



Attendance Up as Greg Gutfeld and Dennis Prager Shine at CLC

BY RAY NOTHSTINE

At the Crabtree Marriot in Raleigh, 420 registered attendees showed up for the two-day Conservative Leadership Conference event on April 13-14. CLC attendance grew by 70 attendees from the previous year.

One of those present was Jinyoung Moon, 27, who lives in Seoul, South Korea. "I'm a conservative interested in American conservatism," said Moon. The South Korean was in the United States visiting a friend and made his way to the two-day conference. "Russell Kirk's 'The Conservative Mind' really shaped and influenced a lot of my thinking," Moon added.

"I love the 'Prager U' videos and watch them in

Korea with Korean subtitles." Moon praised keynote speaker Dennis Prager, calling his speech "important and awesome."

Prager, a bestselling author and radio host, took the stage on April 13 after Lt. Gov. Dan Forest. "We're in trouble because there is not a universal longing for freedom anymore," Prager declared.

Prager pointed out that secularism crowds out limited government because the Left now politicizes everything. He noted that conservatives do and should have most of their interests outside of politics. "For the Left, their life is politics."

Prager declared that there is a difference between liberals and the Left. "Alan



Dershowitz is a liberal," Prager noted. "Dershowitz said he was more afraid of the Left than the Right." Taking a swipe at the neo-segregation efforts by the Left, Prager

noted that "Leftists support all-black dorms on campus, liberals never did." He focused part of his remarks by highlighting the fact that many young people march today to restrict the rights of others and for

themselves.

He added that most colleges have "taught students to look at the Founders not as great men but white men." He offered prescient thoughts too on the restric-

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NC Capitol Connection
805 Spring Forest Rd Ste. 100
Raleigh, NC 27609
Vol. 10, No. 4

FROM THE EDITOR

One of the best things about the Conservative Leadership Conference was seeing people from across the state who are passionate about human freedom and individual liberty. I was impressed too with Dennis Prager's remarks and his comments about the Founding Fathers and their capacity to claim inherent rights apart from the Crown because of the Creator. "We are free because God wants us to be free" is a simple yet profound line that unfor-

tunately is lost on so many Americans today. And it was encouraging to see so many young people mobbing Prager after his speech.

The address by Christopher Scalia is worth mentioning too because he highlighted his late father's desire to use many of his speeches to educate the citizenry on American civics. Civic illiteracy is a monumental problem that works to impede not only the common good, but constraints on govern-

ment. North Carolina and the entire nation are in need of leaders who are less interested in their own power, but instead work to empower citizens, and part of that is through using their position and influence for civic education.

Matt Caulder offers up a good take on the remarks by Lt. Gov. Dan Forest. Some of the North Carolina media and a few lawmakers tried to gin up controversy around the speech, claiming inaccurately that Forest said

Democrats do not hold to a Christian or religious faith. Forest, who did not mention Democrats, was critical of secularism and how it causes people to look to government first and foremost.

Brian Balfour has written two important essays that should cause us to think deeper about government and our Republic. One pertains to law and legislation, and how the call for more lawmaking so often works against liberty. Our mammoth regulatory state

and ruling by bureaucrats is just one consequence. In a separate piece, he looks at the words of Friedrich Hayek who explained why many intellectuals flock towards collectivism and big government.

There is more content in the issue, including CLC content and images. Thanks to those who made it a priority to attend and thank you for your continued support of our work and mission.

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CYAN MAGENTA YELLOW BLACK

Bruno Leoni's "Freedom and the Law"

BY BRIAN BALFOUR

American founding father and second U.S. President John Adams famously included in the 1780 Massachusetts state constitution the concept of "a government of laws, not of men."

Difference Between 'Law' and 'Legislation'

The concept Adams rightly emphasized is critical to how a society is organized. The distinction determines the difference between a free society and one ruled by arbitrary diktats from a legislative body.

In his 1961 book "Freedom and the Law," Italian political philosopher Bruno Leoni insightfully discusses the differences, as he put it, between "law" and "legislation." Leoni described laws as generally accepted rules of

conduct within a society, developed spontaneously throughout generations.

Likening the development of laws to that of language, Leoni further explained that the process is "a spontaneous expression of the minds of the people concerned."

In short, laws are rules of conduct and customs that evolved over time, and were not designed by any given individual or lawmaker.

In contrast, legislation is a set of directions, mandates or restrictions consciously created by specific individuals, typically in positions of power in a governing body. While it is entirely possible that legislation can be an articulation of the already prevailing laws among society, far too often legislation creates new rules that either contrast with existing laws or endeavors to control behavior or interactions previously not subject to rules of just conduct.

Explained Leoni, "In this way, legislation has undergone a very peculiar development. It has come to resemble more and more a sort of diktat that the winning majorities in the legislative assemblies impose upon the minorities, often with the result of overturning long-established individual expectations and creating completely unprecedented ones."

Laws Are to Be Discovered by Jurists and Lawmakers, Not Invented

Laws, properly understood, evolved and exist-

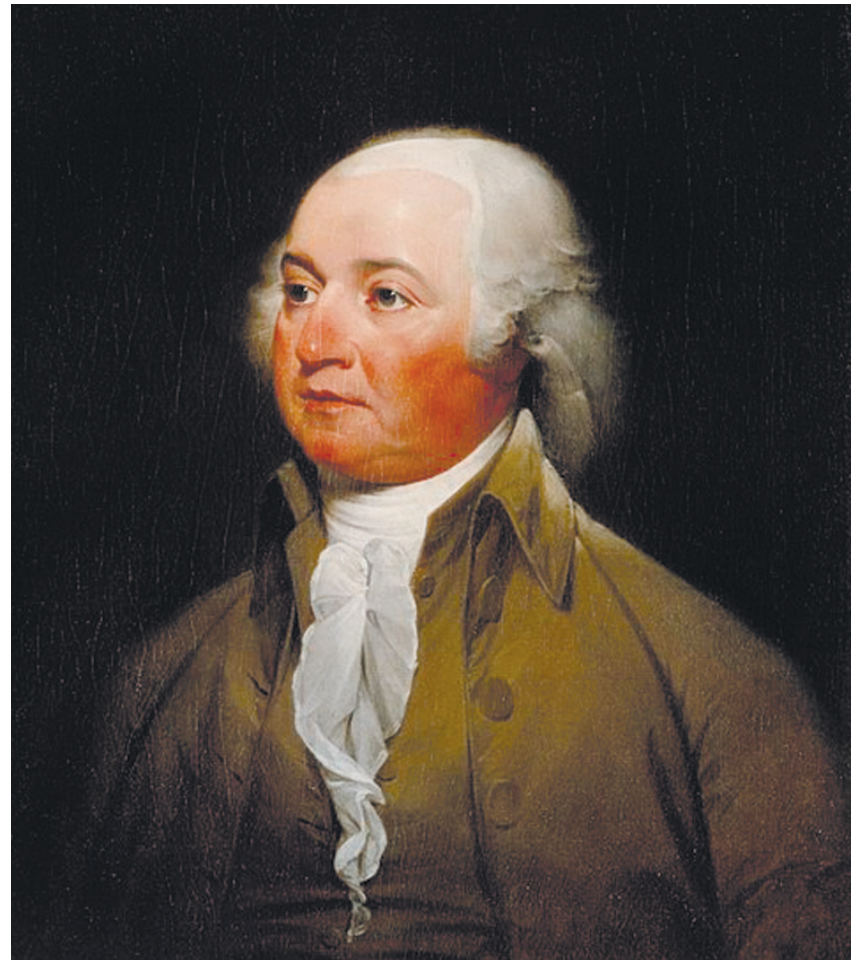
ed in primitive times, and predated written codes and constitutions. Therefore, Leoni emphasized, the proper role of jurists was to discover the existing laws and apply those laws to judge wrongdoing in conflicts.

Perhaps the earliest example of this can be found in ancient Roman civil law practices. Here Leoni quotes the English jurist and Roman law scholar W.W. Buckland: "Hence, private Roman law was something to be described or to be discovered, not something to be enacted – a world of things that were there, forming part of the common heritage of all Roman citizens."

Freedom Requires "Laws," Not "Legislation"

Leoni hailed the fact that Roman law and later English common law shared the idea that "nobody is so powerful in his society as to be in a position to identify his own will with the law of the land."

In this sense, Adams' concept of "government of laws" provides a check against political power encroaching on the freedom of individuals. When the government restricts itself to merely discover-



ing the laws of society, it prevents the imposition of arbitrary preferences of a majority being imposed on the minority. The fewer such arbitrary impositions means a greater latitude within which citizens can freely and peacefully interact.

A reduction in the amount of legislation, Leoni wrote, "does definitely result in a corresponding increase in the number of matters in regard to which people can make free decisions as individuals." Such a reduction "seems to be the only path left for individual freedom to take at the present time," he concluded.

In other words, a society that reduces the scope of legislative activity – even if such legislation is enacted by representatives

democratically elected – is a society that maximizes freedom.

Arguably the gravest threat to freedom is an omnipotent government granted the power to shape society via arbitrary, consciously designed rules. A free society demands a government restrained by those long-run customs and norms of conduct evolved over generations outside of a central design by freely acting individuals.

Leoni's book is an indispensable resource for those wishing to understand and articulate the difference between law and legislation, or as Adams put it "a government of laws and not of men." Such distinctions are critical in the fight for a free society.

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NC Capitol Connection

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Civitas Institute

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NC Capitol Connection is a publication
of the Civitas Institute

The Civitas Institute is a 501(c)(3)
non-profit dedicated to advancing con-
servative and free-market principles in
the state of North Carolina.

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Dan Forest Espouses Simpler Times; Criticizes Secular Worldview

BY MATT CAULDER

Lt. Gov. Dan Forest roused the crowd at the Civitas Institute's Conservative Leadership Conference (CLC) in Raleigh on April 13. Forest noted that "simpler" times are not gone forever but a worthy goal to return to in some respects.

Forest began by talking about how after doing a few CLCs it becomes hard to not say the same thing, but that conservative ideals are still worth talking about.

"You do this enough, you come to a conservative leadership conference enough times and you start sounding like a clanging symbol or a gong because you start saying the same things over and over again," Forest said. "And that's probably the challenge with doing this more than once is repeating yourself, but I think some things are worth repeating when we start talking about founding principles and economic freedom and liberty and these ideas, they are worth repeating because we are not there yet."

Forest said that things may be moving further and further from where many conservative Americans think they should be.

"In fact we may be getting further away in some cases, and so we have some challenges cut out for us here in front of us, and I think we also live in really fascinating times



now," Forest said. "It's a very unique time to be in America where just a couple weeks ago we see the nation celebrating young people all across our country marching on the Capitol and marching through the streets to take their very own freedoms away."

Forest was referring to increased calls to limit Second Amendment rights in the nation following media saturation of school shootings.

"You know it was just a few decades ago we were watching people march for freedom and now we are watching them march to take your and my freedoms away, and theirs too," he said. "And we are celebrating things like the breakdown of the family, we are celebrating the breakdown

of God in our society and these are troubled times."

Forest noted that secularism crowds out human freedom, causing many citizens to look first to government. Forest rebuked Republicans in Congress for failing to control spending too.

He talked about the goal of spreading and growing conservative ideals as a battle and in the face of talks about removing the Second Amendment rights of large segments of the population that corollary is stronger now than in recent times.

"I know when you speak at a conference like this, and I look out here and I see so many faithful conservative faces, they're going into battle with us every single day to fight

the tough issues in North Carolina, but it really disturbs me when people say that those are the times we live in and I guess we just have to deal with that," he said. "Because I don't think that that really is the way it has to be."

Forest pointed out he was not saying that there were just the "good old days" and that there are not more positive things now than in the past, but that there are important things to learn and preserve from the past.

"And I'm not going to suggest that there really is any such thing as the 'good old days' but I certainly think when I was a kid 40 years ago growing up, riding my bike around the neighborhood, that they were certainly sim-

pler times," he said.

"It was a time perhaps before government started to be in control of everything, before government really started to run every decision in our lives, there was a time when the bicycle was ubiquitous instead of the iPhone and when we wanted to have fun as kids we didn't get on our phone or our TVs and play games, we got on our bikes, gathered up our posse and we'd run around town. And we played on all that dangerous playground equipment that has been since now gone. Yeah, we fell off swings, we fell off slides and all those things and hit our head, but then

we came back when it was dark outside, we came back home and our parents weren't worried about us and they weren't missing us, they knew where we were and they weren't afraid for our safety, when we came home and had a knot on our head or a cut on our knee they didn't hover over us or sue anybody, they didn't call the government and say, 'get rid of that playground equipment,' it was a simpler time."

Forest's core message centered around how conservatives should not accept that times have changed, that there is a path to return to a time when people were safer, and kinder to each other.

Why Most Academics are Leftist

BY BRIAN BALFOUR

- *Utopian visions of planned societies excite the imagination of intellectuals*
- *A leviathan state is the only vehicle for academics to fulfill their desired roles as social reformers*
- *Academia is largely funded and supported by government largesse, no wonder it attracts those that favor big government*

In an April News & Observer article, a faculty member expressed concerns about UNC-Chapel Hill being “overwhelmingly liberal.”

As a response to such concerns, one professor asked a mutual friend of the article’s author “Doesn’t he understand that academics are liberal because that is the way intelligent people think?”

It’s easy to dismiss such a childish response, as it reflects nothing more than an “all smart people think like me” assumption held by people who insulate themselves in an ideological bubble.

It does, however, lead one to ponder why such a disproportionate share of academics are Left-wing.

In his 1949 essay “The Intellectuals and Socialism,” Friedrich Hayek explored this topic with observations still very much alive today.

Intellectuals, according to Hayek, are drawn to utopian visions. First and foremost among those visions is the creation of a new social order, specifically one designed by

‘experts.’ They also have the hubris to anoint themselves as the experts to design this new order.

“The intellectual, by his whole disposition, is uninterested in technical details or practical difficulties. What appeal to him are broad visions, the spacious comprehension of the social order as a whole which a planned system promises,” Hayek wrote.

Socialist intellectuals often misapply observations from the hard sciences as inspiration for designing a new society. Hayek noted that such intellectuals observed engineering techniques that enabled man to organize the forces of nature (natural resources) and convert them into useful technology. These observations have “contributed a great deal toward the creation of the belief that a similar control of the forces of society would bring comparable improvements in human conditions.”

In short, Left-wing progressive intellectuals fancy themselves radicals, desiring to overturn capitalism and traditional Western

culture, with themselves at the helm. But what are the best means for them to achieve their goals? For the ambitious among them, an academic career provides a rosy opportunity. For those radicals, “an intellectual career is the most promising path to both influence and the power to contribute to the achievement of his ideals,” Hayek explained.

Like most humans, Leftist intellectuals desire to exert influence and in turn feel important. Their desires to remake society can only realistically be brought about through the existence of a massive government. A government in which these academics will be able to influence, under the guise of academic “expertise.” There is an inherent liberal bias favoring greater social control by the state among academics in part because that is the only avenue academics have to become the social reformists they desire to be.

Hayek also points out that the young are especially receptive to idealist theories aimed at transforming the world. “(S)ocialist thought owes its appeal to the young largely to its visionary character; the very courage to indulge in utopian thought is in this respect a source of strength to the socialists

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which traditional liberalism sadly lacks,” Hayek explained.

The allure of advancing a utopian vision combined with classrooms full of highly amendable students proves to be a powerful magnet attracting Leftist intellectuals to academic positions. And once a majority of academics are progressives, then confirmation bias connects the dots for some to conclude that is the case because “that is how intelligent people think.”

As Hayek put it “The socialist will, of course, see in this merely a proof that the more intelligent person is today bound to become a socialist.”

Meanwhile, those wishing to largely preserve traditional systems find other avenues to pursue personal success. Even those who fight for freedom and to roll back government are perceived, as Hayek described, as being merely “those who aim at a piecemeal improvement of the existing order.” Such an approach does not excite

the imagination of many young intellectuals.

Finally, there is the role played by naked self-interest. Government subsidies and student financial aid make up a significant share of revenue to universities. Furthermore, government grants dominate funding for academic research. Academics reap financial benefits from government largesse. What a tidy coincidence that most academics favor big government.

There’s no denying that an overwhelming majority of academics in universities across the country are liberal, progressive, socialist or otherwise Left-wing. To dismiss this fact with the thoughtless trope that “this is the way intelligent people think” displays a lack of genuine intellectual curiosity. Academic research and intellectuals continue to exert influence on public policy and public opinion. We at least owe it to ourselves to have a serious discussion about why there is such a lack of intellectual diversity on our college campuses.



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Changes represent the difference in voter registration between March 31, 2018 and April 28, 2018

County	Total Voters	Total Change	Democrats	Democrat Change	Republicans	Republican Change	Libertarians	Libertarian Change	Unaffiliated Voters	Unaffiliated Change
Totals	6,915,594	11,127	2,654,577	-1,989	2,077,826	-67	35,304	111	2,147,822	13,010
ALAMANCE	100,461	214	38,069	-58	32,950	54	499	7	28,943	211
ALEXANDER	24,288	-14	6,175	-16	10,772	-13	82	-1	7,259	16
ALLEGHANY	7,405	14	2,651	-11	2,588	6	34	-1	2,132	20
ANSON	17,302	21	11,630	4	2,469	3	20	-1	3,183	15
ASHE	18,887	36	5,305	-36	8,051	20	72	1	5,459	51
AVERY	11,732	39	1,406	-9	6,905	26	48	0	3,373	22
BEAUFORT	32,972	20	13,213	-18	10,719	-6	89	-3	8,951	47
BERTIE	14,002	27	10,016	11	1,545	-4	24	0	2,417	20
BLADEN	22,885	110	12,667	-159	3,887	116	38	-1	6,293	154
BRUNSWICK	99,124	391	27,095	50	37,055	117	372	5	34,601	218
BUNCOMBE	193,526	165	74,712	1	45,974	-85	1,400	-2	71,437	248
BURKE	57,969	-22	18,283	-67	20,649	3	264	1	18,773	41
CABARRUS	134,902	272	41,233	-4	49,140	59	767	6	43,761	210
CALDWELL	54,677	0	14,166	-21	24,582	4	356	-1	15,572	18
CAMDEN	7,765	11	2,257	-61	2,436	-1	45	-1	3,027	74
CARTERET	52,193	192	12,043	-34	22,194	106	238	-5	17,718	125
CASWELL	15,597	86	7,891	15	3,289	-134	34	-2	4,383	207
CATAWBA	103,801	142	25,580	-299	44,477	84	413	0	33,330	357
CHATHAM	52,571	227	20,690	97	12,921	-240	232	1	18,728	369
CHEROKEE	23,077	40	5,662	-143	9,891	46	131	2	7,393	135
CHOWAN	10,221	-8	4,837	-27	2,619	14	22	-1	2,743	6
CLAY	8,608	11	1,895	-45	3,574	7	44	-1	3,095	50
CLEVELAND	64,291	-454	25,947	-316	20,914	-126	238	0	17,191	-13
COLUMBUS	37,074	33	20,688	-224	7,119	26	58	-1	9,209	232
CRAVEN	68,421	122	22,995	-26	23,919	29	349	2	21,158	117
CUMBERLAND	213,697	459	97,795	68	49,104	71	1126	0	65,672	320
CURRITUCK	19,496	116	3,970	-12	7,165	44	151	2	8,210	82
DARE	29,529	107	8,780	1	9,106	31	211	4	11,432	71
DAVIDSON	107,272	375	26,075	-582	50,185	242	450	1	30,561	713
DAVIE	29,534	55	5,441	-1	15,018	18	111	1	8,964	37
DUPLIN	30,011	-15	13,966	-39	8,086	-73	122	-1	7,837	98
DURHAM	221,883	1,042	122,641	441	27,740	-244	1,084	6	70,416	837
EDGECOMBE	38,203	26	26,737	-25	6,216	14	82	0	5,168	37
FORSYTH	256,058	244	104,460	98	75,833	-58	1,235	5	74,527	196
FRANKLIN	43,692	48	18,046	-20	13,279	21	195	0	12,172	47
GASTON	142,710	196	44,525	7	54,215	21	688	5	43,282	163
GATES	8,608	34	4,568	-8	1,758	-5	28	0	2,254	47
GRAHAM	6,362	19	1,898	-2	2,803	0	20	0	1,641	21
GRANVILLE	38,496	116	18,728	29	9,408	-13	144	2	10,215	97
GREENE	11,397	14	6,522	-10	2,077	-2	22	0	2,776	26
GUILFORD	367,397	-275	167,560	-295	94,817	-86	1,743	4	103,270	95
HALIFAX	38,235	105	25,228	31	4,640	-57	82	-1	8,285	132
HARNETT	74,011	154	26,245	-19	25,803	69	498	-3	21,465	107
HAYWOOD	44,056	116	16,507	-4	13,347	25	246	2	13,954	91
HENDERSON	83,779	298	17,933	-138	31,518	66	435	-2	33,890	369
HERTFORD	15,374	69	11,181	51	1,484	-12	36	1	2,673	29
HOKE	31,993	120	15,161	25	6,746	8	193	1	9,893	86
HYDE	3,419	3	1,976	-2	530	-2	13	1	900	6

IREDELL	118,513	248	30,130	16	49,041	92	564	5	38,778	135
JACKSON	28,195	169	10,131	34	7,457	23	173	5	10,433	106
JOHNSTON	124,589	388	38,478	63	47,793	119	684	3	37,633	202
JONES	7,266	19	3,537	-2	1,831	12	21	0	1,877	9
LEE	36,220	43	14,656	-20	10,291	8	170	2	11,102	52
LENOIR	38,404	-31	20,845	-35	9,510	-7	113	2	7,936	9
LINCOLN	56,892	128	13,800	-154	24,929	93	259	0	17,904	189
MACON	25,704	77	6,515	-10	10,401	17	129	1	8,658	68
MADISON	16,885	53	6,548	3	4,384	-9	103	3	5,850	56
MARTIN	16,930	-8	10,077	-16	3,302	-60	34	-7	3,517	75
MCDOWELL	29,258	22	8,320	-14	11,080	20	150	-1	9,708	17
MECKLENBURG	720,194	1,079	316,288	497	170,209	-213	4,333	2	229,359	788
MITCHELL	10,992	15	1,135	-2	6,639	0	29	0	3,189	17
MONTGOMERY	16,395	39	7,084	-8	5,025	3	60	-1	4,224	43
MOORE	66,661	171	16,420	-6	27,101	56	340	2	22,800	119
NASH	66,080	-5	33,187	-14	18,689	-11	203	-1	14,000	20
NEW HANOVER	167,119	293	52,580	72	52,844	9	1,164	3	60,526	204
NORTHAMPTON	14,539	2	10,467	-14	1,438	-18	20	0	2,614	34
ONSLOW	105,594	322	27,495	-4	38,313	137	907	0	38,878	188
ORANGE	113,048	0	52,303	5	16,450	-71	723	1	43,568	62
PAMLICO	9,657	19	3,802	-9	3,135	15	37	0	2,683	13
PASQUOTANK	28,694	141	13,106	9	6,085	-40	168	3	9,333	167
PENDER	40,620	111	12,585	-45	15,261	60	236	4	12,538	92
PERQUIMANS	9,981	59	4,065	6	2,683	23	32	1	3,200	28
PERSON	26,622	118	12,017	13	6,609	-15	98	1	7,898	119
PITT	122,049	84	55,435	-34	31,757	-87	712	-2	34,144	206
POLK	15,917	24	4,390	-4	5,559	3	80	-1	5,888	26
RANDOLPH	91,179	44	18,753	-93	45,732	-59	486	49	26,208	147
RICHMOND	30,281	23	16,536	-47	5,892	11	73	2	7,780	57
ROBESON	75,326	433	48,327	-77	9,501	-320	190	-6	17,307	835
ROCKINGHAM	59,753	62	22,595	-79	20,665	29	215	-2	16,278	114
ROWAN	94,326	77	27,882	-13	38,199	22	391	3	27,854	65
RUTHERFORD	44,814	61	14,498	-207	16,802	72	217	-2	13,297	198
SAMPSON	38,093	-24	16,342	-80	13,916	-12	108	2	7,727	66
SCOTLAND	22,449	39	12,770	5	3,700	-17	50	0	5,929	51
STANLY	41,338	123	11,070	-79	18,213	67	140	-1	11,914	135
STOKES	30,984	24	7,691	-13	14,985	9	151	-1	8,156	28
SURRY	45,559	84	13,608	-118	19,185	54	115	0	12,650	147
SWAIN	10,309	28	3,962	4	2,668	15	30	-2	3,649	11
TRANSYLVANIA	25,627	40	6,677	-17	8,243	7	116	-1	10,591	51
TYRRELL	2,413	2	1,383	-5	354	-1	10	1	666	7
UNION	153,119	236	39,478	30	63,463	56	682	0	49,496	150
VANCE	29,991	50	19,735	12	4,363	-30	68	0	5,825	68
WAKE	719,728	942	267,407	271	188,260	-129	4,649	4	259,406	790
WARREN	13,443	8	9,239	4	1,797	-1	33	0	2,374	5
WASHINGTON	8,719	27	5,826	11	1,136	-4	27	0	1,730	20
WATAUGA	45,667	97	12,125	25	14,037	10	507	6	18,997	55
WAYNE	74,475	-1	32,207	-14	23,815	-8	300	0	18,153	21
WILKES	42,643	7	9,813	-36	21,961	24	138	-1	10,731	20
WILSON	55,461	80	29,040	20	13,459	-196	158	0	12,803	255
YADKIN	23,947	-9	4,052	-11	13,238	-6	75	1	6,582	7
YANCEY	13,969	-7	5,116	-7	4,909	-8	49	2	3,895	6

Francis DeLuca Receives Inaugural Fidelis Award

BY RAY NOTHSTINE

Former Civitas President Francis DeLuca received the *Fidelis* Award from the institute's board of trustees at CLC. "The award was created to honor an individual who has dedicated their life to the defense of conservative principles," said Art Pope, current board chairman. "The first recipient really sets the standard for the award."

Pope noted that *Fidelis* is latin for "faithful" and one that many associate with the United States Marine Corps motto *Semper Fi*.

DeLuca was praised by the board for his service

to North Carolina for his policy leadership and conservative activism as well as for his military service to the nation. DeLuca joined the U.S.M.C. in 1980 and served as a combat naval aviator in Desert Storm and deployed to the Middle East for Operation Iraqi Freedom. He retired as a full colonel in 2011.

In brief remarks, DeLuca thanked the assembled as well as conservative activists across the state saying they are the true recipients of this award.



Where Diversity is Ignored

BY BOB LUEBKE

Remember this ratio: 23:1. That's the ratio of the number of registered Democrats for every registered Republican on the faculty in academic departments at UNC-Chapel Hill that address political and social issues. The findings are from a 2016 article in *Econ Journal Watch* and included in a recent opinion piece in the *News and Observer* by Michael Jacobs where he explained why the imbalance is not good for the institution or students.

That the UNC Chapel Hill faculty is dominated by Democrats and liberals is not news. Many would

have guessed so. What you may not know is that the problem is as bad as it is. The study pulled data from forty schools, many of the top academic institutions in the nation. Twenty-nine of the schools were private; eleven were public. UNC had the third highest ratio among the public institutions listed. Only UC-Davis (25.8:1) and the University of Maryland (26:1) had higher ratios, than UNC-Chapel Hill.

Also, worth noting is that UNC ratios were significantly higher than other public institutions like UC-Berkeley (14.3:1), UCLA (8.8:1), Penn State

(6:1) and Ohio State (3.2:1). Moreover, UNC Chapel Hill ratios were even higher than notable private institutions like Harvard (10.1:1), Yale (16.4:1), Stanford (11.1:1) and Duke (11.4:1).

Although, far from a scientific study (Twenty other institutions – both public and private – were excluded because state laws did not allow such information to be shared), UNC's ratio certainly grabs the attention.

It is interesting to note that in this recent period of student demonstrations on campus, the campuses grappling most with free

speech issues and disruptions on campus – U.C. Berkeley, Middlebury et al, are also colleges with little balance on the faculty.

The larger question is: What can UNC-Chapel Hill do to correct the imbalance? It's not an easy problem to correct. If an institution is weighted on one side of the political spectrum, a certain amount of self-selecting probably already occurs amongst individuals seeking to join the faculty. Some schools (Colorado) have sought to redress the imbalance by creating endowed "chairs" in conservative studies.

That's a start, but some critics say that may only memorialize conservatives. A far better solution is for UNC-Chapel Hill to commit itself to intellectual diversity and take real steps to make itself a more appealing place for scholars of all political stripes. Providing a healthy environment for civil discourse is one step all sides can agree on. If UNC-Chapel Hill is serious about addressing the lack of intellectual diversity on campus, there will be meaningful steps that follow.

Where Have all the Teachers Gone?

BY REBECCA FAGGE

- *NC tracks and reports data through a yearly Teacher Attrition Report*
- *Varied frustrations drive good teachers to leave the profession*
- *State and local policy makers can take steps to retain good teachers*

I'm reluctantly retired. I had planned to teach until my motorized scooter wouldn't fit between the desks. I didn't want to leave classroom teaching but I was drowning in data, meetings, and meaningless paperwork. I grew tired of ending many days feeling a mixture of suppressed rage and despair. One particular day's challenges had been worse than usual. I attended a staff meeting first thing in the morning which lasted right up to the opening student bell; the staff was chided for not writing lesson plans with the mandated template nor submitting them a week in advance, with the reminder that these plans would be evaluated and scored. Later, a

school aide showed up to take my class to lunch and recess while I hurried to a meeting with other teachers on my grade level to be led in a discussion of what we thought a particular curriculum standard meant; Once defined, we had to create a meaningless assessment we all agreed to give so that we

could collect and share the data with each other —supposedly to support one another in becoming more proficient in teaching that same vague standard. After bus duty at the end of the day, I had another meeting: a committee

appointed by the principal to discuss how we could make school more fun for our students. Frustrated with valuable time spent on such a useless endeavor, I thought, "Why can't teachers be trusted to make day-to-day learning fun?"

With many of these frustrations in mind, I read the State of the Teaching

Profession in North Carolina, or as it's commonly known the teacher turnover report. The report was recently reviewed by the State Board of Education prior to submission to the General Assembly. As a retired

teacher I was interested in the teacher comment section in the report which said, "Many teachers with tremendous impact on student achievement elect to leave employment" and "It is in the best interests of the state and LEAs to identify these teachers...and find ways to encourage them to remain employed..." These

statements should make one question the reasons for the exodus of many accomplished teachers.

Unfortunately, the experience I described above is common to many in the teaching profession. Classroom teachers are

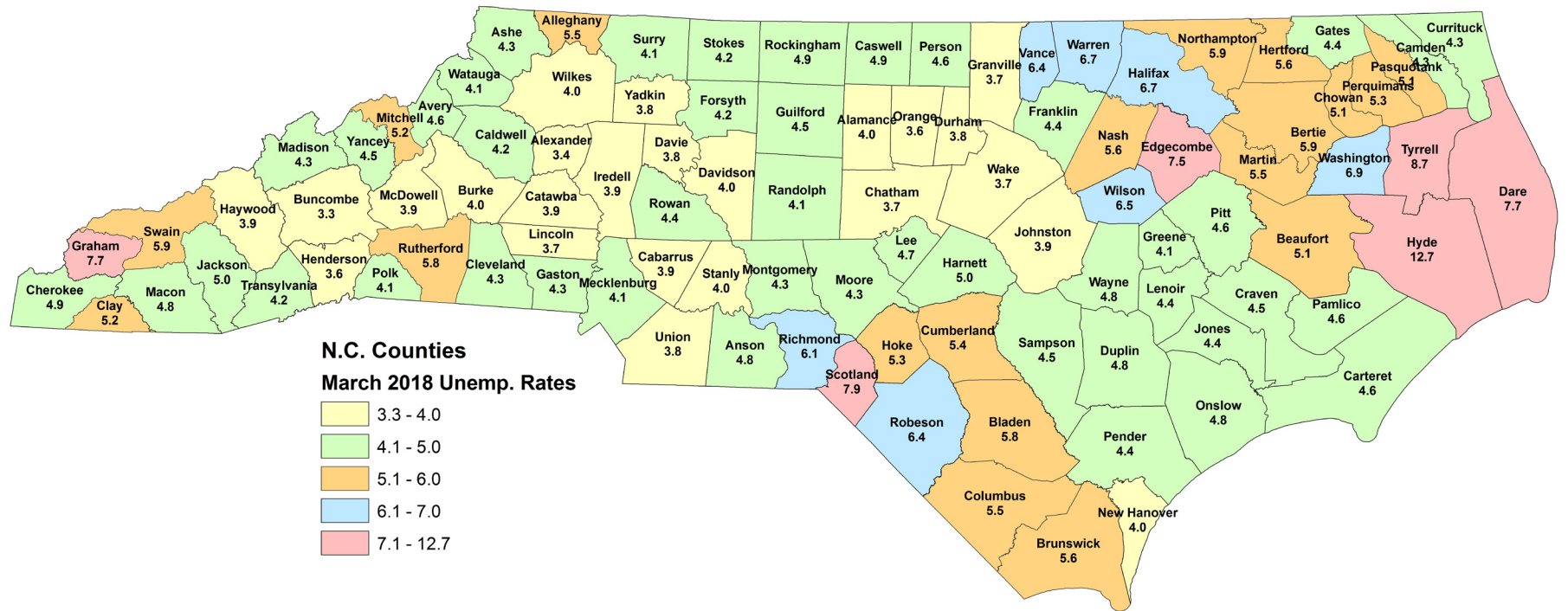
instruction. Such requirements hinder the ability of teachers to remain flexible to student instructional needs. How laborious is it? Kindergarten teachers spend time monitoring and documenting how students hold pencils; all grade

levels are mandated to administer assessments that are often poorly constructed or developmentally inappropriate. If a child doesn't perform well on some of these assessments, the teacher must develop a plan of intervention for that child based directly on cited research and tracked on a confusing digital template supplied by DPI. Often, time and

resources are spent in this process that could better serve the few students who truly need them. Teachers are tired of the elevated focus on data. Teachers are not engaged in the mass production process. Children are not academic widgets. Ask any teacher and you will more than

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The above map shows the March 2018, not-seasonally adjusted, unemployment rates for North Carolina counties. (data from N.C. Department of Commerce)

According to the North Carolina Department of Commerce, the March “not seasonally adjusted” statewide unemployment rate was 4.3 percent, down

0.4 percent from January. Hyde County reported the highest unemployment rate at 12.7 percent, while Buncombe County had the lowest at 3.3 percent. When compared to March of 2017, not seasonally adjusted unemployment rates decreased in 76 counties, increased in 17, and remained unchanged in seven.

More Than a Dozen School Districts Closing for Protest

BY BOB LUEBKE

According to WRAL.com, more than a dozen school districts are closing on May 16 so teachers can lobby legislators for better pay in Raleigh. Wake, Durham, Asheville, and Charlotte-Mecklenburg are a few of the districts

that will shut their doors. The rally sponsored by the North Carolina Association of Educators (NCAE), the state-wide affiliate of the National Education Association, coincides with the beginning of the new legislative

session.

So, what does this mean? If public schools are closed, teachers don't need to come to work. They also don't need to take a day of personal leave to attend the rally. A sweet deal for teachers and the

NCAE, which is using the rally in part to reverse its declining membership and strengthen its position for the November elections.

How will the changes impact students? They will lose a day of instruction. Staff like bus drivers? They

lose a day's pay. Their parents? They can scramble and make other arrangements for their kids.

But remember, it's for the children.

Attendance Up as Greg Gutfeld and Dennis Prager Shine at CLC

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tion of rights, particularly inherent rights like speech and the right to bear arms.

Prager said the American Founders were so successful in launching the American experiment because they understood the deep “correlation between God and human freedom.” They under-

stood and said, “we are free because God wants us to be free.”

Maggie Horzempa, another CLC attendee, is chairwoman of the UNC-Chapel Hill College Republicans. Horzempa noted that former Gov. Pat McCrory was her favorite speaker. “He really goes

past the scheme of politics and cares about people and that makes a big difference in the world.” She cited her grandfather who served in the Air Force for 28 years for helping to shape her conservative principles. As for CLC, Horzempa declared it’s important to “get out of the liberal

bubble in Chapel Hill and see where we can make an impact in and across North Carolina.”

Greg Gutfeld, one of the hosts of the “The Five” on Fox News delivered an immensely entertaining address to a packed room on April 14. Gutfeld sparred few lawmak-

ers, making fun of many politicians in the public sphere, while uplifting freedom and the dangers of government growth and centralized power. A few days later Gutfeld praised his time in Raleigh and at CLC on the broadcast of “The Five” on Fox News.



Where Have All the Teachers Gone?

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likely hear frustration with the real or perceived lack of respect for their professional judgment. Why aren’t the observations of an experienced teacher as valued as the research of an expert-du-jour?

So, what can we do to address these frustrations? The good thing is

it doesn’t take significant resources or time to alleviate some of these frustrations. Three simple steps could help. First, we need to better monitor preservice programs in our UNC system to promote quality preparation of new teachers. Second, DPI should revise the certification pro-

cess to allow for lateral entry teachers to staff high need subject areas like math, science and technology. Lastly, on a local level, school systems need to give teachers a greater voice in how money is allocated and spent on instruction.

It has been said that

teaching today is like being in a bad marriage; one only stays in it for the children. I have hope, though, that North Carolina policy makers can help make our teachers a recognizable professional force that propels personal academic growth and strengthens our communities.

Becky Fagge is a Civitas contributor and a former teacher with the Winston-Salem Forsyth County Schools. She is now retired and lives with her husband, Larry, in High Point, North Carolina.

Christopher Scalia Talks Originalism and Civic Virtue at CLC

BY RAY NOTHSTINE

Promoting his new book “Scalia Speaks: Reflections on Law, Faith, and Life Well Lived,” Christopher Scalia gave an extremely popular address at the Conservative Leadership Conference on April 14.

In compiling the remarks for the book about his famous Supreme Court Justice father, Antonin Scalia, he noted that he was “struck by the variety of speeches, and wanted this collection to be enjoyed by non-legal specialists.” Scalia said that even he was surprised that his father had spoken to so many associations and groups unrelated to the law.

Justice Scalia was almost always speaking and writing, even by way of his legal decisions, to educate the citizenry. “The point was to challenge listeners out of complacency, to inspire them by not affirming what they knew to be true, but by provoking them into reconsidering

policy flipped first to hear what Scalia had to say about an issue before the high court.

Scalia noted in his remarks that his dad did not have a villain in mind for his speeches except for the idea of a “living constitution.” Justice Scalia declared that the living constitution gives “judges too much power over the people and legislature.” As Justice Scalia liked to say, “The living constitution can take

rights away just as easy as it can grant them.” After all, restraints on the power of government are more important than our modern or contemporary understanding of rights. “If you care passionately about something has become the only test to determine if something



He implored students to read “The Federalist Papers,” especially law students. “Try to find a practice that enables you to have a human existence,” Scalia once told law students when asked about career advice. “I’m not talking about time for goof-

family, to your church or synagogue, to your community. All of those are real responsibilities.”

Thankfully because of Justice Scalia and The Federalist Society there is a new generation of lawyers and judges who have been shaped by judicial restraint and founding principles.

Most importantly, Justice Scalia believed that society requires religious virtue to thrive and sustain itself. He often quoted Cardinal John Henry Newman who said, “Knowledge is one thing, virtue is another.”

After his death in 2016, Justice Scalia was ultimately replaced on the

Supreme Court by Justice Neil Gorsuch, another proponent of originalism. “Sometimes people talk about members of their profession as lions, and I often have a difficult time understanding the analogy, not so with Justice Scalia,” Gorsuch said. “He was in his personal life docile, and in his public life he had a roar that could be heard for miles.”

Scalia remains immensely quotable and the continued interest in his legacy and judicial philosophy is only beneficial to our Republic.

“As Justice Scalia liked to say, ‘The living constitution can take rights away just as easy as it can grant them.’”

their preconceptions.” Of course, many legal scholars and those interested in

is constitutional. How passionately do you care?” Scalia once wrote.

ing off; I’m talking about time to attend to your other responsibilities—to your