livers, hearts, kidneys, etc.

But it’s not just Falun Gong members who are being killed.

“By 2002, it was select House Christians. By 2003 it was the Tibetans,” journalist Ethan Gutman testified at the same hearing.

IU has a special relationship with Tibet, with the brother of the Dalai Lama, Thubten J. Norbu, having worked as a professor of Tibetan studies

here starting in 1959, the same year the Dalai Lama fled Tibet.

One of Norbu's sons operated a Tibetan restaurant here for years called The Snow Lion. Another was active in the Tibetan independence movement, participating in walks all over the United States to raise awareness of China's occupation of Tibet. He was killed in 2011 when he was hit by a car in Florida while on a "Walk for Tibet." The third son works at a Sherwin Williams paint store on the east side of Bloomington. Most of the 2,295 students from China who attend IU live within two miles of his workplace. In 2002, his father told Indianapolis Monthly: "The Chinese destroyed our country."

The McRobbie Era

The number of students from China on the IU-Bloomington campus reached a high of 3,272 in

2014, and over the next few years, fell by about a third.

But why was it ever so high? And why has it remained so high?

From 1995 to 2009, South Koreans were the biggest contingent of foreign students on campus. The local newspaper, the Herald-Times, noted that the number of students from China at IU shot up 23 percent in 2007, the same year that Michael McRobbie became the president of the university. The year before, as provost of the Bloomington campus, he'd made an official trip to China.

Michael McRobbie is an Australian who came to IU in 1997 to fill the position of vice president for information technology. He declined to be interviewed for this article.

In his early days here, he conceived and led a project called TransPac to connect universities in the United States to universities in Asia, for which

All Chinese Citizens Are Required to Spy for the Communist Party

In 2017, China passed a new law requiring that all Chinese citizens act as spies for the Communist Chinese government.

The National Intelligence Law states: "All organizations and citizens shall support, assist and cooperate with national intelligence efforts according to the law."

Another section of the law says the Chinese government "may demand that relevant organs, organizations and citizens provide necessary support, assistance and cooperation."

"Spying for the state is a duty of the citizens and corporations of China under the law, much like paying taxes," New York Times contributing writer Yi-Zheng Lian wrote in a startling Op-Ed on March 13, 2019 entitled, "Where Spying Is the Law."

But what does it mean to "spy"?

To give over all information at all times, or whenever asked for it.

But what information?

Everything, apparently.

Writing on the LawFare blog in 2017, Murray Scot Tanner, an expert on Chinese law, noted that while the National Intelligence Law doesn't define "intelligence," another Chinese security law requires that intelligence work embrace Xi Jinping's "comprehensive concept of national security," making all matters under the sun -- from military to political to economic to social to technological and cultural -- intelligence matters.

And under the National Intelligence Law, all citizens are required to keep such activities secret.

Tanner says the way the law is written, it appears that it's not just Chinese citizens who are subject to the law, but any individual, organization or corporation doing business with China. — *mm*

he and the university were awarded a \$10 million grant from the National Science Foundation.

As president, he's taken at least eight trips to China, often leading large delegations.

And it's McRobbie who set out to "internationalize" IU by "increasing the number of qualified foreign students" as he set forth in the IU Strategic Plan, which the university's Board of Trustees approved in 2014.

But we don't really know which students from China are qualified. A 2016 [article](#) in the Atlantic looked at the common use of "test brokers" in China whom students from China pay to have a stand-in take their college entrance exams, to get a score high enough to gain entrance to American universities. To cheat on the SAT and ACT, in other words. To game the system.

In January of 2016, the College Board had to cancel the SAT at 45 test sites in China and Macau over security concerns — concerns about cheating, that is.

In any case, IU seems unwilling to address the significant issues related to the presence of so many students from China on campus, and in fact, seems desperate to keep these students coming.

On March 31, with the campus having just shut down because of the Coronavirus, the university's vice president for international affairs, Hannah Buxbaum, appeared in a Facebook video in which she addressed foreign students, saying: "We want you to know that global engagement is an indestructible part of IU's mission."

A Reckoning

The university, meanwhile, calls its ties to China "[deep, extensive and continually expanding.](#)" But at some point, there may come a reckoning.

In April of 2019, IU released a two-sentence statement that it was closing the Confucius Institute on the campus of IUPUI after several years of warnings from experts that Confucius Institutes are completely controlled by the Chinese government and are not really academic in nature but are foreign influence operations. Washington Post columnist Josh Rogin [wrote at the time](#):

"America's universities have been slow in coming to terms with the problems posed by Chinese influence. They are now finally beginning to work with the national security community to respond to China's attempts to infiltrate the United States' higher-education system and abuse those relationships to advance Beijing's strategic agenda. But that pushback is just beginning."

Earlier this year, [the FBI charged](#) a Boston University student from China with espionage, saying she was posing as a student and was actually a lieutenant in China's People's Liberation Army (which she admitted) who came to the United States and enrolled at BU expressly for the purpose of supplying the Communist Party with information taken from U.S. military websites. She fled to China to evade arrest.

Conclusion

I became interested in writing about students from China at IU early this year when the news of the Coronavirus was becoming more and more alarming. I didn't see any local reporters or anyone else asking whether Bloomington residents faced a heightened risk of catching the virus given that some students likely had returned to China over the Christmas break, and then returned to Bloomington the last week in December or the first week in January.

After all, it was two tourists from China who brought what's now called Covid-19 to Italy, resulting in the deaths of more than 34,000 in that country, most of them elderly.

But the risks to national security are even more profound. And no one here is talking about them. Not in public, at least, even with national leaders sounding the alarm about the risks to universities from China.

"Some IHE (Institutions of Higher Education) leaders are starting to acknowledge the threat of foreign espionage and have been working with federal law enforcement to address gaps in reporting and transparency," the U.S. Department of Education General Counsel's office [wrote in a letter](#) to Congress on May 19, referring primarily to

threats from China. “However, the evidence suggests massive investments of foreign money have bred dependency and distorted the decision-making, mission and values of too many universities.”

In summary, let us return to our first question. Had a citizen of China prevented or tried to prevent an American journalist from asking a question of an elected United States senator? On American soil? At an American university? With the university president sitting there?

If IU’s mission in bringing in so many students from China to campus is to expose them to Western ideas, including free speech, wouldn’t things have gone differently in early March when that student

from China tried to stop the journalist from asking a question about China that he didn’t like?

Wouldn’t the president of the university, Michael McRobbie, have used this as a “teachable moment,” as they call it in academia, standing up and explaining that in this country, we have a free press, and this means that no one gets to dictate to a journalist what question he can or cannot ask of a government official?

As things are going, it seems the Chinese in Bloomington may be exerting more influence on IU than IU is on them. ♦

The below letter was sent to Purdue President Mitch Daniels on May 18, 2020. The writer is Kent Blacklidge, past publisher of the Kokomo Tribune and the holder of four degrees from Purdue including a doctorate in genetics. The university did not respond.

IT IS TIME FOR PURDUE to examine its position toward students from the Republic of China. It has become crystal clear that China is and has been the greatest danger to the future of the United States of America.

There are stories after stories about China stealing research and intellectual property from United States educational institutions, research centers, and private enterprise. Students from China at universities such as Purdue are right in the middle of this.

It has been made clear that any knowledge gained by Chinese citizens from the United States is to be given to the communist government of China. Failure to do so can result in dire consequences for the Chinese citizen and related others. Read the news.

My last time on the Purdue campus was in the late 1980s. It included the time of the Tiananmen Square protests. A grad student from China in my research group sought and obtained asylum in the U.S. He did not go back “home.” Rather, he became a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin. I don’t know if he ever got to see his family again. This was 30 years ago. China has not changed. It has only gotten worse.

I realize that Purdue loves the money from Chinese and other foreign students. I feel sure it is sizeable. However, at this point in history, encouraging and taking dollars from China borders on anti-Americanism in my opinion. The dollars are tainted.

The attempt to bring China into being a friendly nation has failed. The effort goes back as far as President Nixon. China wants to rule the world which means dominating the United States of America both economically and militarily.

I thank God that we have a President that sees what has happened over many decades. It must stop. What must stop in the process is putting Chinese students in positions to steal research and intellectual property. Purdue, again, is the wrong kind of example. Time to change.

Special Report

A Former Superintendent Critiques the CDC Recommendations for Schools

Jeff Abbott, J.D., Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation, has undertaken the job of going through line by line the recently released school-opening guidelines from the Center for Disease Control (CDC). It would be difficult to find someone more qualified from the viewpoint of an educator or student. His commentary on the individual CDC recommendations, all seasoned by years as both an Indiana school superintendent, a university professor and an attorney, asks the COVID-19 bureaucracy to justify certain restrictions that experience tells him will be debilitating to the teaching profession.



Executive Summary

(June 6) — The CDC (Center for Disease Control) is likely full of educated well-meaning people with respected medical degrees and great expertise in communicable diseases. The guidance they have provided for public schools is surely well-intended. However, the guidelines appear to have been issued in a void without the input and collaboration of public school superintendents, principals and teachers. The guidance seems to perhaps be solid medical advice, but lacks context and knowledge of public schools. No two schools, and no two school districts are alike.

It is difficult if not impossible for a federal agency from Atlanta, Georgia, to develop rules, guidelines or suggestions that are helpful for schools all over America. This is just one more example of the federal government trying to micromanage schools from afar. When will politicians and federal bureaucrats ever learn that they cannot successfully run schools by fiat, regulations, or even “suggestions” issued from the federal law palaces?

The politicians and bureaucrats will probably respond: “But these are just guidelines and suggestions — not mandates.” Be that they may, how difficult will be for public schools not to follow these guidelines?

Very difficult.

Politically, it will be difficult for schools. Once the first few students get sick and the school has not followed all the guidelines, the parents and community activists will be visiting the next school board meeting en masse screaming the school was not responsible and mismanaged the reopening of schools. In that same crowd at the board meeting will likely be a couple of lawyers eagerly handing out their business cards to parents who will soon sign lawyer agreements and become plaintiffs in lawsuits alleging negligence, malfeasance, wrongful death, etc., etc., etc.

Once again, the public schools have been placed by the politicians and bureaucrats in the overly used trick bag.

Introduction

Shortly after the release of the CDC’s COVID-19 guidelines for schools on May 19, Orange County Public Schools superintendent said on an Orlando television station that the CDC guidelines would be “a challenge” for the school district. This is what the reader will soon see is one huge understatement.

The CDC offers certain considerations to help “protect students, teachers, administrators and staff and slow the spread of COVID-19.”

Again, it is important to understand that CDC only offers “considerations” and does not issue rules or mandates to schools. The CDC clearly states: “Schools can determine, in collaboration with state and local health officials to the extent possible, whether and how to implement these considerations while adjusting to meet the unique needs and circumstances of the local community. Implementation should be guided by what is feasible, practical, acceptable and tailored to the needs of each community.”

Further, the CDC states that their considerations are “meant to supplement—not

replace — any state, local, territorial, or tribal health and safety laws, rules and regulations with which schools must comply.”

This paper is intended to give the reader some insights into the DCD guidelines as well as the practicably and feasible of the implementation in the public schools of America. CDC guidelines are in italic and my comments are highlighted in yellow.

CDC’s Guiding Principles

The more people a student or staff member interacts with, and the longer that interaction, the higher the risk of COVID-19 spread. The risk of COVID-19 spread increases in school settings as follows:

- *Lowest Risk: Students and teachers engage in virtual-only classes, activities and events.*
- *More Risk: Small, in-person classes, activities, and events. Groups of students stay together and with the same teacher throughout/across school days and groups do not mix. Students remain at least 6 feet apart and do not share objects (e.g., hybrid virtual and in-person class structures, or staggered/rotated scheduling to accommodate smaller class sizes).*
- *Highest Risk: Full sized, in-person classes, activities, and events. Students are not spaced apart, share classroom materials or supplies, and mix between classes and activities.”*

This guideline is mostly common sense. It may serve as a good overall thought process and help schools categorize each risk as they begin to open up their buildings. This assessment of risk by the CDC may however be of limited use to school district personnel as it so basic to be obvious to all those who manage public schools.

CDC Suggestions for Promoting Behaviors that Reduce Spread

The CDC suggests that schools may consider implementing several strategies to encourage behaviors that reduce the spread of COVID-19.

- *Staying Home when appropriate*

- *Educate staff and families about when they/their child(ren) should stay home and when they can return to school.*

Actively encourage employees and students who are sick or who have recently had close contact with a person with COVID-19 to stay home. Develop policies that encourage sick employees and students to stay at home without fear of reprisal, and ensure employees, students and students’ families are aware of these policies. Consider not having perfect attendance awards, not assessing schools based on absenteeism, and offering virtual learning and telework options, if feasible.

Staff and students should stay home if they have tested positive for or are showing COVID-19 symptoms.

Staff and students who have recently had close contact with a person with COVID-19 should also stay home and monitor their health.

Staff and students staying home when sick with the COVID-19 is a good common-sense idea. But the devil is in the details as will be discussed below. The CDC does not define “appropriate” as to when to stay home. Nor does the CDC say for how long students and staff should stay home. Not having attendance awards, not assessing schools based on absenteeism (during the pandemic only) and offering virtual learning options should be acceptable ideas to all schools and state departments of education.

- *CDC’s criteria can help inform when employees should return to work:*

If they have been sick with COVID-19

If they have recently had close contact with a person with COVID-19

It would have been more helpful for schools if the CDC would have presented in these guidelines their criteria for employees to return to work. Schools are left to search for this return to work criteria in other CDC documents.

- *Hand Hygiene and Respiratory Etiquette*

Teach and reinforce handwashing with soap and water for at least 20 seconds and increase monitoring to ensure adherence among students and staff.

If soap and water are not readily available, hand sanitizer that contains at least 60% alcohol can be used (for staff and older children who can safely use hand sanitizer).

Handwashing with soap and water for at least 20 seconds is one of the more helpful guidelines issued by the CDC. Most if not all Americans have seen CDC promo spots on this. Whether people will actually comply with this suggestion is another matter. Also, it might be helpful if the CDC would clarify the hand-washing guideline; does it require the hands to be flushed with water for the full 20 seconds, or does the time spent soaping up the hands count against the 20 second requirement? One other question: How is the school to increase its “monitoring” of this handwashing compliance? Will it have to hire bathroom monitors?

Encourage staff and students to cover coughs and sneezes with a tissue. Used tissues should be thrown in the trash and hands washed immediately with soap and water for at least 20 seconds.

If soap and water are not readily available, hand sanitizer that contains at least 60% alcohol can be used (for staff and older children who can safely use hand sanitizer).

Handwashing after each sneeze and each cough certainly sounds helpful in an effort to contain the virus. In practice, however, this will result in a lot more trips to the bathrooms, particularly those students who find this is a great way to leave the classroom to roam around in the hallways. Again, the monitors will of course have to accompany these students to the bathroom each trip.

■ Cloth Face Coverings

Teach and reinforce use of cloth face coverings. Face coverings may be challenging for students (especially younger

students) to wear in all-day settings such as school. Face coverings should be worn by staff and students (particularly older students) as feasible and are most essential in times when physical distancing is difficult. Individuals should be frequently reminded not to touch the face covering and to wash their hands frequently. Information should be provided to staff, students, and students’ families on proper use, removal washing of cloth face coverings.

Note: Cloth face coverings should not be placed on:

Children younger than 2 years old

Anyone who has trouble breathing or is unconscious

Anyone who is incapacitated or otherwise unable to remove the cloth face covering without assistance

Cloth face coverings are meant to protect other people in case the wearer is unknowingly infected but does not have symptoms. Cloth face coverings are not surgical masks, respirators, or other medical personal protective equipment.

These guidelines should be well received by school staff. It can be hoped that the CDC is not expecting students and staff to use face masks all day as this is not likely to happen. Perhaps the most realistic expectation is that when 6-foot distancing does not happen that students and staff will put on their face masks.

■ Adequate Supplies

Support healthy hygiene behaviors by providing adequate supplies, including soap, hand sanitizer with at least 60 percent alcohol (for staff and older children who can safely use hand sanitizer), paper towels, tissues, disinfectant wipes, cloth face coverings (as feasible) and no-touch/foot-pedal trash cans.

These adequate supplies requirements are all good and necessary but will increase costs for schools with all the new handwashing

requirements. Also, schools generally do not have no-touch/foot-pedal trash cans, so all new trash cans will need to be purchased by schools.

- *Signs and Messages*

Post signs in highly visible locations (e.g., school entrances, restrooms) that promote everyday protective measures and describe how to stop the spread of germs (such as by properly washing hands and properly wearing a cloth face covering).

Broadcast regular announcements on reducing the spread of COVID-19 on PA systems.

Include messages (for example, videos) about behaviors that prevent the spread of COVID-19 when communicating with staff and families (such as on school websites, in emails, and on school social media accounts).

Find free CDC print and digital resources on CDC's communications resources main page.

Again, these rather basic and simple suggestions by the CDC would in all likelihood be implemented by schools even absent these "guidelines." Thus these are not all that new or helpful to public school managers.

CDC Suggestions for Maintaining Healthy Environments

Schools may consider implementing several strategies to maintain healthy environments.

- *Cleaning and Disinfection*

"Clean and disinfect frequently touched surfaces (e.g., playground equipment, door handles, sink handles, drinking fountains) within the school and on school buses at least daily or between use as much as possible. Use of shared objects (e.g., gym or physical education equipment, art supplies, toys, games)

should be limited when possible, or cleaned between use."

This rather innocuous looking "guideline" is the first of significant costs to implement. First of all, assuming school custodial staff are already occupied with meaningful and necessary duties, this will require hiring of additional custodial help to perform all these new cleaning duties. Depending on the physical size of the school and student enrollment, at least a half-time custodian, or if the school is larger, at least one full-time up to two full-time custodians will need to be hired.

If transport vehicles (e.g., buses) are used by the school, drivers should practice all safety actions and protocols as indicated for other staff (e.g., hand hygiene, cloth face coverings). Schools should also develop a schedule for increased, routine cleaning and disinfection.

School bus drivers, other than picking up trash left by students, or the occasional student vomit, are typically not required to disinfect and thoroughly clean their school buses after each trip to and from school. Either the school district will be required to pay drivers for the new cleaning services, as it will take considerable time to clean and disinfect each seat, or the district will need to hire additional cleaning employees to clean and disinfect buses at night. This cost will be significant either way.

- *Shared Objects*

Discourage sharing of items that are difficult to clean or disinfect.

Keep each child's belongings separated from others' and in individually labeled containers, cubbies, or areas.

Ensure adequate supplies to minimize sharing of high touch materials to the extent possible (e.g., assigning each student their own art supplies, equipment) or limit use of supplies and equipment by one group of children at a time and clean and disinfect between use.

Avoid sharing electronic devices, toys, books, and other games or learning aids.

Unfortunately, schools do not have an anti-sharing culture, as this guideline promotes. If adopted, it would certainly change the culture of schools. There will also be additional costs to the school district, as most districts will have to purchase additional supplies, equipment, toys, books, games, learning aids and computers for each individual student. This can easily cost tens of thousands dollars for even the smallest of schools, and hundreds of thousands or more for large secondary schools.

■ **Ventilation**

Ensure ventilation systems operate properly and increase circulation of outdoor air as much as possible, for example by opening windows and doors. Do not open windows and doors if doing so poses a safety or health risk (e.g., risk of falling, triggering asthma symptoms) to children using the facility.

There will be many days in the fall, spring and summer that are hot weather days. Opening windows and doors could result in classroom temperatures well over 100 degrees Fahrenheit. These classrooms will not only be extremely uncomfortable for students and teachers, but learning will be adversely affected as its just too hot to think and learn. Further, keeping doors and windows open could endanger students who are allergic to bees and wasps. It's good the CDC recognizes that this might pose a risk to asthmatic students, but what the CDC appears not to understand is that nearly every classroom will have one or more students with some degree of asthma or serious allergies to pollen. Finally, opening doors and window can present a security risk to students and teachers.

■ **Water Systems**

To minimize the risk of Legionnaire's disease and other diseases associated with water, take steps to ensure that all water systems and features (e.g., sink faucets, drinking fountains, decorative fountains) are safe to use after a prolonged facility shutdown. Drinking fountains should be cleaned and sanitized, but encourage staff

and students to bring their own water to minimize use and touching of water fountains.

Wow, won't this be fun, arming students with water bottles? Apparently, the CDC did not see the recent riots in many American cities. Thousands of pictures exist showing rioters throwing full water bottles at the police as their way of participating in a new sport — waterballing. Yes, many public schools are full of students who hassle authority figures, and some of the rioters were students in high school. It is not a stretch to predict students will be throwing bottles and each other as well as school staff.

■ **Modified Layouts**

Space seating/desks at least 6 feet apart when feasible.

It might have been helpful if prior to issuing this suggestion a member of the CDC would have visited a few classrooms in K-12 schools. They would have soon seen the infeasibility of this suggestion. Even if schools removed all storage, cabinets, learning centers and learning equipment, most school classrooms will lack the space to put each desk 6 feet apart. This will require millions of dollars in new construction for new classrooms if schools are to comply with this suggestion.

Turn desks to face in the same direction (rather than facing each other), or have students sit on only one side of tables, spaced apart.

If there is sufficient space, which is a big if, then this is not an additional cost burden to schools. However, this type of classroom arrangement will set schools back 50 years in terms of learning-style arrangements. Decades ago, researchers established that students learn better when they learn in groups cooperatively. This discussion and interaction among students cannot occur in the “new” learning environment advocated by the CDC. Is this the CDC's idea of “Back to the Future” starring Michael Fox?

■ *Create distance between children on school buses (g., seat children one child per row, skip rows) when possible.*

Although every bus driver in America would love this idea, it is just not sensible. This would result in school buses operating at about 16.67 percent capacity on elementary runs where three students per seat are usually shuttled, and 25 percent capacity on high school runs where at least two students per seat are shuttled. There are basically only three ways to accomplish this student distancing on a school bus: 1) extend the walking distance by several more miles, and only transport the few students who live far away from the school; 2) at least quadruple the number of school bus runs, which might well result in the first run beginning at 3 a.m. and the last run arriving at 10 a.m. or even 11 a.m., depending on distance traveled. Schools are simply not staffed to provide supervision at such early hours, nor are they staffed to run schools in shifts like a factory; and 3) purchasing new school buses four times the number of school buses the school currently operates (costing millions of dollars for an average size school district) and hiring about four times the number of school bus drivers currently employed by the school district — costing at least hundreds of thousands of dollars each year for a typical school district, and millions of dollars each year for large school districts. It is just not practical for this suggestion to be implemented.

■ *Physical Barriers and Guides*

Install physical barriers, such as sneeze guards and partitions, particularly in areas where it is difficult for individuals to remain at least 6 feet apart (e.g., reception desks).

Won't this be a pretty sight. Three- or four-foot "sneeze guards and partitions" surrounding the reception desks. Why protect only receptionists? You of course would intend to provide the same protection to administrators, counselors, social workers, nurses, teachers and students — they all need protection too, right? This idea must be right out of Rod Sterling's "The Twilight Zone," as the scene of all these guards and partitions would appear to look like one big rat maze. It would depersonalize schools and make face to face interaction more difficult.

Provide physical guides, such as tape on floors or sidewalks and signs on walls, to ensure that staff and children remain at least 6 feet apart in lines and at other times (e.g. guides for creating "one way routes" in hallways).

This suggestion would work well . . . in a 1950s school. How long would it take for a student bent on mischief to peel off the tape the school placed on its floors and sidewalks. Sadly, in many public schools it won't take long. Unless the school can tear out walls to make more hallways, "one-way routes" in hallways won't work, as every school hallway in America was designed for two-way hallways.

■ *Communal Spaces*

Close communal use shared spaces such as dining halls and playgrounds with shared playground equipment if possible; otherwise, stagger use and clean and disinfect between use.

Now the CDC is going from the inane to the absurd. A school without a dining room. How ridiculous! Would the CDC want the students to eat outside in 80-90 degree summer weather or 10-20 degree winter weather? Or in school hallways, perhaps, or even worse — in classrooms? Students spill a lot of food in the cafeteria. Custodians after each lunch period sweep the cafeteria and pick up considerable trash that students drop on the floor. Can you imagine the stench in each classroom that students eat in by the end of the school day, especially on days when syrup is served? To suggest lunch periods be staggered (presumably to keep the six-foot social distancing) would require some student to eat shortly after arriving to school and others eating shortly before departure. How about schools that serve breakfast? Lunchrooms will not be available soon enough for the early lunch periods. Has anyone in the CDC set foot in a public school the last couple of decades? The CDC is not content to just abolish lunch rooms. Now they move on to effectively abolish recess for students. It is absurd to think schools can purchase individual playground equipment so that the equipment is not "shared." All playground equipment is shared.

Children don't play in their own little bubble — they play together.

Add physical barriers, such as plastic flexible screens, between bathroom sinks especially when they cannot be at least 6 feet apart.

In many schools this may be feasible but will have an economic cost. Plus it's just one more thing for wayward students to vandalize. Hey CDC, how about "plastic flexible screens" around the urinals?

CDC Guidelines for Food Service

- *Have children bring their own meals as feasible, or serve individually plated meals in classrooms instead of in a communal dining hall or cafeteria, while ensuring the safety of children with food allergies.*

See above comments regarding communal spaces.

- *Use disposable food service items (e.g., utensils, dishes). If disposable items are not feasible or desirable, ensure that all non-disposable food service items are handled with gloves and washed with dish soap and hot water or in a dishwasher. Individuals should wash their hands after removing their gloves or after directly handling used food service items.*

OK, but schools already do this as nearly all, or all, state and county boards of health require this procedure, except they do not require disposable food service items.

- *If food is offered at any event, have pre-packaged boxes or bags for each attendee instead of a buffet or family-style meal. Avoid sharing food and utensils and ensure the safety of children with food allergies.*

This guideline makes sense. It is simple and straightforward. I think schools would do this even absent a federal agency guideline.

CDC Suggestions for Maintaining Healthy Operations

Schools may consider implementing several strategies to maintain healthy operations.

- *Protections for Staff and Children at Higher Risk for Severe Illness from COVID-19*

- *Offer options for staff at higher risk for severe illness (including older adults and people of all ages with certain underlying medical conditions) that limit their exposure risk (e.g., telework, modified job responsibilities that limit exposure risk).*

This vague guideline appears to be an intrusion of the CDC into local school district's personnel matters. Who determines whether "staff is at higher risk for severe illness"? What are the standards and measurement system to determine this "higher risk"? Higher than whom or what? How long must, or can, a school employ staff for "telework" (whatever that is) and modified job responsibilities? Do some students get a real live classroom teacher and others just a talking head on the computer? Will additional staff have to be employed? Does the CDC pay for this additional cost?

- *Offer options for students at higher risk of severe illness that limit their exposure risk (e.g., virtual opportunities learning).*

- *Consistent with applicable law, put in place policies to protect the privacy of people at higher risk for severe illness regarding underlying medical conditions.*

What is the "applicable law"? Why not state in the CDC guidelines what this law is? The HIPPA federal law already protects the privacy of people's medical matters. Why does the CDC believe that other policies are needed?

- *Regulatory Awareness*

Be aware of local or state regulatory agency policies related to group gatherings to determine if events can be held.

This may prove to be a helpful piece of advice from the CDC. Some school staff may not be aware of their state's regulations as to how many people can gather in the bathroom, kitchen, closets or offices. This may be why the CDC issued this guidance to "be aware of local or state regulatory agency policies related to group gatherings." Does the CDC really think it necessary to advise school staff to follow local and

state regulations, when public education is one of the most highly regulated industries in America?

- *Gatherings, Visitors, and Field Trips*

Pursue virtual group events, gatherings, or meetings, if possible, and promote social distancing of at least 6 feet between people if events are held. Limit group size to the extent possible.

Most schools have been shut down for several months. Schools have used various software programs to hold virtual group events, gatherings and meetings. Perhaps the most, if not only, helpful advice for schools is to distance people six feet apart if groups of people meet.

- *Limit any nonessential visitors, volunteers, and activities involving external groups or organizations as possible – especially with individuals who are not from the local geographic area (e.g., community, town, city, county).*

What is the difference between and essential visitor, volunteer or activity, versus “nonessential”? Who gets to decide? Who decides, and what standards do they use, to determine if limiting is “possible”? What is an “external group or organization”? Is it the PTA, Junior Achievement, Antifa? If the Governor comes to a school, since the Governor is not from the same “local geographic area,” does a school deny access to the Governor? How about the State Fire Marshall or State Police? This writer is pretty sure school management has the sense to limit access to schools to the extent necessary to keep students reasonably safe, e.g. requiring temperature checks for visitors and volunteers, denying those poor visitors or volunteers who just got off a cruise ship, or recently came back from traveling to Wuhan China or other foreign country.

- *Pursue virtual activities and events in lieu of field trips, student assemblies, special performances, school-wide parent meetings, and spirit nights, as possible.*

Finally, some evidence that somebody involved in the development of the CDC guidelines has at least visited a public school within the past couple of decades. Schools have

done an admirable job the past several months in not having field trips, student assemblies, special performances, school-wide parent meetings and spirit nights — as they have been closed and locked up by the governors. However, these activities are all essential and necessary activities of a school. These activities have proven to be the best tool to build parent and public support for schools. When schools open up they need to conduct these activities “when possible.”

- *Pursue options to convene sporting events and participation in sports activities in ways that minimizes the risk of transmission of COVID-19 to players, families, coaches, and communities.*

How helpful is this guideline? What might be the ways to “minimize the risk of transmission of COVID-19 to players, families, coaches and communities”? Hold sporting events without any parents or community in the grandstands? Change tackle football to flag football with the defense players using six-foot poles to rip the flag off the runner? Requiring basketball players to keep a six-foot distance from all other players? (Coaches want good offensive spacing for their team for the passing game, but this is not what they have in mind for defense — a team that tries to guard the opponents from six-feet away will give up a lot of points.)

- *Identifying Small Groups and Keeping Them Together (Cohorting)*

A group of children stays with the same staff (all day for young children, and as much as possible for older children).

Having the same teacher all day in elementary school is problematic. What about art teachers, music teachers and physical education teachers that most schools have employed? Do they get laid off when each teacher teaches their own art, music and P.E.? What about preparation time for these elementary school teachers when they have used the special classes time for their preparation?

Secondary schools are even more problematic. Does the CDC really want the social studies teacher teaching physics, the P.E. teaching biology, the chemistry teacher teaching history?

Even keeping the same students together is not feasible, as students and parents want different elective courses.

Limit mixing between groups if possible.

Not even sure what the CDC means here. Schools are inherently high-contact social institutions. They are not conducted with a bubble around each person in the school. In fact, it can be argued that without high social contact, learning will not occur. Students will soon be bored when kept in isolation.

■ *Staggered Scheduling*

Stagger arrival and drop-off times or locations by cohort or put in place other protocols to limit contact between cohorts and direct contact with parents as much as possible.

Here is a simple idea: The CDC could put up a ten million dollar prize for any school administrator who is able to develop and successfully implement a plan for the staggered arrival and drop-off times and locations by cohort – without cost increase to the school district. Good PR for the CDC, and essentially a zero probability that the CDC would ever have to make the payout. This guideline calls for schools to operate in shifts like a factory. It will have little, if any, staff, parent, or public support.

When possible, use flexible worksites (e.g., telework) and flexible work hours (e.g., staggered shifts) to help establish policies and practices for social distancing (maintaining distance of approximately 6 feet) between employees and others, especially if social distancing is recommended by state and local health authorities.

These guidelines are essentially a repeat of other guidelines presented by the CDC above. Although maintaining six-foot social distancing is an admirable guideline, it will be quite a challenge for public schools. Perhaps the CDC could provide each teacher and each student with an oxygenated plastic bubble to put on when at school. Holes must be placed in the mouth area for feeding however, defeating the purpose of the bubble. Going to the bathroom might be a little difficult

too. Perhaps a select committee established by the CDC could figure out how to solve this bathroom problem.

■ *Designated COVID-19 Point of Contact*

Designate a staff person to be responsible for responding to COVID-19 concerns (e.g., school nurse). All school staff and families should know who this person is and how to contact them.

No problem — just assign this duty to the school nurse, and watch him or her yelp. Does the CDC have any idea how much time this will take? The author certainly has no idea. If this requires nurses to work overtime, or schools to hire another part-time nurse to implement this guideline, will the CDC pay for these extra costs?

■ *Participation in Community Response Efforts*

Consider participating with local authorities in broader COVID-19 community response efforts (e.g., sitting on community response committees).

Ah yes, the bureaucrats dream: Establish a committee community-wide so nobody has responsibility for student and staff safety. The CDC is off the hook for any responsibility because they adopted all these wonderful guidelines and called for another community response committee.

■ *Communication Systems*

Put systems in place for:

Consistent with applicable law and privacy policies, having staff and families self-report to the school if they or their student have symptoms of COVID-19, a positive test for COVID-19, or were exposed to someone with COVID-19 within the last 14 days in accordance with health information sharing regulations for COVID-19 (e.g. see “Notify Health Officials and Close Contacts” in the Preparing for When Someone Gets Sick section below) and other applicable federal and state laws and regulations relating to privacy and confidentiality, such as the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA).

It would have been helpful for the CDC to identify what “applicable law and privacy policies” to which they refer. Perhaps they don’t know what these are? Also, it would have been helpful for the CDC to identify the “applicable federal and state laws and regulations relating to privacy and confidentiality,” other than FERPA.

“Having staff and families self-report to the school if they or their student have symptoms of COVID-19, a positive test for COVID-19, or were exposed to someone with COVID-19 within the last 14 days in accordance with health information sharing regulations for COVID-19” is a sound idea and easy to understand.

- *Notifying staff, families, and the public of school closures and any restrictions in place to limit COVID-19 exposure (e.g., limited hours of operation).*

Another excellent idea from the CDC to keep staff, families and the public informed of school closures and any restrictions in place to limit COVID-19. Surely the school’s public relations staff appreciates this advice.

- *Leave (Time Off) Policies and Excused Absence Policies*

Implement flexible sick leave policies and practices that enable staff to stay home when they are sick, have been exposed, or caring for someone who is sick.

Examine and revise policies for leave, telework, and employee compensation.

Leave policies should be flexible and not punish people for taking time off, and should allow sick employees to stay home and away from co-workers. Leave policies should also account for employees who need to stay home with their children if there are school or childcare closures, or to care for sick family members.

Quite simply, this guideline usurps the authority of every state legislature in the country as well as every school board that has had delegated to it the power to establish personnel policies. Further, most school boards already have in place generous sick leave policies, and many

have family paid-leave policies. Again, schools are best managed by local authorities and not by a federal agency located in Atlanta, Georgia. Finally, the CDC does not provide any funding for this new intrusion into the management of school personnel policies

Develop policies for return-to-school after COVID-19 illness. CDC’s criteria to discontinue home isolation and quarantine can inform these policies.

Although this again is the CDC making personnel policy for schools, schools may find the CDC guidelines to discontinue home isolation and quarantine to be helpful — if they can find them. Unfortunately, the CDC did not include its advice in these guidelines and schools are left to find it in another CDC document.

- *Back-Up Staffing Plan*

Monitor absenteeism of students and employees, cross-train staff, and create a roster of trained back-up staff.

All schools do monitor student and employee absenteeism and don’t need this guideline from the CDC. There is some cross-training of staff. It is not clear from the guideline which type of staff should be cross-trained and what kind of training they should undertake. “Back-up staff” is not a term normally used in schools. Does the CDC mean substitute teachers and substitute staff? If so, schools already have rosters of these substitutes, although with the wide-open leave policies for staff recommended by the CDC, schools may have to double their roster of “back-up staff.”

- *Staff Training*

Train staff on all safety protocols.

Conduct training virtually or ensure that social distancing is maintained during training.

School staff is typically trained on various safety protocols. The CDC does not describe the safety protocols they want as training. So until that is done, school management will be in the dark.

- *Recognize Signs and Symptoms*

If feasible, conduct daily health checks (e.g., temperature screening and/or or symptom checking) of staff and students.

Health checks should be conducted safely and respectfully, and in accordance with any applicable privacy laws and regulations. School administrators may use examples of screening methods in CDC's supplemental Guidance for Child Care Programs that Remain Open as a guide for screening children and CDC's General Business FAQs for screening staff.

Daily temperature and symptom checking sounds innocuous and smart. It probably needs to be done to reassure staff that no staff or students are knowingly arriving to school sick. It won't definitely inform as to COVID-19 specifically as a high temperature or similar symptoms may be an illness other than COVID-19. Further consideration should be the cost of this checking. It would probably be a school nurse. In a small school of 30-40 staff members, this simple task could take a couple of hours of the nurse's work day. In a larger school of 100 or more staff members, this may take half or more of the nurse's work day. This has a cost factor as school nurses are often overworked, and it is likely schools will have to hire additional nurses at least part-time. This will be difficult given the shortage of nurses in most areas.

- *Sharing Facilities*

Encourage any organizations that share or use the school facilities to also follow these considerations.

It is not clear as to which considerations each outside organization must follow. Boy Scouts would not likely have the same considerations as AAU girls volleyball.

- *Support Coping and Resilience*

Encourage employees and students to take breaks from watching, reading, or listening to news stories about COVID-19, including social media if they are feeling overwhelmed or distressed.

Promote employees and students eating healthy, exercising, getting sleep, and finding time to unwind.

Encourage employees and students to talk with people they trust about their concerns and how they are feeling.

Consider posting signages for the national distress hotline: 1-800-985-5990, or text TalkWithUsto 66746.

These items may be well received by school staff as they will take minimal time to accomplish and have only nominal cost, the cost of the signages.

- *Preparing for When Someone Gets Sick*

Schools may consider implementing several strategies to prepare for when someone gets sick.

- *Advise Staff and Families of Sick Students of Home Isolation Criteria*

Sick staff members or students should not return until they have met CDC's criteria to discontinue home isolation.

- *Isolate and Transport Those Who are Sick*

Make sure that staff and families know that they (staff) or their children (families) should not come to school, and that they should notify school officials (e.g., the designated COVID-19 point of contact) if they (staff) or their child (families) become sick with COVID-19 symptoms, test positive for COVID-19, or have been exposed to someone with COVID-19 symptoms or a confirmed or suspected case.

Immediately separate staff and children with COVID-19 symptoms (such as fever, cough, or shortness of breath) at school. Individuals who are sick should go home or to a healthcare facility depending on how severe their symptoms are, and follow CDC guidance for caring for oneself and others who are sick.

Work with school administrators, nurses, and other healthcare providers to identify an isolation room or area to separate anyone who has COVID-19 symptoms or tests

positive but does not have symptoms. School nurses and other healthcare providers should use Standard and Transmission-Based Precautions when caring for sick people. See: What Healthcare Personnel Should Know About Caring for Patients with Confirmed or Possible COVID-19 Infection.

Establish procedures for safely transporting anyone who is sick to their home or to a healthcare facility. If you are calling an ambulance or bringing someone to the hospital, try to call first to alert them that the person may have COVID-19.

All of these guidelines are straightforward and easily implemented by school staff. There should be no additional costs for schools when they implement these suggestions.

■ *Clean and Disinfect*

Close off areas used by a sick person and do not use these areas until after cleaning and disinfecting

Wait at least 24 hours before cleaning and disinfecting. If 24 hours is not feasible, wait as long as possible. Ensure safe and correct use and storage of cleaning and disinfection products, including storing products securely away from children.

Although these guidelines seem simple and well intended and should be done, in some cases implementation will close down school for a day or more. If a child attends school all day, walks the hallways, uses the gym and cafeteria, all these will need to be cleaned. Can we spell custodial “overtime” folks? If schools have to wait 24 hours to occupy these areas, except on Fridays, the school could have to shut down for a day or more.

■ *Notify Health Officials and Close Contacts*

In accordance with state and local laws and regulations, school administrators

should notify local health officials, staff, and families immediately of any case of COVID-19 while maintaining confidentiality in accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

Inform those who have had close contact with a person diagnosed with COVID-19 to stay home and self-monitor for symptoms, and follow CDC guidance if symptoms develop.

Since the ADA may prohibit schools from revealing the name of the ill person, the notification will not include the person’s name. By requiring a student or staff member to stay home raises some new legal issues. First, who is, if anybody, required to pay the employee’s wages for time missed by that employee whose only sin was he or she had “close contact” with a person who has COVID-19? What are the employer’s rights? Can the employer require the employee to stay home when the employee wants to work? How about students and symptom-free who refuse to stay home after having “close contact” with some person who has the virus? If a student sits five feet, or maybe four feet, from another student in the lunchroom who was the next day diagnosed to have the virus, does the school have the legal power to order a student to stay home who has been so exposed? How does this guideline interface with state mandatory attendance laws? Does this guideline supersede state laws, and state constitutions, that provide that public schools must be open to all? Does requiring a student so exposed to stay home deny a student his or her right to a public education, particularly when the student has no symptoms? How long can the school require the exposed student to stay home? These are just a few of the many legal questions presented by implementation of these guidelines. ♦

Eric Schansberg

1968: A Fascinating Year in American History and Politics

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(July 22) — Michael Cohen's *American Maelstrom: The 1968 Election and the Politics of Division* provides a useful and easy-to-read history of the 1968 election cycle.

Cohen opens with LBJ's perspective after the 1964 election. He had been a prodigious legislator as a Senator. As a re-elected president, he had control of Congress and a perceived mandate after crushing Barry Goldwater. Cohen argues that the "mandate" was more about maintaining the status quo and opposition to Goldwater's perceived radicalism — than LBJ's penchant for activism. In any case, his energy, resolve, and deal-making ability resulted in an amazing flurry of domestic policies.

Cohen then jumps into foreign policy and allows us to reminisce about a powerful anti-War movement — when the Left cared a lot more about this topic (pp. 23, 31, 35-50). Hubert Humphrey had been opposed to the Vietnam policy and wrote a prophetic memo (70). But then he swallowed his whistle and became a cheerleader as LBJ's vice president — the means justified by the end of wanting to become president (77). LBJ got immersed in Vietnam and talked about backtracking, but the actions never matched the words (158).

Eugene McCarthy courageously decided to challenge LBJ in the primaries, based on opposition to his approach in Vietnam (133). While McCarthy was an uneven campaigner (137), his entry into the fray and his surprising near-win in New Hampshire paved the way for RFK's entry, LBJ's exit and Humphrey's entry soon after.

Cohen describes the popular history of RFK's run as mythical — "informed more by hagiography than history." (147) (One can say the same thing about his brother JFK's presidency.) RFK was murdered in early June, just after his narrow victory in the California primary over McCarthy (139). (Johnson had become more popular after declining to run — and with the mess among his potential replacements, he strongly considered getting back in the race [159-160]) But Cohen argues persuasively that RFK was never likely to beat Humphrey (146-149).

MLK Jr. had been murdered on April 4. The Voting Rights Act was passed on August 5, but six days later a traffic stop went poorly in Watts, leading to riots. Crime and mayhem both increased dramatically (28) — leading to more backlash from voters and fueling what would be a disastrous convention for the Democrats in Chicago later that month.

On the GOP side, George Romney was a successful governor in Michigan, but his skills did not translate to the national stage. He was relatively liberal, a gaffe machine, vague on foreign policy, and helpful to Nixon as a distraction. Nelson Rockefeller was the longtime governor of New York, a "technocrat," a "reformer" and a "do-er" (195), but too tentative on the national stage. He was effective with the public, but had repeatedly annoyed party insiders — e.g., attacking Eisenhower and Nixon in 1960 on foreign policy (198). An awkward divorce and remarriage in 1962-63 was another roadblock for his political future (200).

But Nixon and Reagan are the most important and interesting characters here. Cohen describes Nixon as a "progressive conservative" in terms of domestic policy (175); a foreign policy "wise man" after his loss in the 1962 governor's race; and a "great" politician who recast himself (again) and enjoyed a second political resurrection (170).

Reagan was emerging as a political force — with a key speech on conservatism in 1964 (more palatable than Goldwater) and then, in the 1968 primary season (as the governor of California). Apparently, he was thought to have a "meager

knowledge of public policy." (210) This seems strange for an econ major, but perhaps his policy prowess emerged later. (I have read that he spent a lot of time thinking about policy and enunciating positions in the 1970s.) He combined a law-and-order emphasis, pragmatic fiscal conservatism and an anti-elite but optimistic style that was attractive to voters. But it was too early for him to win the nomination, even with Nixon's checkered political background.

Cohen then devotes a chapter to Alabama governor George Wallace — a third-party candidate who did really well: 14 percent of the popular vote and 8 percent of the electoral vote — the last non-Dem/GOP candidate to win a state.

Wallace also had some influence on political rhetoric going forward. In Cohen's estimation, the impact was huge. But it seems more correlation than causation as other candidates in both major parties and independents like Ross Perot continued to attract the voters drawn to Wallace. (He had earned more than a third of the vote in three 1964 Democratic primaries (WI, IN, MD) and was arguably leading the race as a Democrat in 1972 before being shot and paralyzed.) Cohen describes Wallace as "an extraordinary political manipulator." (221) But again, it's not clear whether he was manipulating as much as reflecting. To that point, Cohen describes Wallace as a product of heightened democracy in the 1960s (232-233) — one of the downsides of fervent democratic practice.

Wallace attracted racists but also voters who were concerned about social change, law and order, elites and coercive school busing. Ironically, his aggression against blacks as governor helped both him and the Civil Rights movement, by giving national politicians a convenient foil (229). Interestingly, Wallace started his political career as an anti-racist, before flipping after getting beat in an election (223). (In this, he was like Elizabeth Warren, in changing sides when he knew better. At least, Wallace flipped back late in his political career, after becoming a Christian, with an impressive Civil Rights record in his final term as governor.) He had been a prolific New Deal

Democrat (234). He was popular as governor and tried to evade term limits. When that failed, his wife Lurleen ran in 1966, when she was elected as the state's first female governor. (She died in May 1968, stopping his presidential campaign for five weeks.)

With the primary characters described (*pun intended*), Cohen turns to the two conventions: the GOP in Miami and the Dems in Chicago. (We are introduced to Spiro T. Agnew here — who Cohen depicts as being in the right place at the right time throughout his political career (254-257).

He also adds more detail on Humphrey's vacillation and the prospect of a late entry by another Kennedy: Ted) Given the structure of the primaries at the time, neither party's nomination was clinched. (The Dems would make dramatic changes after this election cycle, putting much more weight into primaries and caucuses.) Nixon and Humphrey, though, were clear favorites — and there was relatively little drama, at least on-stage. (Cohen describes a variety of machinations behind the scenes. But none of it amounted to much.)

The real drama was outside the convention, as Mayor Daley told his police to be rough with protesters and the media (261). In Cohen's telling, Miami was fitting since it was "plastic." And Chicago was appropriate given its cronyism, Daley's emphasis on law-and-order and the tension there between working-class ethnics and African-Americans. Throw in some other opponents: Vietnam versus Hippies; Segregationists versus Blacks; Daley versus Jews (281) — and the propensity for mayhem and violence reached epic proportions, an embarrassment to the Democrat party and a millstone for Humphrey's candidacy.

Given the public's dissatisfaction with the Democrat administration and the debacle of the Democrat convention, Nixon started with a tremendous lead; Humphrey was actually closer to Wallace in the polls. Wallace faded a bit with his vice-presidential choice of ultra-hawk General Curtis LeMay. His lack of subtlety about the military in general — and nukes in particular — was a liability. (This was reminiscent of Perot's massive stumble in 1992 by choosing Admiral Stockdale.)

Humphrey finally found the courage to step away from LBJ on Vietnam in Salt Lake City on September 30. Momentum changed dramatically: energy increased; money and endorsements rolled in; and the embarrassing heckling of the anti-War Left turned to cheers. The vice-presidential choices also seemed to matter a bit: Agnew as a liability and Edmund Muskie as a star (316-318). Cohen also has a long discussion of a potential "October surprise": LBJ's negotiations with the North Vietnamese — with the potential for shenanigans on both sides and a focus on Nixon's back-channel efforts (318-326).

With a big lead, Nixon played it safe, including vague pronouncements, moderate policy stands, and a focus on image. Humphrey described him as a "papier-mache man" just after the election (330). The label was certainly true on domestic policy. (It doesn't seem accurate on foreign policy or Watergate, but Cohen doesn't speak to those at length.) Of course, the irony is that Humphrey was the pot calling the kettle black, especially in subsuming his "principles" on Vietnam to serve under LBJ. Cohen argues that he lost because the SLC speech came too late — and that his courage only emerged from desperation.

It is noteworthy that an incumbent party lost an election, especially with a relatively healthy economy after a huge victory four years earlier. Vietnam would seem to be a primary causal candidate, but Cohen argues that it couldn't be — at least in direct terms. The public was still ambivalent and the candidates were not that far apart on policy. But Vietnam fed the public's general unease and the Anti-War faction was an embarrassing thorn in Humphrey's side. And it certainly became a long-term problem for the Democrats (331-333). I understand and can sympathize with that, but I miss the days when they had a vibrant, principled liberal wing in their party. Today's Democrats are almost as happy as the GOP to see military interventionism.

In the last two chapters, Cohen gets more explicit about tying 1968 to politics since then. The title of the book clearly fits; society and politics were a tumultuous "maelstrom" that year. But the

book does not live up to its subtitle — imagining 1968 as a threshold moment for the "politics of division." Cohen notes that Nixon's victory "ushered in GOP presidential dominance." True enough. But he also argues that it introduced "four decades of division, incoherence, and parochialism in American politics." This is unsupported — and, I think, unsupportable.

Given presidential elections, 1968 seems pivotal from a partisan lens. The GOP would win the presidency in every election until 2008 — except for two relatively conservative, Southern governors: Jimmy Carter in 1976 (a narrow post-Watergate win) and Bill Clinton in 1992-1996. But there's more to the story than merely a flip of the switch in terms of elections or certainly, the dominant approach to politics. In fact, Cohen makes most of these points himself.

First, 1968 was not so much pro-GOP as a repudiation of LBJ. (Nixon's coattails were tiny.) Second, Nixon was a "big-government" president, expanding the War on Poverty (the real money starts flowing in his administration) and dramatically increasing the role of government throughout the economy. Third, Wallace had great success again in 1972 — as a Democrat. Fourth, the Dems were busy with their own internal problems for years, indicating that this was not merely a matter of GOP political success. Fifth, there is always an ebb and flow to presidential politics and Senate majorities (177).

Three points not mentioned by Cohen: The Democrats held the House for another 26 years, often with huge majorities. One might call Watergate partisan politics and "divisive" but that doesn't seem to be the case. And Reagan governed in an effective, bi-partisan manner through most of his term, including his massive marginal tax rate cut with a heavy-majority Dem House. None of this is helpful to Cohen's thesis.

Instead of 1968, I would point to the early-mid 1990s. The end of the Cold War removed an existential threat and changed the dynamics of partisan rivalry. (Does anyone remember that we used to worry, all the time, about nuclear weapons?) And in 1994, the GOP finally took over

the House under Newt Gingrich, leading to Clinton's "conservatism" (and a relatively strong presidency) — and ushering in an era when the battle for Congress became much more contentious. (Another key moment was Bush II's ill-fated decision to go to Iraq and then stay there indefinitely — giving us Obama leading to Trump.)

Part of the problem is that Cohen imagines that the War on Poverty could have been much more successful. If so, the 1968 thesis has more pop. If not, then the "War" was going to inevitably inspire a small-government backlash — independent of Wallace, Nixon, etc. Cohen also seems confused by the different response of voters on extending civil liberties versus domestic policies with economic and financial implication — again, as if politicians like Wallace and Nixon were required to stir a pot (25). Giving someone greater ability to vote is one thing (and quite popular); dramatically increasing redistribution is another. The general public was never going to be happy about this turn in policy.

Cohen argues that the immense number of programs passed in LBJ's administration implied that the programs would struggle as they played out in practice. He blames "lack of attention to execution," not being "adequately prepared," and "inexperienced practitioners with minimal oversight." (17)

Excuses like these are common when complex government activism falls short. It's far more likely that the programs wouldn't have worked anyway, given what they tried to accomplish. Along those lines, Cohen conflates these programs with government activism that had been much more effective in the 1930-1950s. But those earlier efforts were over-rated and low-hanging fruit; the later efforts were in areas inherently more difficult to have success.

Similarly, Cohen observes that trust in government fell quickly — from 61 percent to 45 percent, from 1966 to 1968 (23). It would fall further in the next few years as well — not surprising given Vietnam, domestic turmoil, domestic policy failures, Watergate and the various problems under Carter throughout the late 1970s.

As such, it's more compelling to see 1968 as correlated rather than causal — as an inevitable response to flawed policies, domestically and in Vietnam. While the landscape was changing dramatically in parts of the country, it's a mistake to overstate the overall impact of 1968 within the country overall. 1968 was noteworthy and "pivotal" to some extent. (Maybe "inflection point" is a better term.) But singling it out for four decades of special influence is far more weight than it can carry.

Cohen discusses the "Southern Strategy" but is careful not to put too much emphasis on it. This is an improvement over popular but facile analysis elsewhere. There are other important pieces to the puzzle. The GOP was a distinctly minority party, but the majority Democrats had labor unions, African-Americans, other ethnic minorities, and liberals to balance — an impossible task, at least with Civil Rights, Vietnam, and the War on Poverty in the mix. Another angle not directly pursued by Cohen: to what extent did the GOP "go conservative" because its liberal leaders were unimpressive and Reagan, its champion in the wings, was so compelling politically?

And how can one consider the "politics of division" in this time period without addressing the topic of legalized abortion? Competing rights — here, between mother and child — usually lead to contention. The Dems made the fateful decision to go "pro-choice" instead of pro-life — and the political landscape would be dramatically different within 12 years. (George McKenna uses Rip Van Winkle as a thought experiment to explain why it's surprising that the Dems did not advocate for the vulnerable.) How would politics be different today if the Dems had chosen to defend babies instead?

Still, Cohen's book is useful as a history of a fascinating year in American society and politics. It was an important year in our nation's history, even if it didn't have the staggering and long-reaching political impact that Cohen posits. ♦



Talking Points for Conservative Teens Heading Back to School

(July 23) — Students who publicly express conservative opinions at school often are mocked or bullied by classmates and typically find their views caricatured or misrepresented. As you prepare to return to campus this fall, you may be faced with significant peer pressure to adopt the most radical positions of the “social justice” and Black Lives Matter (BLM) movements. For those who choose to exercise your free speech rights, here are some research-backed talking points that may help strengthen your beliefs and hone your arguments.

Black Lives Matter

“Why don’t you kneel during the National Anthem?”

For me, kneeling means prayer. I stand for the Anthem to show my respect for all who have fought and died to keep us free. About 1.2 million American service members have died in wars since the American Revolution, and the vast majority of those died in two wars: The Civil War

(498,332) and World War II (405,399). The Civil War was fought to end slavery in this country. World War II stopped Hitler’s efforts to exterminate the Jewish people and other minorities. The United States has done more to preserve freedom across the globe than any other country, and I think it is important to recognize the sacrifice of so many by standing with my hand over my heart, as set forth in the U.S. Flag Code.

Source: Department of Veterans Affairs, https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/factsheets/fs_americas_wars.pdf

“Don’t black lives matter to you?”

Absolutely. All black lives matter, including babies in the womb and victims of violent crime in the streets. However, I disagree with the platform of the Black Lives Matter organization, so I choose to align myself with other groups that work for equality and justice. (GIVE EXAMPLE AS APPROPRIATE).

“What’s your objection to the Black Lives Matter organization?”

The leaders of Black Lives Matter are “trained Marxists,” according to Patrisse Cullors, one of its founders. The organization is a global network

with a broad agenda, which opposes the U.S. economy and political system as we know it, and even the American family. For example, BLM seeks to “disrupt the Western-prescribed nuclear family structure” and would replace it with collectives or communes (blacklivesmatter.com/what-we-believe/). Research strongly affirms that the traditional family structure, with two parents at home, is the key building block for healthy societies — not communes or collectives.

Source: Interview with Cullors at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kCghDx5qN4s&feature=youtu.be>

“White people can be ‘allies’ by giving money to Black Lives Matter.”

I prefer to volunteer and give money to hands-on programs that directly help people in need. (ADD PERSONAL EXPERIENCE). Most of the money that goes to BLM’s foundation pays for administrative costs, marketing and PR, community organizing, and developing local chapters, according to Kailee Scales, Black Lives Matter Global Network managing director.

Source: <https://abc6onyourside.com/news/nation-world/as-black-lives-matter-donations-surge-some-want-to-know-where-the-money-goes>

“Real change requires violence to get people’s attention.”

History shows that non-violent campaigns are more successful in bringing about change. One study looked at all violent and nonviolent campaigns from 1900 to 2006 that resulted in the overthrow of a government or in territorial liberation. “Countries in which there were nonviolent campaigns were about 10 times likelier to transition to democracies within a five-year period compared with countries in which there were violent campaigns — whether the campaigns succeeded or failed.”

Source quote: <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2019/02/why-nonviolent-resistance-beats-violent-force-in-effecting-social-political-change/>

Racism and Privilege

“We’re a racist country.”

Shelby Steele, the preeminent African-American historian, says racism is “endemic to the human condition. We will always have to watch out for it.” He is right. But we also should acknowledge all the progress that has been made. Today we all agree that slavery was a grievous sin against fellow human beings. We all agree that the era of segregation was a time of terrible mistreatment of African-Americans. The election of Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012 shows just how far our country has come. Most people agree that there are still inequalities — for example, in the length of prison sentences — and there is still work to be done.

Source: <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2019/12/03/the-growing-racial-disparity-in-prison-time>

“White silence is violence.”

If I see injustice I will speak out. I will also get my facts straight before I speak. When I am silent, I am listening to others or self-reflecting. As Plutarch said, “Silence at the proper season is wisdom, and better than any speech.”

“You have white privilege.”

I am privileged to have been born in the United States. The median family income in this country is \$60,000. That’s more than in 99 percent of the world. Did you know that if your family income is only \$10,000 a year, you are still wealthier than 84 percent of the world?

Yes, there are economic disparities by race. This is largely because of disparities in education. We need to dramatically improve the educational system in this country to ensure all children have access to high quality teachers, resources, and programs. Research confirms that providing children with a quality education is the most effective way to bring about equality in housing, employment and wealth acquisition.

Sources:

https://www.oregonlive.com/hovde/2012/08/income_in_perspective_americas.html

<https://www.vera.org/blog/two-societies/education-the-key-to-equality>
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2019/01/15/equal-opportunity-in-american-education/>
“Republicans are racist.”

Historically, Republicans have been the party that advanced racial equality. Did you know the Republican Party was founded in the 1850s to oppose the spread of slavery? Did you know that after the Civil War, the Republican majority in Congress pushed for the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to abolish slavery, grant equal protection of the law to African-Americans, and ensure voting rights for black men? A Republican president, Ulysses Grant, signed a law in 1871 to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan as a terrorist group. During his term in office, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana (1889-93) championed a “free and equal ballot” and anti-lynching legislation.

In more recent times, Republicans have continued to push policies to improve the lives of African-Americans. Some of these policies are opportunity zones, school choice and programs to increase the number of two-parent families, which, again, are shown to dramatically improve life outcomes for children (including physical health, academic achievement, likelihood of staying out of trouble, employment prospects). Note: Thirty-seven percent of black children live in two-parent households compared with 77 percent of white children.

Source: <https://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/8053-children-who-live-in-two-parent-families-by-race-ethnicity#detailed/1/any/false/1491,1049/4217,4218,4215,3301,4216,2664/15474,15473>

Defunding the Police

“We should defund the police.”

“Crime will not end if we abolish or defund the police. If the police are defunded, there will be delayed response when people who are in need

call 911. If we defund the police, those most affected will be the poor and the marginalized. Wealthy neighborhoods will hire private security as they are already doing, and poorer neighborhoods will have to fend for themselves even more than they already have to.”

Source quote: Jacqueline B. Helfgott, professor and director of the Seattle University Department of Criminal Justice Crime and Justice Research Center at <https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/the-movement-to-defund-the-police-is-wrong-and-heres-why/>

“Police are systemically racist.”

There are racist police just like there are racists in other lines of work. But FBI crime data does not support the conclusion that police shootings of suspects are skewed by race. For the last five years, police have fatally shot about 1,000 civilians annually, the majority of whom were armed or acting dangerously. In 2019, according to the Washington Post’s database of fatal police shootings, police killed 14 unarmed black victims and 25 unarmed white victims.

Source: https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/protests-spread-over-police-shootings-police-promised-reforms-every-year-they-still-shoot-nearly-1000-people/2020/06/08/5c204f0c-a67c-11ea-b473-04905b1af82b_story.html

“Every black man I know has been pulled over by police for no good reason.”

I have heard those stories too, and there is clearly work to be done. A study by the Justice Department, published in 2013, found that black drivers were 31 percent more likely to be pulled over than white ones.

The reasons for this are complex, but obviously racial profiling is a factor. This is an area where better police training and focus on neighborhood-based policing would improve things. Studies show that community-oriented policing increases trust between the public and police and may reduce racial profiling by police.

Sources:

<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/03/15/black-drivers-in-america-face-discrimination-by-the-police>
https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/What_Works_in_Community_Policing.pdf

Capitalism Versus Socialism

“Capitalism is a failure.”

It’s been a huge success everywhere it’s been tried. Thanks to technology and other innovations of capitalism, we all live better and healthier lives. “Over the past two centuries, growth has increased living standards in the West unimaginably quickly. Many more babies survive to adulthood.

Many more adults survive to old age. Many more people can be fed, clothed, and housed. Much of the world enjoys significant quantities of leisure time. Much of the world can carve out decades of their lives for education, skill development and the moral formation and enlightenment that come with it. Growth has enabled this.”

Source quote: Michael R. Strain, scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.
<https://www.aei.org/economics/political-economy/dont-tell-bernie-sanders-but-capitalism-has-made-human-life-fantastically-better-heres-how/>

“Socialism would help the poor.”

Socialism has led to less freedom and economic disaster across the globe. Venezuela is a recent example. Monthly wages there for teachers, police officers and medics “can literally only buy a few items of food.” In a socialist system, “all legal production and distribution decisions are made by the government, and individuals rely on the state for everything from food to healthcare.” By definition, socialism is doomed to failure because it ignores human behavior and the role of incentives. In a capitalist society people work and contribute economically because they get to keep the fruits of their labor.

Sources:

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2019/11/venezuela-socialists-leftists-maduro.html>
<https://economics21.org/how-socialism-destroyed-venezuela>
<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/socialism.asp>

Statues and American Exceptionalism

“All those framers were slaveowners and hypocrites. Their statues should be torn down.”

Some of those men were flawed, but their ideals were revolutionary. The constitution they drafted in 1787 has served as a model around the world because of its commitment to rule of law – and because it’s been flexible enough to change with the times. Thanks to the amendment process they created, the constitution has adapted to guarantee due process and equal protection to all people – blacks, women, immigrants.

“What about all those Confederates who defended slavery?”

Jeff Jacoby of the Boston Globe suggested this simple test for deciding what monuments to keep and which should be removed from the public square. What is the person being remembered for? If it is solely his role in the Confederacy, it should be removed through a formal public process. If the person is being remembered for a larger role in our nation’s history, it should remain. In the U.S. Capitol there are portraits of everyone who has served as Speaker of the House. Some of them were members of the Confederacy. Those would stay up to maintain a complete a historical record, but also to remind people of that chapter of our history when Confederates from the Democratic South returned to power. As George Santayana said, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”

“America has never been great.”

Then why do so many people want to come here? The United States has more immigrants than any other country in the world by far.

Source: [https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/03/which-countries-have-the-most-immigrants-51048ff1f9/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20United%20Nations,million\)%20\(figure%20below\)](https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/03/which-countries-have-the-most-immigrants-51048ff1f9/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20United%20Nations,million)%20(figure%20below))

“There’s no such thing as American exceptionalism.”

Our Constitution is exceptional. John Adams (who, by the way, opposed slavery) explained that it created a “government of laws and not of men.” This was what made the American experiment exceptional. Government can’t operate on a whim. It can’t throw you in jail because it doesn’t like what you say, as still happens around the world, including – at this very moment – in Hong Kong. So yes, the framers were imperfect men born into a world where slavery had been practiced for generations. We study and remember them because they created a government that protects

our freedom of expression, religion and assembly; a government of limited power; and a legal document that thankfully could be changed to make the country “a more perfect union.”

“The Constitution only protected white men.”

It was written during a time in human history when the rights of women and minorities were not on the radar, yet it “has done more to protect minorities than any other document in history. Prior to the Constitution, the rights of a minority were at the whim of despots. Rights came and went with the culture and leaders, not the law. Our Constitution gave our country a groundwork for destroying the institutions of slavery and conserving the sanctity of the individual.”

Source quote: <http://gmufourthestate.com/2019/09/23/why-the-us-constitution-is-the-greatest-human-document/>

The Unsettling Uncertainty of this School Year

Imagine elementary school teachers trying to “incorporate frequent handwashing and sanitation breaks into classroom activity.” Imagine the middle school teachers who try to “limit sharing of personal items and supplies such as writing utensils.” We ask a lot of our teachers, staff and administrators. These plans ask too much.

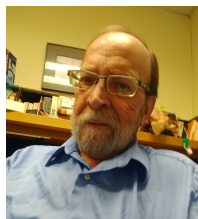
The underlying problem is that noncompliance with social distancing guidelines is inevitable. Young children and those with developmental disorders may have difficulty adopting social distancing practices. Moreover, public displays of affection and halfwitted disobedience are the hallmarks of the American teenager. I know. I have two.

Given the difficulty of implementing social distancing plans that adhere to guidelines for plans A and B, I believe (governors) will opt for Plan C, that is, full-time remote learning. Yet, selecting that option would pose a serious problem for working parents who do not have the flexibility to work from home, such as those who work in the service industry, run a small business, or work shifts. Plan C does the most harm to low- and middle-income households that have fewer child care and supervision options and often limited access to broadband and Internet-accessible devices. These impediments limit the amount of meaningful instruction that the child receives and widen the achievement gap.

There is no perfect solution. Indeed, 49 other states and the District of Columbia are trying to figure out how to conduct the 2020-21 school year in a way that is educationally sound and safe for school employees, children, and parents. The choice is simple. Are we willing to sacrifice educational quality for safety? Or do we sacrifice safety for educational quality? In the era of COVID-19, it appears that we can’t have both. — Dr. Terry Stoops, *John Locke Research Brief*, June 18, 2020

Leo Morris

Leo Morris, columnist for The Indiana Policy Review, is winner of the Hoosier Press Association's award for Best Editorial Writer. Morris, as opinion editor of the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, was named a finalist in editorial writing by the Pulitzer Prize committee.



Big Changes in Small Change

(July 21) — In this time of national nervousness, with pandemic fears and civil unrest widening our already vast political divide, I am just one of the little people waiting for the change our leaders have promised.

And they all have done it.

Sometimes, they just hint that a new direction is called for.

Donald Trump pledged to make the country great again. George W. Bush vowed to practice “compassionate conservatism,” and George H.W. Bush promised a “gentler, kinder nation.” Ronald Reagan said, “Let’s make American great again,” which has sort of a familiar ring to it.

But many of them just came right out and used the actual word.

Barack Obama offered up “Change we can believe in.” Bill Clinton gave us “For people, for a change.” Jimmy Carter said we need “A leader, for a change.”

Change, change, change.

But there is no change, absolutely none.

I discovered that in an abrupt way the other day when I saw a sign in front of the cash register at my favorite restaurant.

Due to the nationwide shortage of coins, it said (I paraphrase), customers who pay cash will have their bills rounded up to the nearest dollar. So, not only will I have to suffer the absence of pocket change, but I will pay more for my food. The little guy gets it again.

Great.

This shortage, like all the others, was brought about by COVID-19. We soldiered on when toilet paper and hand sanitizers weren’t to be found. We toughed it out through shortages of meat and eggs. We shrugged in stoic acceptance as supplies dwindled for flour, soups and pasta, lumber, bicycles, medical supplies and, for God’s sake, jigsaw puzzles.

And now we’ve lost our pennies, nickels, dimes and quarters? It’s the last straw, isn’t it, the final sign that civilization as we know it is coming to an end.

There isn’t really a “shortage,” the news stories patiently explain. There is simply a distribution problem for the \$47 billion of coins in circulation because the pandemic has left fewer workers in the coin production and disbursement pipeline and fewer consumers out there passing the coins around.

The missing change is a special problem, the stories note, for cash-only businesses and the people who depend on them. Businesses like laundromats, which cannot afford the thousands of dollars it would take to retrofit their machines, hurting millions of little people who can’t afford their own washers and driers, which makes them even littler than me.

Wait, what? \$47 billion? Billion? With so much loose change available, how can so much of it be missing in action? Just where are those absent little discs?

Coins were once a vital part of the nation’s economy, so important that people said things like “A penny saved is a penny earned” and “Don’t take any wooden nickels” and “A dime a dozen” and “Get your two-bit hide out of here.”

That was when having a bunch of coins jangling in pockets made people feel rich or at least moderately prepared for the day. It was possible to get a candy bar for a nickel, a first-class stamp for 6 cents, a newspaper or a movie ticket for a dime, a paperback book for a quarter, a gallon of gas for 30-some cents, a hamburger, fries and a shake for 45 cents, a six-pack of beer for 99 cents.

Using change back then taught me about the world of commerce. Things like inflation – gumballs from the machine cost a penny, then a nickel, then a quarter. And technology – the food vending machines first took coins, then were modified to accept \$1 and \$5 dollar bills, then debit or credit cards, then commands from smart phones.

And the speculative, win-or-lose nature of high finance. I have always, from the time I had my first job, had a change jar with which to fund my participation in nickel-dime-quarter poker games, breathtaking adventures in which as much as \$20 or \$30 could change hands in a single night.

I doubt I could find a game for such a piddly amount these days. And I don't think they make any poker tables that would allow the players to sit 6 feet apart anyway. So, my change jar is still around, but gathering dust.

Which means I should probably let this whole issue go. As I said, I don't know quite how the shortage came about, but I've got mine, so I'm covered. The last time I looked, my change jar had \$107 in it.

It's locked in a special room with my stash of extra toilet paper, soup and jigsaw puzzles, and I will guard it fiercely 24-7. Don't get any ideas, because it's mine, mine, mine, and you can't have it.

That's change you definitely can't count on.
To coin a little phrase.

Indiana: What's in a Name?

(July 13) – “Indiana” has to go, so we'll need to come up with a new name for the state.

That's not an outrageous statement. It can be logically inferred from remarks by Gov. Eric Holcomb.

At a recent press conference, a reporter hit the governor with a question that went something like: In light of recent debates over changing the names of sports teams and other entities with designations of Native American origin, do you support calls to change the name of the state?

There are many ways the governor could have responded.

He could have been straightforward one way or the other. Either, “I think that's a suggestion worth considering” or else, “Lord, no, what a stupid idea.”

He could have even thrown his hands up in exasperation: “Look, I've had to deal with shutting down the state over virus fears and protests that threaten to explode into violence, and now you want me to deal with this, too? Give me a break.”

Instead, he gave an answer that should be studied by budding, fence-sitting equivocators everywhere as a case study in mealy-mouthed, insincere vacillation:

“I haven't given that any thought,” he said, “although I've talked with Native American friends of mind about our shared past and our heritage.”

He said he has directed his administration “to do a better job sharing the story of Indiana. Sharing the story of who we are as a people, a very diverse people, and be able to share our successes, to be able to acknowledge our shortcomings, and deal with them.”

Whew.

I haven't given it any thought. That means I'm not saying no, OK? Native American friends of mine. Some of my best friends, they know who they are. Our shared past and heritage. It was their land, now it's ours, and I sincerely apologize for that. A very diverse people. Please forgive me for being a white male symbol of patriarchal oppression. Acknowledge our shortcomings. I am so, so, sorry, whatever is wrong, it's all my fault, so please don't hate me on Twitter.”

The governor's mush will be chum in the water for the zealous sharks who started with Confederate generals and ended up defacing statues of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, who seek to reshape our perceptions of the past as a way of owning the present moment and controlling the future.

So, get ready for the uphill battle to retain the state's name

Indiana, for those who want to know a little history before it disappears, means simply “land of the Indians.” Explorers named it for the indigenous people they encountered because that’s the lesson they learned from Old World names: Bulgaria for “land of the Bulgars,” Vandalia for “the land of the Vandals” and so on. Kind of boring.

They needed a name because of a 5,000-square-mile parcel of land they acquired, not through subjugating the native population but through, well, adjudication of a dispute.

The Iroquois Confederacy was what was called at the time a “civilized tribe,” which meant it built houses, cultivated land, developed the arts, engaged in trade, and, in the tradition of civilizations everywhere, conquered and subjugated other tribes, becoming eventually known as the Six Nations.

A Philadelphia trading company, a collection of European commercial entrepreneurs, entered a partnership with the Six Nations. In the fall of 1763, some members of the Shawnee and other tribes controlled by the Iroquois Confederacy attacked a group of the traders and seized their goods. The Philadelphia company complained to the chiefs of the Six Nations, and demanded payment for their loss. The Iroquois admitted the validity of the claim but did not have the cash to settle it, so they gave land to the traders instead.

The land itself became the subject of a lengthy dispute that ended up before the U.S. Supreme Court and eventually became a part of Virginia, which is somebody else’s story to tell.

But the name was left over, just hanging out there waiting to be used. In 1800, when Congress divided the Northwest Territory and created Ohio out of the eastern part, it needed to call the rest of it something, so it plucked Indiana out of the dusty archives.

There you have it. Our name came from an Old World habit, was forged not in the horrible crucible of war but in the mundane transactions of commerce and was thrust upon the state like a hand-me-down frock from a more prosperous relative. Abandoning it would change nothing,

symbolize nothing, prove nothing, ultimately mean nothing.

But it would allow our craven leaders to appear courageous and forward looking, our opportunistic politicians to seem principled, our depraved poseurs of virtue to take on the trappings of piety.

Which suggests a perfect replacement name.

Seth Pecksniff was a character in Charles Dickens’ novel “Martin Chuzzlewit.” He was an architect who, according to Merriam-Webster, had a holier-than-thou attitude. He “liked to preach morality and brag about his own virtue, but in reality he was a deceptive rascal who would use any means to advance his own selfish interests.

“It didn’t take long for Pecksniff’s reputation for canting sanctimoniousness to leave its mark on English; ‘Pecksniffian’ has been used as a synonym of ‘hypocritical’ since 1849.”

Today, it tends to mean “hypocritically and unctuously affecting benevolence or high moral principles.”

So, welcome to the future state of Pecksniffia. You should probably stop calling yourself Hoosiers now, you rascals.

Decency: a Word to Live By

(July 6) — I’d like to confess something I feel guilty about.

It happened a long time ago, back in high school.

One of my classmates — I won’t give his name or even a pseudonym, for obvious reasons — was a gangly, pimply wreck of a teenager. His walk was a shambling lurch, his speech a jumbled garble, his dress grotesquely scruffy.

He was the odd one of our class, the goofy one who always sat alone in the cafeteria and never attended any school events. Naturally, he was taunted to his face and talked about behind his back, and the subject of numerous tricks and pranks.

They call it bullying today, and probably did then, too, and it was merciless. I often wondered

how he could bear even walking into the building day after day, knowing what was in store.

No, I did not participate in any of it. I left him alone. At least I had that much decency.

But I never did anything about it. I didn't speak to any of the school authorities. I didn't tell my classmates to knock it off. I never stood up for him or offered him a kind word of support.

I saw something that was clearly wrong and just let it go. I cared more about my own standing with classmates than I did about how shabbily they were treating a fellow human being, and that has haunted me to this day.

Call it guilt or call it shame, it's the voice of conscience telling us that our virtue has been tested and we have come up short. We either did something we knew we should not have, or else failed to do something we knew we should have.

That's the key. What we should feel guilty about, as a first step in becoming better people, are our actions, the things over which we have control.

We should never feel shame for who we are, the groups we belong to simply because of the accident of our birth. We do not have to answer for things over which we have no control.

But if I understand the message coming through loud and clear these days – I'm pretty sure that I do – those are precisely the things I am now supposed to feel guilty about.

I should feel guilty for being born white in a place in which nonwhites have less privilege, male in a culture where so many women have been mistreated, heterosexual at a time when gays are enjoying their new-found political clout, American in a world that seems to seem to magnify our country's sins but ignore its virtues. Now that I am no longer young enough to feel guilty about wasting the legacy of previous generations, I'm probably supposed to feel guilty for being old enough to hoard the resources and opportunities the newer generations lack.

Sorry, but I'm not going there.

Volumes have been written about the follies of collective guilt and the dangers of trying to answer the damage done to one group by doing equal or

greater damage to another group. I doubt I could anything to those discussions.

It is enough for me to say that I will try – perhaps not always succeed but certainly always make the effort – to treat all peoples I met as unique individuals, deserving of the benefit of my doubt until and unless their actions persuade me otherwise. And all I can ask of others is they afford me that same respect.

I once tried to come up with a definition of morality and started with the thought, "to never harm others." But sometimes just making a choice harms others, so, I decided I needed to make it, "Never go out of your way to harm others." But what about choosing to harm someone who might otherwise cause harm to many others? I had to make it, "Never go out of your way to harm others with no good reason."

I finally realized that I could keep adding qualifiers forever and still not have an adequate definition.

So, I came up with a simple, two-word definition of morality that still guides me today: Behave decently.

That is how the sum of our lives will be judged. Everything else is just the fashion of the moment and following the path of least resistance.

Bob's 'Big Boy': A Statue for the Times

(June 29) — In 1936, Bob Wian sold his car and used the \$350 as a down payment on a 10-stool diner in Glendale, Calif., which he turned into a hamburger joint called Bob's Pantry.

Shortly, thereafter, the story goes, two things happened.

Members of an orchestra stopped in and asked if Wian could come up with something different from the usual hamburger. What he created was a "double-deck cheeseburger" with two beef patties and a special sauce.

And a chubby 6-year-old boy named Richard Woodruff, a huge fan of the new burger, walked into the place one day, and Wian greeted him with, "Hello, big boy." Inspiration struck, and thus was born the name of the new hamburger.

The rest, as they say, was history.

Bob's Pantry became Bob's Big Boy, and its signature dish became the basis of a franchise with scores of restaurants across the country under different names – Shoney's, Frisch's, Azar's. A plaster statue of the chubby little boy, tray with double-decker held joyfully aloft, has graced the entrance to every one.

Including the Azar's on Bluffton Road, serving up comfort food since 1964 and one of my indelible memories of Fort Wayne. Whenever I flew back to Fort Wayne, seeing Big Boy on the way from the airport let me know I was back home.

Come to think of it, that location meant every visitor who flew to Fort Wayne and went downtown could take a special memory of the statue away with them. New York might have had its Statue of Liberty, San Francisco its Golden Gate Bridge, Paris its Eiffel Tower, but Fort Wayne had its goofy icon of greasy, gastronomic delight.

Until, alas, last week.

The statue had disappeared periodically for short times – those high school pranks, you know – but this time it left for good. It was taken down and put into a waiting truck and hauled away.

In early April, all restaurants had to close because of the COVID-19 virus. Azar's was one of the ones that didn't make it back. Owner George Azar said in an interview something about "the ongoing impact on public psychology." Some 30 percent of the restaurant's sales were from breakfast and salad bars, which we are not likely to see again in this lifetime.

Where did the Big Boy go? That's what people are asking on our neighborhood social media app. Speculation ranges from "into a warehouse" to "on Craig's List" and "at another restaurant somewhere."

I had my own notion for a time.

I hoped the city of Fort Wayne had acquired the icon and was holding it in a secure location somewhere, ready for emergency stand-in statue duty.

I think we all know that the days are numbered for the statue of Mad Anthony Wayne in downtown Fort Wayne. There have been plenty of complaints over the years about honoring someone who was, by today's progressive standards, on the wrong side of history in the country's war with indigenous populations.

Today, with the campaign against statues having moved from Confederate generals to include any imperfect person from the tainted past – that is to say, everyone – the time is right for those complaints to finally bear fruit.

But they can't just leave a hole where the statue used to be. And what better replacement memorial for a bloodthirsty military thug than an innocent little boy, holding food up to the sky on a tray, as if to thank the universe for our sustenance. Surely, no one would find controversy there?

But I soon realized that my idea was badly flawed.

I did a little more research and discovered that Richard Woodruff, the inspiration for Big Boy, died in 1986 at the age of 54, from the effects "of a long illness." His obit didn't say what the illness was, but he weighed 300 pounds at the time, so we can probably guess. He would likely be objected to as a bad role model not only for judgmental vegetarians but picky health-conscious eaters as well.

So, scratch that, one more indigestible item on our modern menu of unpalatable ideas.

I just had a sudden vision of Mad Anthony and Big Boy together in the park. Mad is astride his prancing horse, sword held to his side, ready to be wielded. Big is holding the hamburger tray up to him, as if imploring. Will the general cleave the burger, so that it might be shared? Or will he smite the chubby boy as a troublesome indigenous icon?

The perfect question for our frazzled times because, frankly, it could go either way.

The Police: Back to Sir Robert Peel

“To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.” – From the nine principles set out in Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel’s General Instructions issued to every new police officer in the Metropolitan Police of the Greater London area, starting in 1829

(June 22) — Peel’s directive to win the public’s approval was No. 2 on his list, right after the duty of police to “prevent crime and disorder” and right before securing the willingness of the public in the “observance of laws.”

That’s the whole concept of policing in a nutshell. Public safety is possible only if the public trusts that laws are just and police are fair in enforcing them.

Maintaining that trust is — our should be, at least, an ongoing community endeavor, as police adapt to new realities and residents respond to practices they prefer and ones they object to.

But communities in Indiana and across the nation today are embarking on massive re-evaluations of police practices and public safety efforts that were prompted not by the evolution of local conditions but by a national outcry over the death of one man at the hands of police in Minnesota.

That outcry has led people to conclude that the bond between police and public is more fragile than ever. That may be true in some communities more than others; the danger is that all communities will be treated the same both in public opinion and official policy.

Certainly, there is a nationwide rift in our perception of police, a racial divide we have never gotten a handle on.

Consider two tableaux, both indelibly imbedded in the public consciousness. Each represents a mother instructing her son in how to handle the police presence in their lives.

One mother tells her son that the police are his friends. They are the good guys, and he should turn to them if ever he’s in trouble.

The other tells her son to always be careful in his encounters with police. They don’t need a reason to be suspicious of him except the way he looks.

Both mothers are right — from their perspective — and trying to deal with the groups the two of them represent tests the endurance of Sir Robert’s wisdom.

Police are caught between the two groups, one with no trust in the current system at all, the other with an abundance of it. One keeps shouting that “Black Lives Matter” and that attempts to dilute that message mean the rest of us still aren’t listening. The other group insists that “All Lives Matter” and to behave otherwise will destroy the principle of equality under the law.

The task of police is to win the trust of one group without weakening the trust of the other. But that task should have always been a part of the community agenda. If it is only being addressed as a standalone item in response to perceived pressure, rather than being a part of the community’s regular growth, the search for “social justice” for one aggrieved group could overshadow the equal justice all citizens are entitled to.

Police have a monumental power over us and thus a monumental obligation to use that power wisely. It is up to all of us to demand that police treat us with respect and use their lethal authority with restraint, but we can’t do it in a way that leaves them feeling despised for doing a dangerous job.

We can argue all day about whether a particular deadly encounter should have sparked such national turmoil, but in fact it did, and we are where we are. The question is what to do now.

Here in Fort Wayne, and likely in other Hoosier cities, leaders are leaning toward the “8 Can’t Wait” national initiative to tame to the use of police force. The recommendations range from commonsensical to wishful thinking: Ban chokeholds and strangleholds, require de-escalation, require warning before shooting,

exhaust all alternatives before shooting, obey a duty to intervene, ban shooting at moving vehicles, require use-of-force continuum, require comprehensive reporting.

None of them, alone or in combination, will prove to be a cure-all.

There also seems to be such a desire for police body cameras that their adoption is a near certainty. That won't be a panacea, either. They can increase transparency, which might increase trust, but they will create other issues, such as a further loss of the privacy that is eroding daily.

But they are proposals worth talking about as long as we keep a couple of things in mind.

One is that we treat each police department as unique, with its specific strengths and weaknesses, instead of all being fixable with the same nationally inspired (or dictated) prescription. Most aren't perfect, but neither are they overrun with racist predators.

The other is that we try to transition from the concept of group identity to one of individual sovereignty. Police should see each of us as citizens, all with the same right to justice, rather than members of demographic groups whose clout ebbs and flows with the political tides.

Our goal should be for police to seek and preserve public favor, to quote Peel again, "not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law."

And we have to rediscover, if we have lost it, our "willingness in observance" of the laws that can transcend our tribalism and make public safety a collaborative effort instead of a club not everyone feels like a member of.

From 'Radical Chic' to 'Woke' in 50 Years

(June 15) — It has been a spring packed with surreal moments, but one in particular stands out for me.

About a week after protests started in downtown Fort Wayne, the marchers were joined by the police chief, City Council members and the mayor, who linked arms with protesters and

declared the city "a community" in which we can, "despite our differences," all "work as one."

There is a jarring contradiction there. Who in that crowd was protesting, what were they protesting, and to whom?

When those who are identified as the oppressor class march with those who identify as the oppressed, that is not a protest.

It is a parade.

So now, in addition to the patriotism of Memorial Day parades, the traditionalism of Thanksgiving Day parades and the fraternalism of old favorites like St. Patrick's Day parades and newcomers like the Gay Pride parades, we have the egalitarianism of the We Hear You parades.

In my darker moods, it's tempting to see this as a precursor to revolution.

The five great revolutions that helped shape the modern world — starting with the English in the mid-17th century and ending with the Chinese in the mid-20th — share some common characteristics. These include a galvanizing incident that ignites long-simmering complaints against the power structure, leading to widespread protests that frequently erupt into violence.

And, somewhere along the way, defections by members of that power structure, who can feel the tide turning and want to get ahead of the engulfing waves.

Today we have seen the nation's top military commander apologize for walking with the president, our leading newspaper firing its editorial page editor for allowing the publication of unorthodox views, members of Congress kneeling to ask forgiveness for their sins, TV shows cancelled for the unforgivable sin of making the police look too good . . . the list goes on and on.

But that possibility seems far-fetched.

Populist outrage — which in this country begat both Donald Trump's presidency and Black Lives Matter — is worldwide and has led to uprisings and insurgencies around the globe. There is near-universal displeasure with political leadership,

elected and otherwise. Nobody should pretend to understand what it all means, but it's a fair guess that a worldwide revolution is not upon us.

Another explanation is that the Establishment finally gets it. Policy makers and institutional custodians now understand that they must find a way to provide justice for all. And once they understand this commitment, the disadvantaged and discarded will come to the table, and we will at last get started on the frank dialogue we have always needed.

About that.

When I got back from Vietnam in 1968, I was sent to Fort Hood, Texas, where I found that soldiers were being trained for crowd control, just in case police departments and National Guard units weren't able to handle the riots that seemed on the verge of destroying our greatest cities. It was a scary time, and a lot of people today would be horrified to know just how elaborate and detailed military plans for intervention in civilian matters was.

But some saw reason for hope as well. Also on the table, from earlier that year, was the Kerner Commission report on the causes of and possible solutions for urban unrest. It proposed, among other things, billions in commitments from the federal government along with the billions already pledged for LBJ's Great Society programs.

The report's authors declared it "an honest beginning" that would require for fruition a commitment from every American to "new attitudes, new understanding, and; above all, new will."

And here we are. It's not difficult to imagine that in 50 years, people will look back on today with the same exasperation we look back on 1968.

I reluctantly arrive at the admittedly cynical conclusion that what we are seeing today is a new version, greatly magnified, of the Radical Chic phenomenon associated with Tom Wolfe's 1970 New Yorker evisceration of Leonard Bernstein for the fund-raiser he hosted on behalf of the Black Panthers. It described the fun way liberal elites dabbled in social causes while still flaunting their extravagant lifestyles.

Today's dabbling commitment is to "wokeness" – what an awful word – the self-declared purity of those who have suddenly discovered that racism is evil and must destroy anyone who doesn't see it all the time everywhere, including deep inside their own privileged bones.

Yes, there are many earnestly sincere reformers in this, as in any, movement. But they don't get a pass.

Bernstein was a dedicated civil libertarian who thought the Black Panthers deserved the same fair criminal justice treatment as anyone else and weren't getting it. But he had to acknowledge the baggage he was picking up, including his beneficiaries' Marxism, virulent anti-Semitism and commitment to violence.

And today's woke warriors have to deal with the unsavory tenets of their allies, including a determination to vanquish all dissent and a belief that "defund the police" is a sane policy idea.

"Violence cannot build a better society," the Kerner Report said way back in 1968. "Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice."

Love to see that trending on Twitter, but it would be another surreal moment.

Genealogy the Old-Fashioned Way

(June 8) — My sister is hot on the trail of history, eagerly searching for a missing piece of our father's life.

She was spring cleaning recently, and came across his separation papers from the Army. Written on the back, little more than a footnote, was the information that he had been a cook in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) starting in 1939.

We'd known he was a cook in the Army, and that he had been in the CCC before that, but this was new information. Now my sister is planning a trip to the National Archives facility in St. Louis where the pertinent records are kept. Some of them were destroyed in a fire, but visitors may view all available ones and, I think, take photos if they want.

Just imagine, she says, if we can find out where he served in the CCC. How amazing it would be to discover if he worked on a project that's still around. In addition to planting 3.5 billion trees it was nicknamed Roosevelt's Tree Army the CCC created 711 state parks.

Yes, it would be amazing.

Of course, there was a much easier way to find that out. We could simply have asked our father when he was still alive. We were stupid, stupid kids, my sister and I concluded.

Instead of knowing bits and pieces of his life, we might have learned the whole story, including what it was like to grow up during the Great Depression and serve as a soldier in World War II. Come to think of it, our mother could have filled us in on the home-front challenges of the war.

And, good lord, our mother's father lived with us a couple of years. He could have told us stories going back to before the turn of the last century.

Our family was a microcosm of the human story, each of us with our unique perspective on the larger world outside our door. If only we'd paid real attention to each other and asked questions slightly deeper than, "How did your day go?"

I don't need to speculate on how many other families are like ours was, because I'm pretty sure it's the vast majority of them,

But I do wonder how many have taken advantage of the great COVID-19 quarantine to re-examine their relationships. Not very many, I suspect.

People have been forced together in closer proximity and for a greater duration than they could have imagined. Are they using that opportunity to listen to each other's stories? Or are they just looking for ever more creative ways to fill time while carping about the new family roles they suddenly have to fill?

Resistance to change, especially change requiring deep reflection, is pretty much our default position, isn't it?

Just consider COVID-19. A common trope of science fiction is that humanity will unite to battle

a common enemy. Think of the Martians in "War of the Worlds" or the ugly aliens in "Independence Day." But the coronavirus, allegedly the biggest existential threat in the last 100 years, has only reinforced and hardened the stark division dividing us.

And pity the alienated crowds massing in the streets to give voice to decades-old hurts they believe aren't being listened to. Their "peaceful protests" have been co-opted both by violent provocateurs and opportunistic charlatans, each with a cynical, media-driven agenda. We have been there before. We will be again.

We've been struggling, in these chaotic weeks, with how to deal with each other as groups. The human race is one big family that refuses to stop in the middle of the unexpected chaos and try to figure a better way out.

We're resisting the simple truth that life is best lived one on one. We must start with doing the best we can with our most intimate relationships, then working our way out to larger and larger groups. Instead, we're clashing as groups under the delusion that it will somehow make us more civilized as individuals.

That's exactly backwards.

My sister and I will find the National Archives and Internet genealogical searches a poor substitute for the conversations we should have had with our father.

And we will all find sociological treatises and the history books a poor substitute for our collective missed opportunity.

Space, the New Frontier Again

(June 1) — "Oh, I have slipped the surly bonds of Earth

Put out my hand, and touched the face of God"

Those are the first and last lines of "High Flight" by 19-year-old Canadian Air Force pilot John Gillespie Magee Jr., who wrote the 14-line sonnet after a solo run in his Spitfire in late August or early September of 1941.

In December, just a few months after that inspirational flight, Magee perished during a

training exercise crash. It was his untimely death – and the resulting efforts by relatives to memorialize him – that gave his work the widespread circulation that made it perhaps the most famous poem of World War II.

Taken as a whole, “High Flight” is a “paean to the sublimity and sheer joy of flight,” writes Peter Armenti for the Library of Congress. Magee talks of the “tumbling mirth of sun-split clouds” and delights in having “danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings”

But masterfully elided to highlight the beginning and end, it says something even deeper. It reminds us that humanity has a destiny beyond the grinding, dreary sameness of ordinary existence that is only the more enticing for always seeming just out of reach.

That’s the way Ronald Reagan quoted it on Jan. 28, 1986, when the Challenger space shuttle exploded. He was scheduled to deliver the State of the Union, but instead gave one of the most eloquent speeches of his presidency. He concluded it with this paragraph:

“The crew of the space shuttle Challenger honored us by the manner in which they lived their lives. We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, as they prepared for their journey and waved goodbye and ‘slipped the surly bonds of Earth’ to ‘touch the face of God.’ ”

It was a somber speech, but there was also a subtle suggestion of hope. We should remember the crew not for why they died but for how they chose to live. Some of our pioneers fall, but our quest goes on.

Hoosier astronaut Gus Grissom put in less gracefully but more directly. “If we die, we want people to accept it,” he said. “We are in a risky business, and we hope that if anything happens to us, it will not delay the program. The conquest of space is worth the risk.”

He did die, at the age of 40, on Feb. 21, 1967, when the Apollo 1 command module caught fire during a launch rehearsal. Apollo went on and put the human footprint on the moon two and a half years later.

All of that was on my mind Saturday during the live historic launch of Elon Musk’s SpaceX Dragon to the International Space Station, as I watched with awe and not a little trepidation for the double disaster that could have happened.

If there had been a launch catastrophe, the loss of astronauts Doug Hurley and Bob Behnken would have been heartbreakingly sad. The setback it would have meant for the space program would have been unbearably disheartening.

We have become a risk-averse society, columnist Michael Barone correctly notes, “much more willing to undergo massive inconvenience and disruption to avoid marginal increases in fatal risk.”

We’re afraid to reach beyond the ordinary because we might fail. We no longer try to escape the dreary sameness. We wallow in it.

I wonder how many Americans skipped watching the space launch and instead segued from being transfixed by the COVID-19 death count to morbidly following the “use any valid protest as an excuse to riot” march of violence across the nation. It’s a sick, vicarious thrill a minute: Watch the economy crumble, then deplore the mindless mobs who set fire to the rubble. Too bad for those who did.

COVID-19 will be a paragraph in the history books along with all the other pandemics and natural disasters that make the human race flinch. The breach of peace in so many cities, including, alas, a couple in Indiana, will be a footnote, if that.

The space launch, on the other hand, was the story of the century so far, the one that should be remembered as a milestone of the human adventure.

It was the first launch ever by a commercial enterprise. Whatever else you think of them, give Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama credit for that. Bush initiated the partial privatization of the space mission, and Obama finalized it. That’s the step that will restart NASA and get exploration back on the path begun when Queen Isabella agreed to sponsor Christopher Columbus’ sails to the west.

And it was the first launch under the auspices of the Space Command, created by President Trump in December, 2019. Whatever else you think of him, give the man credit for that.

The Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard were created in Colonial America with the birth of a nation by leaders who knew they must conquer the land and sea to survive. It took until 1947 for the realization that the air must be conquered, and then another 72 years to put space on the list.

And conquering space means much more than controlling it and defending it. The Space Force is perhaps just one more logical link in the chain, a manifestation of the human need to seek the next frontier. But it is also our first step into the great beyond.

From the surly bonds of Earth to the face of God is a wondrous journey, and we need to be reminded to pause only long enough to rest before we travel on.

The ‘Anvil Chorus’: Lost Letters

(*May 25*) — The “Anvil Chorus” is the English name for the *Coro di Zingari* (Italian for “Gypsy chorus”) from act 2, scene 1 of Giuseppe Verdi’s 1853 opera “*Il Trovatore*.” It depicts Spanish Gypsies striking their anvils at dawn and singing the praises of hard work, good wine and Gypsy women.

So, basically, a cacophonous babble from a bunch of good old boys shouting out about the things that matter to them most.

Naturally, within a few years it became slang (according to Oxford’s Lexico site) for “an insistent clamor, especially of criticism; a group of noisy critics.”

It was also the name of the letters-to-the-editor column on the editorial page of the Michigan City News-Dispatch, the last newspaper I worked on before moving to the News-Sentinel in Fort Wayne.

I’d like to have known the long-ago editor who came up with that sly, wicked name, because it was an inspiration of demented genius.

Anvil Chorus is exactly what a letters-to-the-editor package is, a collection of clamor from vociferous citizens – ranging from irritated to insane – about the big issues and small annoyances that bug them the most. Picture Howard Beale in the movie “Network” shaking his fist at the sky and yelling, “I’m mad as hell and I’m not going to take it anymore!”

(Yes, let me acknowledge, before you bring it up, that you can also find letters praising the hard work of selfless volunteers and remarking on the first robin of spring. But those oddities from contributors unclear on the concept are only thrown into the mix by dyspeptic editors forlornly trying to lighten the mood.)

If it seems that I’m disparaging letter-to-the-editor writers, diminishing their contribution to the common good, I apologize, because that is not my intent.

No matter what you say, the fact that you’re willing to put your name on it and throw it out for public consumption deserves respect. Carping is the essence of participatory democracy and so very American. I dealt with letter writers daily for most of my newspaper career and found them to be a cantankerous but valuable check on the use and abuse of power by petty functionaries and elected officials who should have known better.

And I’ve been saddened to watch their number and zeal diminishing over the years.

When I started in the business, a newspaper editorial page was just about the only outlet for people who felt voiceless but wanted to be heard. They might not be able to command the attention of city hall, let alone get the governor’s ear, but they could by God grab pen and paper and give the world a piece of their mind.

In the years since, though, we’ve seen the arrival a number of platforms for the disaffected and disenchanting.

Cable companies, in order to secure their monopolies, created public access channels for any oddball or kook to spout utter nonsense no one watched. Radio talk shows proliferated and invited callers to unload their wrath. Countless social media websites imposed no boundaries of

taste or sense on the anonymous horde of vicarious cowards.

We're in a world now where anybody can say anything anytime and get an audience, and I don't think we can call it an evolution in communication, if by that we mean improvement.

Instead of annoyance harnessed in service to a community's needs, there is just a continuous stream of undifferentiated ire thrown out to an indifferent universe in hopes of . . . what, exactly? Just look at the drivel of Twitter trolling, where people with something to say and people who want to hear it are drowned out by the "Look at me!" ravings of delusional cranks.

We're becoming a nation of hecklers.

But I am happy to have discovered a small but hopeful development. It is on the Nextdoor app, available in most communities, a platform where neighborhood residents can share interests and concerns.

It's the digital equivalent of a small-town newspaper. People go there to find services needed or offered, items for sale, reports of lost dogs and found cats, suspicious activity sighted, gatherings scheduled or canceled, gossip both spread and disputed.

And lively debates worthy of any editorial page.

Somebody recently posted a question on the site wondering if some people, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, were "refusing to wear masks or bandanas or some sort of barrier for some reason." If our politicians and opinion leaders want to

"take the pulse" of the community and find out what people are concerned enough to gripe about, it's the masks, OK? That question has received nearly 600 comments so far, and the discussion has been boisterous verging on murderous.

People started out talking about why they wore masks or did not wear masks and ended up calling each other names for wearing masks (fraidy cats!) or not wearing masks (uncaring fiends!). In between, they praised or damned officials for their wisdom or lack of it, offered up a variety of conspiracy theories, told (sometimes) relevant stories about ill relatives, and linked to articles that were usually interesting if not illuminating.

Clearly the great mask debate has become in many ways a convenient way to address the larger issues that divide us in our Blue State-Red State reality. It has been quarrelsome and sometimes exasperating, sincere but often edgy, occasionally downright ugly.

But glorious.

Some guy recently posted that people will choose to wear masks or not, so why keep arguing about it? He said he was sick of the whole thing and checking out until things calmed down.

I beg to differ. What we're hearing here are the voices of free people using that freedom. Not anonymous and diffused hate and anger, but neighbor talking, and sometimes yelling, to neighbor over the digital backyard fence.

It's the sound of the anvil chorus, alive and well. ♦

The Franke Bookshelf

American Secession

It is bad form, I assume, for a book review to open with its ending but then this isn't a whodunit, rather a serious consideration of a very serious proposition. "American Secession: The Looming Threat of a National Breakup" (Encounter Books 2020, 170 pages \$18 Amazon hardcover) by F. H. Buckley ends with the opinion that full secession is not the best idea, at least not likely to be a successful one.

Why not? One is led to believe that is where Buckley is headed. Buckley, a named professor at the George Mason University Scalia School of Law, builds a case for secession much as a trial attorney would before a jury. Some among us, the most radical certainly, will be disappointed he doesn't conclude with a rousing call to the barricades. Instead, he makes a very convincing case for something short of full secession that constitutionalists and classical liberals in the natural law tradition can support.

I've gotten ahead myself but in my defense Buckley seems to begin there. "Extremism has gone mainstream" and "violence has been normalized," he writes well before the recent riots. He quotes many media and political figures making extremist statements, mostly disparaging of Donald Trump of course. He points to Mick Jagger as a voice of reason on the Left so you know things have reached catastrophic proportions.

He begins with looking to California as a potential flashpoint for secession. The liberal/left elitists would be rid of the rest of us, although only after taking ownership of all federal facilities there. (Shades of South Carolina and Fort Sumter, anyone?) Buckley says they sound like Donald

Trump in their derision of foreigners, in this case the foreigners being we deplorables in the red states.

Why now? Buckley argues that the time is right, given historical events in our lifetimes such as decolonialism and the break-up of the USSR, which resulted in 24 new nations just behind the Iron Curtain. He makes a provocative yet logical argument that what the nation needs in a president now is James Buchanan, not Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln, you see, used extra-constitutional powers to bring the seceding states back into the union while Buchanan was willing to let regional differences coexist. It is the compact

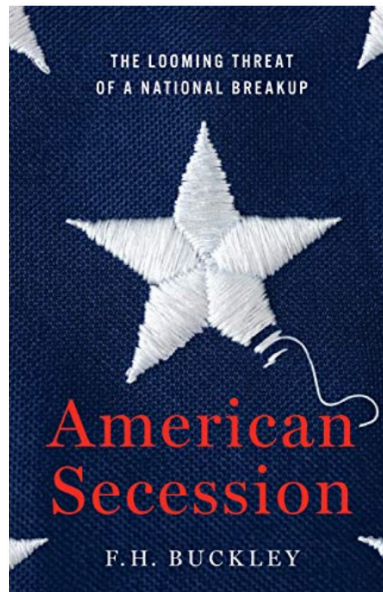
principle, that sovereign states agreed to an affiliation, versus one of sovereignty of the succeeding union. He quotes German legal philosopher Carl Schmitt, who called Lincoln a "commissary dictator" in deciding which constitutional principles to abrogate to preserve others.

By the fourth chapter Buckley gets to what he considers the salient point: big is bad and small is much better. As a nation grows, as has the United States, universally held common principles break down. We see that today as violent protests in the large cities demand sovereignty, if you will, for their

overarching principles, ones that would be entirely alien to the 1776 generation. It's not just the Founding Fathers' monuments they are pulling down.

The central part of the book is given to a smaller is better argument, with multiple graphs and tables in support. Buckley points to subjective well-being surveys that demonstrate people report they are happiest in smaller, less diverse nations. Finland tops the list with the United States well down behind nearly every western European nation.

He then moves on to a review of corruption data. He looks at successfully prosecuted



corruption cases as the data point and finds an inverse relation between corruption and GDP and therefore between corruption and poverty. No surprise there but Buckley sees the American problem as one of minoritarian corruption, or what we call special interest groups or crony capitalism. "The relationship between corruption and bigness is like that between Typhoid and Typhoid Mary." (I'm not exactly sure what that means but I couldn't help quoting it.)

My favorite chapter is the one entitled "Bigness and Freedom." Here Buckley discusses how people can be legally free yet "handcuffed by social disapproval." John Stuart Mill complained of this in his Victorian England. More ominously, Buckley quotes George Orwell in his preface to *Animal Farm*: "Anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself silenced with surprising effectiveness." That shouldn't come as a surprise to anyone foolish enough to speak out in today's America asking for civility, liberty or historical understanding.

Buckley freely and frequently falls back on Enlightenment philosophers such as Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau and even James Madison. They had a fear of bigness and so proposed governmental structures that began at the local level and moved upward, with each level electing officials to the next. Our Constitution began this way until the 17th Amendment removed from the states the power to select their own U. S. Senators. So how has that worked out for us?

As Buckley moves to his conclusion, he offers two other options for America. The first he calls Secession Lite. In this scenario states would have limited right of nullification of federal laws in their jurisdiction, similar to the Madisonian concept of interposition. Interposition was the theory behind the Virginia and Kentucky Resolves, in which each state affirmed its support of the union but reserved its right to declare federal actions unconstitutional. The practical side of interposition, as Buckley writes, is a type of passive aggressive behavior by the states (my term, not his) where states refuse to enforce federal laws and juries refuse to convict in federal

cases. Sanctuary cities are not a new phenomenon, even if the worthies in charge there don't understand the historical precedent of interposition.

The second option is home rule. To me this sounds much like the original federalism principle as envisioned by the Founders. Buckley believes that American federalism has failed. He points to the 105,000,000 words in the Code of Federal Regulations as *prima facie* evidence that federalism is dead. He notes how the Supreme Court has irritated nearly everyone by either extending "rights" nationwide or refusing to do so. The human rights community, he says, wants to impose some set of Platonic ideals on everyone "good and hard."

Instead he looks north to the Canadian implementation of federalism. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, adopted in 1982 as its bill of rights, has an interesting opt-out called the "notwithstanding clause." This allows a province to effectively nullify a provision of the Charter with a few limited exceptions, such exceptions all darlings of the left of course. Quebec used the notwithstanding clause to preserve the French language within its borders.

Would such a system work south of the U.S.-Canadian border? Buckley thinks so but with reservations. For example he cites one of Americans' favorite pastimes, one of hating the intrusiveness of the federal government but blaming it for not fixing everything that goes wrong, hurricane Katrina as Prosecution Exhibit #1. Do we really want to regain responsibility for self-government or will the nanny state's largesse prove irresistible?

This is where Buckley's conservative credentials finally appear, as he argues for this solution to what more and more serious thinkers are seeing as an insoluble problem. One need only look at a county-by-county electoral map to realize that the left is concentrated in about a dozen urban areas and the rest of the nation is red for Republican. If each state or local government, Buckley argues, could set its own cultural and political values, Canadian style but still within our

Constitution, people could vote with their feet where they want to live.

And they are doing that now. Just look at a map of net in and out migrations by state. But if each state could maintain its values, that could change as liberals trying to escape high-tax states may not want to move to conservative states with different values. That could even help liberal states stop the drain of high tax paying residents. But don't wait for Buckley's proposal to become a plank on the progressive agenda. Open mindedness and toleration, after all, get in the way of bringing the rest of us into line.

And so we are back to where I started this review. Buckley admits he is a unionist. He advocates a devolution of powers back to the states as the 10th Amendment demands. Such a devolution would help bring civility back to our public discourse and foster a renewed love of liberty. In his own words:

"I am tired of the haters who put up 'No Hate' signs in their front yards. I believe that tolerance is better than fanaticism, and that ideological hatreds are especially dangerous because they are so enjoyable. And I would like to see more of our differences resolved over cases of rye whisky."

I sure hope his optimism wins out.

The Cabinet

Our society has the unfortunate predilection to think that something true now was always true. We are witnesses daily to the cultural totalitarians judging everyone in the past by their woke prejudices as if they are on a divine crusade.

The same can be said of modern institutions. If they are here now, they must always have been here. The federal cabinet is one such institution. I hazard that not one in a thousand could explain how it began.

Lindsay M. Chervinsky with the White House Historical Association has produced a respectable history of the cabinet's genesis in her book "The Cabinet: George Washington and the Creation of an American Institution" (Harvard University Press 2020, 323 pages plus notes, \$21 hardcover Amazon).

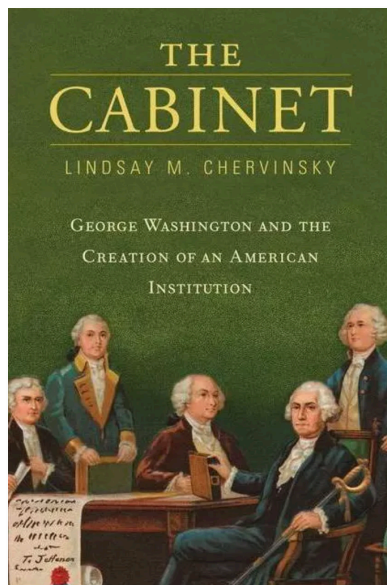
With the cabinet as with so many other things, we owe a huge debt of gratitude to George Washington and his recognition of his precedent setting actions. It was during his first administration that the executive department heads coalesced into an advisory body rather than simply administrators in a chain of command.

Chervinsky emphasizes that Washington's military experience made him appreciative of the value of a council of war before making major decisions. These not only provided advice but also helped generate support for unpopular decisions if a consensus could be reached. There is political cover to be gained from a unified front.

The cabinet is not a constitutional body. The

president is empowered to request written opinions from the executive department heads but it says nothing about group meetings. In fact there was an anti-cabinet attitude in the young nation as many believed the British cabinet responsible for misleading King George into his hard stance on colonial protests. That is why the Constitution prohibits congressmen from holding office in the executive branch to avoid the British model. Washington's choices for his first departmental secretaries were prescient. He managed to bring together what Chervinsky calls one of history's top five teams of

rivals. Even though the cabinet would eventually reflect the bitter Jefferson/Hamilton political split, each man was chosen because of his support for a strong central government executive based on their experiences during the War of



Independence and under the Articles of Confederation.

Yet the cabinet qua cabinet emerged only slowly. The four did not meet as a group until nearly two years into Washington's presidency. Prior to this, Washington tested other options for an advisory body including the Senate and the Supreme Court justices. Neither of these worked for obvious reasons, the first too large to be useful and the other due to its need to maintain independence.

Chervinsky takes the reader through three crises faced by Washington and how the cabinet served the president well. The neutrality crisis of 1793, the whiskey rebellion of 1794 and the Jay treaty ratification controversy all presented potential political firestorms for the administration. The cabinet served as an effective council of war in each case, helping Washington to meet and diffuse issues that could have torn the country apart. During this time the cabinet met almost weekly.

In each case significant constitutional issues were faced for the first time. Does the president or the Congress oversee international relations? Does the federal government have the authority to enforce federal laws or must it default to state enforcement? Is Congress' oversight power unrestrained in what it can demand from the executive branch in documents and testimony? These issues were settled by compromise and peacefully, with precedents still followed today. Or at least should still be followed today.

What Washington established was the existence of a presidential cabinet not as a legal institution but as a group of personal advisors to the president serving at his pleasure. Both Adams and Jefferson followed Washington's example in this, Adams to his hurt as his carryover cabinet from Washington proved disloyal.

I wish Chervinsky would have devoted a chapter to times in history when the cabinet attempted to insinuate itself as a ruling body with decision-making authority. Here I am thinking of the William Henry Harrison cabinet that attempted to usurp executive authority after

Harrison's death, only to be put in its constitutional place by John Tyler's assertion of his prerogatives as president and not merely acting president. Another case is William Seward's ill-fated assumption of prime ministerial authority in Lincoln's administration only to be disabused of this notion as soon as Abe arrived in town.

Instead she points to Donald Trump as the only, yes only, president in American history to not select a cabinet based on broad national representation. Apparently he only appointed yes-men who always agreed with him, which seems hard to swallow given the number of resignations that occurred. Chervinsky compares him unfavorably with Barack Obama who, she claims, used his vice president as a close advisor rather than rely on family. I guess Valerie Jarrett is acceptable as an ultra-powerful presidential advisor while Jared Kushner is some kind of 21st century Iago.

Fortunately this relapse is buried in the epilogue and doesn't detract too much from an otherwise excellent book. Chervinsky does quite an acceptable job of providing the political background to Washington's first administration, including its often unfortunate antecedents in the Articles era.

Recommendation: Good background for those interested in our early republic and an easy read for casual history lovers.

The Bones of Kekionga

As a lifelong resident of Fort Wayne, I have always been interested in its early history, especially its location as the headquarters of the Miami Indians. A series of Miami and confederate villages called Kekionga sat along the banks of the three rivers that conjoin in downtown Fort Wayne. Its strategic and commercial value came from its domination of an eight-mile portage across a subcontinental divide between the three rivers and a tributary of the Wabash River to the southwest. To carry trade items between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi watersheds required traversing this portage and payment to the Miami

for the privilege. During the decade after the American War of Independence, the British refused to leave their Northwest Territory forts in a dispute with the new nation over the payment of pre-war private debts owed to British commercial interests. It was only a matter of time before Kekionga became a target in the frontier war to establish hegemony along the Great Lakes.

"The Bones of Kekionga" (Oak Creek Media 2017, 113 pages \$10 Amazon softcover) by Jim Pickett, a retired local high school teacher, is a short historical novel about a battle fought at the site of Kekionga, usually called by that name or sometimes as the Battle of Harmar's Crossing after the American general held responsible for the defeat. The book is written in an easy-going style, understandable given Pickett's career teaching teenagers. Two of the main characters are young fighters facing their first battle, a Miami brave and an American militiaman. The expected historical figures make appearances, sometimes only in cameo, but the focus is on the common men and women rather than the leaders. I wish Little Turtle had a larger role as he was truly one of America's foremost military geniuses.

The title of the book comes from the discovery of bones when the Kekionga area, now known as Lakeside, was excavated for housing. One discovery of historical significance, although not mentioned in the book, was finding Little Turtle's grave in the basement of a house. The site is now marked with a monument that is not the easiest to find as one must use a short sidewalk between houses to access it.

I read the book after meeting the author. He followed "The Bones of Kekionga" with "The March to Kekionga" which covers Gen. Anthony Wayne's campaign north from what is now Cincinnati to present-day Toledo and the crucial battle of Fallen Timbers, and then up the Maumee River to Kekionga and the building of Fort Wayne to assure American control of the portage. It briefly mentions Little Turtle's ambush of Gov. Arthur St. Clair's army at another point on the subcontinental divide southeast of Fort Wayne at Fort Recovery, Ohio. Both of these battle sites are

well preserved and have exhibits for tourists. Finding sites for Harmar's defeat takes a little more work as the primary battlefield is residential housing now, although a secondary battle site northwest of Fort Wayne near the headwaters of the Eel River can be viewed.

There are several good histories of this warfare for the obsessed like me. Prominent historian Wiley Sword's "George Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest 1790-1795" and the recently published "Autumn of the Black Snake: The Creation of the U. S. Army and the Invasion That Opened the West" by William Hogeland are comprehensive studies and easily obtainable through public libraries. The Allen County Public Library holds a large number of specialized works on the Miami. To mention just a few: "The Land of the Miamis" by Elmore Barce published in 1922 provides good background on the foment in the upper Midwest among the tribes and with the European powers and the United States; "The Border Wars of the Upper Ohio Valley (1769-1794)" by William Hintzen covers a broader geographical area and can be rather dark in its depiction of life in this violent time; and for an original source the Indiana Historical Society published General Josiah Harmar's letters during his tenure as commanding general under the title "Outpost on the Wabash."

Six Frigates

Ian W. Toll is developing a reputation as a premier naval historian given his soon to be completed trilogy on the U. S. Navy in the World War II Pacific theater. He got his start 15 years ago with a history of beginnings of the American navy, "Six Frigates: The Epic History of the Founding of the U. S. Navy" (W. W. Norton & Company 2006, 560 pages \$13 Amazon paperback). I missed it when it came out so I decided to read it before tackling his 2,400 page magnum opus on Nimitz, Halsey and company. Six Frigates takes its name from a 1794 act of Congress to build large, fast warships to take on the Barbary pirates with overwhelming firepower while at the same time speedy enough to outrun

the much larger British ships of the line. They proved adept at both missions, serving the nation well in North Africa, the undeclared war against France and finally in the War of 1812. While primarily a naval history, Toll handles the rancorous politics of the age with effective insight. My own bias showing here, Toll describes the Jeffersonians' opposition to a standing navy . . . at least until Jefferson became president. Recommendation: Maybe not for the military hardware techies or tactical enthusiasts, but a solid and balanced history of how our navy started and succeeded in its first two decades.

Operation Chastise

“Operation Chastise: The RAF’s Most Brilliant Attack of World War II” (HarperCollins 2020, 364 pages \$21 hardcover Amazon) by Max Hastings covers a complex mission to bomb Germany’s dams providing electrical power to its Ruhr heavy defense industry. Hastings writes for a general audience so this book is somewhat more conversational in style than academic military history and therefore easily read. Only two chapters cover the actual raid with most of the book recounting the engineering and political battles fought throughout the British high command to fund the research program needed to develop a bomb that would skip across the reservoir before hitting the dam proper.

The good guys and bad guys are easy to identify as Hastings provides his own reflections throughout the book. The raid was successful in that it boosted home front morale but had no long-term effect on munitions production due to German resilience in quickly repairing the damaged dams. Hastings spends the last chapter exploring the moral aspects of this raid as well as the British decision to terror bomb population centers at night, resulting in massive civilian deaths and destruction of private homes.

This raid caused the death of about 2,000 civilians in the flood that followed the dam ruptures, many of these unfortunates being slave laborers from eastern lands. Recommendation: Interesting tale of engineering challenges, political

in-fighting and one very dangerous night flying the mission.

The Splendid and the Vile

My wife and I both listen to audiobooks while we are driving, walking or, in my case, mowing the lawn. When we drive together, such as to her family on the other side of the state or to our son and his family in New Hampshire (Live Free or Die!), we try to find a book we both want to read. Erik Larson is an author we both like so we just finished listening to his latest, “The Splendid and the Vile: A Saga of Churchill, Family and Defiance during the Blitz” (Penguin Random House 2020, 546 pages, \$19 hardcover Amazon). Larson takes an historical setting and builds it out into a tableau of character studies that are as evocative as any writer’s. (OK, not Dickens but most everyone else.) In his latest Larson takes the reader into the Churchill household, family and political, as they deal with German bombers, personality clashes and that eccentric-in-chief Winston himself. I’ve read a lot by and about Churchill, but never with such an intimate glimpse into the man. Larson effectively merges the public and private personas so that one is never sure which Churchill we see. That is probably exactly what his subordinates, friends and associates felt at the time. Churchill is one of the two lions of the 20th century in my book, the other being Ronald Reagan, who took on evil and left us a better world. Now I feel like I know Churchill a little bit better. I also know now that I wouldn’t want to work for him, but western civilization should thank him for his critical role in its preservation. Recommendation: Everything by Larson is good but this book tells what it is like to be around one of the most brilliant and irritating men in history at one of history’s most dangerous moments.

The Forge of Christendom

Enough of World War II. My prejudice is definitely for the middle ages, particularly the medieval German empire. I will read almost anything about its rise and lurching existence as it fought off more challenges from within than from

without. Even though not restricted to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (its official name from the high middle ages on), Tom Holland's "The Forge of Christendom: The End of Days and the Epic Rise of the West" (Doubleday 2018, 476 pages with notes, \$20 paperback Amazon) covers my favorite Germans and many others in its witty and insightful survey of the decades just before and just after the turn of the first millennium. It sets the scene as Christian Europe faces the "End of Days" as the year 1000 approaches, only to realize no one knew for sure whether the dating should begin with the Incarnation or the Crucifixion. Meanwhile, Christian society teeters on the brink of collapse or perhaps a new era of growth. The Carolingian empire certainly had collapsed and various kings,

dukes and counts jockeyed for supremacy or at least autonomy. Viking ravages are peaking, a succession crisis or two face the empire, the bishop of Rome begins to establish himself as the overlord of all creation and there are those obnoxious Byzantines. Yet the Antichrist did not appear and life moved on. And it moved on to midwife a vibrant civilization, attempting to recreate a holy Jerusalem on earth. Holland is at home with the complexities of the European geopolitical hotchpotch that came out of the not-so-dark ages and tells a good tale, bringing the major figures to life almost like he is writing an historical novel. Recommendation: Holland's style takes a small effort to appreciate but appreciate it you will if you love medieval history as I do. — *Mark Franke*

Envy: A Theory of Social Behavior

Let's talk about envy. Give us some more beer . . ."

That's Ivan, in Yuri Olesha's short novel, "Envy," published in 1927. Ivan is drawing the young and envious Nikolai further into a plot to disrupt Soviet society. His protégé, Nikolai Kavalero, dreams of glory but is stuck on the margins of society. He stewes over the privileges and honors bestowed on others. Ivan feeds Nickolai's envy, his sense of unfair exclusion.

Olesha's novel is cited by Helmut Schoeck in his magisterial work, "Envy: A Theory of Social Behaviour," originally published in German in 1966 and republished by Liberty Fund in 1987. According to Schoeck, Olesha's novel is a rarity in openly addressing this powerful and disruptive emotion. Envy, says Schoeck, is something we all feel but hardly ever talk about. Other negative emotions are granted a degree of public respect. We can admit to hatred, fear, and even jealousy, but envy is a quality we attribute only to others, whose envy is to be feared.

That's because the envious have only one real goal: to see the people they envy brought low. In Schoeck's telling, the envious man doesn't want the good things — the house, the farm, the wife, the children — of the person he envies. He simply wants that person to lose those good things. The pleasure he looks forward to is the misery of his rival. The rival, moreover, need not even know he is the target of envy. The man who envies hides his resentment, typically by dressing it up in the clothes of altruism. He calls for "social justice," for example, when what he really wants is to inflict suffering on the people he resents.

Why does he envy? Where does the resentment come from? We can refer the question to Cain, or Joseph's siblings — or to a host of other primal figures, a great many of whom just happen to be brothers. In a chapter on "The Psychology of Envy," Schoeck traces "the propensity to envy" to sibling rivalry. The sources explain why envy so often fixes on very small differences, "low threshold values." We seldom envy people who are stationed far above us in the social hierarchy. Envy is for those who are close and with whom we can make minute comparisons. — *"Wanting the Worst," by Peter Wood in Law & Liberty, Oct. 16, 2019*

Backgrounders

Statistical Discrimination

Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., is professor of economics at Indiana University Southeast, adjunct scholar for the Indiana Policy Review Foundation and author of “Poor Policy: How Government Harms the Poor.”



(July 17) — I had an interesting moment with a student this summer. He emailed to ask for a religious accommodation to join his family in celebrating *Eid al-Fitr* — a Muslim holy day that celebrates the end of Ramadan. I’m happy to grant schedule extensions in these cases.

Until the email, I knew virtually nothing about him. I knew his name: a Western first name and an East-Asian last name. But the course was online, so I had not even met him. And it was early in the semester, so I had seen little from him in terms of performance.

When he invoked religion, culture and family to ask for the accommodation, I learned more about him and noticed that my perceptions of him changed (slightly). For one thing, he had begun to represent his family, his culture and his religion to me. And I understood that his interactions with me and his performance in my class would (slightly) impact the way I saw his name and those three groups.

As a Christian, this reminded me of the Third Commandment: not to “misuse the name of God.” Often, the commandment is reduced to profaning God’s name — for example, by using it to cuss. But the commandment is broader and more important than this one application. If I invoke God’s name and then act like an idiot, I misuse and harm God’s name. (If I invoke His name and represent Him well, then I bolster how others see God’s name and God Himself.)

In the last few years, we’ve seen many unfortunate events in the area of race. In all such cases, the harm is done by and to individuals. But there is also the broader issue of damage to the groups that the person represents.

Consider the case of Derek Chauvin, the policeman who knelt on the neck of George Floyd in Minneapolis. Chauvin did a reprehensible thing and our perceptions of him are changed forever. But this evil also cuffed the police in general — and we’ve been living with the consequences of that for the past few months.

Or consider the case of Jessie Smollett, the actor from the television show “Empire” who perpetrated a hoax based on race and politics last year. Smollett paid two confederates to act as if he had been attacked by two white guys wearing Trump MAGA hats. After the ruse was unveiled, this evil inevitably cast a bad light on African-Americans, anti-Trumpers, and other accusations about racial discrimination.

As an economist, this reminds me of “statistical discrimination” — the idea that all of us necessarily judge people and moments by their group affiliations. We do this because information about individuals and events is (highly) imperfect and expensive to obtain. In our efforts to make the best decisions we can, with limited knowledge, we grasp at low-cost information that we believe to have predictive power. (Outside of economics, the closest concept to this is “stereotyping.”)

Chauvin and Smollett have done amazing harm to themselves, but indirect damage to the groups to which they belong. We see police differently because of what Chauvin did. We see claims about racial crimes differently because of what Smollett did. If you’re a good policeman, Chauvin has harmed you. If you deal with a true case of racism, Smollett has harmed you. When there are false charges of sexual harassment, it harms those who have valid accusations. And so on.

This is the way life works, because all of us make decisions with limited information. If the last four students you’ve hired from my business school are gold, the next graduate who applies will look relatively good. If the last four have been turkeys, that’s bad news for the next graduate. It might not be fair, but that’s life.

A lesson here is that we should hold such judgments as lightly as possible. At some point, we must make decisions. But when possible, we

should try to learn more and question our assumptions as new information becomes available.

What about my student? It didn't go well for him in the course. I don't think it's because he is a male, a Muslim or comes from a bad family. I think it's because he belongs to another group of people — students who ask for delays and exceptions. They rarely do well.

It can be hoped that we do our best to enhance our knowledge, test our prior beliefs and make effective decisions. And it can be hoped we're aware that our actions impact the perceptions of others about us and the groups to which we belong.

'Systemic' Racism

(June 24) — "It's a black thing; you wouldn't understand." There's a lot of truth to that statement. It's difficult for any of us to understand each other — especially when we're in different social classes, have different ethnicities or varying personal circumstances. At its best, the slogan is a call to learn and deepen relationships, to listen patiently and talk humbly. It's worth the energy to read more liberally and diversify your friendships.

How about this one? "It's an econ thing; you wouldn't understand."

As a labor economist, I've learned many things that cause me to see the world differently — in really important ways. The good news: You can understand what I see — if you're willing to put in some work to expand your horizons and learn more econ.

Let's talk about some popular terms. The broadest definition of "racism" is treating a moment differently — positively or negatively — because of race. (For example, it would be racism of this sort, if I voted for or against Barack Obama because he is black.) But the most popular definitions of racism are narrower, focusing solely on disliking and mistreating others because of race.

Modern uses of racism often assume that you can't be racist without "power." You can't act on

racist beliefs without the freedom to act. But all of us have that power. So the newer definition must imply having power over others. (With a monopoly, you can only buy from me. And if I don't like your race, I can easily exert my racist beliefs over you.)

These days, there's also a lot of talk about "systemic" racism — a vague term that goes beyond the individual and points to the need for systemic reform. The idea is that racism is baked into law, markets, culture and society. The resulting racism can be direct, but often is indirect and even subconscious.

As an economist, it's interesting to me that government fits both modern definitions so well. Government certainly has considerable "power" over all of us, especially the poor and the marginalized. And government is the most obvious part of "the system." So, efforts to deal with racism and systemic racism should start by looking at public policy and addressing government.

We've seen some of this in recent weeks, as people protest police misconduct. In Louisville, there's been additional focus on how the death of Breonna Taylor connects to the "War on Drugs" — an immensely damaging policy that doesn't get nearly enough attention.

But there are other policies that cause immense damage — consequences that are concentrated among the poor in general and African-Americans in particular. Consider the provision of K-12 education. The government has tremendous monopoly power over those in the lower income classes. As with the police, unions protect this monopoly power and make it difficult to fire ineffective or misbehaving employees.

The outcomes are poor, especially for African-Americans. Despite spending an average of \$350,000 per classroom of 25, our nation's schools struggle tremendously. And what's more damaging and unjust than giving kids a 9th-grade education and sending them into the world?

We also restrict or prevent younger children from working legally; make it more expensive to hire them through higher minimum

wages; and hit them with a 15.3 percent FICA tax on every dollar they earn. We have a War on Drugs that establishes “organized crime” called gangs in the inner city. (Remember learning about Prohibition in the 1920s?) With their reduced opportunities for legal work, we tempt them to sell drugs (tax-free) and then throw them in prison when they’re caught.

One more government policy: With the “War on Poverty” in the 1960s, we began to give a lot more resources to lower-income women when they had children — especially if they weren’t married. Since the change in incentives was connected to poverty, it’s not surprising that this is more about class than race. For example, in 2016, mothers with no more than a high school education gave birth within a single-parent household 60 percent of the time.

But this policy has hit African-Americans harder. Their two-parent households were 80 percent in every Census from 1890 to 1960. In 1965, 24 percent of black children (and 3 percent of white children) were born into single-parent households. But by 1990, the percentages had risen to 64 percent of blacks and 18 percent of whites. In 2016, it was 70 percent and 28 percent. While there are many fine exceptions, problems with family structure and stability routinely cause trouble for children, schools and society.

We should all be passionate about addressing poor policy, injustice and “systemic” racism.” But let’s make sure we talk about all of the relevant issues, especially the ones that cause the most systemic damage.

Where the Law Meets the Virus

Andrew M. Horning is an adjunct scholar of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation who lives in Freedom, Ind. A past Republican candidate for Congress, Horning writes frequently on classical-liberal topics and is an expert on federal and state constitutions. He is the author of “The Truth about Excelsior,” a unique perspective on today’s cultural madness, and a glimpse into a world of peace, prosperity and freedom.



(July 8) — My first job in healthcare was in the arbovirus surveillance unit of the Indiana Board of Health in the mid 1970s. My job was all about the flaviviruses carried by birds and mosquitos.

As a young man thus indoctrinated in the hemorrhagic syndromes, fatal mucosal disease, birth defects and encephalitis caused by such viruses, I became one of the many with serious concerns about humanity’s preparedness for pandemics. We really could all go down like a bunch of American Chestnut or Dutch Elm trees — which were wiped out, coincidentally, by diseases originating in Asia.

Since then, I’ve worked in medical research, diagnostic clinical, education and industry roles. I attend conferences chasing CME credits (Continuing Medical Education) and work with personnel at every level of healthcare all over the world every day.

However, I still can’t concisely, accurately or completely define “healthcare.” I’m certain only that nobody else can, either. Not in our politically and ethically compromised healthcare industry, and certainly not our politicians. While I will attest to fabulous advances, our understanding of health in many circumstances is still equivalent to chanting over chicken bones and incense.

A good example would be comparing the efficacy of Reiki touching or a good massage, with whatever the heck it is we’ve been doing in response to COVID-19.

Like macroeconomics, public health is a chaotic system because there are so many variables at play. Age, general health and financial status, population density, transportation methods and who-knows-what-else are all critical factors in assessing risk in generalities. But as an individual, your results may vary.

So my contention is that, like economics, our public policy response to healthcare emergencies should be the opposite of central planning. Fortunately, a distributed, nimble and scientific model of health emergency management is already law. It’s a danged shame that when it most mattered, our government violated the most critical aspects of that law.

Quick review of the fundamentals: This is IC 1-1-2 § 1-1-2-1. “The law governing this state is declared to be:

First. The Constitution of the United States and of this state.

Second. All statutes of the general assembly of the state in force, and not inconsistent with such constitutions. (my emphasis)

Third. All statutes of the United States in force, and relating to subjects over which congress has power to legislate for the states, and not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States.

Fourth. The common law of England, and statutes of the British Parliament made in aid thereof prior to the fourth year of the reign of James the First . . .” (etc., etc., et cetera . . . This is the part that judges and lawyers think comes first, so it blathers on incomprehensibly).

Fortunately, our federal government didn’t egregiously violate the “Third,” and our judges didn’t interrupt their usual violation of the “Fourth” to do anything especially bad.

On the other hand, the actions taken by Gov. Eric Holcomb specifically violated Article 3, Article I Section 25, Article I Section 26; and he failed to invoke Article 4, Section 9 of the Indiana Constitution — and that’s the thing that comes “First” in our hierarchy of law.

Just as you and I can’t just make laws from our easy chairs, politicians aren’t authorized to tell us what we can do, can’t do and must do in any way they like. By fundamental law they must be properly authorized and limited. The Indiana Constitution is that authority, and that limitation.

First, authority, and then, law. After the law is passed, then it’s executed.

The governor cannot make legitimate laws any more than my dog can (Article 3). Legitimate executive orders are only the detailed orders of executing laws already written by legislators.

This is clarified by Article 3 – Distribution of Powers: “The powers of the Government are divided into three separate departments; the Legislative, the Executive including the

Administrative, and the Judicial: and no person, charged with official duties under one of these departments, shall exercise any of the functions of another, except as in this Constitution expressly provided.”

There are no emergency executive lawmaking powers in either the state or federal constitutions. The statute, IC 10-14-3, “Emergency Management and Disaster Law” (listed as “Second” in the hierarchy of Indiana law, and not the Constitution) is where the governor’s emergency powers were confabulated by unconstitutional delegation of responsibility and accountability by the General Assembly.

Article I Section 25: “No law shall be passed, the taking effect of which shall be made to depend upon any authority, except as provided in this Constitution.”

Article I, Section 26 of the Indiana Constitution does grant authority to compromise our rights in emergencies, but only to our legislators: “The operation of the laws shall never be suspended, except by the authority of the General Assembly.”

There are good reasons for the local accountability for lawmaking inherent in our state’s Constitution. Different regions have different needs. A tornado doesn’t destroy the whole state. Rural areas are different from cities. Pandemics work differently even where parameters of technology, population density and transportation are similar (e.g., New York City versus Tokyo).

I understand why legislators don’t want to make tough decisions that could get them fired on a Tuesday in November . . . but this is the point. We want these people accountable to us, locally. So there is an emergency power, but it’s in only the General Assembly, not in the executive office.

No one person should ever have so much power, or accountability, to unilaterally whip out rules to suspend fundamental human rights all across the state.

COVID-19 is a terrible disease. If the numbers can be trusted (it’s a sad shame that this is in question), the death toll has already passed the

grim statistics of the Swine flu of 2009, the Hong Kong flu of 1968, and the Asian flu of 1957.

But we didn't throw away fundamental rights, destroy economies, pass enabling acts and erect Caesars. There were emergency sessions in legislative assemblies all across the country, and they passed emergency laws at state and local levels. Even in this current pandemic hysteria, there have been many mayors, businesses and other local institutions that took local, faster action while presidents and governors queried pollsters.

There has always been a right way to respond to emergencies, and it's all written down — and it's the law. We need to get this right, because by the time even the best healthcare experts have finally gathered enough data to correctly understand this virus, it will change or be replaced by the next pandemic.

And, yes, it looks like the bubonic plague could be coming back. Welcome to 2020.

Hydroxychloroquine and Me

Richard Moss, M.D., a surgeon practicing in Jasper, was a candidate for Congress in 2016 and 2018. He has written "A Surgeon's Odyssey" and "Matilda's Triumph." Contact him at richardmossmd.com or Richard Moss, M.D. on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.



(June 24) — I took hydroxychloroquine for two years. I was a visiting cancer surgeon in Asia, in Thailand, Nepal, India and Bangladesh from 1987 to 1990. Malaria is rife there. I took it for prophylaxis, 400 milligrams once a week for two years. Never had any trouble. It was inexpensive and effective. I started it two weeks before and was supposed to continue it through my stay and four weeks after returning.

I stopped it after two years. I was worried about potential side effects of which there are many, as with all drugs right down to Tylenol and aspirin. These, however, are rare. At a certain point, I was prepared to take my chances with mosquitoes and plasmodium.

Chloroquine, the precursor of HCQ, was invented by Bayer in 1934. Hydroxychloroquine was developed during World War II as a safer, synthetic alternative and approved for medical use in the U.S. in 1955. The World Health Organization (WHO) considers it an essential medicine, among the safest and most effective medicines, a staple of any healthcare system. In 2017, U.S. doctors prescribed it 5 million times, the 128th most commonly prescribed drug in the country. There have been hundreds of millions of prescriptions worldwide since its inception. It is one of the cheapest and best drugs in the world and has saved millions of lives. Doctors also prescribe it for Lupus and Rheumatoid arthritis patients who may consume it for their lifetimes with few or no ill effects.

Then something happened to this wonder drug. From savior of the multitudes, redeemer and benefactor of hundreds of millions, it transformed into something else: a purveyor of doom, despair, and unspeakable carnage. It began when President Trump discussed it as a possible treatment for COVID-19 on March 19, 2020. The gates of hell burst forth on May 18 when Trump casually announced that he was taking it, prescribed by his physician. Attacks on Trump and this otherwise harmless little molecule poured in. The heretofore respected, commonly used, and highly effective medicinal became a major threat to life, a nefarious and wicked chemical that could alter critical heart rhythms, resulting in sudden cataclysmic death for unsuspecting innocents. Trump, more than irresponsible, was evil incarnate for daring to even mention it. While at it, the salivating media trotted out the canard about Trump's non-recommendation for injecting Clorox and Lysol or drinking fish-tank cleaner to combat COVID. It was Charlottesville all over again.

Before a nation of non-cardiologists, the media agonized over, of all things, the prolongation of the now infamous "QT interval," and the risk of sudden cardiac death. The FDA and NIH piled on, piously demanding randomized, controlled, double-blind studies before physicians prescribed HCQ. No one mentioned that the risk of cardiac

arrest was far higher from watching the Superbowl. Nor did the media declare that HCQ and chloroquine have been used throughout the world for half a century, making them among the most widely prescribed drugs in history with not a single reported case of “arrhythmic death” according to the sainted WHO and the American College of Cardiology. Or that physicians in the field, on the frontlines, so to speak, based on empirical evidence, have found benefit in treating patients with a variety of agents including HCQ, Zinc, Azithromycin, Quercetin, Elderberry supplements, Vitamins D and C with few if any complications. Or that while such regimens may not cure, they may help and carry little or no risk.

And so, the world was aflame once again with a non-story driven by the COVID media. The HCQ divide within the nation is only a continuation of innumerable divides that have surfaced since the pandemic began — and before. One will know the politics of an individual based on his position on any number of pandemic issues: lockdowns, sheltering in place, face masks, social distancing, “elective surgery,” and “essential businesses.” The closing of schools and colleges. Blue states and Red states. Governor Cuomo or Governor DeSantis. Nationwide injunctions or federalism. The WHO and Red China. Or, pre-pandemic, Brexit, open borders, DACA, and amnesty. CBD oil, turmeric, and legalizing marijuana. Russia Collusion, Trump’s taxes, the 25th amendment, Stormy Daniels, the Ukraine non-scandal, and impeachment. Or Obamagate. And now HCQ.

HCQ is only another bellwether. It represents the latest non-event in a long string of fabricated media non-scandals. If a nation can be divided over hydroxychloroquine it can be divided over anything. It shows neatly, as many of the other non-issues did, whether one embraces the U.S., our history, culture and constitutional system, or rejects it. Whether one believes in Americanism or despises it. It is part of the ongoing civil war, thus far cold, but who knows? The passions today are no less jarring than they were in 1860. One would have thought that a man taking a medicine prescribed by his physician, even a President, would be a private matter. But no. Not today.

We swim in an ocean of manufactured disinformation created by a radical COVID media, our fifth column. They inflame the nation one way or another based on political whims. The propaganda arm of the Left, they seek victory at all costs including dismantling the economy, culture, and our governing system. Is there a curative for the COVID media and their Democrat allies who would destroy a nation to destroy Trump? He is all that stands between us and them. Is there an antiviral for this, the communist virus that has infected the nation, metastasized throughout its corpus, and now threatens the republic?

An Alternative Path to a Good Income

Maryann O. Keating, Ph.D., a resident of South Bend and an adjunct scholar of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation, is co-author of “Microeconomics for Public Managers,” Wiley/Blackwell.



(June 14) — The first lesson to be learned in economics is that there is no such thing as a free lunch. Those who have internalized this lesson cringe on hearing press reports about “free” school meals, haircuts, backpacks, tuition, diapers, etc. Someone is either donating voluntarily or being taxed to pay for these items. Then, the student of economics has to ask him or herself, “Have I developed into an insufficiently empathetic person?”

Many of us recall distressful times when perhaps our families needed an extension on property taxes or rent. We may have become eligible for food stamps, public assistance, or needed to apply for utility assistance. Worst of all, we will never forget the shame experienced in having to swallow our pride and ask Aunt March for a few hundred dollars.

Fortunately, for at least 95 percent of Americans, illness, family disruption, job loss, recessions and pandemics were temporary events and did not represent a life pattern. The question we ask ourselves in these times is, “What happens

when individuals working at jobs posted at the low end of the pay scale are unable to advance to earning a respectable mid-level standard of living over the course of their careers?”

The roughly 20 million jobs lost in the aftermath of the coronavirus have amplified the economic gap between college graduates and other workers. Workers with the least education were usually the first to be let go and typically the last to be rehired. The Census Bureau reports that 51 percent of high school graduates had lost work income because of the outbreak. That is compared with only 39 percent of college graduates. Advanced education has become increasingly vital to household prosperity; yet, nearly two-thirds of Americans do not hold a college degree (Josh Boak, “Pandemic Shows the Value of a Degree,” South Bend Tribune, June 2, 2020, A8).

Income gaps result when a significant percentage of the population lack technical skills or experience. Hence, they cannot command the income necessary in maintaining the lifestyle which most Americans enjoy.

It is difficult to determine if college graduates earn more either due to subjects mastered or to the discipline of having had to jump through the hoops required by 40 different academic instructors. For whatever reason, firms presently prefer college graduates who are screened and trained at someone else’s expense.

But what about 18-22 year olds who choose at this point in their lives not to take an academic route? The solution is not to award more college degrees, or subsidize those who have little inclination to attend college. In fact, college graduates are finding that, since the pandemic struck, fewer postings require a college degree. The general solution is to find ways for young people, with or without a college degree, to develop the entry level skills enabling them ultimately to support themselves and their families well.

The process through which an individual young person discerns his or her vocation remains a mystery, filled with twists, turns and many surprises. Yet, parents have a vested interest in

always being on the lookout for institutions, programs, and persons that can provide suitable training for a particular child. In the coming decade, this may involve a traditional college curriculum or it might alternatively involve attaining certification in a particular field.

For example, proficiency in coding can be demonstrated with a certification leading to well paid positions in technology. Training in cross-country trucking is widely advertised. Here, in Indiana, one- and two-year programs in financial services, hospitality, health related fields and security services are available.

Firms often excel in providing experience and training; however, they need to anticipate financial loss when employees jump ship to be rehired by competitors. However, businesses, if legally permitted, might be willing to offer apprenticeships to selected persons willing to accept below market wages initially and knowing that they could be dismissed for failing to meet expectations.

Colleges cannot guarantee success in fulfilling middle-income aspirations; they can at best offer a sound curriculum pointing students in a certain direction. And in colleges, as in any occupational program, there is misinformation, fraud and obsolescence.

Schools serious about training students in the trades, business, analytics, engineering, law and medicine quickly realize how expensive it is to hire competent instructors willing to share their skills in return for an academic salary. The story goes that a certain master plumber would send apprentices out to fetch tools at “odd” times rather than reveal his hard-earned trade secrets. Even well intentioned tutors find it arduous to work with reluctant trainees when they could earn more practicing themselves.

However, if a society is serious about addressing the income gap between affluence and persistent poverty, it must be successful in transmitting marketable skills to the next generation through whatever means possible. This requires that young people choose to put their

shoulder to the wheel either in college, in gaining certifications, or in on-the-job training.

Do We Really Want to Be Like Seattle?

Mark Franke, an adjunct scholar of the Indiana Policy Review, is formerly an associate vice chancellor at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne.



(Editor's Note: We are reposting this essay as the winner of this quarter's Prescience Trophy.)

(Aug. 7, 2019) — “If we could only be more like Seattle . . .” How often have you heard that comment from city leaders, Chamber of commerce spokesmen and other economic development officials? They conjure up images of highly paid millennials living in expensive downtown condos and freely spending their disposable income at all sorts of retail establishments.

The problem is always the same: How do we attract these millennials here? The proponents of this have a list. First, let's build expensive downtown housing and retail spaces, at taxpayer expense of course. Second, let's advertise a millennial-attractive lifestyle, meaning hiding or eliminating our midwestern family values that might offend the target audience. Third, let's brag about all the great creative-class jobs we have to offer.

Oops. It seems Indiana doesn't have an extensive listing of these jobs. So off we go to recruit the requisite employers to our cities and towns. Except they always ask if we have an adequately qualified workforce they can access. Which sends us right back to “Go” without collecting the \$200.

Much of the blame can be laid at the doorstep of political scientist Richard Florida whose “The Rise of the Creative Class” started a stampede to achieve urban nirvana by remaking cities in his idealized image. It's now 17 years later and Florida is offering a mea culpa for failing to take into

account that for the city center to function even high-salaried creative class jobs need to be supported by a host of blue-collar, manual-labor and, yes, low-paying jobs. Not that he's backing down on his main thesis, in spite of a formidable array of nay-sayers attacking him from both the right and the left.

For those of us here in flyover country, the problem is much more basic than filling our central cities with twenty-somethings. Go back to the second item on the game plan above. To be successful at remaking ourselves as Seattle, we have to fundamentally alter what we are.

Traditional family values, strong religious identification and socially conservative life choices are all assumed to be anathema to the millennials. Yet several million Hoosiers apparently like this culture enough to move and/or stay here.

I recall a marketing exercise in graduate business school that was designed to teach us that changing a product mix in response to concerns from non-customers may have the net effect of removing what current customers like. The business brings in a few new customers but risks losing many old ones. Does the old saw about a baby and the bathwater come to mind?

This is the concern being debated in Indiana's DeKalb County, one of the most heavily industrialized counties in the nation, with 41 percent of county jobs in the manufacturing category. This is certainly a strength since manufacturing has the highest average wage by broad employment sector. The danger is that manufacturing is quite susceptible to the economic cycle. In other words, while DeKalb has an effectively negative unemployment rate right now, it runs the risk of that rate rising well above the national average in the event of recession.

A healthy debate is occurring in DeKalb about this: Some believe that the solution is to increase the educational level of the population, especially in skilled trades, so as to maintain a pipeline of prospective employees for its many industrial firms. Others argue for economic diversification such as tourism promotion and high-tech business attraction to reduce recession risk. And

there are a few who think societal and cultural changes are needed to attract more young people, somewhat along the lines of Richard Florida's hypothesis.

These discussions are intensifying right now with several initiatives underway, including a comprehensive one sponsored by the Community Foundation of DeKalb County. It appears to be an honest, open process, at least to an outsider like me who has attended a number of community meetings as an observer. It's as close to a

grassroots movement that I have seen in a long time. I don't know if it will be successful but the effort is impressive.

And how are things working out in Seattle? It's getting a lot of bad press these days about homelessness, drug addiction and crime rates well in excess of other large cities. Amazon announced it would not build its new headquarters in Seattle, and Boeing has moved out.

Maybe we really don't want to be like Seattle after all. ♦

Is the President Forgetting Politics 101?

In times of confusion, it is best to focus on fundamentals. What follows is an invitation to do so.

Americans elected Donald Trump — his negatives notwithstanding — because they disliked what the ruling class had been doing to the country, because they distrusted its pretense of wisdom, and because he promised to rule by a sense that defies that of the ruling class but that he has in common with the people at large.

That is why the ruling class's nonstop campaign to show in every imaginable way that Trump is outside all of its norms only strengthened the people's preference for him over them. As the mutual disdain that divides the American people and the ruling class continues to grow, and as Trump stands unmistakably as the former's protector against the latter, the fundamental law of politics (who is on whose side?) guarantees his re-election by a bigger margin.

Unless, of course, Trump himself sides or is perceived to be siding with the rulers against the ruled. In that case, his fate is even surer to be that of the proverbial salt that has lost its savor, "thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."

Since the Ides of March, President Trump has placed himself on a path that the fundamentals suggest leads to political suicide. He did this by surrendering to the ruling class — Drs. Anthony Fauci, Deborah Birx, et al., not to mention House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) — his judgment on whether and for how long, and how the country should be shut down. This is of the greatest concern to the American people in general and to his voters in particular. By giving his imprimatur while suggesting that he is acting against his own better judgment, he fulfills the dictionary definition of tragedy.

One thing is certain: That the ruling class savors the grip on us that it has achieved during the past three weeks — above all the presumption that we must quietly accept non-legal decrees from on high. It will not give up that grip without a fight. — *Angelo Codevilla, amgreatness.com, April 8, 2020*



Thomas Hoepker, Sept. 11, 2001

The Outstater

An Intersectional Indiana GOP

"America's Founders, schooled in a profound philosophical and literary tradition dating back to classical antiquity, understood the fragility of civil peace and the danger of the lustful, vengeful mob. Our present leaders, the products of a politicized and failing education system, seem to know nothing of those truths. Pulling the country back from the abyss will require a recalling of our civilizational inheritance." — Heather Mac Donald

(July 24) — Some of us here are trying especially hard to understand a top priority of the Indiana Republican Party this year; that is, recruiting more Blacks and Latinos for leadership positions. We understand that even in a time of multiple crises the pursuit of equality is critical. But that is only true if the equality is of opportunity and not merely of results. Otherwise, it's just more hooley.

In this instance, there's the question of what if anything now stands in the way of any candidate with sincere affinity for the GOP state platform from filing for office and launching a campaign. Indeed, it would seem that anyone of any race or gender who demonstrated actual conviction would stand apart from the GOP pack.

Conversely, last month my county chairman got with the program by slating a Black

female attorney in a district caucus election. That was good as far as it went, but the candidate reportedly never voted in a GOP primary and gave money to the most recent Bernie Sanders presidential campaign, all factors that the chairman urged us to "overlook."

The likely result of such woke posturing will be continuation of a failed ruling class, only in more varied hues. There will be a new shade of the same professional politician, indistinguishable by party or office. This just at a time when polls are showing that urban disorder is pushing working Black families in the direction of the GOP.

Too cynical? The "reward" for being chosen for the Indiana Republican Diversity program, in addition to concentrated GOP leadership training, whatever that might be, is the chance to travel to Washington and meet with real members of Congress, professionals with a Gallup job approval rating averaging below 25 percent.

This is not high-level strategic thinking. Rather, one reaches for an analogy strong enough to express the folly.

And here it is on top of my desk — not an analogy but a similitude, a bit of true-life cultural reportage. A columnist for the New York Times argues that something must be done immediately about the lack of diversity in . . . well, in symphony orchestras.

The solution, the author says, is to discontinue the blind auditions of musicians (behind a screen).

Blind auditions, please know, were introduced in the early 1970s to break the white male monopoly on really old, really boring music. But it didn't get the correct result. Now the Times wants the symphony appraisers to be able to discriminate not just by ear but by skin pigment.

While that sinks in, consider what an orchestra might sound like if the audition appraisers — to be absolutely fair — were required to be deaf as well. And do we allow the rejected musicians to form their own orchestras, bigotry-tainted but in tune?

Which brings to mind Indiana's Kurt Vonnegut. In 1961 Mr. Vonnegut wrote a dystopian short story pertinent to this discussion.

The title was “Harrison Bergeron,” but don't look for it in the more political correct anthologies of his work. Here is the Wikipedia plot summary:

“In the year 2081, the 211th, 212th, and 213th amendments to the Constitution dictate that all Americans are fully equal and not allowed to be smarter, better-looking or more physically able than anyone else. The Handicapper General's agents enforce the equality laws, forcing citizens to wear ‘handicaps’ — masks for those who are too beautiful, loud radios that disrupt thoughts inside the ears of intelligent people and heavy weights for the strong or athletic.”

To pick up where Vonnegut left off, the purpose of a political party is not to socially engineer its membership but to represent a set of principles, just as the purpose of an orchestra is to assemble the most talented musicians, or the purpose of society is to free Harrison Bergeron and the rest of us, whatever our skin color, to be the best we can be.

If that is something the Indiana GOP has forgotten, elections here won't matter one way or the other.

The Ignominy of Ancestry

(July 15) — I may be hypersensitive to the plight of 79-year-old Charlotte Martin, who lost her position last week with a county political party. The Indianapolis Star, you see, found out she was a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

It is easy for me to imagine that generations from now my great-great-granddaughters, should they have joined a Daughters of the Vietnam War, will be similarly shamed for being my descendants, linked by ancestry to another “Lost Cause ideology.”

That's the term the Star uses for those linked by blood to the Confederacy, hinting strongly that the Hendricks County woman belonged to something more nefarious than a mere ancestry group.

It may be true that some in Mrs. Martin's group have read the carefully crafted essays of John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren and others of the Agrarian School of the southern literary tradition (the Lost Cause ideology). It was a group of novelists and poets who sought to expand understanding of the antebellum South beyond a simplistic “people there owned slaves.”

Mrs. Martin, though, protests that she is not working to restore slavery, the Confederacy or anything but the memory of her ancestors.

Before publishing their exposé of Mrs. Martin, the Star editors had compiled a list of Indiana historic statuary lest vandals be unfamiliar with the territory here. The headline read, “Six Indiana Statues that Stir Controversy.”

At the top was “the Pioneer Family,” commissioned in 1924 from Myra Reynolds Richards, somewhat of a feminist for her time. The cast bronze nuclear family of four keeps watch in Indianapolis at Fountain Square, the mother striding forth carrying a book assumed for all these years to be the Bible.

But no, ArtSmart, which presumes to interpret Indiana art for our school children, has tried to soften the offense of the thing by insisting that the mother is carrying not a Bible but a nondescript tome “attesting to her ability to read.”



It never ends, does it?

And on the chance that spray-painting youth might be short of inspiration, the Star provided this historic shorthand: “Some might consider it (the statue) an insult against the first residents of Indiana, once considered home to the Potawatomi, Miami, Shawnee and other tribes. Many of those Indians were later forcibly removed from the state from 1830-1846.”

I am looking now at the “Pioneer Certificate” on the wall of my study made out in the name of my great-great-grandfather. Was he by his mere existence on the Great Plains culpable in the forcible removal of Native Americans?

I suppose that is so if you put aside the knowledge that the Potawatomi, Miami and Shawnee had forcible removed the earlier occupants. But did he have a choice? Read William Hintzen’s “The Border Wars of the Upper Ohio Valley” if you want an idea of what it was like to live next to the Native Americans of the time.

There are members of my family who want me to take down the certificate. They can see where all this is heading — in the direction of Charlotte Martin and ignominy. But it’s too late. Next to that certificate is another, this one recognizing me as a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, an ancestry group linked to a possibly even more controversial war.

There’s not room here for all you can learn about American history as a member of such organizations. I recommend Paul Johnson’s magnificent “History of the American People.” He relates the rules that my pioneer ancestors lived by, rules that Johnson says produced “the most remarkable people the world has ever seen.” He quotes the official U.S. State Department policy at the time. It is written by John Quincy Adams, one of many many early Americans apocalyptically opposed to slavery or any other oppression:

“The American Republic invites nobody to come. We will keep out nobody. Arrivals will suffer no disadvantages as aliens. But they can expect no advantages either. Native-born and foreign-born face equal opportunities. What happens to them depends entirely on their

individual ability and exertions, and on good fortune.”

The genealogy of many Hoosiers includes entries such as indentured servants put to work on the early plantations or German-speaking immigrants during the First World War required to carry identification marked “Enemy Alien.” It will not matter that none of them ever owned a slave or came within bow shot of a Native American.

Oh yes, I almost forgot . . . the supposedly Confederate-conspiring Mrs. Martin, a progressive Democrat and a former school teacher, says she marched with Martin Luther King, helped integrate her public schools and voted for Barack Obama.

So none is safe. We can be lumped together by heart, mind, blood or innocent association into a single category of hateful bigots. And having nobody in public office or in the media to stand up for us, we must accept that slander.

That includes demeaning labels for those who did their duty with courage and valor in wars long ago — fought and died for complicated reasons that soft-headed, morally puffed up editors care not explore.

Asking ‘the China Question’

(July 10) — We would like to know more about the thinking at Indiana University and Purdue regarding students from China. Specifically, how it was decided to bring so many of one group of foreign student to campus in the first place.

But nobody is answering what might be called “the China question.”

There is the money, of course. The one million international students currently enrolled at U.S. colleges and universities contributed nearly \$41 billion to the economy, says the Association of International Educators.

Students from China, though, are categorically different than students from the other countries with sizable student populations here, namely India, South Korea, Canada, Taiwan and Mexico. According to dissident Chinese, virtually

ACCORDING TO A COMPLAINT filed in the Southern District of Indiana on July 17 and unsealed today, Kaikai Zhao, a graduate student studying machine learning and artificial intelligence at Indiana University, applied for an F1 nonimmigrant visa in June 2018. In response to the question on the visa application, “Have you ever served in the military,” Zhao answered, “No.” As set forth in the Complaint, Zhao served in the National University of Defense Technology, the PLA’s premier institution for scientific research and education, which is directly subordinate to the PRC’s Central Military Commission. Zhao also attended the Aviation University of Air Force (AUAF), which is a Chinese military academy analogous to the U.S. Air Force Academy. AUAF students are active military service members who receive military training. In addition, the FBI located an online photograph of Zhao wearing a PLAAF uniform. Zhao was arrested on July 18. — Department of Justice News, July 23, 2020 (*tip of the hat to the Northwest Indiana Gazette*)

all students from China take an oath to provide any information that the Chinese Communist Party might request. The students would be in violation of the law if they refused or even balked.

If you doubt that such registered informants could become a problem, consider what advantage the Soviet Union would have had during the Cold War had it been able to place 2,000 Russian “students” on each U.S. college campus.

That is the number of students from China enrolled at IU this fall, one-third of its international students. The China count is tucked away on the back channels of the IU web site (if you can find someone to help navigate its twists and turns). Those students pay \$80 million annually in tuition, or about half what the university receives in state funds.

Purdue reports about 3,000 student from China on campus this fall, a third of its international students as well. The university has not answered a request for more detail from a member of our foundation, Kent Blackledge, past publisher of the Kokomo Tribune and the holder of four degrees from Purdue including a

doctorate. He is concerned about the integrity of agricultural research.

Meanwhile, IU is rejecting requests for emails that might illuminate the university’s thinking on this topic. It is too difficult, IU spokesmen say, unless the university is given the name of both the sender and recipient of a specific email. That is an interpretation, some argue, that effectively negates the Access to Public Records Act.

Again, this is a lost opportunity to independently verify how judicious the two universities have been in protecting publicly funded

research, not to mention

guarding Hoosiers from assorted viruses.

Moreover, it would give them a chance to showcase the many programs and classes that introduce, or even inculcate, students from China to the values of Western Civilization, its principles and its constitutional base.

Assuming, of course, they still have professors who teach that sort of stuff

It Begins: the Renaming of Indiana

(July 9) — Our sympathy goes out to the dozen or so of you who were counting on Eric Holcomb to stand strong against the culture-cancelers and statue-topplers.

Here is the governor responding to a question yesterday on changing the name “Indiana”:

“You know, I haven’t given that any thought, although I’ve talked with Native American friends of mine about our shared past, our heritage, and how we can do a better job — we being myself, this administration — sharing the story of Indiana, sharing the story of who we are as a people, a very diverse people, and to be able to celebrate our successes, to be able to acknowledge our

shortcomings and deal with them. And I will look to speak more about this in the near future.”

— *a tip of the hat to Ken Davidson of the Northwest Indiana Gazette*

A GOP County Chairman Gets Woke

(June 29) — Reacting in part to protests hundreds of miles away, our Republican county chairman has asserted his “wokeness” by welcoming the resignation of a county councilman rebuked for a racial comment and nominating a black female lawyer as the replacement. And he pulled the name from an affirmative-action hat, a bipartisan one if that makes any sense.

Does this heal our wounds, as they like to say?

First, this is not how it’s supposed to work in a democratic republic. The electorate exists to decide such matters, not to be nullified by fiat. The district caucus took that into account when it voted against the chairman’s attempt at slating (the first such attempt here in a couple of generations).

Second, neither skin pigment nor gender magically ensures either justice or wisdom. A casual survey of the most miserable race and crime situations in the nation finds a number of black, female officials in charge — and they have been in charge for a good stretch of years, for better and for worse.

Third, the nominee reportedly has never voted in a Republican primary, voted for Barack Obama and donated to Bernie Sanders — actions the chairman says should be “overlooked.”

The goal, then, is not straightforward, not to simply solve a problem. It is to make a white middle-aged apparatchik feel more politically comfortable. He calculates correctly that such race pandering improves his standing among the local elite, men and women who have grown comfortable applying 1970s thinking to whatever problems might bubble up from below.

It is a strategy wearing thin with thoughtful young blacks, not to mention the Republican rank

and file. Here is Charles Love writing last week in City Magazine:

“Since the protests began, woke whites have clamored to find a way to do their part. Since they don’t have many blacks in their social circles, and having conversations with blacks — the most constructive course of action — is awkward and can take time, they opt for easy, feel-good actions, most of which will have no effect on police brutality, on the quality of black schools or neighborhoods, or on black lives generally.”

Love, a native of Gary and the executive director of the nonprofit Seeking Education Excellence, concludes that woke whites aren’t saying that his life matters. They are saying that it’s up to them to make his life matter, a different thing entirely and a contention that can be rejected as condescending and superficial.

There are more substantive approaches, several of them suggested in a recent essay by our Dr. Eric Schansberg. He expands the definition of “systemic” racism to include government programs, something for which the chairman of a political party holds at least nominal responsibility.

“Government certainly has considerable power over all of us, especially the poor and the marginalized,” Schansberg begins. “And government is the most obvious part of the ‘system.’ So, efforts to deal with racism and systemic racism should start by looking at public policy and addressing government.”

He goes on to list policies that are damaging in this regard:

- A system of K-12 education wherein the government has monopoly power over those in the lower income classes with the most disappointing results (despite spending an average of \$350,000 per classroom).
- Collective bargaining for public employees that protects inflexible monopolies in schools and in police and fire departments, monopolies that makes it more difficult to

manage an organization, i.e., dismiss incompetent employees.

- Laws that prevent young people from entering the workforce, making it more expensive to hire them through higher minimum wages, and then adding a 15.3 percent tax to every dollar they earn.
- A “war” on drugs that results in gangs of youths who, considering the above-mentioned disincentives to find legal work, are tempted to sell drugs (tax-free) and are then thrown in prison when caught.
- A “war” on poverty beginning in the 1960s that gives more resources to lower-income women when they have children — especially if they aren’t married.

This last policy, Schansberg notes, hits black families hard. Their two-parent households were 80 percent in every Census from 1890 to 1960. In 1965, though, 24 percent of black children and 3 percent of white children were born into single-parent households. By 1990, the percentages had risen to 64 percent of blacks and 18 percent of whites. In 2016, it was 70 percent and 28 percent.

All of which recommends reforms that a county chairman could push to really wake things up.

The Gods of the Copybook Headings

*In the Carboniferous Epoch we were promised abundance for all,
By robbing selected Peter to pay for collective Paul;
But, though we had plenty of money, there was nothing our money could buy,
And the Gods of the Copybook Headings said: “If you don’t work you die.”*

— 1919, Rudyard Kipling, “The Gods of the Copy Book Headings”

(June 23) — When the Moynihan Report first raised concern about government incentives creating fatherless homes, they told us not to worry. The century was coming to a close.

Alternative family models — better ones — would emerge.

Rudyard Kipling is dead, they laughed. There were no absolutes in their brave new world, including a man and a woman in a Christian marriage. And a ruling class, having grown unsure about either God or man, had nothing useful to say.

That was 55 years ago. We should have been terrified. For as it turned out, the age-old model of a father who goes to work every day, comes home for dinner every evening and tries as best he can to protect and care for his wife and children, was essential. His absence in the new family-assistance formulas resulted in disaster, especially for young men left without guiding souls.

Most important, neither income nor race was the simple predictor that politicians claimed it to be. Studies cited by James Q. Wilson in his groundbreaking 1975 work “Thinking About Crime” suggested something else. They found that “the most critical factor affecting the prospect that a male youth (of any race) will encounter the criminal justice system is the presence of a father in the home.”

Dr. Thomas Sowell added detail 18 years later in his “The Economics and Politics of Race.” And eight years ago, Charles Murray in “Coming Apart” showed that fatherless families were not limited to a single group.

“Racism is not dead, but it is on life support,” Sowell concluded last year, “kept alive by politicians, race hustlers and people who get a sense of superiority by denouncing others as ‘racists.’”

The curious thing today is nobody wants to know whether these thinkers were right or wrong, whether their predictions bore out. Despite the myriad dysfunctions buried in the crime data, family makeup is rarely studied any more as a predominate, independent factor.

There is a related issue. It is hopelessness. Do you notice something common about the people on those streets, throwing bricks at shop windows, indiscriminately toppling statutes and categorizing people by physiognomy? Here is

Charles Kesler writing last week in the New York Post under the headline, “Let’s Call Them the 1619 Riots”:

“There is a kind of despair, both angry and frightened, haunting the public mind today. After all, if the problem’s in our DNA, there’s precious little we can do about it. Let’s not kid ourselves. The rioters who commit the violence drew one conclusion from that premise: If justice is out of the question, the next best thing is payback, snatching from the oppressor’s hand whatever loot they can.”

It’s visual in the crowds. They wear it as clothes — palpable. History has nothing to offer them. Capitalism certainly makes no sense. Nor do the checks and balances of a democratic republic. They feel they have nothing to lose.

They think it’s too late to gain the social or personal skills to make it in this society. “OK, Boomer,” they mock. But to bend a truism of Ronald Reagan, we have taught them everything they don’t know. That which would save them sits unread on bookshelves, never refuted only ignored.

Black and White and Troubled All Over

“Philadelphia Inquirer top editor forced to resign after publishing piece with ‘Buildings Matter’ headline. Was with paper 20 years; led team to Pulitzer; doubled minority staff. Apologized for ‘Buildings Matter, Too’ headline. ‘Deeply offensive.’” — Byron York, June 7, 2020

(June 6) — Our foundation addressed the need for journalism reform at its beginning, and its argument has been consistent for these last three decades: Ownership matters, especially so in the context of American journalism.

“Corporate managers who cannot match the accountability of a hometown publisher will not hold reader trust,” we argued in a 1990 guest column for the Wall Street Journal.

Last week’s myopic riot coverage begs an update. Corporate media is experiencing a sharp

decline in public trust. The big-time editors and reporters like to tell themselves that their jobs exist to serve readers, but readers and viewers are, increasingly, rejecting the service.

An analysis of why this is so can begin with a New Yorker magazine cartoon tacked on the bulletin board of my now defunct hometown paper, the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. It showed an editor standing on a busy street corner hawking papers. “My issues,” the man is shouting. “Read all about them.”

The point is that mass media, regardless of the strong opinions of its editors, are not immune to the rules of markets and economics. Corporate managers, busy harvesting the fruits of monopoly, left newsrooms on a default setting, specifically that “my issues” setting depicted in the cartoon.

This was a mistake, not only for the community discussion but for the corporations themselves. They have been learning that their stock value and their advertising rates are justified — or not — by public trust. Mass layoffs and closings are a predictable result of misjudging that connection.

A Wall Street asset manager, Jack Liebau, had this advice for investors trying to make sense of corporate media’s fall: “In an age of media scandal, ‘fair and balanced’ must become more than a slogan. Ultimately, stock prices will follow business results. Fairness, credibility and a commitment to the community are vital to a sustainable and growing franchise.”

Newspapers began consolidating under publicly traded ownership in the late 1960s. Unseen in that consolidation was a historic demotion of a fabled grouping of curmudgeons known as the “bull pen.” These were the senior editors of the copy desk, layers of them, who guarded readers from the hubris of reporters and the manipulation of anonymous sources.

By the 1980s, power had left the newsroom entirely, migrating to advertising, which brought in cash, and to production and circulation, which secured efficiencies. One by one, the old bulls walked off. These senior editors, made wise by lifetimes at the center of events, knew to the

second when their contributions had become inconsequential.

We who would sit in their chairs were slower to understand. Callow but self-important (the unfortunate Dan Rather was our model), we misinterpreted management's indifference to content as recognition of the bang-up job we were doing in the service of the First Amendment.

But we produced little for which the Founding Fathers would have written so much as a line, let alone fought and died. We were a soft-headed bunch. Our talents were in giggle and rhyme, not in gathering hard facts that prepared a reader for the coming day.

So we spent our careers behind impressive title plates waiting for news to come to us as chyron on a teleprompter. If we were moved to action at all it was to harry those dealing with the world as it was rather than as we wrote it should be. We insisted on disparaging the real-life choices that our readers were making every day, writing columns making fun of housewives who attached Bible versus to their refrigerators with magnets.

These were choices in housing (sprawling), transportation (gas-guzzling), energy (pollution-spewing) home schooling (racist) and nuclear families (to be discouraged). Never mind the failures of traditional American institutions — failures never seriously addressed on behalf of our readers.

Our status in the newsroom was not determined by scoops, investigative genius or a Rolodex. It was determined by allegiance to prescribed views on how the world should be saved, now most prominently how we feel about race division being used as a lever for political power.

Economically ignorant, we accepted whatever data fit our halcyon vision. At our best, we never rose above boosterism. In sum, we brought to the news business the folderol of a late-night session in the freshman dormitory.

If American journalism is to survive in a recognizable form, reporters will have to get tough again (see Jack Webb as Sam Gatlin in the 1950s film "30"). Tomorrow's journalists, be they in

newsrooms, on blogs or the next sparkling communication platform must base their careers on something more than zeal for their own ideas. They must remaster the basics of the craft — sorting, sifting, verifying — with readers and viewers in mind, not mere advocacy.

Craig Ladwig, editor of *The Indiana Policy Review*, was formerly a senior editor in the Capital Cities and Knight Ridder news organizations. A newsroom veteran of 50 years, he has written on the topic of journalism reform for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Editor & Publisher* and the *Kansas City Star*. A version of this article first appeared in the spring 2009 issue of the *Indiana Policy Review*.

The Death of Mass Media: A Reading List

Robert Bartley. "Journalism Objectivity Is Dead." *The Wall Street Journal*, July 2003.

Sig Gissler. "What Happens When Gannett Takes Over." *Columbia Journalism Review*, December 1997.

Craig Ladwig. "Pulitzer Pointer: Papers Need Old Style Owners." *The Wall Street Journal*, April 18, 1990.

Ladwig. "Gannett and the Indianapolis Star: Three Years Later." *The Indiana Policy Review*, Fall 2003.

F. Jack Liebau, Jr. "No Substitute for Excellence." *The Wall Street Journal*, October 2003.

John Lott. *Is Newspaper Coverage of Economic Events Politically Biased?* The American Enterprise Institute, September 2004.

Douglas McCollam. "A Way Out?" *The Columbia Journalism Review*, February 2006.

William McGowan. *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism*. Encounter Books, 2003.

Marvin Olasky. *Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991.

Scott Sloan. "Inside the Potential Sale of Knight Ridder." *The Lexington Herald-Leader*, February 2006.

Gay Talese. *The Kingdom and the Power*. World Publishing Co., 1968.

A Bonfire of the Insanities

(June 3) — Our modest-sized city in northeast Indiana performed relatively well during the week of rioting. The police and the mayor (a Democrat) did their job trying to protect property and persons. That was true in the midst of the dizzying hypocrisy of crowds elsewhere, in a pandemic, looting oxycontin, electronics, jewelry and Nikes in the name of justice.

One would feel even better about the city's future had the mayor or the hometown newspaper led a discussion on the dynamics of private property. That is, that the right to own property and have it protected by the ruler, a right hammered out by Anglo-Saxon ancients is in itself the reason for prosperity. It is what sets America above the default setting of the world. Tom Bethel, the author of "The Noblest Triumph," sums it up well enough:

"The great explanatory hypothesis of history becomes: When property is privatized, and the rule of law is establish, in such a way that all including the rulers themselves are subject tot the same law, economies will prosper and civilization will blossom. And of the different possible configurations of property, only private property can have this desirable effect."

In Indiana, there are those who credit the surprising growth of Indianapolis (formerly Naptown) beginning in the 1970s not to Unigov but to the fact it was spared the full brunt of race riots that swept the nation. Corporations, it is said, were caught flat-footed, desperate for safe haven for their headquarters. Indianapolis being high on many lists.

So it isn't as simple as says Jacob Frey, the mayor of Minneapolis — that "It's just bricks and mortar." Nor does Cassandra Deck-Brown, police chief in Raleigh, N.C., make sense in announcing, "I will not put an officer in harms way to protect

the property inside of a building." That, of course, is her very job.

And it is absurd to say, as did Nikole Hannah-Jones, Pulitzer Prize-winning writer for the New York Times, that "Destroying property which (sic) can be replaced is not violence." The word is defined in my dictionary as it applies to law: "The unlawful exercise of physical force or intimidation by the exhibition of such force."

In any case, Amity Shlaes, a real journalist, buried that statement with a Calvin Coolidge quote, "Ultimately, property rights and personal rights are the same thing." And nailing down the argument is Heather Mac Donald, author of "Are Cops Racist?" and an expert in crime statistics:

"The great philosophers and poets of the West — from Aeschylus and Euripides, to Shakespeare, Hobbes, and the American Founders — understood the chaos and lust for power that lurk beneath civilization. Thanks to the magnificent infrastructure of the rule of law, we now take stability and social trust for granted. We assume that violence, once unleashed in the name of justice, can easily be put back in the bottle. It cannot."

Those who have lived through a half dozen of these riots know the truth of those words. We have tracked in real time the misfortune of the stricken cities — Philadelphia, Watts, Detroit, Newark, Baltimore, etc. Property owners there, whether or not they were reimbursed by government renewal efforts, fled at the first opportunity and were not replaced by new investors, or only replaced pennies on the dollar.

Racist? Not if you recognize the good sense of putting your black, brown or white money in places where it is least likely to be consumed in a "bonfire of insanity," to borrow a line from Steve Sailer, a bonfire ignited by the next careless or politically driven media narrative. — *tcl*



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

INDIANAPOLICY *Review*

A journal of classical liberal inquiry observing its 30th year