

UNLEASHING FREEDOM Carson, Fiorina, Woodson among CLC Headliners

BY CIVITAS STAFF

The Civitas 2015 Conservative Leadership Conference (CLC) offered attendees inspiring views of today's political and cultural scene, with events that included three potential presidential candidates: Dr. Ben Carson, former Hewlett-Packard CEO Carly Fiorina and former Sen. Rick Santorum.

Held March 27-28, CLC2015 was the biggest in the event's 10-year history, with more than 600 people registering. In addition to the main speaker sessions, there were 21 breakout sessions over two days covering topics from Obamacare and Medicaid to the Left's culture war on marriage with the Benham brothers and Mapping the Left. There were also skills clinics for social media and "raising patriots." You could also have had a front-row seat on the "War on Women" and heard from Catherine Engelbrecht of True the Vote.

In the keynote address Friday night, Carson said the real goal of political correctness is to "make the majority feel that what they believe is obsolete, 'nobody thinks that way who is intelligent,' and the way [leftists] believe is the only reasonable thing to do, and if you can get the microphone and you can spread that message, you can intimidate the majority into

silence. This is exactly what has happened in America."

Giving People a Chance

Fiorina gave a rousing talk about the need for a return to individual values in America. She spoke about her own story, starting as a secretary in a small real estate office, typing and filing, and ending up as the head of the largest technology company in the world.

As a secretary, she had been given a chance by two men to learn their business, instead of remaining as a secretary.

"They took a chance on me," she said. "I've traveled all over the world, and I've lived in many places in the world and done business all over the world. And I know that it is only in this country that a young woman can start out as a law school dropout and a secretary and go on to become the chief executive of the largest technology company in the world."

"And it's possible here because our founders knew what my mother taught me: Our founders knew that everybody has God-given gifts, and they founded the nation on a visionary idea that not only does everyone have God-given gifts, not only does



Keynote Speaker Ben Carson

everyone have potential, but that everyone has the right to fulfill their potential," she said. "And that the right to find and use your God-given gifts comes from God and should not be taken away by man or government. That visionary idea, radical at the time, founded a nation where more things have been more possible for more people from more places than anywhere else on earth."

Unfortunately, "there are so many people in this country that we are not taking a chance on anymore," she said. "Every

one of us needs, at some point in our life, someone to take a chance on us," she said. "Every one of us can live a life of dignity and purpose and meaning, and each one of us has God-given gifts; that is what we believe as conservatives, and so we know the highest calling of leadership is to unlock potential in others."

Reaching Out to Struggling Americans

Speaking Friday morning, Santorum said conservatives need to update their message to reach the vast majority of

Americans who are struggling. As Civitas polls have confirmed, most Americans think we are still in a recession. Conservatives need to speak to and for those people, Santorum said. "A rising tide does lift all boats — unless your boat has a hole in it."

"America has changed," and that includes elites abandoning the Republican Party, while rural and blue-collar voters are more attracted to conservative values. Yet too often, blue-collar people "want to vote for us, but

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Mapping the Left: Mary Mountcastle

BY SUSAN MYRICK

It can be very difficult to grasp or visualize the vastness of the network of left-wing groups in North Carolina. But one way to start is with the key group on the Left — and the family that dominates it, with the most influential member of that family being Mary Mountcastle.

Our research has confirmed that the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation has abandoned its original mission and has

turned into a foundation bent on reshaping NC governance, culture and society. Our challenge in the Mapping the Left project (www.mappingtheleft.com) is to illustrate these connections, and where better to continue than with a Reynolds family member who has a long history and has helped to shape the transition of the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation to an activist giver within North Carolina, while

also being instrumental in the larger liberal/progressive movement outside the state through her work on the board of the foundation named after her grandmother — the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation.

Mary Mountcastle, Durham, NC

Family ties and connections are very important to the Reynolds family heirs. This

is evident in the work of the family members on foundation boards and in the groups funded by the various Reynolds family foundations.

Mary Mountcastle's great-grandparents were R.J. Reynolds and his wife, Mary Katharine Smith (often referred to by her middle name). They had a daughter, Mary Katharine Reynolds (Mary Mountcastle's

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CLC Speakers Display Sympathy, Confidence

BY JIM TYNEN

Our Conservative Leadership Conference 2015 (CLC) featured plenty of ideas and insights – and, if you were lucky enough to be there in person, it also featured plenty of passion and conviction.

Elsewhere in this newspaper, and at www.nccapitolconnection.com, www.nccivitas.org and the Civitas Review blog, you will find out much more about our recent CLC. But I wanted to share some impressions you could only get by being there. (And if you weren't, be sure to attend CLC2016, which is slated for April 1-2 in Raleigh!)

For instance, what struck me most about Dr. Ben Carson's speech was how soothing and calm he was. Sometimes political discussions generate more heat than light.

When the famed neurosurgeon spoke, however, his relaxed confidence helped the message come through loud and clear, as when he recalled why his mother worked two or three jobs to keep the family off welfare: "No one she saw on welfare ever got off of it," he said. "I don't want to get rid of safety nets, I want to get rid of dependency in our society."

Conservatives pondering how to get our messages across might well take note of his cool, confident manner.

Yet passion is important, too. Take former U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum. At CLC, he cited social scientists Charles Murray and Robert Putnam, who have chronicled how social and cultural upheaval hits poor and working families hardest.

Yet even conservatives are leery of addressing these issues, for fear of being labeled insensitive. Santorum decried that trend, saying, "We dare not talk about, we dare not try to push our

morality about giving kids a chance to have a mom and a dad, [which] is every child's birthright."

There was real outrage in his voice. It was a reminder that conservative economic debates must not be merely

audience.

Then two men at the firm asked if she would like to learn how to advance in the company. "They took a chance on me," she said, adding, "I know that it is only in this country that a young woman can start out

of prosperity. "We're destroying more businesses than we're creating!"

She and other CLC speakers didn't just mouth words; they conveyed a genuine fervor to help people who need an opportunity to succeed. Most CLC attendees

CLC speakers exuded confidence and determination. For instance, a beaming John Fund, a top National Review writer, reassured the crowd, "You are clearly winning!"

On issues such as voter ID and climate change, conservative ideas



Keynote Speaker Ben Carson

theoretical, but must convey genuine sympathy for struggling Americans.

Indignation at the way Americans are being treated also reverberated through the remarks of Carly Fiorina, the former Hewlett-Packard CEO considering a run for president.

After college, she took a secretarial job. And, rather than protesting against the patriarchy and capitalism, "I was glad to have a job!" she told the CLC

as a law school dropout and a secretary and go on to become the chief executive of the largest technology company in the world."

Yet she noted it's harder for people to follow that path today. "There are so many people in this country that we are not taking a chance on anymore!" she said. She laced into the overregulation, cronyism and big government that are "crushing" the small businesses that are the engines

will also vividly remember filmmaker Ann McElhinney's passionate discussion of her upcoming movie about abortion doctor Kermit Gosnell. "Where was humanity?" she asked in discussing how abuses at his clinic could go on for decades.

Conservatives are often advised to avoid social issues. But she powerfully challenged that political advice: "Silence in the face of evil is evil."

Above all, despite the challenges,

are rolling back liberal talking points, he said. "This is the golden age of citizen engagement and involvement!" His obvious energy and good spirits helped CLC end on a positive note.

In the end, CLC carries a final message for conservatives as we gear up for crucial elections. Our ideas work; to carry the day, we will have to speak with conviction, energy, optimism, sympathy and passion. ■

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NC Lawmakers Push Corporate Welfare

BY BRIAN BALFOUR

Politicians love to use their power to dole out favors and privileges to politically connected special interests. They also love to interfere with the economy, attempting to impose their preferences upon investors and consumers through a hodgepodge of taxpayer handouts and targeted tax breaks.

Civitas for years has criticized government meddling in the economy. In an economy free of political distortions, consumers hold the power over how scarce resources are used by producers. Through our purchasing decisions, those entrepreneurs who most efficiently meet our most urgent needs are rewarded with our dollars and succeed. As long as all businesses play by the same rules, consumers are king.

When politicians, however, distort the rules to give some industries or businesses an advantage not enjoyed by all, some businesses that would not otherwise succeed are empowered to stay in business. In this case, the political class helps shape the structure of the economy's stock of productive resources, imposing their preferences

“More than a dozen bills have been introduced this session that would grant political favoritism to select industries or corporations.”

in place of that of consumers. Such distortions represent a shift in power from the many (consumers) to the few (the political class). Moreover, these distortions ensure that scarce productive resources are not being employed in their most productive uses. As a result, the economy is less efficient and we are made worse off.

That governmental meddling in the economy, unfortunately, is present in recent legislation introduced in the North Carolina General Assembly. And support for such meddling reaches across both sides of the political aisle.



More than a dozen bills have been introduced this session that would grant political favoritism to select industries or corporations. Some examples of the corporate welfare schemes being advanced by North Carolina legislators include:

- The creation of the Job Catalyst Fund, which would give taxpayer dollars to specific manufacturing companies making capital investments above a prescribed threshold.
- The revival of historic preservation tax credits, which exempt certain state taxes if a business invests in a building determined to be “historic.”
- The return of the tax credits for film production in the state.
- The creation of the New Market Jobs Act, which provides tax credits for specific equity investments, specifically ones made in areas deemed to be “low-income communities.”
- The extension of the renewable energy tax credit, which was also set to expire at the end of this year. The credit is used against the production expenses of energy facilities defined as “renewable” by legislators.
- The expansion of the Job Development Investment Grant (JDIG) program, a corporate welfare fund that hands taxpayer money to select corporations meeting specific criteria.
- The extension of the sales tax refund for passenger air

carriers. Airlines that pay sales tax on fuel are allowed a refund on any amount paid in excess of \$2.5 million. Reports say that American Airlines is the only airline that currently qualifies for this refund.

- The expansion of eligibility for “qualifying datacenters” and “datacenter support equipment” that would enable more tech companies to qualify for generous tax breaks.

Each of these proposals would create an even more uneven playing field for businesses by favoring some over others, shifting power to the political class, and stunting economic growth. Moreover, by indicating that they are willing to reward crony special interests with political advantages, state legislators would only further encourage the practice of political patronage.

In conclusion, government meddling in the economy is not only morally objectionable because it uses political power to advantage some businesses over others, but it amounts to poor economics because it obstructs the arrangement of scarce productive resources, with political decisions overriding consumer preferences. ■

Monthly Petition

NC Election Reform Petition

to

Stop Loretta Lynch

Don't back down! Loretta Lynch supports the lawsuit against North Carolina's commonsense election reforms. She has indicated that she would fight election reform just as Eric Holder has done and she will only continue to pursue the same policies as Barack Obama and Eric Holder.

I support the requirement that voters present government-issued photo identification before being allowed to cast a vote in North Carolina! I support the requirement that all voters vote in their precinct on Election Day! I support the elimination of the same day registration! I support the Voter Information Verification Act (VIVA) and believe it will secure North Carolina's elections for all voters!

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Mapping The Left: Mary Mountcastle

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grandmother), who was Z. Smith Reynolds' oldest sister. In 1936, Mary Katharine Reynolds inherited \$30 million from R.J.'s estate, and at the time she was described as one of the richest women in the world. She went on to marry Charles Henry Babcock.

Mary Katharine and Charles Henry Babcock had a daughter, Mary Katharine Babcock, who went on to marry Kenneth Franklin Mountcastle Jr. They had a daughter whom they named Mary.

The above names are a little hard to follow but illustrate how important family and heritage is to the Reynolds heirs and how they like to emphasize the family roots and relations.

Mary Mountcastle has served on the Z. Smith Reynolds Board of Trustees for decades, serving as president of the board at least twice. She also serves on the board of the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation concentrates its philanthropic efforts outside of North Carolina. Between 2004 and 2012, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation gave more than \$76 million to mostly liberal organizations outside of North Carolina.

Mountcastle works closely with nonprofits in the Blueprint NC network and has served as the president of the Center for Responsible Lending and assistant director and president of the Center for Community Self-Help, both of which are members of Blueprint NC. In March 2010, Sean Higgins, writing for the Capital Research Center, said the Center for Responsible Lending is "intimately tied to some of the worst actors in the lending business and its advocacy has too often hurt, not helped, the people it claims to defend."

The actors he is referring to are Herbert and Marion Sandler, who are credited with creating the Center for Responsible Lending.

The Sandlers have been connected to and accused by some of contributing to the housing meltdown of 2008. They sold their company, Golden West Financial, to Wachovia for \$24 billion in 2006 at the height of the housing boom. This netted the Sandlers about \$2.4 billion. This purchase, with its large portfolio of risky housing loans,

contributed greatly to the failure and subsequent sale of Wachovia, which at the time was the nation's fourth largest bank. The Sandlers got billions, and Wachovia

United States. The Tides Center grew out of the Tides Foundation and began as the foundation's Projects Program in the late 1970s. The center served to

The Reynolds family ties run deep in the Tides Foundation. The foundation was founded in 1976 in San Francisco by Drummond Pike and Nancy Jane Lehman as a public charity that receives money from donors and then funnels it to the recipients of the donors' choice — effectively laundering the money so donors can remain anonymous. What many people don't know is that Nancy Jane Lehman's grandfather was none other than R.J. Reynolds. Her mother was Nancy Susan Bagley, his youngest daughter and founder of the radical ARCA Foundation.

Scott Walter, in the summary of his article "The Tides Foundation and Center: Selling Foundation Philanthropy on the Idea of 'Structural Racism,'" leaves no question as to Tides' political philosophy:

"The Tides Foundation is a public charity designed to allow anonymous pass-through funding by donors, and the Tides Center acts as an incubator for radical advocacy nonprofits. But the whole is greater than the sum of Tides' parts. The innovative structure of the Tides network is designed to secure funding for and nurture the growth of radical nonprofits along a wide range of issues. But the most important — and dangerous — Tides initiative is its effort to promote the concept of 'structural racism.'"

Patrick Reilly, writing for Foundation Watch, put it this

way: "Beyond environmental advocacy and anti-military efforts, Tides Center projects are involved in many issues and efforts to turn government, business and society leftward."

Mary Mountcastle serves on the Board of Trustees for Demos, an ultra-liberal policy nonprofit based in New York. Another noteworthy Demos board member, Van Jones, was President Obama's adviser to the White House Council on Environmental Quality, a self-avowed communist and a 9/11 truther petition signer.

She also serves and has served on numerous other funder and philanthropy boards, including the Triangle Community Foundation, the Council on Foundations, and Lillian's List. She is married to Jim Overton, who according to his bio on the NC League of Conservation Voters website, of which he is a member of the board, is on the executive staff of the Center for Community Self-Help — both organizations associated with Blueprint NC.

It is for all these reasons that we created Mapping the Left (www.mappingtheleft.com), an online database that helps make it easier to visualize the groups and the activists that make them work but especially helps to illuminate the connections among this seemingly unconnected group. The connections are so numerous and so deep that it is necessary to use images to help illustrate them. ■



shareholders were left holding the bag. The New York Times reported that Time Magazine ranked the couple in its list of "25 people to blame for the financial crisis." Mary Mountcastle's connections go outside the Blueprint NC arena too: She is the former vice president of economic development for MDC, formerly known as Manpower Development Corp. In 1967, MDC was formed from Gov. Terry Sanford's NC Fund. In 1962, the NC Fund, with an ostensible goal to end poverty in North Carolina, was created with grant money from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, the Ford Foundation, as well as the federal government.

The Reynolds' heirs, while having a very large influence on North Carolina, have also made it a point to be part of the larger national liberal/progressive movement.

Mountcastle has served as a board member and as treasurer for the Tides Foundation, one of the foremost liberal/progressive funding organizations in the

organize and grow new left-wing political advocacy groups and provide them with whatever help they might need in the way of staff and money. You can see this model of assistance used today: Blueprint NC was started in this way with funding by the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation and was housed in the NC Justice Center for several years.

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www.mappingtheleft.com



Unemployment Update

NC Unemployment Rate Holds Steady

BY MATT CAULDER

According to a North Carolina Department of Commerce news release, North Carolina's February smoothed seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was 5.3 percent, the same as January's rate.

The February unemployment rate was 1.2 percentage points lower than it was a year ago. The national

unemployment rate decreased 0.2 percentage points to 5.5 percent.

The number of people unemployed in the state decreased 174 over the month to 248,014, with the total number of unemployed declining by 53,370 over the year.

The number of people employed

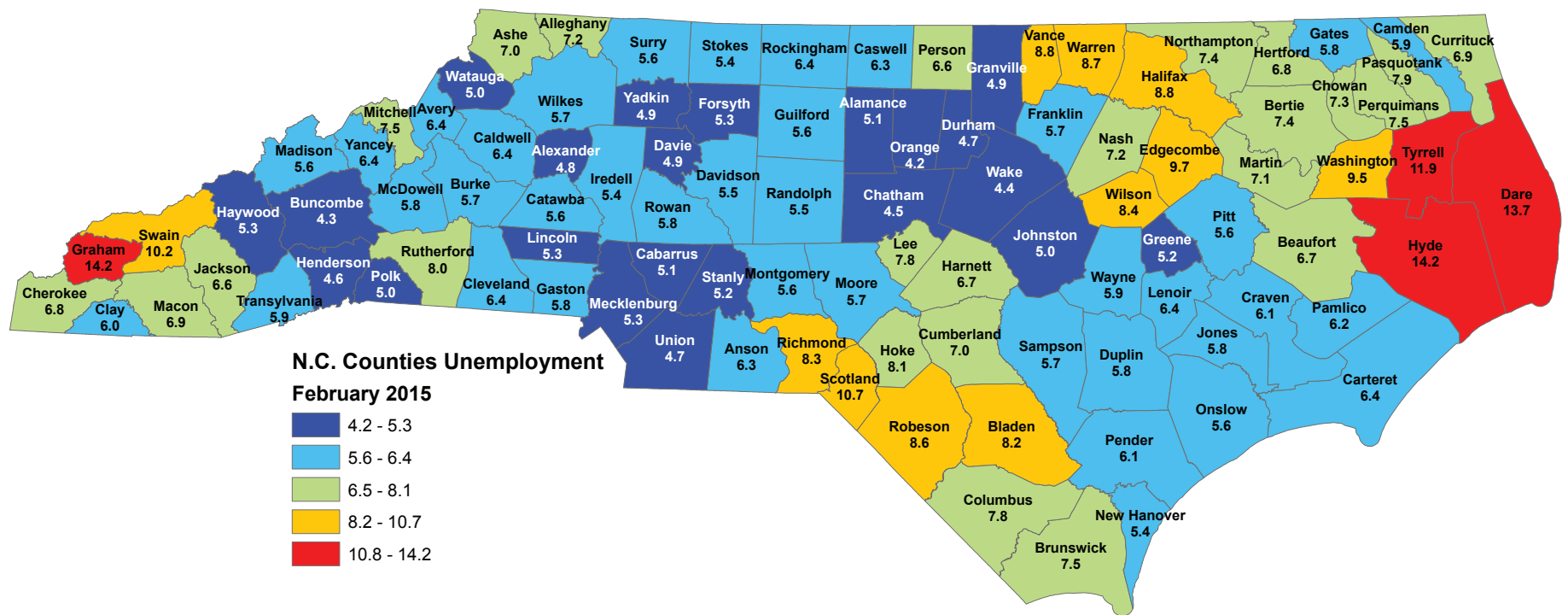
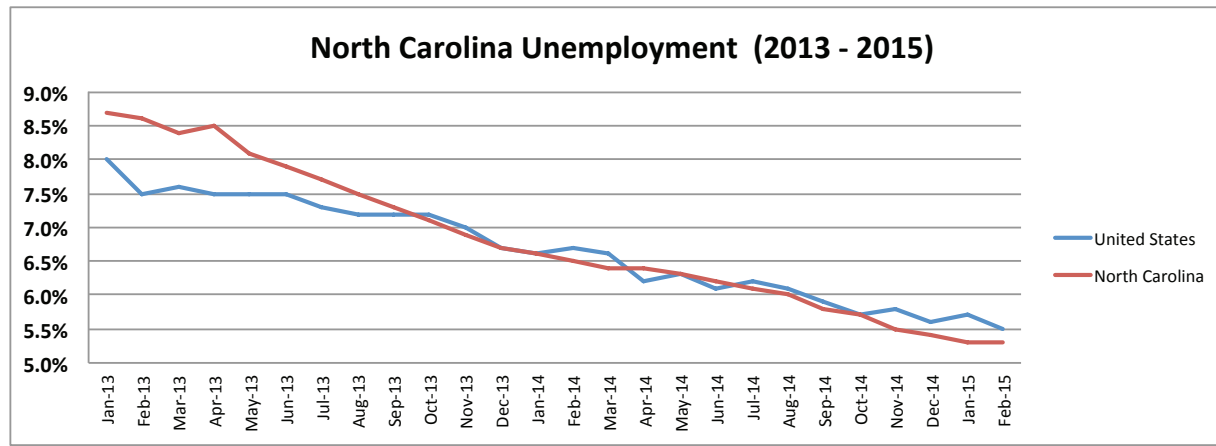
increased 30,562 over the month to 4,429,049, bringing the total change in employment for the year to an increase of 94,370.

In February, unemployment rates, not seasonally adjusted, decreased in 89 counties, increased in five and remained unchanged in six. Orange County had the lowest

unemployment rate at 4.2 percent. Graham and Hyde counties tied for the highest rate in February with a 14.2 percent unemployment rate.

The not-seasonally adjusted unemployment rates decreased in 95 counties when compared with the same month last year and increased in five. All

15 of the state's metro areas experienced rate decreases over the year. Among metro areas, Rocky Mount experienced the highest unemployment rate at 8.1 percent and Asheville and Raleigh, at 4.6 percent, tied for the lowest unemployment rate. ■



2008 - 2013 - 2015 N.C. Unemployment Rate Comparison

County	10-08	1-13	2-15	County	10-08	1-13	2-15	County	10-08	1-13	2-15	County	10-08	1-13	2-15
Alamance	7.1	10	5.1	Cumberland	6.8	11	7	Johnston	6.1	8.9	5	Randolph	6.7	11.1	5.5
Alexander	7.9	10.2	4.8	Currituck	3.6	10.5	6.9	Jones	6.8	10.7	5.8	Richmond	9.5	13.6	8.3
Alleghany	6.6	12.6	7.2	Dare	4.2	20.1	13.7	Lee	8.2	12.7	7.8	Robeson	8.1	13.9	8.6
Anson	9.5	12.8	6.3	Davidson	7.4	10.7	5.5	Lenoir	7.8	10.8	6.4	Rockingham	7.9	11.7	6.4
Ashe	6.3	13.8	7	Davie	6.9	9.3	4.9	Lincoln	7.2	10.8	5.3	Rowan	7.2	10.3	5.8
Avery	5.6	13.7	6.4	Duplin	5.9	10.6	5.8	Macon	5.3	13.3	6.9	Rutherford	8.7	14.7	8
Beaufort	7.3	11.8	6.7	Durham	5.4	7.9	4.7	Madison	5.7	10.1	5.6	Sampson	5.4	9	5.7
Bertie	7.5	13.5	7.4	Edgecombe	11.4	16.6	9.7	Martin	6.9	12	7.1	Scotland	11.7	17.8	10.7
Bladen	8.1	13.6	8.2	Forsyth	6.3	9.4	5.3	Mcdowell	8.1	11.9	5.8	Stanly	7	10.1	5.2
Brunswick	6.9	12.2	7.5	Franklin	6.7	9.6	5.7	Mecklenburg	6.6	9.7	5.3	Stokes	6.1	9	5.4
Buncombe	5.1	8.1	4.3	Gaston	7.7	11.1	5.8	Mitchell	7.7	15.5	7.5	Surry	8.3	11.1	5.6
Burke	8.6	11.6	5.7	Gates	5.2	8.3	5.8	Montgomery	8.3	11.1	5.6	Swain	5.5	19	10.2
Cabarrus	6.4	9.4	5.1	Graham	8.2	20.4	14.2	Moore	6.4	10.1	5.7	Transylvania	5	11.5	5.9
Caldwell	8.3	12	6.4	Granville	7	10.3	4.9	Nash	8.6	12.7	7.2	Tyrrell	6	13	11.9
Camden	5.4	9.4	5.9	Greene	7	9.8	5.2	New Hanover	5.4	10.4	5.4	Union	6	8.6	4.7
Carteret	5	10.6	6.4	Guilford	6.7	10.3	5.6	Northampton	7.7	12.1	7.4	Vance	9.8	13.8	8.8
Caswell	8.2	10.4	6.3	Halifax	9.7	14.7	8.8	Onslow	5.8	9.6	5.6	Wake	5	7.8	4.4
Catawba	7.9	11.6	5.6	Harnett	7.1	11.5	6.7	Orange	4.2	6.6	4.2	Warren	9.7	12.9	8.7
Chatham	5.5	7.5	4.5	Haywood	5.7	10.2	5.3	Pamlico	5.7	11.2	6.2	Washington	7.2	13.5	9.5
Cherokee	8.7	14.1	6.8	Henderson	5.1	7.9	4.6	Pasquotank	6.4	12.4	7.9	Watauga	4.1	9.5	5
Chowan	8.5	11.3	7.3	Hertford	6.6	11.5	6.8	Pender	6.4	11.5	6.1	Wayne	6.3	9.8	5.9
Clay	6	10.6	6	Hoke	6.3	9.7	8.1	Perquimans	6.7	11.1	7.5	Wilkes	8.2	11.7	5.7
Cleveland	8.5	11.3	6.4	Hyde	4.6	15.7	14.2	Person	7.3	11.1	6.6	Wilson	7.9	13	8.4
Columbus	8.1	13.8	7.8	Iredell	6.5	10.4	5.4	Pitt	7	9.9	5.6	Yadkin	6.1	10.1	4.9
Craven	6.2	10.8	6.1	Jackson	4.3	11.3	6.6	Polk	5	8.2	5	Yancey	7.2	13.8	6.4

*Data is from the North Carolina Department of Commerce Labor and Economic Analysis Division

BIGGEST CLC EVER

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they don't think we give a darn about them, because we never talk about them," he said. "We need to be a party for the 70 percent who don't have college degrees."

Filmmaker Shoots Down Myths

Filmmaker Ann McElhinney punctured a slew of fracking myths with a showing of her documentary "FrackNation" and with an address at a general session.

Take, for example, the myth that fracking contaminates water, even making it burst into flames. "Water has always been flammable," she said, referring to water in certain regions where pockets of natural gas can bubble to the surface and ignite. For instance, Robert de La Salle encountered that phenomenon when he explored New York and discovered flaming water in Burning Springs ... in 1669, centuries before anyone fracked for gas there.

If your water bursts into flames, she said, "Lucky you! That means there's hydrocarbons near you." With a little luck, one of those evil energy companies will pay you for the privilege of removing those hydrocarbons from your land.

Good News For Conservatives

Heritage Foundation President Jim DeMint said Americans will back conservative stands, if our citizens know and understand what's going on in Washington. "We are a growing movement and we do have a majority in America — if we learn how to talk to people."

"It is a great day to be a conservative," Lt. Gov. Dan Forest told CLC attendees. "People are eager for the truth, eager for bold messages."

U.S. Rep. Mark Meadows recalled the attack on Fort McHenry in the War of 1812, which inspired "The Star-Spangled Banner." The fort only survived the bombardment because 22 Americans were willing to sink their own boats in the harbor, keeping the British ships out of range. That sacrifice holds a lesson for us all today, Meadows said: "If you are one of the patriots willing to sink your boat, you can make a difference."

Donald Bryson of the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity urged attendees to help to keep North Carolina "first in freedom."

The state has passed some much-needed reforms, but he quoted John Adams in urging

conservatives to stick to their guns: "The middle way is no way at all," Bryson said. "We need to pass good conservative policies."

Bob Woodson, head of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, introduced attendees to a new miniseries about American redemption called Comeback. The message is "we have the capacity within our nation to heal ourselves."

However, he said at CLC, too often well-intentioned government programs only reinforce the problems. "America has been very generous" in intervening to address problems like the Great Depression, he said. "But intervention was supposed to be an ambulance service, not a transportation system."

The intervention, however, created incentives that undermined communities. "We created a commodity out of poor people," he said. The answer is to affirm the conservative principles we know work in economics to social problems. "We need to demonstrate that what we stand for will improve [people's] lives."

The Internet and the growth of grassroots groups is shifting power from back rooms in Washington to the American

people, FreedomWorks President and CEO Matt Kibbe said. But the same model provides for the democratization of political power, he said. Such disruptive change is shaking up the "duopoly" of Republican/Democratic power, especially in Washington.

"The Republican Party has nominated Bob Dole again and again and again. It's like 'Groundhog Day,'" Kibbe said.

But, because of the way citizens are getting involved. "It's not going to happen again," he said. "We don't have to accept what the Republican establishment thinks is an appropriate candidate for office."

National Review writer John Fund reassured conservatives: "You are clearly winning," he said. Speaking of liberals, he said. "They have problems, too."

Gov. Pat McCrory hailed the success of the "Carolina Comeback" in adding jobs and cutting unemployment.

He cited President Eisenhower as an inspiration, adding, One of the great things he did was invest in infrastructure. In North Carolina, we're going to do the same thing." He vowed to keep politics out of transportation decision. "We're not going to bend whatsoever." ■

John Fund, national affairs writer, National Review, on CLC:

"This one is a keeper! ... No fluff, no clutter ... This is the kind of citizen action that is going to win in 2016."

Quotes From CLC Attendees:

"It really was a world-class event this year. I am being honest when I say it was the best event of its type I have ever attended."

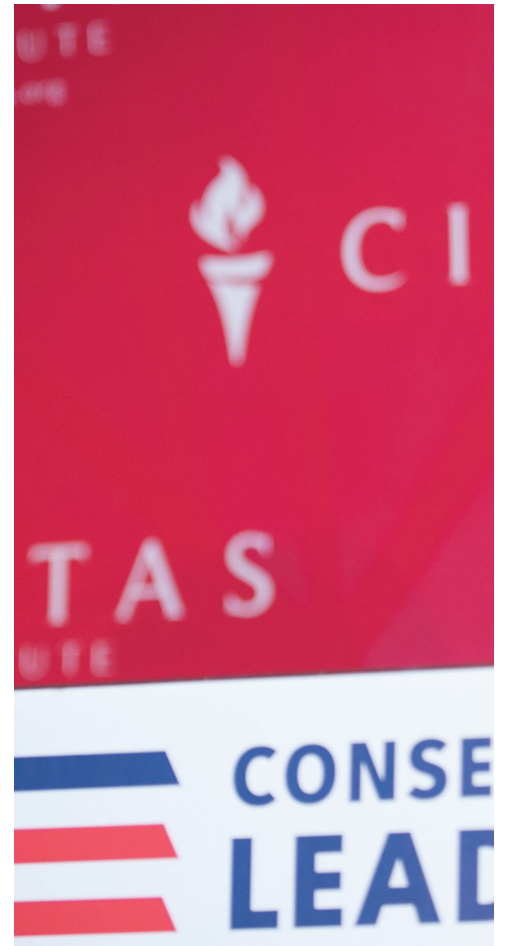
"I speak at state and national events and this is one of the best."

"My first CLC but not my last."

"I learned so much but feel like I missed so much because of all the great sessions you had."

"It was absolutely first class all the way. Can't wait till #CLC2016."

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Carly Fiorina



Bob Woodson



Gov. Pat McCrory



Rick Santorum



Jim DeMint



Ben Carson's Keynote Speech



Ann McElhinney



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NEW HISTORIC PRESERVATION TAX CREDIT HB 152

SUPPORT

House Republicans (52)

Adams	Arp	Bell, J.	Brown, B.
Blust	Boles	Bradford	Brody
Bryan	Burr	Catlin	Conrad
Daughtry	Davis	Dobson	Dollar
Elmore	Faircloth	Fraleigh	Hardister
Holloway	Horn	Hurley	Iler
Jeter	Jordan	Johnson, L.	Lewis
Malone	Martin, S.	McGrady	McNeill
Moore, T.	Pendleton	Presnell	Riddell
Robinson	Ross	Saine	Schaffer
Setzer	Steinburg	Stevens	Szoka
Tine	Torbett	Turner, R.	Warren
Watford	West	Whitmire	Yarborough

House Democrats (44)

Adcock	Ager	Alexander	Baskerville
Bell, L.	Brisson	Brockman	Carney
Cotham	Cunningham	Earle	Fisher
Floyd	Graham, C.	Graham, G.	Gill
Glazier	Goodman	Hall, D.	Hall, L.
Hamilton	Hanes	Harrison	Holley
Hunter	Insko	Jackson	Johnson, R.
Lucas	Luebke	Martin, G.	Meyer
Michaux	Moore, R.	Pierce	Queen
Reives	Richardson	Salmon	Terry
Turner, B.	Waddell	Willingham	Wray

OPPOSE

House Republicans (18)

Avila	Bishop	Blackwell	Brown, R.
Bumgardner	Cleveland	Collins	Dixon
Ford	Hager	Jones	Langdon
McElraft	Millis	Pittman	Shepard
Speciale	Stam		

House Democrats (0)

NOT VOTING

House (1)

Lambeth (R)

ABSENT

House (5)

Brawley (R) Hastings (R) Howard (R) Zachary (R)

Farmer-Butterfield (D)

SPONSOR(S) Ross (R)

ROLL CALL H - 90

Restoring Historic Tax Credits

3/25/15

House

Second Reading

The measure interferes in the free market by exempting a business from certain taxes if it invests in a building determined to be "historic."

INCREASE JDIG PROGRAM FUNDING SB 326

SUPPORT

Senate Republicans (34)

Alexander	Apodaca	Barefoot	Barringer
Berger	Bingham	Brock	Brown
Cook	Curtis	Daniel	Davis, J.
Gunn	Harrington	Hartsell	Hise
Jackson, B.	Krawiec	Lee	McInnis
Meredith	Newton	Pate	Rabin
Rabon	Randleman	Rucho	Sanderson
Soucek	Tarte	Tillman	Tucker
Wade	Wells		

Senate Democrats (14)

Blue	Clark	Davis, D.	Ford
Foushee	Jackson, J.	Lowe	McKissick
Robinson	Smith	Stein	Van Dуйn
Waddell	Woodard		

OPPOSE

Senate Republicans (0)

Senate Democrats (0)

NOT VOTING

Senate (0)

ABSENT

Senate (2)

Bryant (R) Smith-Ingram (D)

SPONSOR(S) Gunn (R)

ROLL CALL S - 53

Hikes Incentives Funding

3/24/15

Senate

Passed 2nd Reading

This would funnel taxpayer money to favored businesses and projects.

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IRC UPDATE/MOTOR FUEL TAX CHANGES SB 20

SUPPORT

Senate Republicans (33)

Alexander	Apodaca	Barefoot	Berger
Bingham	Brock	Brown	Cook
Curtis	Daniel	Davis, J.	Gunn
Harrington	Hartsell	Hise	Jackson, B.
Krawiec	Lee	McInnis	Meredith
Newton	Pate	Rabin	Rabon
Randleman	Rucho	Sanderson	Soucek
Tarte	Tillman	Tucker	Wade
Wells			

Senate Democrats (8)

Bryant	Clark	Ford	McKissick
Smith	Smith-Ingram	Stein	Waddell

House Republicans (64)

Adams	Avila	Bell, J.	Bishop
Blackwell	Boles	Bradford	Brawley
Brody	Brown, B.	Brown, R.	Bryan
Bumgardner	Collins	Conrad	Daughtry
Davis	Dixon	Dobson	Dollar
Elmore	Faircloth	Frale	Hager
Hardister	Horn	Hurley	Iler
Jeter	Johnson, L.	Jones	Jordan
Lambeth	Langdon	Lewis	Malone
Martin, S.	McElraft	McGrady	McNeill
Moore, T. (Speaker)	Pendleton	Pittman	Presnell
Riddell	Robinson	Ross	Saine
Schaffer	Shepard	Speciale	Stam
Steinburg	Stevens	Szoka	Tine
Torbett	Turner, R.	Warren	Watford
West	Whitmire	Yarborough	Zachary

House Democrats (15)

Adcock	Alexander	Brisson	Carney
Floyd	Graham, G.	Glazier	Goodman
Hamilton	Hanes	Lucas	Moore, R.
Reives	Waddell	Wray	

OPPOSE

Senate Republicans (1)

Barringer

Senate Democrats (7)

Blue	Davis, D.	Foushee	Lowe
Robinson	Van Duyn	Woodard	

House Republicans (9)

Blust	Burr	Catlin	Cleveland
Ford	Holloway	Howard	Millis
Setzer			

House Democrats (30)

Ager	Baskerville	Bell, L.	Brockman
Cotham	Cunningham	Earle	Farmer-Butterfield
Fisher	Gill	Graham, C.	Hall, D.
Hall, L.	Harrison	Holley	Hunter
Insko	Jackson	Johnson, R.	Luebke
Martin, G.	Meyer	Michaux	Pierce
Queen	Richardson	Salmon	Terry
Turner, B.	Willingham		

NOT VOTING

Senate (0)

House (0)

ABSENT

Senate (1)

J. Jackson (D)

House (2)

Arp (R) Hastings (R)

SPONSOR(S) Rabon (R) **ROLL CALL :** S – 67 H– 114

Gas Tax Changes

3/31/15

Senate

Conference Rpt Motion 8 To Adopt Third Reading

House

Conference Rpt Motion 8 To Adopt Third Reading

This measure, which has been signed into law, changes the gas tax formula so that taxes at the pump will be higher in coming years than they would have been under the old formula.

Can Government Make People in NC Eat Their Spinach?

BY BRIAN BALFOUR

Every year our Bad Bill of the Week puts a spotlight on legislative follies in Raleigh, and this year is no exception.

For example, there’s an old saying that says “you can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make it drink.” In a similar vein, if you make healthy vegetables and fruit more readily available, will people really buy them? In a bipartisan effort, some NC legislators are willing to bet \$1 million of your tax dollars on it.

Senate Bill 296, Healthy Food Small Retailer/Corner Store Act, has two primary sponsors (Don Davis, D-Wayne, and Louis Pate, R-Pitt) and 12 co-sponsors from both parties. The bill would allocate up to \$1 million of taxpayer money to create the “Healthy Food Small Retailer Fund.”

Money from the fund would be allocated to local governments to enable them to provide equipment and assistance to small food retailers to carry “nutrient-dense foods.” The retailers must be located in what is classified as a “food desert,” essentially low-income areas with a lack of grocery stores.

Governments would supply the small stores with refrigeration equipment, shelving and “technical assistance” in return for their agreement to sell healthy foods. Also, in exchange retailers must agree to accept SNAP and WIC benefits, and make a commitment to sell the foods for a pre-determined length of time. The stated goal is to get more low-income people eating healthy foods, and the bill hints that a lack of availability is a primary reason that they lack fresh fruits and vegetables as part of their diet. This bill is classic nanny state in action: introducing government force and interference to try and get people to do what is “good for them.”

Aside from the obvious objections of using government force to collect taxes only to hand that money over to select businesses, this bill raises several questions:

- If the stores in food deserts thought their customers wanted to buy more fruits and

vegetables, wouldn’t they already sell them?

- Corner stores have very limited amount of shelf space, so why would they use some of that space to try and sell items customers likely don’t want anyway while crowding out space for more popular products?

- What happens if these stores struggle to sell their inventory and much of it spoils? Will the government fund bail them out?

- Stores must commit to sell the healthy foods for a set period of time, but what if they lose money on the fruits and vegetables? Will they be forced to continue to carry these products until the end of their commitment, thus losing more money?

Unfortunately, when government socializes medical care expenses in a society, the health of one person becomes the financial concern of all. This collectivized concern then is used as a pretext to justify government intervention in virtually all of our personal choices, including the food we eat.

Government intervention inevitably leads to more intervention.

A better alternative is to roll back the initial interventions, instead of imposing more and more such restrictions on society.

Senate Bill 296 represents an increase in the nanny state. It also uses taxpayer dollars to subsidize equipment for politically designated food retailers to sell foods that the political class thinks you should be eating. That’s why the Healthy Food Small Retailer/Corner Store Act was a Bad Bill of the Week.

Unfortunately, that’s just one of the bad bills we have identified this year. To keep an eye on them, go to www.nccivitas.org/category/bad-bill. Meanwhile, we’ll be on the lookout for others, and we’ll bring them to your attention each week of the session. ■

NC Bill vs. Federal RFRA: How Similar?

BY ELLIOT ENGSTROM

On March 26, several members of the North Carolina House of Representatives filed House Bill 348 – The NC Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). The bill, with primary sponsors Rep. Jacqueline Michelle Schaffer and Rep. Dan Bishop, is one of several pieces of legislation nationwide that have attracted widespread media attention – with the most surrounding Indiana’s recently enacted RFRA law. If enacted into law, the NC bill would be codified as part of N.C. Gen. Stat. § 147, which prescribes rules for state officers – despite the fact that its language applies to all North Carolina citizens.

In the 1990s, the federal government passed the first Religious Freedom Restoration Act that is in some ways similar and in some ways dissimilar to the North Carolina bill. Both aim to protect religious freedom from infringement by state action, and both apply a balancing test that requires the state to assert a “compelling” interest in order to justify burdening a person’s free exercise of religion. However, there are three key differences between the federal RFRA and several state RFRA bills, including that of North Carolina, that have led to a media firestorm.

First, the North Carolina bill explicitly includes protections not

just for natural persons, but also for “any individual, association, partnership, corporation, church, religious institution, estate, trust, foundation, or other legal entity.” The federal RFRA law does not contain specific language including such legal associations, but rather bestows rights on “any person.” However, while the language is different, it does not create a material legal distinction between the two laws. That’s not an argument, it’s a basic principle of statutory interpretation. “Any person,” when written in a federal

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ...”

statute, always refers to natural persons as well as partnerships, corporations, associations, etc., unless the statute explicitly says otherwise, a fact that the U.S. Supreme Court made clear last year in *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*.

Second, the North Carolina bill (like its Indiana counterpart) applies not just when a person’s exercise of religion is actually burdened, but also when it is likely to be burdened. Again, the actual legal ramifications

of this language are relatively minor. Under the federal law, even though the “likely to be burdened” language does not exist, the principle is still the same — a person can request an injunction for impending harm if he or she can prove that, without the injunction, the harm will likely occur. That’s not a characteristic of RFRA laws, that’s just a characteristic of law in general. The NC bill simply makes this clear.

Third, the North Carolina bill (again, like its Indiana

counterpart) appears to allow free exercise of religion to be used as a defense in a discrimination lawsuit brought by a private party. This truly may – may – be a substantial difference between the state RFRA and the federal law, though it is not necessarily due to a difference in legislative intent. The federal RFRA was not clear on whether it applied to suits by private parties, leading to some ambiguity. However, as Professor Josh

Blackman recently noted in *National Review*, the majority of federal circuits have held that the federal RFRA does apply as a defense in suits brought by private parties.

It is likely that much of the media firestorm surrounding state RFRA bills is not based on any sort of actual legal analysis. Rather, it stems from the perceived intent of the law to provide cover for discrimination against homosexuals by private businesses. But how would such discrimination actually work?

Unfortunately, we have to resort to hypotheticals, as no state RFRA law has ever actually been successfully used to discriminate against homosexuals. But consider the case of *Barronelle Stutzman*, an Oregon woman who was recently found to be in violation of the state’s anti-discrimination and consumer protection laws for refusing to arrange flowers for a gay wedding. What if Oregon had an enacted version

of North Carolina’s RFRA bill?

Were that the case, that gay couple could still bring their discrimination lawsuit. Ms. Stutzman would then be able to assert her religious beliefs as a defense in that proceeding. The court would then have to balance Ms. Stutzman’s RFRA claim against the state’s interest in assuring that this particular couple has access to Ms. Stutzman’s services. How would the judge rule? We really don’t know, because no court anywhere has ever ruled on this set of facts. In the best case scenario for Ms. Stutzman, the court rules in her favor and requires the couple to pay both her attorney’s fees and any compensatory damages suffered as a result of the suit. In the best case scenario for the couple, the court rules that the state has a compelling interest in preventing this particular case of discrimination, and allows their case to move forward.

Perhaps the true issues at play in the RFRA saga are the cultural principles underlying the debate, rather than the technical legal ramifications of the laws. Regardless, should North Carolina join Indiana in enacting its RFRA bill – albeit without Gov. McCrory’s signature – residents of the Tar Heel state should prepare for a media firestorm of their own. ■



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Letter to the Editor: Convention Would Be a Dangerous Hybrid

BY WYNNE COLEMAN

This is the age of hybrids, a mixture of two different things, resulting in something with a little bit of both. There are hybrid cars, films, and vegetables – broccolini anyone? Hybrids are successful in varying degrees – some a disaster. But a hybrid of the U.S. Constitution is going too far.

Today, those who want to restructure the U.S. Constitution are experimenting with a hybrid of it by first altering the U.S. Constitution's Article V convention process. This convention is commonly known as a "Constitutional Convention" or "Con-Con." For good reason, there has not been another Con-Con since 1787 when our current Constitution was created.

The Con-Con engineers market their hybrid Constitutional Convention as a "Convention of the States (COS)." Mark Meckler and Dr. Michael Farris, co-founders of Convention of States Project (COSP), market the COS to conservatives and Tea Partiers, claiming that Article V is the only way to rein in the overreach of the federal government.

COSP will not admit that its so-called "Convention of the States" is a hybrid product. The public is supposed to believe that it is a pure element of Article V intended by the Founders. It is not.

Article V says: "The Congress, ... on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing

No! Because they are not there! COSP's wording is an illusion - a hybrid element mixed into Article V that misleads state legislators into applying to Congress for an open federal Convention, where anything can happen. In North Carolina, misguided legislators recently filed H.J.R. 48.

The reality is that "the States" cannot control the Convention

congress. Article V says nothing about how the delegates will be chosen or who those delegates will be. Once the Convention convenes, the delegates have the authority as government-makers to throw out proposed rules by any outside entity, make their own rules and potentially make a new government.

This is a serious business! And there is more to the hybridization story!

Other powerful and well-funded lobbies holding polarizing views and mixed ideologies are working for an Article V Convention. Some are completely hostile to our current U.S. Constitution and would like to rewrite it. COSP has said it welcomes all ideologies to the table trusting the system to allow the best American patriots to eliminate dangerous, ineffective, and crazy ideas in a Convention of delegates from a broad variety of backgrounds. That is a "crazy idea" in itself!

The U.S. Constitution places the Article V Convention issue between the state legislators and the people. It is not between the

state legislators and out-of-state special interest organizations such as COSP, progressive Wolf PAC and an array of others who show up just about every twenty years with a new ploy to destroy the Constitution.

Please contact your NC legislators. Tell them you want no part of NCH.J.R. 48. There is no need for a hybrid. The pure U.S. Constitution works just fine – "the greatest document ever struck off at a given time and a given place by the mind of mortal man." Sir William Gladstone. ■

Wynne Coleman is Chair of No Convention of States NC, a newly formed ad hoc committee made up of individual NC citizens dedicated to preserving the U.S. Constitution by opposing a North Carolina call for an Article V Convention of States.

The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Civitas Institute, its staff, board of directors or supporters.



amendments."

COSP says: "Congress shall, by law, call a convention of the States as soon as it receives applications from 2/3 of the state legislatures." (Emphasis mine.)

In Article V, do you see the words "of the States" anywhere?

because an Article V Convention is a government-making assembly, not a legislative assembly. The sovereign people, under the Declaration of Independence, have the authority to alter or abolish their current form of government. Delegates to the Convention represent the sovereign people, not state legislatures or

Would Article V Convention 'Run Away'?

BY MATT CAULDER

A debate over whether a convention of states to amend the U.S. Constitution should take place often turns on whether such a convention could "run away" and completely alter, or abolish, the national government. Is that fear realistic?

A Convention of States is one of two modes of proposing amendments to the U.S. Constitution included in Article V. Under it, the states call a convention to discuss certain amendments, which votes to propose amendments back to the states to ratify.

A bill recently filed by Rep. Jonathan Jordan (R-Watauga) would repeal the five known North Carolina calls for a convention of states, calls which date from 1867 to 1979.

"This way to solve the problem could lead to far more serious trouble, tampering with the entire structure of our government by opening up the U.S. Constitution to what

could easily become a 'runaway convention,'" Jordan said, in his speech in support of his bill in committee

He said he fears that once

"...it is our considered judgment that the checks and balances in the Constitution are more than sufficient to ensure the integrity of the process."

the delegates there they will take the power of "popular sovereignty" to reshape the entire form of government.

Jordan cited Federalist 40, written by James Madison, as justification that a Convention of States would have the sovereign powers of the people, and not just the power to represent the states.

Madison did not refer to a Convention of States in Federalist 40, but to the original Constitutional Convention tasked with

making improvements to the Articles of Confederation, which was seen as fatally flawed at the convention.

Madison argued that altering

the articles to create a national and adequate government could not be done within the confines of the articles. That reality, he argued, gave authority under the convention's directive to construct a new document for state approval.

Congress affirmed that at least nine of the existing 13 states would have to ratify the new document. (Ultimately, the 13 existing states did.)

While the state delegates made the decision to scrap the Articles of Confederation

in favor of the Constitution we have today, it was Congress that reviewed and affirmed the move, and ultimately it was the states that approved the Constitution.

All the Constitutional Convention did was propose the Constitution to the states, just as a Convention of States only has the power to propose amendments to the Constitution for the states to ratify.

Last year, nine Constitutional scholars signed on to a statement, The Jefferson Statement, which expresses their belief that a "runaway convention" could not happen. They wrote: "The Constitution's Framers foresaw a day when the federal government would exceed and abuse its enumerated powers, thus placing our liberty at risk."

The statement refers to convention process as the

"ultimate check on federal power contained in Article V of the Constitution" and says that the "process is controlled by the states from beginning to end on all substantive matters."

In regards to a possible "runaway convention," the statement says, "While some have expressed fears that a Convention of States might be misused or improperly controlled by Congress, it is our considered judgment that the checks and balances in the Constitution are more than sufficient to ensure the integrity of the process."

The statement went on to say, "The Convention of States mechanism is safe, and it is the only constitutionally effective means available to do what is essential for our nation — restoring robust federalism with genuine checks on the power of the federal government." ■

ADAPTED FROM AN ARTICLE AT
www.nccapitolconnection.com

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Scandal

Parents Should Be Wary of New State Health Assessment Form

BY BOB LUEBKE

For the parents who think data collection and privacy are not significant issues in our public schools, you might want to read HB 13. The bill has already been approved by the House and is working its way through the

wch/doc/aboutus/KHA_1-11.pdf) created by DHSS and DPI shows there are substantial changes. First, let's remember the form is only referenced in HB 13 and specifically not mentioned. Lawmakers do not vote on the

also asked to sign a parental consent form to allow the child's health care provider or school personnel to discuss the child's health assessment information with DHHS and to "collect and analyze information ... to better

communications, fine motor skills and gross motor skills. Interpretation of these domains by health care providers is very subjective. Yet such data will stay with the child and be used to form a "profile" of the child.

fairly easy to determine students' identity.

The questions about data collection are significant. Parents should also be informed as to where the data is stored and for how long. Do students have access to a copy? Who owns the data? What happens to the data when it's no longer used?

This is all very troubling. What's even more troubling is that state agencies want all this information fully knowing they cannot require parents to provide it. The parental consent form is optional. Parents do not have to file it. However, parents are not informed that they have that option.

If this sounds like government agencies doing an end-run around parents to get data that they know parents would not agree to release, you'd be right. If you're wondering why so many parents don't trust the public schools, you know why. ■

PPS-2K Rev. 1/11

NORTH CAROLINA
KINDERGARTEN HEALTH ASSESSMENT REPORT
(Approved by North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and Department of Health and Human Services)

Personal Data *Please bring your child's shot records with you to this visit *

NT COMPLETE

Please Print Clearly - See other side for more required information. Please present completed form to your child's school.

Child's Name _____ (Last) _____ (First) _____ (Middle)

Birth Date: ____ / ____ / 20 ____ (mm/dd/yyyy)

Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Parent/Guardian Name: _____ Phone: _____

Yes	No	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Are you concerned about your child's health, weight, development or behavior?
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Does anyone in your family have a condition that has affected their health, weight, development or behavior? (Please explain in the comments section)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Has your child been seen by a provider for any health, weight, development or behavior concern?

Senate. In brief, the bill amends the current health assessment form requirement in a way that is incredibly invasive and exceeds any current legal requirements.

Current law requires each student to have a health assessment before entering kindergarten. The statutes (NC General Statutes 130A-441) also delegate authority to the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) to create the form used. If parents do not submit a form, principals will supply "deficiency statement" to them. They have 30 days from the time a "deficiency statement" is issued to supply a form to the school. If a health assessment form is not presented during that time, children will not be allowed to attend public school. A look at the new Health Assessment form (www.ncdhhs.gov/dph/

form, only the requirement, so they may not be aware of the scope of the current problems.

The new health assessment form includes screening for five learning domains (emotional/social, problem solving, language/communications, fine motor skills, gross motor skills). The domains were included to satisfy data requirements for a federal grant. The information will then be used to create a "child profile" for each student.

The new form asks for information regarding such things as medications, allergies and development concerns, but also includes such questions as where the child gets regular health care. Health care providers are asked to list pertinent illnesses, risks or developmental problems as well as rate the child's performance in different developmental domains.

How will the schools get this information? Parents are

understand the health needs of children in NC." Parents are essentially asked to sign over their child's medical and developmental history to state agencies.

If you don't hear the alarms going off, you might not be listening.

What's all this data and medical information to be used for?

According to HB 13, every child entering a North Carolina public school will be required to have a health assessment form completed as part of their "official record."

Yes, that's right, their "official record."

Parents should be concerned because information is gathered beyond mere cognitive development. Health care providers are asked to rate students on development domains such as emotional/social, problem solving, language/

Do parents know the data will be collected on the child until adulthood?

The fact is there is no guarantee that student data is safe. Using a "unique identifier" does not guarantee a child's name is protected. Other forms of data such as video or pictures make it

Scandal is a regular column in *Civitas Capitol Connection* that will explore public corruption in NC Government.

Have a local corruption story?
Email corruption@nccivitas.org or call 919.834.2099.

CLARIFICATIONS

In the February NC Capitol Connection, p. 12 inadvertently pictured the logo of the East Carolina Community Development Inc., not the East Carolina Development, Inc., linked to former Rep. Stephen LaRoque. NC Capitol Connection regrets the error.

LaRoque's legal problems surfaced in 2011. In the spring primary in 2012, he lost the race for the Republican nomination to his seat. In July of that year, he was indicted on charges that he misused federal funds. Shortly after that, at the urging of GOP leaders, he resigned his seat in the House.

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