

HUBERT HUMPHREY

Why the 'Happy Warrior' would find no perch among today's progressives

THINKING MINNESOTA

CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN
EXPERIMENT

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THE WAR ON CARS

A Cold California

Governor Tim Walz
wants to mandate that
Minnesotans accept
California's controversial
car regulations

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Governor Tim Walz wants to mandate that Minnesotans accept California's controversial car regulations



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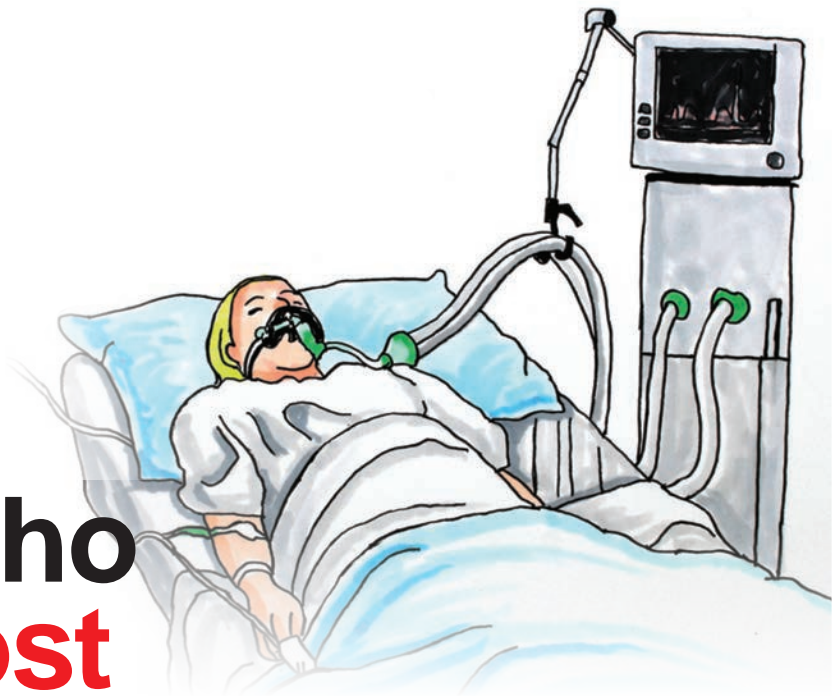


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Why the 'Happy Warrior' would find no perch among today's progressives



Fighting for the protection of those who are the most medically vulnerable



As decisions for unconscious patients are increasingly being made for the sake of rationing medical resources, we can no longer assume health care professionals believe in the time-honored directive, “First Do No Harm” (Hippocratic Oath). Sadly, this has been supplanted—to an alarming degree—with, “There Are Lives Not Worthy to Be Lived.”

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MARLENE REID, HALO BOARD MEMBER

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THINKING MINNESOTA

Center of the American Experiment's mission is to build a culture of prosperity for Minnesota and the nation. Our daily pursuit is a free and thriving Minnesota whose cultural and intellectual center of gravity is grounded in free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, and other time-tested American virtues. As a 501(c)(3) educational organization, contributions to American Experiment are tax deductible.

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NOTE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

REALITY IS HARD

It's time to proclaim the value of entrepreneurial businesses and the people who use their success to make all of us prosper.

Progressives these days like to disparage American business owners—the job-creating heroes who maintain the economic foundation upon which our exceptional state and nation have been built.

We all read how liberal politicians trash American capitalism as a never-miss applause line in their stump speeches. Businesspeople exploit the poor, they say, usually with racial undertones. They hoard their wealth while depriving their employees of a livable wage and minimal health care benefits. And they scorn concerns about energy or the environment. They're *rich, for crying out loud*.

I wish these were exaggerations.

Advocates of the free market—and I include Center of the American Experiment in this group—must do a better job of publicly celebrating the accomplishments and good deeds of our business leaders. Students in public school classrooms are widely exposed to the Che Guevara school of social policy and economics. They might be astonished to see how many business leaders—most of them, in fact, outside of Wall Street—don't neatly fit the mold of *Enemy to America*.

A history of Minnesota business lead-

ers is itself a celebration of innovative, risk-taking entrepreneurs, who were also civic-minded do-gooders. Think about the McKnights at 3M or the Dayton family. And also think about Bill Norris, founder of Control Data Corporation, which became one of the most respected computer

companies in the world. Or Seymour Cray, founder of Cray Incorporated, once called “the Thomas Edison of the Supercomputer industry.” Or Earl Bakken, who developed a pacemaker in his Minneapolis garage that eventually became Medtronic. Or Manny Villafana, a serial entrepreneur who moved to Minnesota to work with Bakken and then developed Cardiac Pacemakers, followed

by St. Jude Medical and a host of other innovative companies.

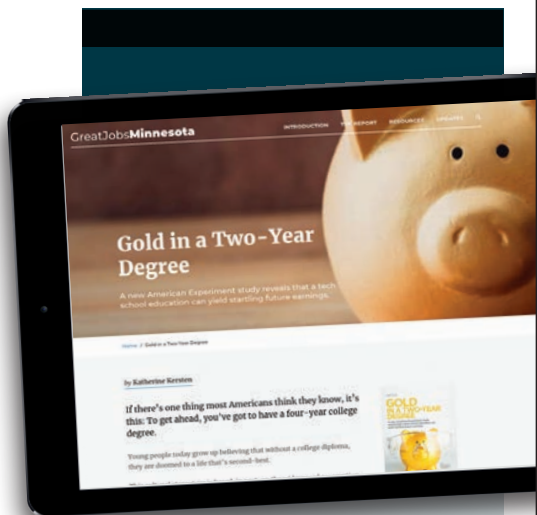
These people used their sweat and perseverance to create thousands of opportunities for Minnesotans—who benefited not only from their products but also from making them.

We recently lost a contemporary giant among Minnesota's civic-minded business leaders when Chuck Denny passed away this fall. Chuck was the gentle

continued on page 4



Ron Eibensteiner



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continued from page 3

and kind-hearted former CEO of ADC Telecommunications who lived a life of business success and civic action. I never met a single person of any political stripe who didn't admire Chuck.

A Minneapolis native, Chuck was recruited in 1970 to help turn around then-struggling ADC. And he did just that. In his 21 years as CEO, he transformed the company into a very profitable industry leader in television and internet technologies.

Chuck's admirers marveled at how he matched his business accomplishments by using leadership to create a generation of solid corporate citizens. He later equaled those accomplishments in retirement with social activism.

He was a leader at the Minneapolis Community Development Agency, the Minnesota High Technology Council, the Minnesota Center for Corporate Responsibility, Minnesota Project Innovation, Minnesota Wellspring, and the Minnesota Technology Corridor. He was also a philanthropist and advocate of the arts. He served on the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union Foundation and the Humphrey School Dean's Advisory Council; he worked with the Mayo Clinic and served on the board of trustees at the Science Museum of Minnesota. Chuck tutored kids from disadvantaged neighborhoods as well as inmates at Hennepin County jail.

And there's more. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of Chuck's community leadership was his humility. Unlike a speech-making politician, he never sought personal recognition or public praise.

Did he make money along the way? You bet he did! He transformed a company from the verge of bankruptcy into an entity that served all its stakeholders. The company provided value to its investors, customers, vendors, and employees. And to those employees, he gave income and *purpose*.

A couple of decades ago, I enjoyed lunch with a high-tech entrepreneur who was in the early stages of launching his



Ron's Quote to Remember

“Knowing what's right doesn't mean much unless you do what's right.”

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

company. He would get teary-eyed when describing the obstacles he faced. Would his technologies work? Did his investors continue to believe in him? Would he find others? Would his money last as he navigated the steep path of government regulatory approvals? And would he find customers?

A brilliant scientist with a keen business sense, he would sometimes say, “Maybe I should just go get a job.”

Thank God he didn't. His company eventually succeeded. Spectacularly. Over some 30 years, it created thousands of high-paying jobs, provided best-in-the market health care benefits, and produced generous stock benefits for rank-and-file employees. Not to mention the spin-off opportunities enjoyed by all his vendors and suppliers. His entrepreneurial tenacity, and the savvy expertise of his successors, have created hundreds of millionaire employees.

Which is why we need to recognize the contributions of business people and celebrate how their triumphs and achievements benefit everyone. ★



Equal Justice

I love your magazine and the research behind it. But I have a problem with a position that was taken by both John Hinderaker and Kim Strassel in their interview (fall 2019 issue). Both agreed that Comey shouldn't have been prosecuted for the initial "guilty" findings, mainly because his "disgrace" is considered punishment enough. I, and millions of others, believe that thinking is disgusting, because it contradicts our belief that there should be *equal* justice under the law. If people have served prison time for similar activities, people like Comey—and Hillary—should also serve time. In fact, if people's jobs involved the nation's trust and they violated it using their position, the crime is even worse! As another observation, it's hard to believe that people who act with no shame will actually regard their "disgrace" as a significant punishment. Obviously, Comey didn't.

—Lyle Dockendorf
Bloomington

Change the Name

I found Katherine Kersten's article "Change the Name" (fall 2019 issue) to be well researched and equally well written. It was refreshing to see such competent pushback against these political name changes. I note that the MHS was founded by Alexander

Ramsey who was no saint. Perhaps the MHS should change the name of its founder and absent that, disband rather than honor Ramsey's legacy. Then, let's rename Ramsey County and the Ramsey House.

Wait until the Democrats learn that Arlington National Cemetery was once a farm owned by Robert E. Lee. Shall we exhume all the bodies and relocate them to less politically polluted ground? It is sad to see our state and nation attempt to erase history that the misguided do not like.

—Robert A. Bookman
Apple Valley

Micromanaging Ag

I read with great interest the article about the "War on Greater Minnesota" in your summer 2019 magazine. In the article about "micromanaging agriculture," you portray buffer strips and ditch mowing as a "burdensome mandate." I respectfully disagree with that assessment as being an issue of politics over good policy. Without buffer strips

Wait until the Democrats learn that Arlington National Cemetery was once a farm owned by Robert E. Lee. Shall we exhume all the bodies and relocate them to less politically polluted ground?



and reduced mowing (along with continued tiling of agricultural land), we continue to use the Minnesota River and the Mississippi River as outdoor sewer pipes that move all the pollutants from here to the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf then develops a huge algae bloom, which reduces the amount of fish that can be caught. This reduced fish catch negatively impacts the fishing industry and all of its employees. We are in effect "pooping" in our own food supply. I wonder how our local farmers would like it if we "pooped" in their food supply. This "politics" over "good policy" is a big reason why the American public is so turned off by the political system.

—Theodore M. (Ted) Schultze
Long Lake

Deeply Dismayed

Since I am an independent voter, not affiliated with any party, and not a subscriber, I am not sure why I have been receiving a copy of your magazine, *Thinking Minnesota*. I have, however, tried to read it with the hope of learning something new, important, or useful. Unfortunately, I have become deeply dismayed because every article seems to be an angry diatribe denigrating "democrats," "progressives," "liberals," and "leftists" about one thing

or the other. I find this divisive tone and derisive content unappealing and disheartening. I would be much more inclined and eager to read a positive article on some constructive policy, program, or practice that you propose to implement, support, or advance that would make things better. Why not focus on creating solutions rather than criticizing others? Until I see those kinds of articles, I'm afraid I'll have to toss your magazine in the trash where trash-talk belongs.

—Elaine Sloan
Golden Valley



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Sometimes, it has been that of honored guests and world leaders such as Bill Bennett, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Charles Krauthammer, George Will, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Margaret Thatcher.

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UP FRONT

Cost of Energy

FAULTY MATH ON ENERGY

Governor Walz’s 2050 energy plan would increase household electricity costs to more than \$15,000 per year.

Governor Walz and “progressive” members of the House of Representatives seem to think Minnesota can have electricity generated from 100 percent “carbon free” resources using only wind, solar, and battery storage technology and

electricity such as transmission, distribution, utility profits, property taxes, etc.

What would this mean for families in Minnesota, if we assume that achieving a grid powered by 100 percent wind, solar, and batteries would have the same system cost as Xcel claims it would cost in California?

Taking the wholesale cost assumptions from Xcel’s slide show at face value and ignoring the factors in the retail costs, electricity prices for Minnesota families would be 11.4 times higher with 100 percent renewables and batteries than they are currently. For the average Minnesota household using 786 KWh per month, their average monthly bill would increase from \$103 per month to \$1,257—more than \$15,091 per year.

If lawmakers truly believe climate change is an existential crisis, they must pull their heads out of the sand and work to lift the ban on new nuclear power plants.

that the end result will be lower electricity costs for consumers.

However, a slide show produced by Xcel Energy and presented to the Midwestern Governors Association suggests Walz and House progressives couldn’t be more wrong. In reality, relying exclusively upon wind, solar, and batteries would cause the average Minnesota electricity bill to skyrocket.

The reason bills would increase so dramatically is that the price of using renewables increases exponentially after 50 percent. One particular slide revealed the enormous cost that would be incurred by using 100 percent renewable energy

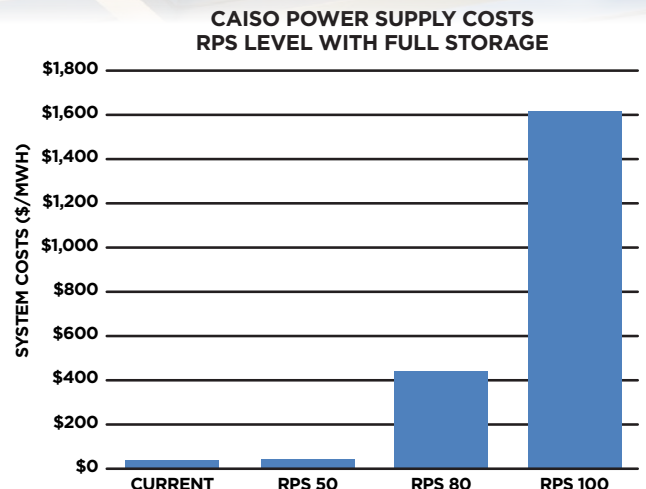
with battery storage in California. The average system cost of electricity would increase from about \$50 per megawatt hour (MWh) today to \$1,612 per MWh, or more than 32 times higher.

As unbelievable as it may seem, these costs would be conservative because they appear to be a wholesale cost, not a retail cost. This means the \$1,612 per MWh figure does not include things that are normally added to the bill in retail prices of



System energy cost: \$1,612/MWh

Current average price: \$50/MWh



Source: Clean Air Task Force

It is important to stress that the wholesale cost of electricity using wind, solar, and batteries would be 50 times more expensive than the electricity produced by the Sherburne County coal units, which produce some of the lowest cost electricity in the country. However, Xcel Energy wants to shut them down decades before the end of their useful lifetimes.

Earlier this year, Governor Walz's administration suggested the economics of nuclear power likely make it too expensive.

The wholesale cost of electricity using wind, solar, and batteries would be 50 times more expensive than the electricity produced by the Sherburne County coal units, which produce some of the lowest cost electricity in the country. However, Xcel Energy wants to shut them down decades before the end of their useful lifetimes.

sive to be part of its plan to produce 100 percent of Minnesota's electricity from carbon-free sources by 2050. Considering such a system would consume 22 percent of the median pre-tax household income in Minnesota, it's clear they don't know what they're talking about.

If lawmakers truly believe climate change is an existential crisis, they must pull their heads out of the sand and work to lift Minnesota's ban on new nuclear power plants, begin researching technologies like carbon capture and sequestration, and allow large hydro to qualify for carbon-free standards, immediately. Otherwise, they're just living in a world of pure imagination. ★

—Isaac Orr

Burning Question

Unintended Consequences

Are liberal Minnesota energy policies making pollution worse?

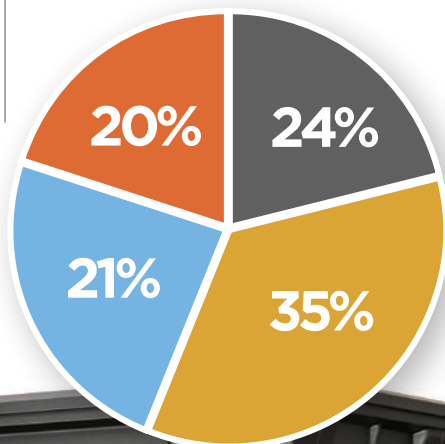
Environmental activists often use air quality to justify mandates for wind and solar on our electric grid. Groups like Fresh Energy want to ban the use of natural gas for heating new buildings. However, there is a very persuasive argument to be made that these policies will actually result in making Minnesota's air quality worse.

First of all, it's important to note that Minnesota's air is already very clean. Information prepared by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA), shows that Minnesota meets federal air quality standards for ozone, fine particles, lead, nitrogen dioxide, carbon monoxide, and sulfur dioxide.

Furthermore, a plurality of these already-low emis-

sions come from neighborhood sources, such as dry cleaners, home heating, backyard fires, etc. MPCA notes that emissions from wood burning for home heating are rising. Just 21 percent come from all industrial facilities in the state, which is very impressive.

According to MPCA, "Survey data



■ **On-road vehicles 24%**
Cars, trucks, etc.

■ **Off-road vehicles and equipment 20%**
Construction, agriculture, etc.

■ **Neighborhood sources 35%**
Dry cleaners, home heating, backyard fires, etc.

■ **Industrial facilities 21%**
Factories, power plants, etc.

● **Small and widespread sources are the largest portion of overall air pollution emissions in Minnesota.**

Includes PM2.5, SO2, NOX, VOCs.

Source: MPCA 2014 emissions inventory



indicates residential wood burning, unlike other air pollution sources, is increasing as more wood is being burned for home heating and in residential backyard fire pits.” Residential wood burning is a sizable contributor to fine-particle emissions and can aggravate health conditions such as asthma.

If reducing emissions to the lowest amount possible is a priority for MPCA, the trend toward increasing use of wood for home heating should be worrisome. The agency should be aware that liberal energy and environmental policies will potentially be to blame.

Increasing electricity prices, driven by mandates to use renewable energy in Minnesota, could incentivize more people to use or install woodburning stoves in their homes to save money. Xcel Energy’s proposed rate increases

Minnesota’s air is already very clean. It meets federal air quality standards for ozone, fine particles, lead, nitrogen dioxide, carbon monoxide, and sulfur dioxide.

will cost the average household an additional \$200 per year. This increase will pale when compared to future increases required to pay for Xcel’s capital spending on wind turbines and transmission lines.

Furthermore, taxes on carbon dioxide

emissions from heating oil and natural gas—or banning these fuels entirely—will likely have similar implications in rural areas where woodburning is more common. This trend was observed in Greece, where air quality suffered as the result of the populace burning more wood to avoid additional taxes on heating fuel.

Bureaucratic mandates that make electricity more expensive will have tangible, negative impacts on air quality. These impacts will occur the most in areas of the state that are the most sensitive to changes in the price of heating fuels. This is why renewable energy mandates and carbon taxes are inherently regressive—they make energy more expensive for those who can least afford the increase in costs. ★

—Isaac Orr

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UPFRONT

Train Wreck

All Aboard the NLX Boondoggle

Taxpayers would spend \$17 million a year to subsidize Duluth train.

Backward-looking bureaucrats and local officials have for years sought to revive the failed passenger rail line between the Twin Cities and Duluth. But a recent legislative hearing in Duluth designed to rally support for the proposed Northern Lights Express (NLX) instead exposed the idea as a complete boondoggle.

The train offers no advantage over I-35, taking just as long to reach Duluth as going by car—roughly two and a half hours. Moreover, NLX would be operated by Amtrak, whose one line running through Minnesota—the Empire Builder—continues to lose riders and runs chronically behind schedule. Before anyone goes anywhere, Minnesota taxpayers would be required to ante up some \$220 million for the state share of the \$550 million estimated cost of upgrading the tracks and facilities.

And there are more reasons why NLX isn't the ticket for taxpayers. Passengers would not come close to paying their own way through the expected \$35 cost of a seat. Minnesota taxpayers would be billed an estimated \$17 million per year to subsidize ticket sales, as well as Amtrak for operating the line.

According to the *Star Tribune*, an Amtrak official stated at a legislative field hearing that state taxpayers would indeed be stuck with a hefty annual subsidy.

“A subsidy would be required, but a subsidy is required for local transit, for a number of things—it’s up to you to decide whether that makes sense to the state,” Derrick James, Amtrak senior manager of government affairs, told legislators, according to the newspaper.

The controversial national rail service has a reputation for gouging states for operating internal passenger lines like NLX, using the windfall to bolster its operations in the northeast. But the Walz administration appears determined to take Minnesotans back to 1985, down the same tracks that led to the closure of Amtrak’s last passenger line to Duluth, the Northstar. ★

—Tom Steward

The train offers no
advantage over I-35,
taking just as long
to reach Duluth
as going by car.



Local Swamp

Election Watch

Rochester officials
more than double their
own salaries.



When was the last time you or anyone you know received double the pay out of the blue, for doing the same work? That's how much of a raise the Rochester City Council recently voted to award themselves and Mayor Kim Norton.

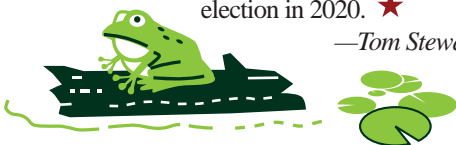
The maneuver means Mayor Norton will see her salary increase 109 percent from \$37,657 to \$78,840 essentially overnight, starting in January. Six city council members will pocket a pay hike of 142 percent from \$21,712 to \$52,560. Christmas also came early for Rochester City Council President Randy Staver, whose annual compensation from taxpayers also rises 140 percent overnight from \$27,743 to \$66,565.

It is not even clear whether serving on the city council is officially considered a part-time or full-time job. There is no official job description detailing what is expected of council members or how much time they are expected to put in, according to the *Post-Bulletin*.

Only one of seven city councilors opposed giving themselves the wildly disproportionate wage hike.

Rochester residents will soon have the opportunity to decide who attends all of those meetings when they go to the polls and vote on four city council seats up for election in 2020. ★

—Tom Steward



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TOM STEWARD

UNMASKED

The catalogue of state government's costly ineptitude continues to grow.

"The Masquerade of Good Government," the cover story of the fall 2019 issue of *Thinking Minnesota*, documented nearly a decade's worth of inept decision-making in St. Paul that has produced a pile of scandals and epic policy disasters. But the drama didn't stop after we went to press.

Before the ink could dry, powerful Met Council Chair Nora Slawik quit due to "the stress of the job" and became the second Walz cabinet member to leave after less than a year. On the heels of the MNsure and MNLARS debacles, another massive state IT failure was exposed in the MnCHOICES program for families with disabilities. Then, a federal audit revealed that the state had paid out millions of taxpayer dollars in health benefits for hundreds of dead people.

It's gotten to the point where the Minnesota Department of Human Services (DHS) is divulging new scandals in batches to clear the backlog. On November 18, DHS hit a trifecta, announcing three separate flubs that will cost taxpayers a total of \$23 million in overpayments to substance abuse providers, welfare assistance recipients and child foster care providers.

The same day that the news broke, Democratic Governor Tim Walz let the mask slip by admitting "these are not the last of the issues we are going to surface."

Scandal Tracker

To keep Minnesotans informed about these and other emerging scandals, American Experiment has launched a "Scandal Tracker" (AmericanExperiment.org). As



Tom Steward

of this writing, the tracker included nearly 50 state government failures involving mismanagement, cronyism/corruption, IT failures and data breaches.

"Minnesotans want to think our state is functioning, if not perfectly, at least better than most," says John Hinderaker, American Experiment's president. "But the evidence shows pervasive mismanagement, incompetence, and even corruption at the highest levels of state government. At least a billion dollars has been wasted by state government since 2016 alone."

State leaders may have once hoped to quarantine the fallout to within the Capitol complex. But the repercussions are devolving from a political scandal to significant hardships for local communities, as DHS tries to claw back \$9

million in mistaken overpayments. To no one's surprise, some county and tribal officials are defying St. Paul to protect their property taxpayers from bearing the consequences of state incompetence.

According to a letter DHS sent to Kandiyohi County, the county owes money for the department's funding mistakes. "The frustration has been building," Kandiyohi County Commissioner Harland Madsen stated. "We're at a tipping point. It absolutely cannot continue the way it is."

A new low

Another revelation transcends mere incompetence into the morbid. We've learned through a federal audit that the state continued to pay health insurance costs for hundreds of dead people between 2014 and 2016. Minnesota paid \$3.7 million for post-mortem health benefits for deceased Medicaid enrollees that had yet to be stricken from the rolls. The fiasco turned out to be yet another technology-related failure of the flawed METS eligibility system, which the Center highlighted in our last edition.

In the meantime, the *Star Tribune* revealed a far more costly IT scandal in the MnCHOICES platform, which administers a \$3 billion annual program to help Minnesotans with physical and developmental disabilities. State taxpayers have sunk \$600 million into the development of the platform.

"MnCHOICES is so unstable," the paper reported, "that a single errant keystroke can determine whether a medically fragile child gets round-the-clock care at home—or almost no support at all."

Given the unreliable nature of the state computer system, county field workers often manually enter data and rely on pen and paper to complete their work. State bureaucrats now expect the platform to cost \$170 million a year to operate—10 times the original estimate. An expected 2019 upgrade has been pushed back until 2021 at the earliest. And once again, no one has been held accountable for the breakdown.

'This has got to change'

DHS is far from the only agency that needs an intervention. Under legislative pressure, the Department of Administration admitted that state government routinely ignores contract laws designed to protect taxpayers from the sort of scandals engulfing DHS. A compliance review revealed that 32 agencies violated state law nearly 1,800 times within a year. The Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) was the worst offender. Its 584 contract violations were three times more than the 184 violations at DHS. Other serial violators included the Department of Health (146), Department of

Corrections (114), MN.IT (83) and the Department of Public Safety (83).

"It is very, very troubling that there's this attitude that we can go ahead and spend whatever we want and then we'll tell you what it's for," Senate Finance Chair Julie Rosen (R-Vernon Center) said at an oversight hearing. "This has got to change."

Characteristically, the Walz administration downplayed the scandal with Minnesota Management and Budget Commissioner Myron Frans, telling reporters the violations were "technical issues [that] do not rise to the level of fraud or abuse."

'Troubling dysfunction'

This pattern of shrugging off criticism of agency incompetence and inaction may be hitting a wall. The usually low-key Legislative Auditor Jim Nobles publicly called out Walz at a November oversight hearing in hopes "the administration would finally pay attention" to years of DHS fiascos.

The state's top watchdog issued a report documenting "troubling dysfunction" at the agency.

"The fact that so many DHS management officials allowed the department to make millions of dollars in unauthorized payments over multiple years is inexcusable," Nobles said in his report. "We think fundamental and deep reforms within DHS are needed."

Yet, at least one key legislator seemed to be more interested in the tone of the report than the conclusion of millions of wasted taxpayer dollars.

This pattern of shrugging off criticism of agency incompetence and inaction may be hitting a wall.

House Health and Human Services Finance Committee Chair Rep. Tina Liebling (DFL-Rochester) accused Nobles of grandstanding in his reports.

"Sometimes, very frankly, it feels to me as though you're playing for headlines," Liebling said.

"I'm not looking for attention from the media," Nobles fired back. "I'm looking for attention from you."

Soft around the edges

Nobles may have to keep on waiting, judging by the 90-day report issued by Walz's third DHS Commissioner Jodi Harpstead. In her first appearance before a House legislative oversight committee, Harpstead portrayed DHS as a "high-capacity Department that is soft around the edges." She went on to dismiss the \$107 million in reported overpayments at the agency so far this year as less than a tenth of one percent of her budget. Rather than cutting into the seven layers of management unearthed by auditor Nobles, Harpstead proposed adding more senior managers to her already top-heavy administration.

Follow American Experiment's Scandal Tracker and Capitol Watch newsletter for further developments. ★

A federal audit revealed that the state continued to pay health insurance costs for hundreds of dead people.



Leadership

HR to the Rescue?

Despite the Police Chief's plea for more cops, St. Paul's Mayor proposes cutting future positions.

There is probably agreement across a pretty broad spectrum of political views that one of the core functions of government is the maintenance of law and order. Before government does anything else, it should ensure that people's lives and property are reasonably safe from criminal harm. A government that doesn't fulfill this core function is failing.

The performance of St. Paul's government on this score is decidedly mixed. Recent data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting show that reported crime in St. Paul fell by 3 percent between 2017 and 2018. But the killing of a man on Wayzata Street, just east of Rice Street, on a recent Sunday night was the city's 30th homicide in 2019—the most in 25 years. If this continues, the city is on track to surpass the 1992 high of 34.

To deal with this, St. Paul Police Chief Todd Axtell has asked the City Council for more officers and resources for his department. The numbers suggest he has a point. By 2020, St. Paul's population is projected to grow to 313,000 people—an increase of nearly 30,000 people (10.5 percent) from 2010. But in 2020, the city will employ four fewer police officers than in 2010. City employment rose overall in that time frame, but that was by adding mostly back-office positions such as nine new attorneys (a 15 percent increase according to city figures), 12 human resources staff (a 46 percent

increase), and 46 financial services employees (a 119 percent increase), rather than more police officers.

This low staffing might account for low detection rates. If someone attacks you in St. Paul, he or she has about a 60 percent chance of getting away with it, according to the city's 2018 Police Crime Report. If someone steals your

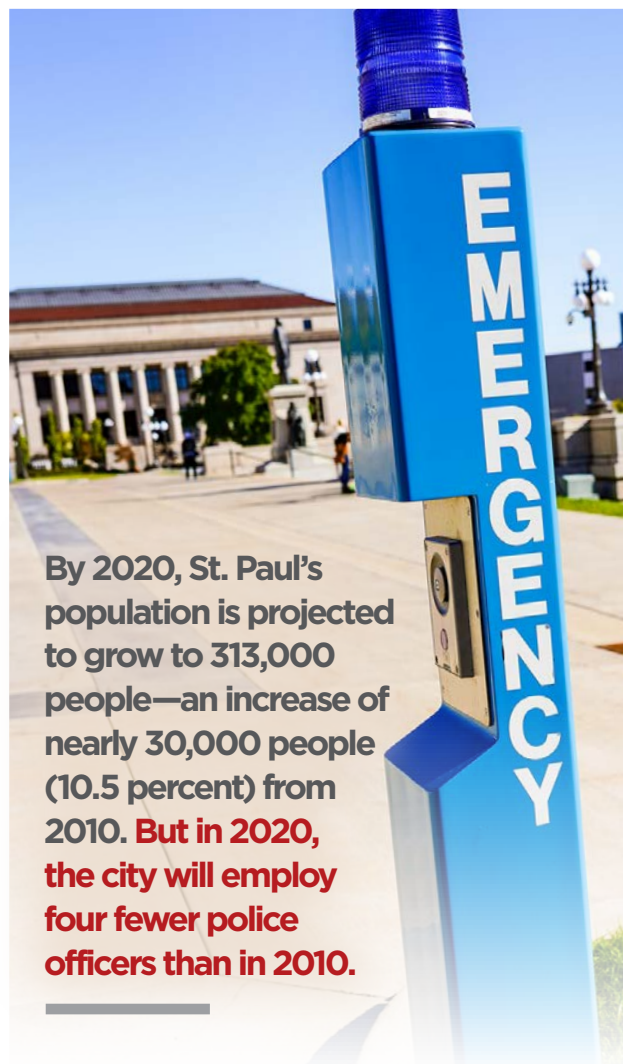
property, he or she has about an 85 percent chance of getting away with it.

Although major crimes held fairly steady from 2014–2018, arrests dropped by 34 percent. Indeed, to meet the national average of 2.4 sworn officers per 1,000 residents (a statistic taken directly from St. Paul budget documents), the city should add 115 new officers next year.

St. Paul Mayor Melvin Carter has a different view. His proposed budget for 2020 would cut five future officer positions. He claims this is necessary in the face of a forecast budget gap of \$17 million. Along with a 4.85 percent increase in the city's general-fund levy, he has also proposed \$4 million in spending cuts to various city departments, including the police and fire departments.

He further explains that this shortfall is mostly due to salary growth for city workers and public safety staff. Indeed, Mayor Carter is fond of touting the fact that his budget allocates an additional \$4.5 million to the police. He is noticeably less fond of explaining that this is mostly allocated to pay increases for current staff, not adding to police numbers.

In real, inflation-adjusted terms, the city's "Total



By 2020, St. Paul's population is projected to grow to 313,000 people—an increase of nearly 30,000 people (10.5 percent) from 2010. But in 2020, the city will employ four fewer police officers than in 2010.

All Budgets” increased by 11 percent between 2009 and 2019. This is slightly ahead of population growth, leaving per capita spending fractionally higher. But within that, spending on attorneys is up 24 percent, on financial services it is up 67 percent, and it is up a staggering 118 percent on debt service—a real-terms increase of \$80 million. By contrast, the police budget has increased by just 4.7 percent in real terms over the same period. If Mayor Carter is looking for economies, he could look elsewhere before economizing on police officers and firefighters.

On top of this, in 2020, St. Paul’s leaders are planning to remove 94 officers from the patrol division and 18 from the major crimes investigations division and transfer them to a new “community engagement” division. To fund this, \$2.75 million will be taken out of the “Patrol Operations Division,” and it will eat up the rest of the police budget increase for the year. In 2020, there will be 109 fewer officers in the Patrol division than there were a decade ago. That’s a 23 percent decrease in officers available to respond to calls.

The FBI’s numbers notwithstanding, the perception across the Twin Cities that there is a worsening problem with violent crime is not unfounded. Along with St. Paul’s homicides, Fox 9 reported recently that aggravated assaults, which involve a weapon causing serious injury, were up 44 percent during January to July 2019 when compared to the total for all of 2017. And there has been a nearly 13 percent jump in violent crime in Minneapolis this year.

But the situation in St. Paul is particularly acute, so much so that the federal government is intervening to help. Remember, the maintenance of law and order is one of the core functions of government. Unfortunately, the data reveal St. Paul’s leaders haven’t been making public safety a priority. ★

—John Phelan

A version of this article originally appeared in the Pioneer Press.

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A Brit's Perspective

Why Not Democracy?

Brexit exemplifies what happens when electorates vote in ways the elite don't like.

Once, democracy was considered a good thing. People making decisions on political matters affecting them, peacefully at the ballot box, was celebrated.

During the Cold War, and in the hot war against the Nazis before that, the fact that we were democracies was one of the things that made “us” in the West (I’m an immigrant from Britain) better than “them.” When the Berlin Wall fell 30 years ago and communism collapsed, we in the West cheered when the long-oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and even Russia itself went to the ballot box for the first time.

But times change, it seems. Recently, electorates have developed the habit of voting in ways that elite classes don't like. Consequently, we've witnessed a strange phenomenon—an uprising of well-off, powerful elites against the average Joe and his use of pen and ballot paper. Brexit, and much reaction to it in America, is a classic case.

In Britain's 2015 general election, David Cameron's Conservatives were unexpectedly elected on a manifesto promising “a straight in-out referendum on our membership of the European Union by the end of 2017.” Parliament duly passed the European Union Referendum Act of 2015, legislating for this referendum.



They do not see elections as opportunities for electorates to make decisions, but for electorates to okay decisions that have already been taken for them.

The government sent a leaflet to every home in Britain titled, “Why the Government believes that voting to remain in the European Union is the best decision for the UK.” It read: “This is your decision. The Government will implement what you decide.”

The referendum was conducted June 23, 2016 and asked the question: “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the

European Union?” The options were: “Remain a member of the European Union” and “Leave the European Union.”

“Leave” won with 17.4 million votes, 52 percent of those cast—the most ever cast for anything in British history.

In the 2017 general election, 579 Conservative and Labour Members of Parliament (MPs)—89 percent of all those elected—were returned on manifestos explicitly committing

them to honoring the result of the referendum. But, once back in Westminster, the promises made to the proles on the stump were discarded, and Parliament has since done everything it can to veto the people's vote of 2016.

The pro-E.U. Liberal Democrats, praised in the recent *Star Tribune* editorial, “Stakes are high in UK's snap elections,” were the most brazen of all. They had spent years calling for such a referendum. Indeed, such a commitment was in their manifestos for the 2010 and 2015 elections. In 2007, party leader Vince Cable wrote that they wanted to table a parliamentary motion calling “for a referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union.” In 2008, they again called for a referendum, and party leader Nick Clegg said, “Nobody in this country under the age of 51 has ever been asked



that simple question. That includes half of all MPs. We've been signed up to Europe by default: two generations who have never had their say."

Jo Swinson, who is now party leader (the Liberal Democrats have a penchant for regicide that would make a Roman emperor queasy), said that "the Liberal Democrats would like to have a referendum on the major issue of whether we are in or out of Europe."

They got it. They lost it. And now they want to ignore it. Swinson has called for the referendum to be rerun, even while saying that she would ignore the result if "leave" won again. They do not see elections as opportunities for electorates to make decisions, but for electorates to okay decisions that have already been taken for them. And if they don't, they can vote again until they do.

These people are neither very liberal nor particularly democratic.

The *Star Tribune* Editorial Board is right that there is much at stake in Britain's election. The year 2019 marked the bicentenary of the Peterloo Massacre, in which yeomanry, police and soldiers attacked a Manchester demonstration demanding the vote for the working classes. Up to 700 people were injured, 18 were killed. The British people took a long and occasionally bloody road to secure their right, not only to vote, but to have that vote count. Among the journey's highlights were the Peasants' Revolt, the Civil War, the Chartist movement and the Suffragettes.

They have earned the right for their democratically expressed wishes to be acted upon, even when the Editorial Board thinks they are wrong. ★

—John Phelan

A version of this article originally appeared in the Pioneer Press.



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UPFRONT



Great Jobs

Workforce on the Reservation

Wigfall discusses workforce development with tribal council.

Catrin Wigfall recently traveled to Minnesota's Red Lake Indian Reservation to discuss American Experiment's "Great Jobs Without a Four-Year Degree" project.

Wigfall is a policy fellow at Center of

the American Experiment, where part of her responsibilities include research and writing on lucrative career opportunities that don't require the traditional baccalaureate degree.

Her presentation before the Red Lake Tribal Council focused on the success the Great Jobs project has had reaching young Minnesotans—and their parents—through a social media campaign that challenges misconceptions of skilled careers. The 11-member Council consists of three officers elected at large and eight council members who represent the four communities of the Red Lake Nation. Seven Hereditary Chiefs, who serve for life in an advisory capacity to the Council, and seven staff members, along with around 20 tribal

Wigfall addresses the Red Lake Tribal Council.

members, were also in attendance.

"Red Lake Nation's tribal government is very interested in growing their workforce and filling jobs on the Reservation," she says.

Red Lake Nation is home of the Red Lake band of Chippewa Indians and consists of 12,000 members. Around half currently live on the Reservation.

Wigfall and Micah Olson, American Experiment's Greater Minnesota outreach director, toured Red Lake Nation's Oshkiimaajitahdah (workforce center), which provides career development services for members of the tribe. ★



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Worse Than You Think

Property taxes illustrate the problem with 'wealth taxes.'

Minnesota homeowners have been receiving their preliminary estimated property tax bills for 2020. Many of them are unhappy. *Star Tribune* Editorial Board member Patricia Lopez tweeted:

"Those of an uncharitable frame of mind might point out that if you continually endorse candidates who say they will raise your taxes, you can't get too upset when they eventually raise your taxes."

And even if St. Paul's property taxes increase by *only* the six percent estimated by the *Star Tribune*, there is another aspect to this conversation: Wealth is not the same as income. Property taxes are a form of "wealth tax." They are levied based on some assessment of the market value of an asset you hold. In this case it is your house, but it could be bonds or equities.

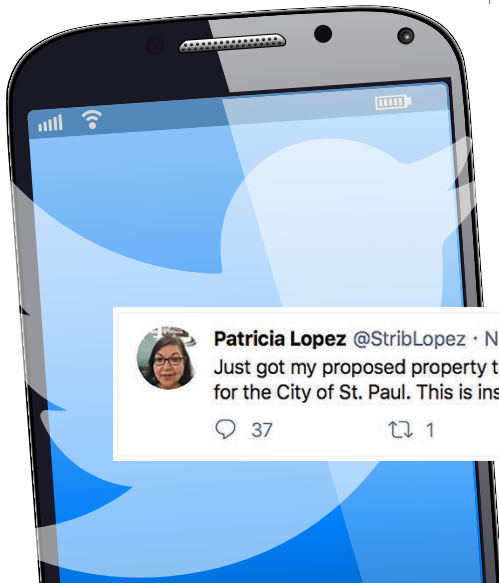
But you cannot pay your tax liability with these assets—the authorities will not accept \$3,000 worth of

bricks from your house in settlement of a \$3,000 property tax bill. Your tax liability has to be settled in cash. And, while your assets may have increased in value by six percent—and according to Zillow, Ramsey County home values have gone up 3.1 percent over the past year and are forecast to only rise 1.8 percent within the next year—there is no guarantee that your cash holdings will have increased at a similar rate. The median household income in Ramsey County has not increased by six percent since 2000, in either real or nominal terms. Any year that your property tax increases at a greater percentage rate than your income, your property tax burden is increasing, irrespective of what happens to your house price. Given this, even a six percent property tax increase will rest pretty heavily on St. Paul's pocketbooks.

Property taxes illustrate the problem with "wealth taxes" more generally. They seek to raise *cash* based on an assessment of the notional value of *assets*, but your access to cash is not always congruent with your access to assets.

—John Phelan

Wealth is not the same as income. Property taxes are a form of "wealth tax." They are levied based on some assessment of the market value of an asset you hold. In this case it is your house, but it could be bonds or equities.



Patricia Lopez @StribLopez · Nov 15
 Just got my proposed property tax statement, with a big fat \$257 increase for the City of St. Paul. This is insane.

37 1 14

CENTER OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

MINNESOTA'S THINK TANK.

HEALTH CARE FAMILIES GOVERNANCE EDUCATION EMPLOYEE FREEDOM

ESTIGATING STADIUM PERKS FOR

30, 2019

you think about the financing deal for U.S. Bank Stadium (not much), we can see infrastructure projects should not be turned into partisan slush funds for... Yet that's apparently what's happened on Gov. Mark Dayton's watch as Jon... in a column headlined "Some Suites for DFL Party Big Shots." Now I know... I said the U.S. Bank stadium would be known as "the people's stadium." It's... shot DFLers who have been given access to some of the best seats in two

American Experiment .org

CENTER OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

Recognition

American Experiment Wins Prestigious Awards

For research and advocacy with nationwide impact.

The State Policy Network (SPN) recently recognized the work of Center of the American Experiment by presenting the Minnesota-based think tank with two significant awards.

Policy Fellow Isaac Orr and Researcher Mitch Rolling were honored for their report, “Doubling Down on Failure: How a 50% by 2030 renewable energy standard would cost Minnesota \$80.2 billion.” Their work revealed how a proposed renewable energy mandate would significantly increase the cost of energy and destroy jobs—but have no measurable impact on the global climate.

SPN also recognized the Center for its efforts to protect 350,000+ in-home caregivers nationwide from a dues-skimming scheme that deprived them of Medicaid funding.

SPN presented the awards in October at its annual gathering of more than 150 independent state policy organizations. SPN is a nonprofit umbrella organization for conservative and libertarian think tanks that focus on state-level policy. More than 1,300 policy professionals attended the event in Colorado Springs.

The Center’s energy report received the “Bob Williams Award for Most Influential Research.” The SPN judges recognized how Orr’s unique methodology established a research model that can be replicated by other regional think tanks. They also praised how he used his report to engage legislative debate. Orr provided expert testimony six times before the Minnesota House and Senate energy committees during the 2019 legislative session.

Orr’s team invested more than a thousand hours in estimating the holistic costs

of closing coal plants and replacing them with wind, solar, and natural gas plants.

“What we found surprised us,” he says. “Reaching a clean energy goal is possible, but Minnesota is going about it in a completely wrong way. Electricity prices would actually decline if we used the Affordable Clean Energy rule to improve efficiency at Minnesota’s coal plants.” Nuclear and hydropower are the most affordable technologies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, he adds. Instead, Minnesota’s plans to focus on wind and solar will increase the cost of almost everything we buy.

“Xcel’s proposed 15.2 percent rate increase—a direct result of prioritizing inefficient wind and solar energy—will cost the average family at least \$100 more per year,” Orr says.

The Center also received the “Network Award,” presented to five think tanks that led efforts to prevent public-sector unions from skimming Medicaid funds intended for Personal Care Attendants (PCAs).

Even though PCAs are typically family members caring for dependents in their own homes, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has deducted three percent of their Medicaid support, up to \$948 per year. Estimates based on federal filings have revealed that the SEIU in Minnesota skimmed \$4.7 million from PCAs’ Medicaid payments in 2016. Even though dues skimming is now illegal, it is still occurring in Minnesota, as of this writing.

Kathleen O’Hearn, SPN’s senior director of policy advancement, says the 2019 Network Award “recognizes the leadership of a network coalition that gave a voice and a choice to hundreds of thousands of home health care providers across our nation.”

Organizations joining American Experiment in the multi-year effort included the Freedom Foundation of Washington, Illinois Policy Institute, Mackinac Center for Public Policy, and National Right to Work Legal Foundation. The Center was the only organization to win two awards. ★



Left to right: SPN’s Todd Davidson, CAE staff Martha Njolomole, John Hinderaker, Mitch Rolling, Isaac Orr, Catrin Wigfall, and award founder Bob Williams.

New Staff

The Center Adds Economist

Malawi-born Martha Njolomole joins the staff of Center of the American Experiment.

In October, Center of the American Experiment deepened its focus on economic research and analysis by adding economist Martha Njolomole to its policy staff. Njolomole earned a Master of Arts in economics at Troy University in Alabama, where she worked as a research assistant on several projects that advanced the ideas of economic freedom and individual liberty.

Her upbringing in Malawi, a developing country, shaped her passion for researching the social and economic advancement of economically disadvantaged people. Her primary research interests include public policy, political economy, institutions, and development. Njolomole's recent work includes analyzing the impact of microfinance on entrepreneurship, proposing policy prescriptions for institutional reform in developing nations, and examining legislative proposals to measure their impact on economic freedom in the United States.

Njolomole says her initial plans were for government service, but her undergraduate and graduate studies at Troy University introduced her to how free markets lead to efficiency. The Austrian school of economics, especially the concepts of Friedrich Hayek on economic development, was of particular interest.



Martha Njolomole and Melissa Wolf

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAULA PRIMEAU

WOLF JOINS COMMUNICATIONS TEAM

Melissa Wolf is Center of the American Experiment's new communications specialist. Wolf graduated from St. Catherine

University with a B.A. in political science and history and kickstarted her career building grassroots support for gubernatorial and legislative campaigns. She now has nearly a decade of political experience, including work in the Minnesota State Senate and lobbying Congress.

gave entrepreneurs little formal legal protection.

"The end result was stagnant or declining economic development and persistent poverty," she says. "Every parcel of land, every building and every piece of equipment in this country is accounted for and can be exchanged with a click of a button," she continues. "I appreciate the role of free markets because

I have experienced what their absence means. It is important to preserve our free market system because it is essential for the continued existence and growth of America's successful society."

Her studies have shown Njolomole that a society's level of advancement derives from how it allocates its resources. "And the market, through the signaling role of prices, is the only way to allocate resources efficiently," she says. "In essence, we need the market to convey information on the best ways for scarce resources to be invested for maximum benefit. And we need liberty for the market to succeed, because we are not omniscient." ★

"I ultimately discovered that the presence and protection of free markets—not the government—lead to social and economic advancement," she says.

"I had previously thought the government was the solution to all economic problems. But the more I understood economics, the more I realized that governments do little else but hinder solutions to society's fundamental problems."

Growing up in a welfare-state society, she observed that few institutions exist to ensure the existence and protection of individual and economic liberty. Relatively unprotected land ownership rights limited people to farming or using land for shelter. A heavy regulatory burden on small businesses—especially startups—



THE WAR
ON CARS

A Cold California

Last year, legislators (and the public) spurned Governor Tim Walz's proposal to increase gas taxes by 70 percent.

Now, he wants to circumvent policymakers and mandate that Minnesotans accept California's controversial car regulations.

Frustrated by his inability to persuade Congress to enact sweeping "cap and trade" laws to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, President Barack Obama simply bypassed the legislative branch of government. He used administrative bureaucracy, particularly the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), to force additional regulations on the American people.

It appears Governor Tim Walz is now taking a page out of the Obama playbook.

After last year's legislature decisively dispatched Walz's

proposal to address greenhouse gas emissions through a whopping 20-cent per gallon gas tax increase, the Governor has turned his attention to avoiding public scrutiny by circumventing the legislature. Using the bureaucratic rulemaking process within the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA), Walz is now attempting to adopt divisive regulations crafted by the California Air Resources Board (CARB) by requiring the use of low emissions vehicles (LEVs) and zero emissions vehicles (ZEVs) in Minnesota through administrative rule.

The “problem” for Walz—and other Big Government politicians—is that gas tax increases are completely transparent, and thereby deeply unpopular.

For example, Walz’s gas tax pro-

The “problem” for Walz—and other Big Government politicians—is that gas tax increases are completely transparent, and thereby deeply unpopular.

posal—which would have raised Minnesota’s gas tax by 70 percent and caused the state’s gas tax to increase from 28th-highest in the country to the 4th highest—was immediately unpopular, even among many of the same people who had cast their ballots for the Governor just months before.

The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* revealed that 60 percent of Minnesotans opposed the gas tax increase, including 59 percent of those who identify politically as independent. American Experiment’s billboard and petition campaign, “Say No to a 70 Percent Increase in the Gas Tax,” harvested more than 2,500 signatures, and was a leading force behind the zero increase in Minnesota’s gas tax.

In contrast to transparent gas taxes, bureaucracies are hopelessly opaque. Witness the fact that Minnesota’s State Auditor found no one at fault for the “unorthodox and unauthorized” billing procedures that led to more than \$100 million in incorrect overpayments over the last several years at the Department of Human Services.

Not only are the agencies opaque, but the consequences of their rules and regulations invariably fall beneath the radar of average Minnesotans. Minnesotans are burdened by the effects of new regulations, but they seldom take the time to connect the dots to clearly understand their causes.

Walz’s intent to mandate these regulations via executive order highlights a depressing reality: the gears of the administrative state are constantly churning toward an ever-larger and more intrusive government.

Gubernatorial Greenstanding

While Walz claims these regulations would “make sure there was still ice on the lake in January” and would be a win for consumer choice, Minnesota families, and the environment, the facts suggest that his proposed regulations are a solution in search of a problem. In reality, his “solution” will have little or no impact on the environment, but it will increase costs for consumers—especially low-income families and minority communities.

American Experiment submitted comments spanning 8,700 words and 27 pages to MPCA explaining why Walz’s proposed rules are bad for Minnesotans. The article below is a synopsis of these comments.

What’s in the Rules

It’s important first to understand Walz’s agenda.

The LEV standard

would require every new passenger vehicle sold in Minnesota to meet the greenhouse gas (GHG) and other air pollutant emissions regulations established by California, according to MPCA documents. These standards would get more stringent every year, and are likely to be stricter than the regulations established by the federal government.

The ZEV standard would essentially be an electric vehicle (EV) mandate requiring manufacturers to stock a certain number of EVs based on a percentage of their vehicle sales in the state.

In the end, the LEV and ZEV rules will cede control of auto emissions in Minnesota over to California, rather than relying on national standards. Since the federal Clean Air Act requires any state that wishes to adopt California’s standards to do so exactly, Minnesota has no flexibility within the rules to adopt Minnesota-specific changes to these expensive regulations.

The most concerning part of this entire process

is that we don't even know how strict California's standards will be.

Driving Up Costs

Colorado was the most recent state to adopt both of California's car mandates. The Colorado Auto Dealers Association (CADA) found that the LEV standards would have a net cost to consumers of \$2 billion, after accounting for fuel savings, and increase consumer costs for vehicles between \$1,200 and \$2,800 per car as a result of higher up-front sticker prices, insurance payments, financing charges, etc. These LEVs are unlikely to ever produce a cost savings for consumers, according to CADA's analysis.

"In a state where consumers demonstrate a preference for trucks than for cars...consumers will see cost benefits of the regulation in the eleventh year of vehicle ownership for a truck purchased at the end of the regulation timeframe. A truck purchased near the beginning of the regulation timeframe will not offer consumers a cost benefit of regulation over the reasonable life of the vehicle."

The average car in Minnesota lasts for 11.8 years, according to the industry trade group Auto Alliance, but the average new-car buyer only owns his or her vehicle for 71 months, or about six years. The odds these regulations will produce net benefits are tenuous, at best, and the

small benefits that may occur will seldom be realized by the car's original buyer.

Mandating ZEVs will also increase prices for traditional gasoline-powered cars because EVs are unprofitable and will remain so into the next decade, according to General Motors. This is true even after EV buyers cash in on \$7,500 in federal tax subsidies. As a result, auto manufacturers must increase prices on traditional vehicles to make up for losses they incur on EVs, driving up costs for everyone, according to estimates from the American Energy Alliance.

Mandating Electric Cars? In Minnesota?

It may come as a surprise to people living outside of Minneapolis and St. Paul, but 99 percent of the cars sold in Minnesota are not electric (EVs accounted for 0.74 percent of all new vehicle sales in 2018). This is largely because electric cars are more expensive and less useful than gasoline-powered cars.

EVs = Electric Vehicles or Expensive Vehicles? Both.

Even after subsidies, electric cars are more expensive than their gasoline-powered counterparts. For example, the Chevy Bolt (an electric vehicle) retails for \$36,620 while the Chevy Malibu retails for \$22,095. The up-front sticker price difference is substantial, and a newly-released study from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) found EVs are unlikely to be cost competitive with traditional vehicles in the next decade, even after factoring in lower fuel and maintenance costs.

Studies by EV advocates claim EVs could potentially achieve price parity with traditional vehicles within the next five years. However, MIT explains that the steady decline in the cost of lithium-ion batteries, which power EVs and account for about a third of their total cost, is likely to slow in the next few years as they approach the limits set by the

cost of the raw materials.

"If you follow some of these other projections, you basically end up with the cost of batteries being less than the ingredients required to make it," says Randall Field, executive director of the Mobility of the Future group at MIT. "We see that as a flaw."

So do we. In reality, EVs are a long way from competing with gasoline- and diesel-powered cars.

Reduced Reliability

Even if cost were not an obstacle to buying EVs, their reliability issues would be. EVs suffer from greatly reduced range during Minnesota winters.

According to testing conducted by the American Automobile Association (AAA), electric cars lose 30 to 50 percent of their range while using the heater when the temperature is 20 degrees Fahrenheit. It often gets much colder than this in Minnesota, causing battery range to diminish to an even greater extent. Batteries also take longer to charge during periods of cold weather.

Reduced range in winter is an enormous obstacle to Expensive Vehicle adoption in Minnesota. For example, someone who grew up in Moorhead but moved to Minneapolis would likely have to charge his EV at least once if he was to travel home to visit relatives during optimal conditions. Charging would increase the drive time from 3.5 hours to closer to four hours, if not longer. During colder winter months, the number of times the EV driver would have to stop and charge his or her car would increase by two or three times, potentially lengthening the trip to more than five hours because of greatly-diminished range.

Requiring auto dealers to stock cars that are more expensive and less useful than their gasoline-powered counterparts is a gross infringement on their private property rights. Private businesses should be able offer the cars that best cater to the needs of their customers, not be forced to offer inferior products. Walz's proposed mandates also show that his administration is more concerned about appearing virtuous than containing consumer costs.





Electric cars lose 30 to 50 percent of their range while using the heater when the temperature is 20 degrees Fahrenheit.

Negative Impacts on Low-Income Households

Speaking of virtue signaling, the Walz administration is doing plenty of that in its proposed rulemaking. For example, MPCA states that “reducing air pollution from vehicles is especially critical for addressing environmental justice,” and MPCA is especially interested in learning how the rules will impact communities of color and low-income communities.

MPCA may pay lip service to caring about the impacts of its rules on low-income communities, but the inescapable effect of these regulations will be to harm these communities by making it more expensive for people to access private transportation and the economic opportunities it provides.

Top civil rights leaders have taken note of this and are suing the California Air Resources Board—the very institution the Walz administration wants to put in charge of setting fuel standards for Minnesota—for climate policies they say disproportionately harm low-income residents, particularly Latinos and African Americans.

“California politicians are using anti-racist and environmentalist words to hide the regressive impact of their climate policies on the poor and people of color,” said John Gamboa, the co-founder of The Two Hundred, a coalition of prominent civil rights leaders leading the legal charge against CARB.

George Lefcoe, a professor of law at the University of Southern California, said the lawsuits challenging CARB’s transportation policies are particularly powerful. “Automobiles are the survival mechanism for low-income people,” Lefcoe noted.

“If you try to increase the cost of automobiles, you hurt low-income people.”

If low-income communities will be harmed, who will benefit?

Research from Morgan State University suggests white, wealthy liberals. EV owners are predominantly white males who are more educated, affluent, older, and more environmentally focused than owners of traditional cars. Electric vehicles are more popular among Democrats and least popular among those not interested in politics.

While Governor Walz’s proposed rules may improve his standing with urban elites in St. Paul, they will do little to improve the environment.

No Measurable Benefits to the Environment

Governor Walz has crowed that these new regulations are a win for air quality and the climate, but the data show these regulations will have little impact on either of these metrics. One reason the Governor’s plan will do little to improve air quality in Minnesota is the fact that Minnesota’s cars are already clean.

Traditional Air Pollutants

According to the U.S. EPA, advances in technology like more-efficient engines, catalytic converters, and cleaner fuels have caused tailpipe emissions from cars

to fall by 98 to 99 percent compared to the 1960s.

Our already-clean cars have contributed to the fact that Minnesota has some of the cleanest air in the world. In fact, MPCA data show our air already meets the most stringent state and federal standards for air quality, which are designed to protect even vulnerable populations like children and the elderly. Pollution from sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen dioxide are especially low.

While detecting the impact these regulations would have on traditional pollutants would be difficult, it would be impossible to measure their impact on future global temperatures.

Spending Billions, Averting 0.000052 Degrees Celsius by 2100

It’s curious the Governor stated these rules would “make sure there is still ice on the lakes in January,” and yet no one from his administration has produced an estimate of how much future global warming these rules would actually avert. We see this as a flaw.

According to a press release by the Walz administration, the California car regulations would reduce annual CO₂ emissions by 2 million tons per year. To the average person this may seem like a lot, but it is only about 1.3 percent of total state emissions as of 2016, according to the MPCA’s website. These reductions would reduce future global temperatures by 0.000052 degrees Celsius by 2100, an amount so small it is impossible to measure.

Conclusion

Walz ran on a “One Minnesota” platform, not a pledge to make Minnesota “One with California.”

If he wants to require auto dealers to put electric vehicles on their lots, why doesn’t he drive one? Maybe the Governor should be required to drive an electric car for both personal and state business during the duration of the rulemaking process. Such hands-on experience would be incredibly valuable to inform the rulemaking procedure. ★



Isaac Orr is a Policy Fellow at Center of the American Experiment and specializes in energy and environmental policy. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire with studies in political science and geology, winning awards for his undergraduate geology research.

A PROSPERITY AGENDA

American Experiment's proposals for a positive and productive legislative session.

By John Hinderaker

Every year, Center of the American Experiment gets involved in helping to defeat bad ideas proposed at the Minnesota Legislature. In addition, the Center has a positive agenda of legislation that we want to see enacted. That agenda takes into account, of course, the political landscape. But regardless of partisan alignment, there are some ideas so strong, and some policies so obviously beneficial, that they may be enacted despite partisan gridlock. The Center is working on securing House and Senate sponsors for the proposals below, which are some of the Center's agenda items for the 2020 legislative session.

TAXES

* **Repeal the Estate Tax.** Minnesota is one of a dwindling minority of states that still assess an estate or inheritance tax. Two studies—one last year by Center economist John Phelan—have concluded that Minnesota probably loses money on its estate tax. These studies find that the tiny amount of money the tax brings in (around 1/2 of 1 percent of revenue) is more than offset by taxes lost from taxpayers who are driven out of the state because of the estate tax. Our *Thinking Minnesota Poll* found that 73 percent of Minnesotans favor repealing the estate tax.

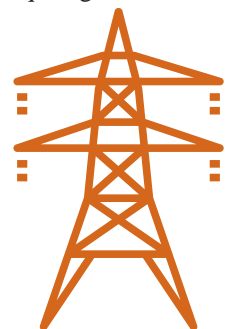


* **Cut Personal Income Taxes Modestly.** Long term, Minnesota needs to reduce its personal income tax rates significantly in order to remain economically competitive. For now, though, we can build on last year's small reduction in Minnesota's second tax bracket with a modest reduction in the lowest income bracket, now taxed at 5.35 percent. That reduction will give every Minnesota taxpayer a small amount of relief while continuing to move the state in the right direction on taxes. Eighty-five percent of Minnesotans support this proposal.

* **Gas Tax Transparency Act.** Drivers shouldn't need a calculator to figure out how much tax they're paying at the pump, especially when Governor Walz is pushing for a 70 percent tax increase. To that end, Minnesota should require gas station receipts for gasoline sales to itemize state and federal taxes, as is commonly done on other types of sales receipts. Fifty-four percent of Minnesotans support this proposal.

ENERGY

* **Mandate the Inclusion of Large Hydro-power in Minnesota's Renewable Energy Mandate.** The state's 25 percent mandate, which applies to generation of electricity,



currently includes wind and solar energy but excludes large-scale hydropower. Hydropower emits no carbon dioxide, and there is no rational argument against classifying large-scale hydro as renewable energy. The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* found that 81 percent of Minnesotans agree with this proposal.

* **End the Ban on New Nuclear Power Plants.** Building a nuclear power plant is now illegal in Minnesota, but this ban makes no sense, given the priority the state otherwise places on reducing carbon dioxide emissions. Our paper “Doubling Down on Failure,” by Isaac Orr and Mitch Rolling, demonstrated that nuclear power is a far cheaper and more effective way to reduce CO₂ emissions than wind and solar. The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* found that 58 percent of Minnesotans favor legalizing nuclear power plant construction.

* **Bar New Rules on Automobile Emission Standards.** Governor Walz’s proposal to bring California’s self-destructive demand for vast numbers of electric vehicles to Minnesota would be disastrous for the state’s drivers and electricity rate payers. (That is to say, all of us.) What’s more, there appears to be no legal basis to adopt such standards in Minnesota by rule. The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* found that at most, only 25 percent of Minnesotans favor these standards.

EDUCATION

* **Carry Out a Pilot School Choice Program.** Recently, there has been much publicity about the fact that Minnesota has one of the worst racial education gaps in the country. School choice is the most practical way to begin to address this achievement gap. Minnesota should conduct a small-scale experiment, allowing students in one or two failing school districts to attend a public or private school of their choice, and after two years, compare test results with their peers at the original school. This modest proposal is supported by 71 percent of Minnesotans.

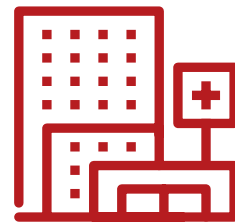


* **Protect Teacher Safety in Public Schools.** In recent years, an outrageous number of Minnesota teachers have been assaulted by students in their own classrooms, sometimes resulting in serious injury. This is a multifaceted problem, but at a bare minimum state law should provide for automatic expulsion as the penalty for assaulting a teacher. Minnesotans agree, as 69 percent support this proposal.

* **Adopt a Standard on Academic Balance in Schools.** Katherine Kersten’s shocking reporting on political indoctrination in Edina’s schools led to the introduction of an academic balance bill in 2018. The bill’s aim, to prevent one-sided political expression and bullying of Minnesota students, should be uncontroversial. Unfortunately, it didn’t make it through the divided legislature, so Center of the American Experiment is pushing for the bill to be reintroduced this year. The proposal is supported by 63 percent of Minnesotans.

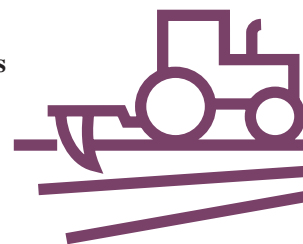
HEALTH CARE

* **Legalize Direct Primary Care.** In order to bring down health care costs and maximize patients’ control over their own medical care, Minnesota should enable a system in which families can contract directly with primary care physicians for basic medical services, in exchange for a fixed monthly charge. The family can then buy catastrophic coverage to cover unforeseen medical expenses. The combined cost will be significantly less than the same family would now have to pay in the individual market. Such a plan would require state authorization and would need a waiver under the Affordable Care Act, which the current administration would grant. In the *Thinking Minnesota Poll*, 58 percent of Minnesotans favored this plan.



AGRICULTURE

* **Ban the Use of CO₂ Emissions to Block Agricultural Development.** A recent Minnesota Court of Appeals case blocked a dairy farmer from expanding his dairy herd on the ground that the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency had not sufficiently taken into account the effect of a larger number of cows on the Earth’s climate. That impact is, in fact, zero, but the court’s reasoning will lead to years of delay and thousands of dollars in lawyers’ fees and other costs. This shaky rationale could be used to block virtually any new agricultural enterprise or expansion of any existing enterprise. Minnesota’s legislature should put an immediate end to such nonsense. Our poll finds that 63 percent of Minnesotans will thank them for it.



GOVERNANCE

* **End Government Shutdowns.** The threat of suspending certain government services is a political bargaining chip that does not benefit the state’s citizens. The Center’s “End Government Shutdowns Act” provides for an automatic continuing budget resolution, with spending at the same level as the preceding budget, if the legislature and governor cannot agree on a budget for the next biennium. A majority of Minnesotans support this proposal.



* **Audit the Department of Human Services.** In recent years, a succession of scandals has highlighted multiple instances of fraud, waste and mismanagement in Minnesota’s Department of Human Services. DHS should be subjected to a thorough audit to identify wasteful and inappropriate spending and assure that taxpayers are getting what they pay for. An overwhelming 90 percent of Minnesotans want such an audit, with only 8 percent opposed. ★

≡ NOT SO MUCH

THE
STATE
OF



ELECTRIC CARS?

Minnesotans have little appetite for California's vehicle standards.

Are Minnesotans eager to embrace a future that includes large numbers of electric vehicles, mandated by a state government rule? That is the subject of the cover story in this issue of *Thinking Minnesota*. When we asked Minnesota voters, we found very little support for that initiative.

The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* was conducted by Meeting Street Research. Interviews were completed December 12-15, 2019 among 500 registered voters with a mix of cell phone and landline interviewing. The margin of error for a sample size of

N=500 is +4.38%.

The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* indicates that Minnesotans are not necessarily averse to the idea of driving an electric vehicle (EV). Twenty-eight percent say they are at least somewhat likely to buy such a vehicle in the future, while 71 percent say such a purchase is unlikely.

But there is little support for a rule requiring a minimum percentage of vehicles sold to be electric. Asked generally whether they would support or oppose a proposal to require a certain

percentage of vehicles to be electric—if that meant the cost of gasoline-powered vehicles would increase while electric vehicles would be subsidized—only 25 percent support the proposal, while 68 percent oppose, and 48 percent strongly oppose.

If a dollar sign is attached, support for an EV mandate drops even further. Only 18 percent of Minnesotans say they would be willing to spend an additional \$2,800 for a gasoline-powered car, in order to subsidize someone else’s purchase of an EV. Seventy-nine percent are unwilling to provide such a subsidy, with 62 percent “not at all willing.”

These findings suggest that imposing an electric vehicle fleet mandate on an unwilling public will be, at best, an uphill battle.

About the surplus: Give it back.

When we asked Minnesotans what should be done with the state’s projected budget surplus, 42 percent say the surplus should be given back to taxpayers, while 34 percent want to save the surplus, and only 20 percent say state government should spend it.

Asked how the surplus should be returned to taxpayers, 52 percent say the state should issue rebate checks to taxpayers, based on how much they paid in taxes. Out of those who want some of the surplus spent, the largest number, 50 percent, want it to go to infrastructure.

Minnesota is one of a handful of states that still impose an estate or inheritance tax, and its rates are among the nation’s highest. Last year, Center economist John Phelan released a study that concluded Minnesota loses money on its estate tax because it drives so many taxpayers away from the state. Earlier this year, another group of economists analyzed estate and inheritance taxes in all states where they are still collected and concluded, using a different methodology from the Center’s, that Minnesota is one of four states where the tax, on net, loses money.

The estate tax is also unpopular. This quarter’s *Thinking Minnesota Poll* finds that 73 percent of Minnesota voters want to repeal the estate tax, while only 22 percent want to retain it. It is interesting, too, that most voters dislike the estate tax because they see it as unfair. When asked which propositions best sum up

About the pollster

Rob Autry, founder of Meeting Street Research, is one of the nation’s leading pollsters and research strategists.

FIGURE 1: FEW REPUBLICANS WILL LIKELY PURCHASE AN ELECTRIC CAR AS THEIR NEXT VEHICLE.

“How likely would you be to purchase an electric car as your next vehicle? Would you say you are very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely to buy an electric car as your next vehicle?”

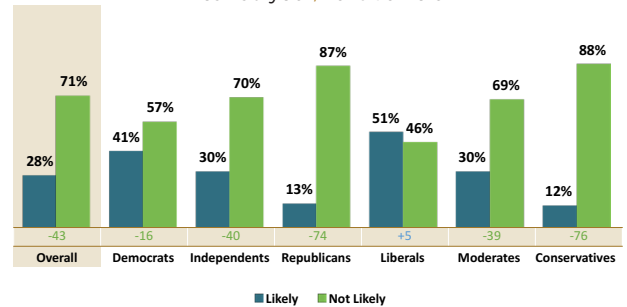


FIGURE 2: MINNESOTANS OVERALL OPPOSE REQUIRING A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE OF VEHICLES SOLD TO BE ELECTRIC.

“Would you SUPPORT or OPPOSE a proposal to require a certain percentage of vehicles sold in Minnesota to be electric, if that meant that the cost of gasoline-powered vehicles would increase, while electric cars would be subsidized?”

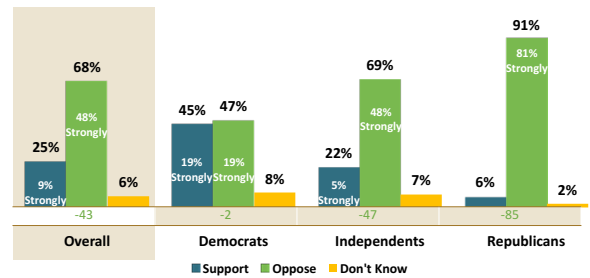


FIGURE 3: LESS THAN ONE IN FIVE MINNESOTANS ARE WILLING TO PAY MORE FOR THEIR NEXT CAR TO SUBSIDIZE SOMEONE ELSE’S ELECTRIC CAR.

“And, how willing would you be to pay an additional two-thousand-eight-hundred dollars for your next car in order to subsidize the purchase of an electric car by someone else?”

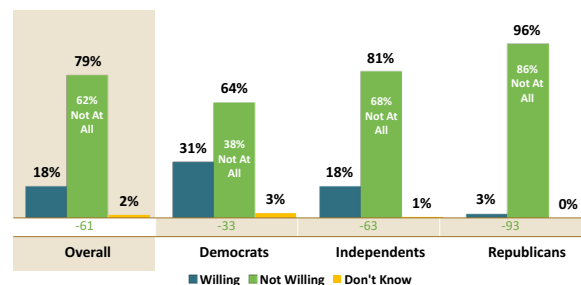


FIGURE 4: A PLURALITY OF MINNESOTANS WANT THE STATE TO RETURN THE BUDGET SURPLUS TO TAXPAYERS.

“There is a projected \$1.33 billion surplus in the state budget. What do you think should be done with it? Do you think the state should spend it, save it, or give it back to taxpayers?”

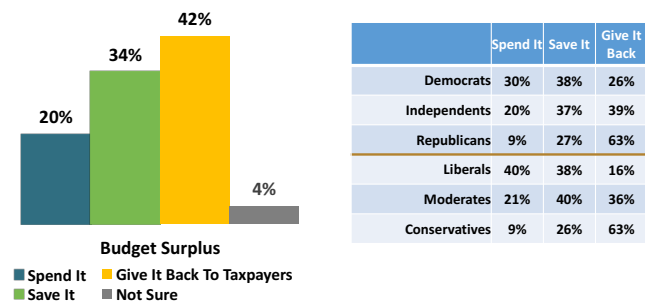


FIGURE 5: MINNESOTANS STRONGLY OPPOSE THE STATE ESTATE TAX.

“As you may know, Minnesota currently has a state estate tax, which is a tax on the property and money people leave behind when they die. Do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE ELIMINATING the Estate Tax, as most other states have done?”

“Which of the following comes closest to your opinion with regard to Minnesota’s estate tax, or as it is sometimes called, the death tax?”

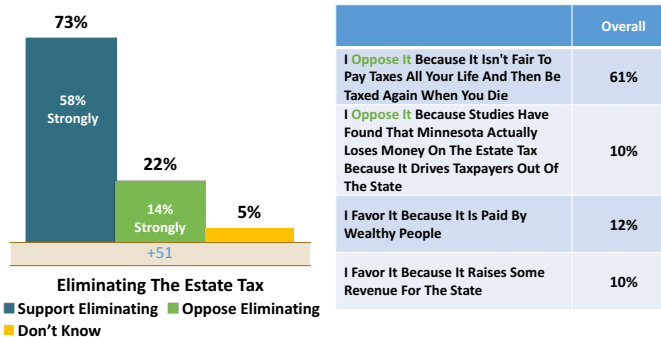
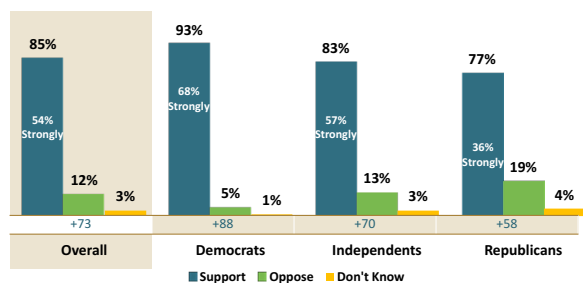


FIGURE 6: MINNESOTANS FAVOR A MODEST TAX CUT FOR THE LOWEST TAX BRACKET.

“As you may know last year, Minnesota made a small reduction in the state personal income tax for taxpayers in the middle tax bracket. This year, a modest reduction in taxes for the LOWEST income tax bracket has been proposed. Would you SUPPORT or OPPOSE a modest reduction in taxes for the LOWEST income tax bracket?”



their view of the estate tax, a remarkable 61 percent agreed with this statement: “I oppose it because it isn’t fair to pay taxes all your life, and then be taxed again when you die.”

It is noteworthy that, while support for repealing the estate tax is strongest among Republicans and Independents, Democrats also favor doing away with the tax by almost two-to-one.

Given the absence of any positive contribution to the state’s revenues and the consensus that it is an unfair tax, repealing the estate tax should be a high priority for Minnesota’s legislature in the 2020 session. The Center will mount an intensive public campaign against the estate tax in anticipation of, and continuing throughout, the legislative session.

Everyone knows Minnesota’s personal income tax rates are high, and last year the legislature took a commendable step by cutting the second-tier tax bracket by 0.25 percent. That was a small step, obviously, but at least it was a step in the right direction. This year, the Center is recommending that the legislature cut the state’s bottom tax bracket, currently 5.35 percent, by 0.5 percent, thus giving a small tax break to all Minnesota taxpayers. This cut is particularly appropriate, since Minnesota’s lowest tax rate of 5.35 percent is higher than the highest income tax rate in 23 states.

What do Minnesotans think about this proposal? They are massively in favor of it. We asked this question:

This year, a modest reduction in taxes for the LOWEST income tax bracket has been proposed. Would you SUPPORT or OPPOSE a modest reduction in taxes for the LOWEST income tax bracket?

A remarkable 85 percent of respondents support that tax cut, with 54 percent strongly supporting it. Once again, support is bipartisan, with 93 percent of Democrats and 77 percent of Republicans in favor.

Education will be a principal focus of April’s *Thinking Minnesota Poll*, but we did ask a few education-related questions this month. The survey shows strong support for automatically expelling students who assault teachers in school, with 69 percent in favor (51 percent strongly in favor) and 24 percent opposed. The fact that it is even necessary to ask such a question is, unfortunately, a sign of the times.

We also polled a proposal that was introduced in 2018 and likely will be introduced again in 2020: “Regarding political bias in the classroom, do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE a state law to require public and charter schools here in Minnesota to adopt academic balance policies to prevent one-sided political expression in the classroom?” The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* finds that 63 percent support that anti-political bias measure, with only 26 percent opposed.

Support for school choice also remains strong among Minnesotans. Asked whether, regardless of their views on school choice generally, they would support or oppose “an exploratory

small-scale experimental pilot program allowing students in one or two failing school districts to attend a public or private school of their choice, and after two years, compare test results with their peers at the original school,” a resounding 71 percent support such a pilot program, with only 18 percent opposed.

Minnesota has, of course, a reputation as a blue state—a reputation that, when it comes to specific policy issues, is usually not borne out by poll data. This month, we asked Minnesota voters whether they think that in general, social welfare benefits in Minnesota are too generous, not generous enough, or about right. The results are mixed. While 34 percent of Minnesotans say they are too generous, 14 percent think they are not generous enough, and a plurality of 39 percent say they are about right. So, despite currently high levels of welfare benefits in the state, 53 percent of Minnesotans think they are about right, or should be even higher.

Twin Cities crime has been in the news lately. Minnesotans believe that Twin Cities crime is increasing—57 percent say it is rising, compared with only 4 percent who think it is declining. Whether this perception is due to experience or newspaper headlines is unclear. In any event, Minnesotans are definitely worried about violent crime. Seventy-six percent say they are concerned about violent crime, while only 23 percent say they are not. Twin Cities women (84 percent) and Twin Cities residents aged 55 and up (86 percent) express the highest levels of concern.

One of the stranger stories in the news recently was a decision from the Minnesota Court of Appeals that reversed the grant of a permit by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency to a dairy farmer to expand the size of his herd. The court held that the MPCA had not adequately taken into effect the impact of the larger dairy herd on the Earth’s climate. Most Minnesotans don’t think this logic makes sense; 63 percent oppose “the use of carbon dioxide emissions as a reason to block agricultural development.” Perhaps the more surprising finding is that 27 percent say they do support blocking ag development on account of climate concerns.

In the upcoming session, legislation will be introduced to allow grocery and convenience stores to sell wine and beer. The *Thinking Minnesota Poll* finds that this proposal is popular, with 58 percent in favor, and 33 percent opposed.

And, finally, the most one-sided finding in this month’s survey. We asked:

As you may have heard, Minnesota’s Department of Human Services has had a series of scandals involving multiple instances of fraud, waste, and mismanagement in the Department. Based on what you know, do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE legislation requiring an audit of the Department of Human Services’ spending?

An overwhelming 90 percent support legislation requiring an audit of DHS, 71 percent strongly, with only 8 percent opposed. ★

FIGURE 7: MINNESOTANS STRONGLY SUPPORT EXPELLING STUDENTS WHO ASSAULT TEACHERS.

“Regarding teacher safety in the classroom, do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE a state law here in Minnesota requiring automatic expulsion as the penalty for any student who assaults a teacher?”

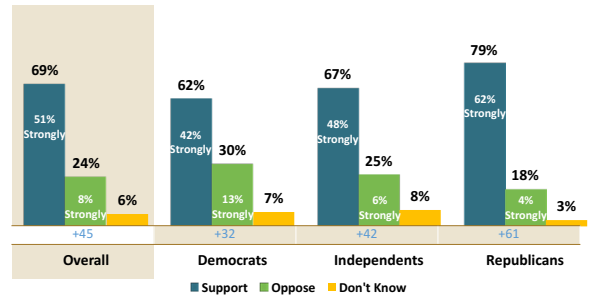


FIGURE 8: MINNESOTA VOTERS ARE MIXED BETWEEN WHETHER THE STATE’S SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFITS ARE TOO GENEROUS OR ABOUT RIGHT.

“In general, do you think Minnesota’s social welfare benefits are too generous, not generous enough, or about right?”

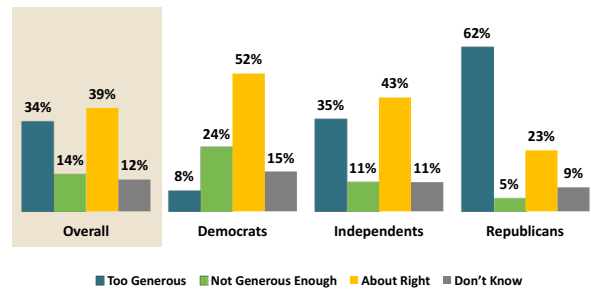
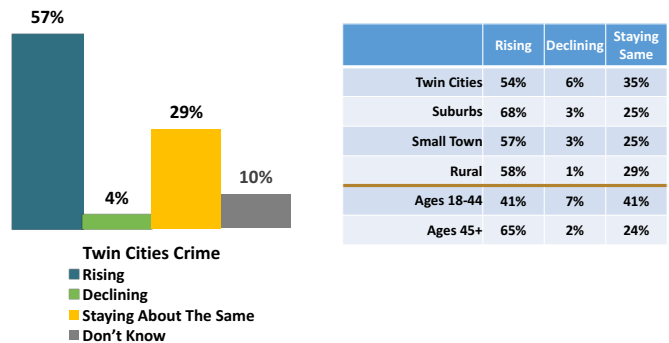


FIGURE 9: MINNESOTANS AGREE THAT CRIME IN THE TWIN CITIES IS RISING.

“Do you think crime in the Twin Cities is rising, declining, or staying about the same?”



A REBUTTAL

T H E T R U T H
EXACTLY
DRAWN

The New York Times'
**'1619 Project' is the latest chapter
in the American left's ongoing
campaign to rewrite history.**

BY KATHERINE KERSTEN

In August, *The New York Times* launched the “1619 Project” with great fanfare. The self-proclaimed goal of the project—a series of more than 30 essays and artistic productions—is to “reframe” history, convincing Americans that our nation’s “true founding” occurred not in 1776, but 400 years ago, in 1619, when 20 or so slaves came ashore in the Jamestown colony.

The *Times* maintains that America’s “founding ideals were false when they were written” and that “nearly everything that made America exceptional grew out of slavery.” It intends to “plac[e] the consequences of slavery” at “the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are.”

The *Times* is disseminating its message that “racism runs in the very DNA of this country” as widely as possible. The 1619 Project includes a multipart audio series. The Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting has packaged it as a curriculum, with study guides and activities for teachers and students. College students across the country are absorbing its claims.

In fact, the 1619 Project gets the truth exactly backward. America is exceptional, not because it once allowed slavery—a universal, unquestioned practice throughout most of human history—but because its founders launched a great and unprecedented experiment in democratic self-governance. Our history, with fits and starts, has been one long progress toward freedom, lighting a beacon to which people of all races have flocked.

The *Times*’ project is the latest chapter in the American left’s ongoing campaign to rewrite history. This movement approaches history, in all its messy complexity, not as a search for truth but as a vehicle for advancing a political agenda.

The 1619 Project aims to recast Americans’ concept of their nation as one founded on freedom, equality and opportunity into one irremediably corrupted by slavery, inequality and racism. Using distortions, half-truths and outright falsehoods, the *Times* promotes a narrative that our founding ideals, allegedly false from the beginning, remain so, by exten-

sion, today.

It concludes that wholesale social, political and cultural transformation—led, no doubt, by right-thinking people like those on its payroll—will be necessary to redeem our nation from this original sin.

The 1619 Project’s simplistic and misleading “good guy/bad guy” narrative rests on several central falsehoods.

First, it portrays slavery as an evil for which Americans bear unique responsibility and should feel overwhelming guilt, even today.



The *Times* maintains that America’s “founding ideals were false when they were written” and that “nearly everything that made America exceptional grew out of slavery.”

In fact, until recently, slavery and human bondage were the norm throughout the world. Slavery was a bedrock institution in ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and Asia, and among the Incas and Aztecs in the New World. In the early 1800s, an estimated three-quarters of the world’s population endured slavery or serfdom of some kind.

Today, approximately 40 million human beings remain trapped in slavery in countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, China and various parts of Africa.

By focusing uniquely on the U.S., the *Times* creates the impression that most slaves in the Atlantic slave trade were brought here. In fact, that was true of only about 5 percent. The other 95 per-

cent were transported to Latin America and the Caribbean, with about 40 percent going to Brazil.

The 1619 Project also errs in laying blame for the slave trade almost exclusively on white Europeans and Americans. In fact, Europeans were latecomers.

“The Arabs’ treatment of black Africans can aptly be termed an African Holocaust,” according to historian John Dewar Gleissner. “Arab slave traders removed slaves from Africa for about 13 centuries, compared to three centuries of the Atlantic slave trade.” Arab traders primarily sent slaves throughout the Middle East and Asia, as far as China.

Moreover, from 1500-1700, there were more white Europeans enslaved on North Africa’s Barbary Coast than black slaves sent from West Africa to the Atlantic world, according to historian Stewart Gordon. Whites were enslaved in the Ottoman Empire decades after American blacks were freed. In the 1840s, 10 percent of British naval power was devoted to trying to end the Arab slave trade in the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

The *Times* is essentially silent about another fact that doesn’t fit its narrative: Africans themselves were central players in the slave trade.

“Buying and selling human beings had been part of many African cultures... long before the first white people landed” on their shores, according to a September 2019 article in *The Wall Street Journal* titled, “When the Slave Traders Were African.”

Anguished debate

Once Europeans became involved, they generally waited on the coast for African traders—sometimes supplied by slave-trading ethnic groups like the Efik of Nigeria—to bring slaves to them. Even at the height of the Atlantic slave trade, Africans kept more slaves for themselves than they sent to the Americas.

“The anguished debate over slavery in the U.S. is often silent on the role that Africans played,” according to the *Journal* article. There is little national discussion of this topic in Africa today, and some

Africans remain proud of their family's slave-trading heritage, the article notes.

When President Bill Clinton apologized for slavery during a visit to Africa, Uganda's president replied, "African chiefs were the ones waging war on each other and capturing their own people and selling them. If anyone should apologize, it should be the African chiefs."

'A national evil'

In light of this history, the American founders' statement in 1776 in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" and "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" was a bold and radical claim. This ideal, if not yet social reality, reflected Christian and Enlightenment principles, and sprang from a dawning mid-18th century European moral awakening that maintained all human beings have an inherent dignity and natural rights.

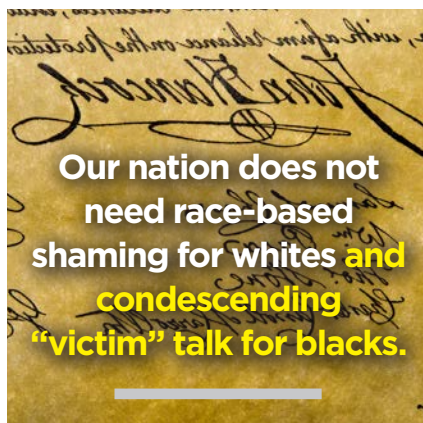
James Madison, from Virginia, branded slavery a "national evil," and Ben Franklin, of Philadelphia, was president of an abolition society. The founders knew they couldn't free the slaves and win their own independence at the same time, given Southern opposition. But the Declaration laid the moral, political and social foundation for slavery's eventual extinction.

Six of the former 13 colonies abolished slavery shortly after the Revolutionary War. In 1787, the Northwest Ordinance barred it in the nation's vast new territories, and Congress abolished the slave trade in 1808, as soon as the Constitution allowed for it. The abolition movement grew in influence, even as the invention of the cotton gin made slavery more profitable.

The Civil War, in which approximately 360,000 Union soldiers gave their lives, ended slavery. In his second inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln speculated that the bloody war was the punishment God had exacted from our nation for its

toleration of slavery. The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution quickly followed, abolishing slavery and guaranteeing former slaves legal equality and the right to vote.

In the South, "Jim Crow" legal discrimination grew in power, but in 1954 the Supreme Court banned school segregation in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. This was followed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. At the time, all Supreme Court justices and all senators were white. The



1960s saw expansive "Great Society" social welfare legislation.

In truth, America's national story is one long quest for civil rights.

The 1619 Project charges that "our democracy's founding ideals were false when they were written" and that the founders didn't actually believe them. Ironically, this was precisely the view of defenders of slavery—like John C. Calhoun.

Calhoun said of the Declaration of Independence, "There is not a word of truth in it." And U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney, who handed down the infamous Dred Scott decision, wrote that "it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included" in the declaration's ideal of equality.

On the contrary, Frederick Douglass, a towering civil rights hero and former slave, lauded the Constitution as "a glorious liberty document," while the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. hailed the declaration as a "promissory note to which every American was to fall heir."

Prosperity from slavery?

The *Times* is wrong, too, in its outlandish claim that American economic prosperity—even today—derives from slavery. This notion is a revival of the Civil War-era Southern planters' claim that "Cotton is King."

If the *Times* were right, the South would have won the Civil War. George Orwell, author of the novel *1984*, pointed out that lies, repeated often enough, can come to be seen as truth.

The 1619 Project's mantra that America is racist to its core dovetails with the divisive racist ideology—so influential today—that urges Americans to view one another as members of racial groups first, and as individual human beings second. This cynical vision threatens to undermine the very principles and institutions that offer greatest opportunity to all who seek freedom and prosperity, including black Americans.

Our nation does not need race-based shaming for whites and condescending "victim" talk for blacks. It needs inspiring examples of the beliefs and actions that enable individuals to take full advantage of the priceless benefits of living here.

Man's seemingly boundless capacity for inhumanity to his fellow man is one of history's indelible lessons. Only in Western civilization has the worldwide institution of slavery been questioned and reformed. Critics like the *Times* adopt the standards of equality and natural rights—which arose only in the West—and then revile those who created them. ★

This article originally appeared in the Star Tribune.



Katherine Kersten, a writer and attorney, is a Senior Policy Fellow at Center of the American Experiment. She was a founding director of the Center and served as its chair from 1996 to 1998. Katherine has written on cultural and policy issues for a variety of publications, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Christianity Today*, *Policy Review*, and *First Things*. For two years, she served as a regular commentator for National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." She earned a B.A. from Notre Dame, an M.A. from Yale, and a J.D. from the University of Minnesota Law School.



Center of the American Experiment is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that champions the values of liberty and economic opportunity through unparalleled research and grassroots activism. We develop and build support for public policy solutions that unleash Minnesota's potential.



Telling the truth about Minnesota's economy

Our reports lay bare the hard truth about Minnesota's economy: High taxes and regulations are stifling the talent of Minnesota's workers. We propose specific, marketable policy solutions that would unleash their potential and make our economy the envy of the nation.



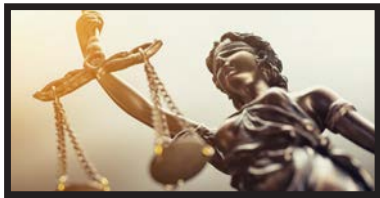
Stopping ineffective and expensive renewable energy mandates

Our first-in-the-nation research developed tangible cost estimates for renewable energy mandates, and proved they would have minuscule environmental impacts. We laid the groundwork for other states to replicate the research.



Helping students discover great careers without a four-year degree

We have reached young Minnesotans and their parents over 2.2 million times to introduce them to high-skill, high-paying career options that don't require four years of college and the burden of significant debt.



Freeing public employees from unwanted unionization

Our advocacy on behalf of Minnesotans who care for disabled family members led to a federal rule change that will free them from unwanted union representation. We also encourage other public employees, like teachers, to stop funding union politics they don't agree with.



Stopping a 70% gas tax increase

We made the loudest public case against a proposed 70% gas tax increase, bringing to light the devious scheme to shift tax dollars away from road maintenance in order to raise taxes under false pretenses. In response, thousands of Minnesotans voiced their opposition and the bill was killed.



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We reach millions of Minnesotans, give them a voice to tell their stories, and work to make their lives better.



YEARLY IMPACT:

- **23 million** advertising impressions
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- **342,000** *Thinking Minnesota* magazines delivered
- **200** published op-eds and news stories

AmericanExperiment.org

≡ WORKFORCE

Minnesota's high employment ratios are set to decline;



what state policymakers can do to alleviate these pressures.

WHY EMPLOYMENT MATTERS

Minnesota has above average levels of GDP per capita thanks to above average levels of employment. The greater the share of the population working to produce GDP, the more GDP there is to divide among the population.

But these high employment levels mask below average labor productivity. This could have an outsized impact on

Minnesota's economy.

The Center's new report, "Minnesota's Workforce to 2050," analyzes looming weaknesses in the state's workforce, including an aging population and declining youth employment.

BY JOHN PHELAN

To see how dependent Minnesota's favorable per capita rankings are on its high employment ratio, consider how per capita numbers would differ if the employment ratio changed. As Figure 1 illustrates, if Minnesota's employment ratio in 2018 was the same as the national average—60.4 percent—then its ranking for per capita GDP would slip

from 14th to 21st. GDP per capita would be \$4,691 (or 7.1 percent) lower.

Minnesota's above average per capita incomes are not driven by the productivity of its workforce. When it comes to labor productivity—which drives incomes in the long term—Minnesota is below the national average. Looking at GDP per worker, our state performs worse than the nation as a whole. The average Minnesota worker produced \$123,348 of GDP in 2018, ranking 20th, compared to \$131,571 for the average U.S. worker, or 6.7 percent higher. If we look at output by the number of hours worked, we see that in 2018 GDP per hour worked in the private sector was \$70.39 in Minnesota, 5.9 percent lower than the \$74.80 for the U.S.

Given the importance of a high employment ratio to the state's above average incomes, projected declines in Labor Force Participation rates and employment ratios will leave the state's economy vulnerable and ought to be a source of particular concern for Minnesota.

What is the forecast for employment in Minnesota?

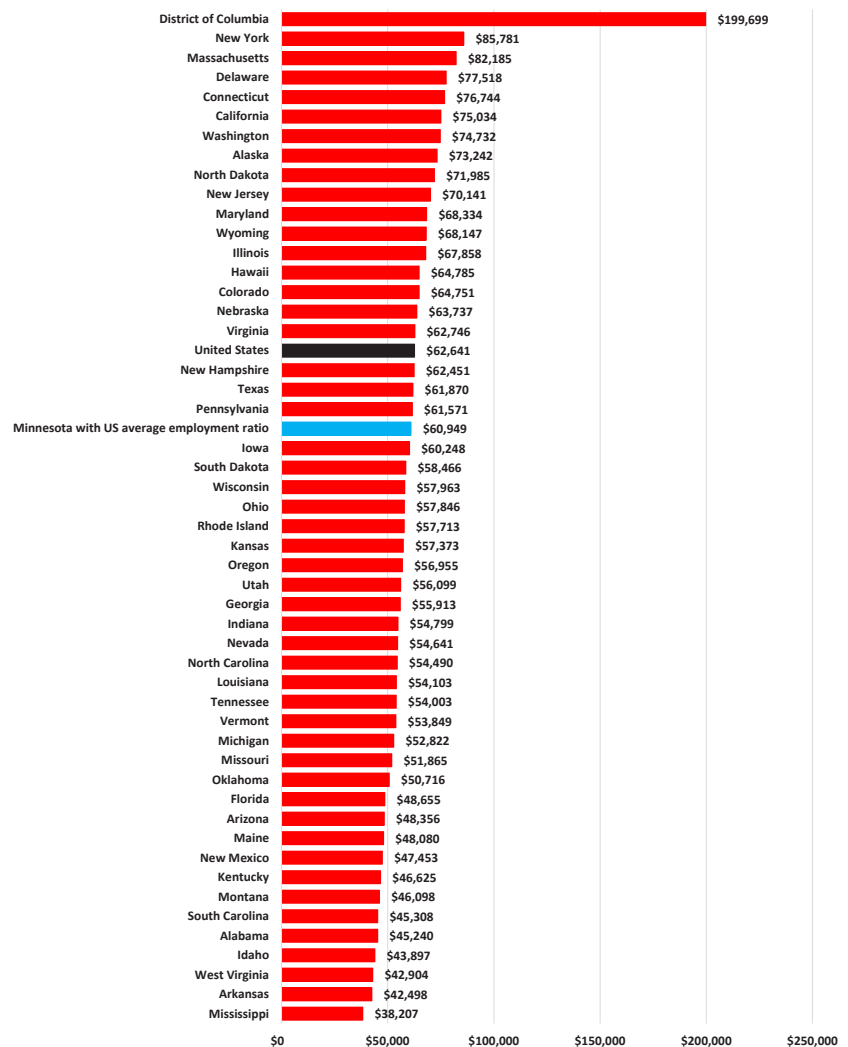
As Figure 2 shows, our state's participation rate is forecast to fall from 69.7 percent in 2018 to 64.6 percent in 2035—lower than it has been at any time since at least 1976.

While this decline is commonly attributed to the aging of the population—and this is an important driver—there are other factors at play. As Figure 3 shows, with the exception of 35 to 44 year olds, the participation rate of all age groups from 25 to 75 is forecast to increase between 2020 and 2045. The largest increase in the participation rate will be seen among aging workers—those aged 62 to 64—while the steepest decline is forecast to be among those aged 16 to 19.

These projections seem reasonable enough given recent labor market trends. Figure 4 shows categories where employment ratios have increased in Minnesota between 2000 and 2018. They include all workers, male and female, over the age of 55, and women aged 25 to 34 and men aged 45 to 54.

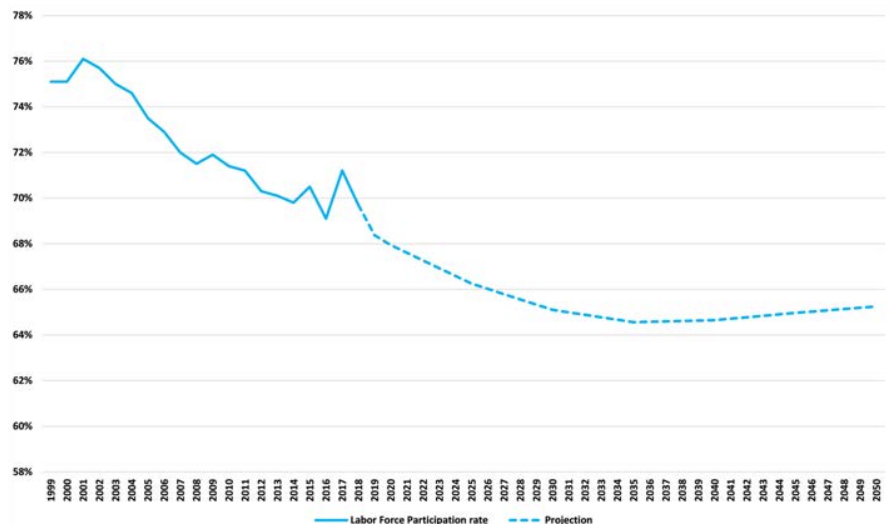
Compared with the same category

Figure 1: Gross Domestic Product per capita, 2018, if Minnesota had the U.S. average employment to population ratio (2018 dollars)



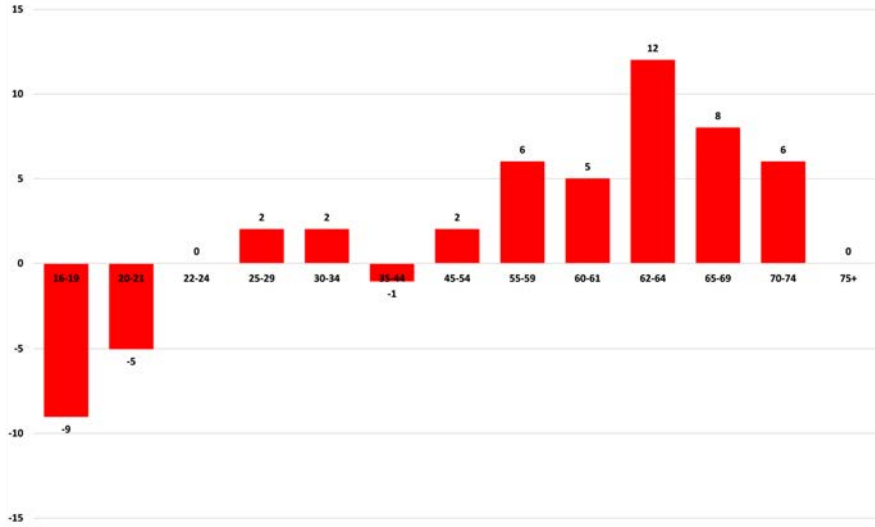
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis and Center of the American Experiment

Figure 2: Minnesota's Labor Force Participation rate, 1999-2050



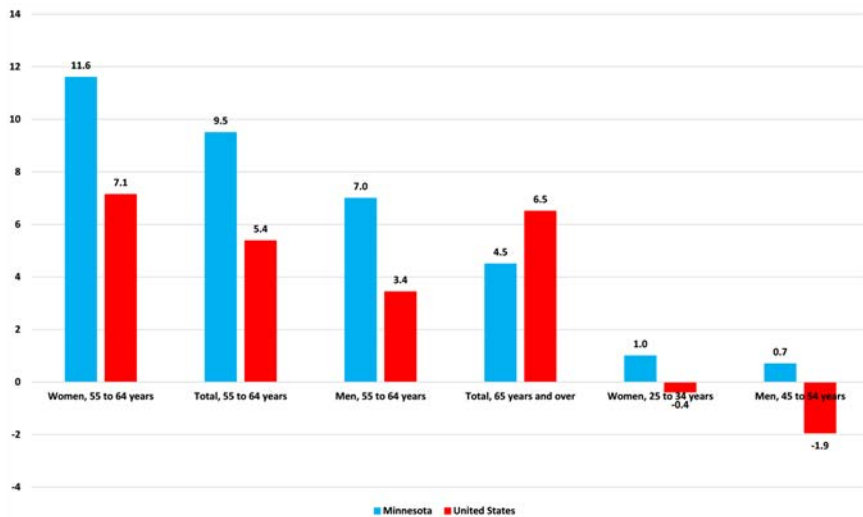
Source: Minnesota State Demographic Center

Figure 3: Change in Minnesota's Labor Force Participation rates, 2020-2045, percentage points



Source: Minnesota State Demographic Center

Figure 4: Percentage point changes in employment ratios, 2000-2018



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

ries nationwide, Minnesota performed particularly well in the 55 to 64 category but less well among those over 65.

Figure 4 shows the categories where employment ratios decreased in Minnesota between 2000 and 2018. We see that, overall, the steepest falls in employment ratios have been among younger Minnesotans. The largest decline has been among those aged 16 to 19. The next two largest falls are found among male and female Minnesotans, aged 20 to 24. The

story is broadly similar nationally, with the larger declines being found among younger workers, especially young men. But Minnesota has underperformed the national average by some margin in several of these categories, particularly in the aged 20 to 24 category. Looking at youth employment this century, Minnesota has performed poorly compared to the U.S. In fact, in 15 of the 24 categories in Figures 4 and 5, Minnesota has performed worse than the U.S. average.

Getting younger Minnesotans back into the workforce game will be crucial to the state's economic success.

What is driving these trends and what can policymakers do?

Falling employment due to an aging population might be something policymakers can do little about, but there is no reason that declines in employment among younger sections of the population cannot be reversed. This will go at least some way toward offsetting the forecast labor force decline and maintaining Minnesota's high employment ratio.

Table 1 summarizes the results of academic research into Labor Force declines seen in the U.S. in recent decades. Major contributing factors are expanded trade and the adoption of industrial robots. Significant contributing factors are increased disability benefits, higher minimum wages, increased rates of incarceration, and the rise in occupational licensing.

Expanded trade and automation

Looking at how these factors relate to Minnesota, we find that our state has shielded manufacturing workers from the full impact of expanded trade with China through uncharacteristically low tax rates on capital intensive manufacturers—we rank 2nd lowest nationally. Increased exposure to technology lowers female participation rates, which

John Phelan is an Economist at Center of the American Experiment. He is a graduate of Birkbeck College, University of London, where he earned a BSc in Economics, and of the London School of Economics where he earned an MSc. John has written for *City A.M.* in London and



for *The Wall Street Journal* in both Europe and the U.S. He has also been published in the journal *Economic Affairs*.

have fallen in Minnesota more than nationally since 2000. The state has, so far, had only average exposure to industrial robots, but research suggests it could be of “upper medium vulnerability” to job losses in the future.

Increased receipt of disability benefits

Among significant factors, the number of Minnesotans receiving Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) has increased in recent years, but it still lags the nation. Our state leads the national average on Veterans Affairs Disability Compensation (VADC) recipients as a share of the population, but these recipients typically receive lower payouts than the average. This might suggest that increased receipt of these benefits has played little part in Minnesota’s declining employment ratio. But research shows—strongly in the case of SSDI—that these increases have lowered employment at the margin. The same is likely to be true for state programs. Additional research shows the increased use of these benefits is a reflection of policy choices, not increased clinical need.

Higher minimum wages

Higher minimum wages also contribute to employment decline, particularly regarding teen employment. Minnesota’s minimum wage, which is above the federal rate, can reasonably be blamed for at least some of the state’s above average decline in teen employment.

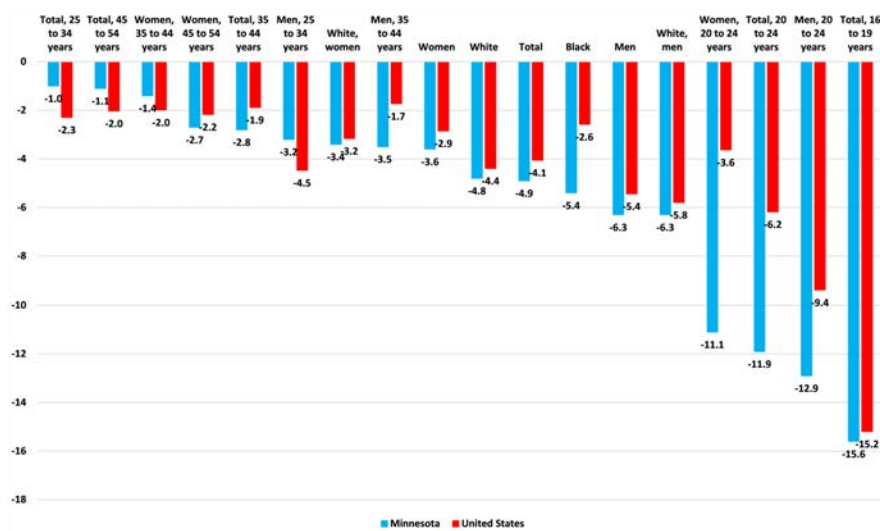
Increased incarceration rates

Minnesota’s incarceration rate is one of the lowest in the country, but disparities between rates for white and black residents are 4th highest nationally. Research shows that this has a disproportionate negative impact on rates of black employment, which could explain at least some of the state’s greater decline in employment among black Minnesotans than nationally.

Burdensome occupational licensing

Occupational licenses have been found to lower the labor supply of white workers especially. At present, Minnesota’s occupational licensing burden is not especially onerous. However, research shows that

Figure 5: Percentage point changes in employment ratios, 2000-2018



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

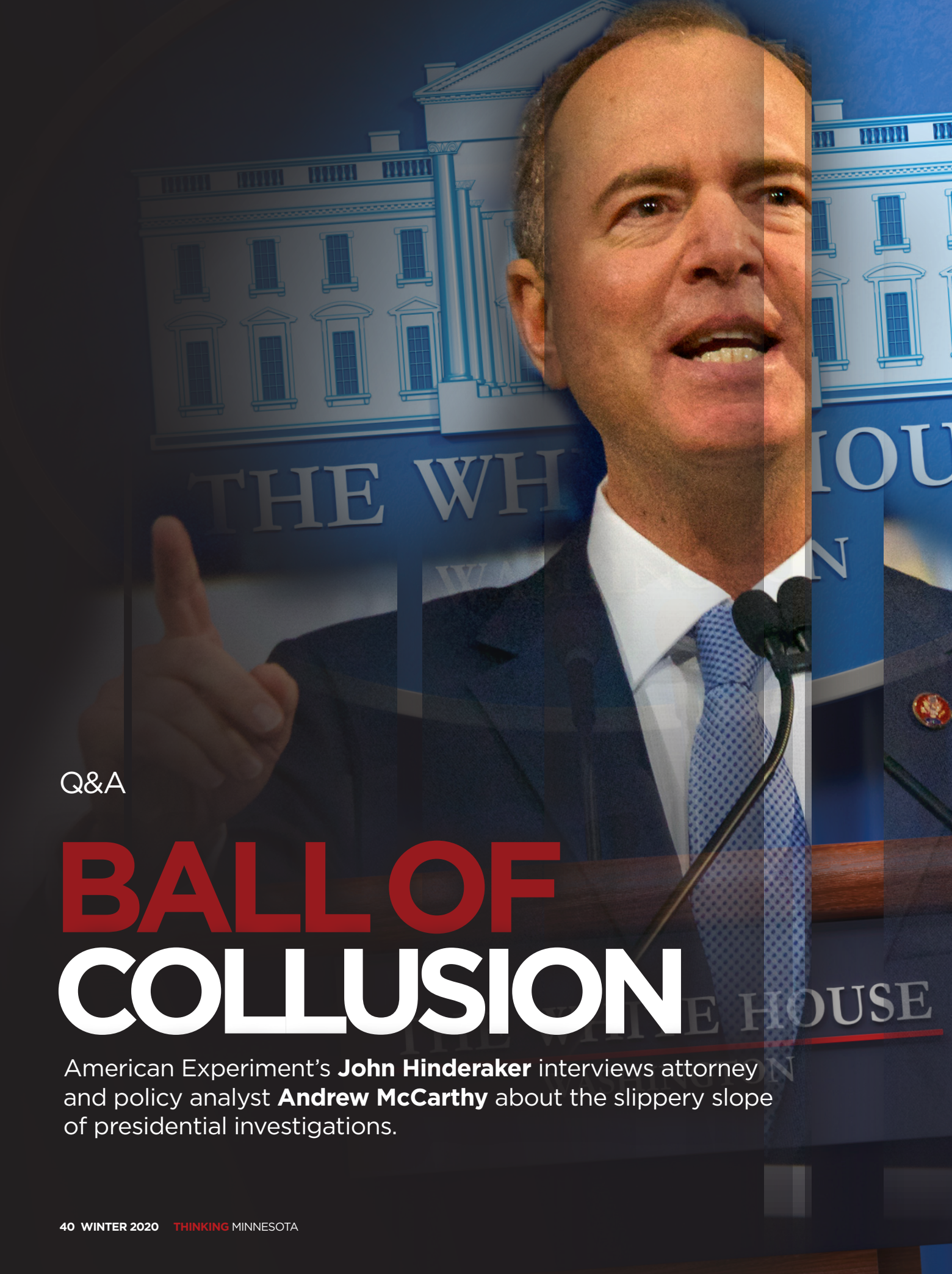
Table 1: Factors contributing to the decline in employment-to-population ratio from 1999-2016

| Major contributing factors |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expanded trade with China Adoption of industrial robots |
| Significant contributing factors |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased receipt of disability benefits (SSDI, VADC) Higher minimum wages Increased rate of incarceration Rise in occupational licensing |
| Insignificant factors |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> SNAP expansions Public health insurance expansions More generous EITC Increased rates of spousal employment Increased difficulties due to lack of family leave Expanded immigration Decline in unionization |
| Indeterminate given state of the evidence |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes in leisure options/social norms (including video games and opioids) Increased difficulties due to child care Increases in institutional frictions and/or mismatch |

between 2012 and 2017 our burden rose at the 11th fastest rate in the country, contributing at least partially to a greater decline in white employment ratios in Minnesota than nationally.

If Minnesota wants to remain competitive compared to the rest of the country,

the pressures that accompany declining high employment ratios must be addressed. Smart public policy changes that encourage productive work, especially among young people, are key to solving the looming weaknesses in Minnesota’s workforce. ★



Q&A

BALL OF COLLUSION

American Experiment's **John Hinderaker** interviews attorney and policy analyst **Andrew McCarthy** about the slippery slope of presidential investigations.

You have been writing for several years about the Russian collusion story and related matters. Your new book, *Ball of Collusion*, brings it all together. Tell us how that book came to be and its key messages.

While I have concluded that there really was collusion in connection with the election, it did not involve Trump being in cahoots with Kremlin to undermine the election. The most sinister collusion came from the incumbent administration putting law enforcement and intelligence apparatus toward getting Hillary Clinton elected President and damaging Trump's campaign. And when they couldn't prevent Trump from being elected, they hamstrung his ability to govern on the agenda that he ran on.

My original idea for the book was to do a case study on the Clinton emails investigation followed by a case study of the Trump/Russia investigation and defy people to say that both of these things were handled with the same quality. I always want to fall out of my chair when I hear Jim Comey's congressional testimony and some of his public statements. I think highly of Comey. But it defies reality for him to say that the same set of investigators handled these cases exactly the same way with exactly the same quality of justice. It's obvious to anybody who used to do this for a living, as I did, that the investigators bent over backward to avoid making a case on Clinton, and they scorched the earth to try to make a case against Trump.

I quickly found that because the narrative was so sprawling, I'd have to write two Russian novels if I wanted to comply with my original plan. It would be a thousand-page book. So, I found

a piece of the Trump/Russia case that I could break off and write a complete book about it, even though the story was still unfolding. That's always a scary part for a writer: There would always be the possibility that the book could come out, and events would supersede it.

they can't analyze anything.

By looking at all this in terms of the Presidency rather than the President, I hope people will see how damaging it has been. If you allow an administration to get enveloped in a flimsy investigation, you are not going to attract quality people



I always want to fall out of my chair when I hear Jim Comey's congressional testimony and some of his public statements.

***Ball of Collusion* lays out how the Obama administration's intelligence and law enforcement officials collaborated to try to guarantee Hillary's election, smear President Trump and his campaign, and undermine his ability to govern once he was elected.**

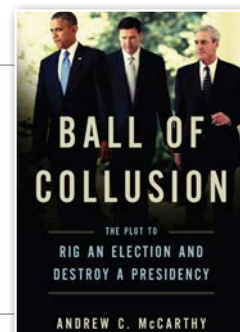
I think about the damage that's been done to the Presidency. A lot of people don't like Trump, and anyone who reads the book will see that I find the way he conducts himself to sometimes be frustrating and counterproductive. But it's worth looking at how people allow Trump's personality to affect their brains. Trump derangement syndrome is a real thing. A number of our colleagues who've always been reliable commentators have let Trump get to them in a way so that

into the government in the numbers we need to do the important jobs that have to be done. You're not going to get those kinds of people if you create a siege mentality around the administration, which I think is exactly what they've done with Trump. What's supposed to happen when you join the government and know you're going to have to hire a lawyer the next week?

The left has contributed to that damage in several ways. Left-wing activists have lent a hand, too, by assisting members of the administration in restaurants and things of that sort. It is getting a little hard to understand where we're going to find



Andrew McCarthy, author of *Ball of Collusion: The Plot to Rig an Election and Destroy a Presidency*, recently spoke at events sponsored by Center of the American Experiment in Rochester and Golden Valley. McCarthy is a Fox News contributor and a columnist for *National Review*. He first achieved national acclaim as the Assistant United States Attorney who led the 1995 prosecution against Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman and eleven others who bombed the World Trade Center.





people who are patriotic and self-sacrificing enough to serve in the next Republican administration.

It's an enormous problem, and it should not be allowed to be turned into a Democratic campaign pitch: "You know, now that we've made it impossible for Republicans to govern, you need us because we're the only ones who can come in and make all the levers work." That's the kind of argument that should be very off-putting to people.

Can we now say definitively that the Trump/Russia collusion story was a hoax?

I resist using that word because it's fraught with politics. There were connections between Russia and Trump and the people around him that I found disturbing. But at the same time, they were perfectly legal and entirely appropriate. My beef is that since the Soviet Union collapsed, our government tried to take the position that Russia is a perfectly normal country that could be a strategic ally. I sided with Mitt Romney's response during the 2012 presidential debates with Obama that Russia is our most important geopolitical foe, and the Democrats, no less than Obama, fought that. So, I'm glad to see the Democrats now see Russia as a problem.

It's fine with me if you want to point out all of the disturbing connections between the Russians and people who are connected to Trump, including Trump himself. But then let's treat everybody the same way. Let's look at the Clinton ties to the Russians, the Democrats' ties to the Russians, and everybody else who's had ties to the Russians for the last 30 years.

We have to distinguish between knowing the Russians versus colluding with them to impact the 2016 presidential election.

And that goes straight to the weasel word "collusion." It's a telling word choice. If you had a conspiracy, you wouldn't be talking about collusion, you'd be talking about conspiracy. The left talked about collusion because it's kind of an amorphous general term that actually can be a perfectly benign connec-

tion. You and I are colluding by having this conversation. It doesn't mean that you're doing anything criminal. The only collusion that should have been material in connection with Trump and Russia was whether there was a conspiracy to commit cyber espionage, as that was the allegation: Russia interfered in the presidential election, and Trump not only knew about it but was an active participant. There was never a shred of evidence that Trump was involved in a criminal conspiracy with Russia. So, to go back to your original question, that part of it absolutely is a hoax.

The most interesting thing to ask right now is how long did Mueller know it was a hoax? There's some reason to think that the government was investigating this going back into 2015. One piece that doesn't get enough attention is the fact that the last FISA warrant was issued in June 2017, which meant the government would have to renew the authorization in September 2017. By then, Mueller was in charge and fully up to speed. He would have been the one to go into court and re-affirm all the allegations the Bureau made about a Trump/Russia collusion. But he didn't do it.

And by that time, almost everybody who was involved in this investigation had gone. Peter Strzok was gone, Lisa Page was gone, Jim Comey gone, and Andrew McCabe. Everybody had either been fired, reassigned, forced to retire, or encouraged to retire. So, it seems to me that you can actually fix a date and time when Mueller had to have known that there was nothing to this. But why keep the investigation going for almost another

Trump derangement syndrome is a real thing. A number of our colleagues who've always been reliable commentators have let Trump get to them in a way so that they can't analyze anything.

two years then? I think that is what people ought to be wondering: Why was there still an investigation? And, why was there not an interim report that assures the country that we're satisfied there was no evidence of criminal collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia? It's the least they could have done since they went public with the allegation.

You give these people more credit for good faith than I do. I think Mueller's goal was to torment the Trump administration, discredit it in the eyes of the American people, and make it harder for the Trump administration to achieve policy successes, with a view toward defeating him in 2020.

My point in the book is that there is no other rational way to look at this. One thing we always used to say about terrorism is maybe we should believe what they say. When terrorists tell us they're going to do things, maybe we ought to



McCarthy recently spoke at events sponsored by Center of the American Experiment in Rochester and Golden Valley.



listen to them. We have the text from investigator Peter Strzok, in which he talked about having an insurance policy. And we lawyer nerds know that an insurance policy doesn't prevent catastrophes from happening; it's a protection plan against what happens when the catastrophe occurs.

The catastrophe being that Trump wins the election.

The Strzok text explained that this investigation was basically going to monitor Trump in the highly unlikely event that he got elected. And this is precisely what they did. If you take Strzok seriously, it seems obvious that once this investigation continued, it would hamstring Trump's ability to govern. It's hard to believe that this was not thought through before it happened. But what's most interesting is I wouldn't have believed it if somebody had told me a year, or even a few months, before Trump was elected that they could continue to investigate the President of the United States while he was President, under circumstances in which he could have shut down the investigation. I would have said they'd never be able to pull it off.

It's like the Obama Department of Justice never went out of existence.

Exactly. The only way they could do it is the way Comey pulled it off. He looked Trump in the eyes and told him he was not a suspect, that he was not under investigation, and that they were just looking at people around him. This way, they structured the investigation around him even though Trump's name is not on a file, and Trump is not listed in a FISA application. They told him he was not a suspect, and then they investigated the case hoping to get a case against him. Then, Comey goes before Congress in March 2017 and makes a public statement that anybody with an IQ of 11 would figure meant that they were obviously investigating Trump. Comey is too smart not to realize that his congressional testimony would tell everybody in America—and certainly the media—that the President was under investigation for colluding with Russia.

So, let's talk about impeachment. To put a positive spin on it, people must be impressed with the Democrats' alacrity to move from the failed Russia collusion theory—which was blown out of the water by the Mueller report and Mueller's abysmal performance in front of Congress—to talking about Ukraine and impeachment within what, a day or two?

Mueller's testimony blows up on July 24th, and then Trump has this conversation with Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky on July 25th. And obviously, the

If you take Peter Strzok seriously, it seems obvious this investigation would hamstring Trump's ability to govern on the agenda that he laid out while seeking election.

anti-Trump people in the national security apparatus got wind of the conversation and leaped on it. That's what they were looking to do for a long time. I think the Democrats learned from Mueller that it doesn't pay politically to let something drag out. Their takeaway from the Mueller investigation is if they ever got another impeachment opportunity on Trump, they would have to do it fast and nasty. So, they're trying to be quick about it because it's hurting their political agenda.

It's the theory of collusion. This was never about impeachment. It was never about counterintelligence. It was never about building a criminal case. I'm not saying that the left wouldn't impeach Trump if they could, and they wouldn't make a criminal case on him if they could, but from the very beginning this has been about making Trump's Presidency as short and ineffective as possible. This has always been a political agenda to bruise him up so that he is unelectable by the time we get to the 2020 election.

It's remarkable how much he's accomplished in three years notwithstanding the siege that he's under.

The rebuild of the judiciary has certainly been tremendous. But I worry that a lot of Trump's policy successes—just like a lot of the policies that Obama pushed forward—are being done by the authority that Congress gives to the President. And that can be reversed by the next President. These new judges, on the other hand, will be affecting the direction of the law for the next generation.

There could be a lot of institutional damage as a result of all the things you and I have been talking about. Maybe that's not all bad. Trump went to Washington to fight the swamp. I think he's learned that the swamp was worse than he thought. The law enforcement and intelligence branches of government are certainly worse than I thought.

I largely agree that things are worse than people imagined. If you believe in the American system of government where the people that we elect to run the government are the ones who make the policy, then it's a pretty backwards idea that the President is there to implement whatever the bureaucracy tells the President to implement. I have one hesitation about all this: the counterintelligence powers are critically important to protecting the United States, particularly against terrorist organizations.

I worry that we're going to be a lot less safe as a country if, at the end of all these investigations, we find that we're not able to hold people accountable for what happened here. The natural response to that is going to be Congress and the public wanting these counterintelligence powers to either be peeled back or completely repealed. These powers weren't created for our elections. They were created to fight threats from foreign powers, including transnational terrorist organizations that attack civilian centers in stealth. If you don't have these powers being used for the reason they were created in the first place, we can't protect the country. That, to me, is the biggest thing that hangs in the balance. ★

≡ 'THE MODERN LIBERAL'

THE TRAGEDY OF HUBERT HUMPHREY

BY
JOHN
PHELAN

Why the 'Happy Warrior' would find no perch among today's progressives.

Hubert Humphrey was no conservative. His biographer, Carl Solberg, wrote that Humphrey learned two lessons growing up in Huron, South Dakota in the 1920s and 1930s that remained with him for the rest of his life: "The first was that individuals, far from being masters of their own fate, could become powerless victims of catastrophes—droughts, dust storms, bankruptcy, foreclosures. The second was that government could help people—specifically the Humphrey family in their drugstore, through federal farm relief and other emergency funds assisting their customers—survive the buffets of such forces."

"Big government is a necessary consequence of an urban, industrial, corporate nation," Humphrey wrote. As a Senator of prodigious legislative output between 1948 and 1964, he was a driving force behind creating the Job Corps, food stamps, and Medicare. From 1964, when Lyndon Johnson crushed Barry Goldwater in the presidential election, to 1968, liberalism was the dominant governing ideology in the United States and Hubert Humphrey, as vice president, exemplified it. Republican Everett Dirksen, then-Senate Minority Leader, said "[Humphrey] is *the* modern liberal."



Yet, by the end of his life, this most effective of modern liberals was held in low regard by many in the Democratic Party. When a new cohort of Democratic Representatives and Senators entered Congress in 1974, one, future presidential candidate Gary Hart, asserted, “We’re not a bunch of little Hubert Humphreys.” How did the man who made his name electrifying the 1948 Democratic convention speaking in favor of a civil rights plank and who masterminded the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act become almost an “unperson” in the party?

Vietnam

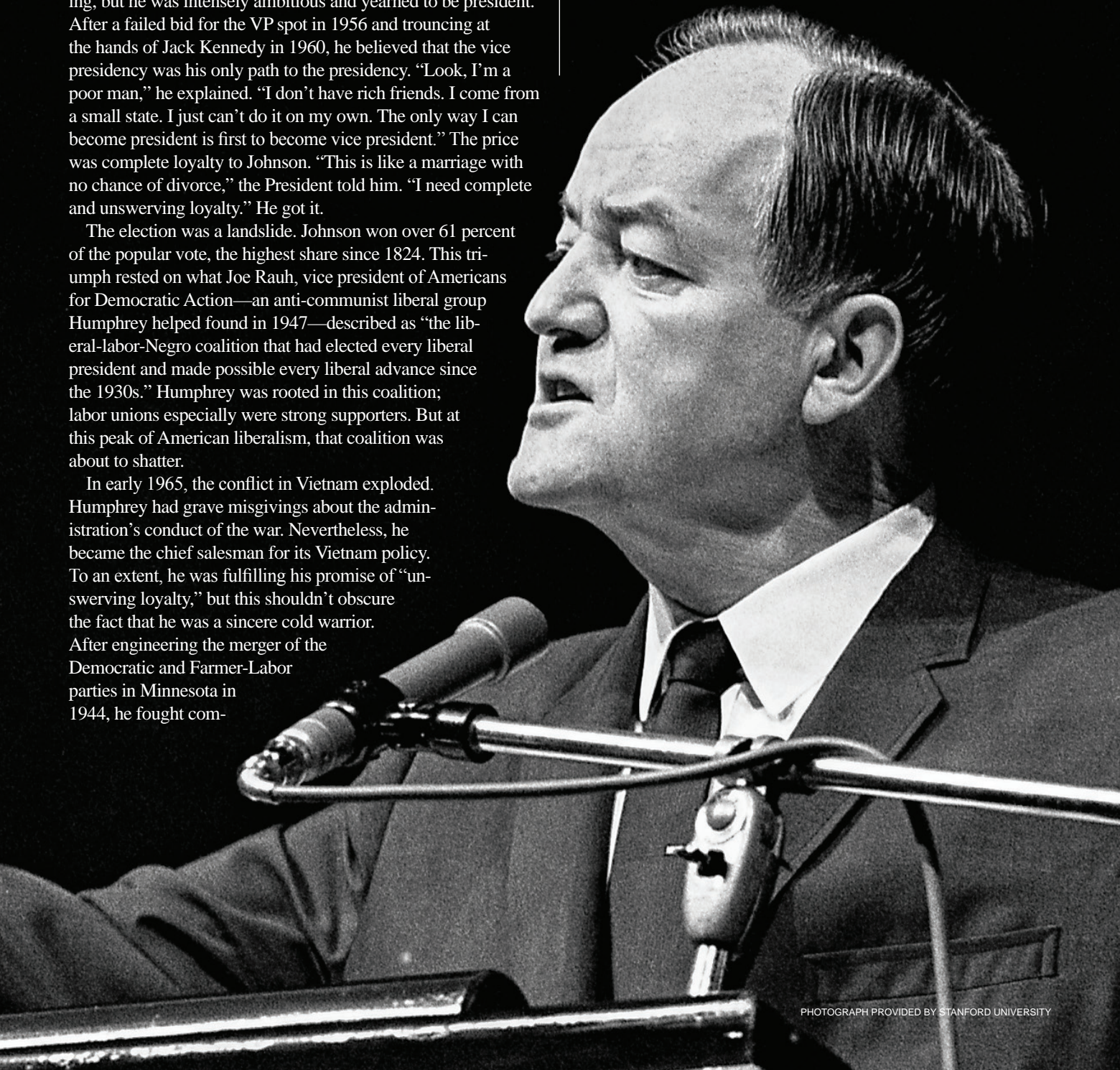
In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson offered Humphrey the vice-presidential slot. Humphrey’s friends counseled against accepting, but he was intensely ambitious and yearned to be president. After a failed bid for the VP spot in 1956 and trouncing at the hands of Jack Kennedy in 1960, he believed that the vice presidency was his only path to the presidency. “Look, I’m a poor man,” he explained. “I don’t have rich friends. I come from a small state. I just can’t do it on my own. The only way I can become president is first to become vice president.” The price was complete loyalty to Johnson. “This is like a marriage with no chance of divorce,” the President told him. “I need complete and unswerving loyalty.” He got it.

The election was a landslide. Johnson won over 61 percent of the popular vote, the highest share since 1824. This triumph rested on what Joe Rauh, vice president of Americans for Democratic Action—an anti-communist liberal group Humphrey helped found in 1947—described as “the liberal-labor-Negro coalition that had elected every liberal president and made possible every liberal advance since the 1930s.” Humphrey was rooted in this coalition; labor unions especially were strong supporters. But at this peak of American liberalism, that coalition was about to shatter.

In early 1965, the conflict in Vietnam exploded. Humphrey had grave misgivings about the administration’s conduct of the war. Nevertheless, he became the chief salesman for its Vietnam policy. To an extent, he was fulfilling his promise of “unswerving loyalty,” but this shouldn’t obscure the fact that he was a sincere cold warrior. After engineering the merger of the Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties in Minnesota in 1944, he fought com-

munists for control of the new party. Humphrey believed that the failure to confront Hitler earlier had encouraged eventual war, and he was deeply committed to an anti-communist foreign policy, which the communist elements of the DFL, led by former Governor Elmer Benson, opposed.

“We’re not going to let the political philosophy of the DFL be dictated from the Kremlin,” Humphrey said. “You can be a liberal without being a Communist, and you can be a progressive without being a communist sympathizer, and we’re a liberal progressive party out here. We’re not going to let this left-wing communist ideology be the prevailing force because the people of this state won’t accept it, and what’s more, it’s wrong.” His Republican opponent in Minnesota’s 1948 senate race had voted



against the Marshall Plan for European aid, and Humphrey charged that “if American policy had been decided by the vote of the senior Senator from Minnesota, we might be negotiating with the Russians now in London instead of Berlin.”



Whatever the motivation, Humphrey was now in the front line of an increasingly bitter civil war in the Democratic Party. Many young activists, drawn into politics and the party by the struggle for civil rights, were bitterly opposed to the Vietnam war. Known as the New Left, as distinct from the old left of Rauh’s coalition, their opposition escalated along with the war. Wherever Humphrey went, he was met with abuse from anti-war protestors. At Stanford in March 1967, for example, demonstrators mobbed his car screaming, “War criminal!” “Murderer!” and “Burn, Baby, Burn!” Several tried to break through the police cordon, and a can of urine was thrown over one of Humphrey’s Secret Service men. Humphrey had little affinity for the student radicals. Recalling his time as a student at the University of Minnesota in the 1930s, he said, “I didn’t have much time to join a protest movement, I was concerned about being able to earn enough to eat.” He compared the protestors’ “foul language and physical violence” to “Hitler youth breaking up meetings in Germany.” In 1966, referring to his battle with the DFL Communists, he told reporters “I fought those bastards then and I’m going to fight them now.”

Of course, many Americans supported the war. As late as March 1969, one poll found that 19 percent of Americans favored the current policy in Vietnam and 33 percent wanted total military victory. AFL-CIO union president George Meany and most labor leaders supported the war. Even many of those concerned or outright opposed were repelled by the anti-war movement antics. How were the parents of a young draftee supposed to react to actress Jane Fonda grinning for the cameras at the controls of a North Vietnamese anti-aircraft gun? How did Jane Fonda expect them to react? Did she consider them at all?

Some anti-war Democrats made unseating Johnson their primary purpose in the 1968 presidential election. They backed Humphrey’s old friend, protégé, and fellow Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, who challenged Johnson for the nomination. On March 12th McCarthy came a close second in the New Hampshire primary, humiliating Johnson who withdrew from

the race. The long-sought path to the White House opened up for Humphrey, even more so when Bobby Kennedy was assassinated in June. But with labor and the liberals drawing apart, the Democratic coalition was weakening.

Chicago

Vietnam wasn’t the only issue driving apart liberals and labor. The violent crime rate increased by 126 percent between 1960 and 1970. Deadly riots became a fixture of urban summers. By 1970, researchers estimated that a person living in a central city faced a higher risk of being murdered than a World War II soldier did of dying in combat. Even so, Attorney General Ramsey Clark claimed in 1967 that “the level of crime has risen a little bit, but there is no wave of crime.” When asked about figures showing crime rising at 20 percent a year, he said, “We do ourselves a great disservice with statistics.” Prominent Democrats branded calls for law and order “a code phrase for racism.”

Disillusioned Democrats looking for a new political home were not without options in 1968. The Republican nominee, Richard Nixon, stressed law and order. George Wallace, the former Democratic governor of Alabama running as an independent, combined his support for segregation with more reputable talk about fighting crime. Humphrey was aware of these threats to traditional Democrat support. In Norwood, Massachusetts, the police chief, a father of 10, one killed in Vietnam, told him, “Wallace thinks like I do.” Humphrey’s union friends said the same. Joe Beirne, chief of the Communications Workers of America, reported, “Half of my members are for Wallace,” and I. W. Abel said as many as a third of his steelworkers felt the same way.

Humphrey understood such concerns. As Mayor of Minneapolis in the 1940s, he had cleaned up the crime-ridden city, saying, “The gangsters of Chicago are out to take over the city and are on their way to doing so unless they are stopped. We are starting to see business move out of the city—and people are going, too, to the suburbs. This must be halted if Minneapolis is to go on as a city.” But addressing the concerns of the labor part of the coalition would have brought charges of “coded racism” from the liberal part. As a result, he was forced to concede this important issue to Nixon and Wallace.

The convention in Chicago in August was a historic disaster. Humphrey tried to unite the party with the “politics of joy.” It didn’t work. Anti-war activist Tom Hayden announced, “We are coming to Chicago to vomit on the ‘politics of joy.’” Activists set up camp in Grant Park and raised the flag of the Vietnamese communists, who, at that moment,



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Hubert H. Humphrey / PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Hubert H. Humphrey in Melrose / PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

were killing working class American boys. The Chicago police, drawn from the same working class as many of those conscripts, on the orders of old school Democratic city boss Mayor Richard J. Daley, went in to remove them. What followed was later described as a “police riot” as the cops clashed violently with activists—the liberal-labor clash became very real. Another of Humphrey’s old friends and protégés, South Dakota Senator George McGovern, muttered about “Gestapo tactics.” Humphrey disagreed. Afterwards, he said, “There are certain people in the United States who feel that all you have to do is riot and you can get your way. I have no time for that.”

Humphrey’s campaign recovered miraculously from the depths of Chicago, but it wasn’t enough. On Election Day, he won 42.7 percent of the vote to Nixon’s 43.4 percent. Many liberal voters stayed home. Many labor voters had gone for Wallace or even Nixon. It was as bitter a defeat as any presidential candidate has ever suffered. But Humphrey accepted the result. That night he told his supporters, “I have done my best. I have lost. Mr. Nixon has won. The democratic process has worked its will, so now let’s get on with the urgent task of uniting our country.” In his darkest hour, Humphrey provided an example for all defeated candidates.

Miami Beach

After the 1968 defeat, liberals took over the Democratic Party. Following the Chicago debacle, the Democrats appointed a commission under McGovern to reform the nomination process. McGovern changed the system of primaries and increased female and minority representation. With these rules in place, McGovern was well situated when he announced his intention to run for president in January 1971. He ran on promises of a “universal basic income” funded by taxes on the rich and defense cuts. Although not as radical as generally perceived, he was surrounded by radicals. There was enough truth in the charge that he was the candidate of “Amnesty [for Vietnam draft dodgers], Abortion, and Acid” that it stuck.

Humphrey, back in the Senate since 1970, took a very different path. He tried to reach out to his old base in labor, many now “Democrats for Nixon.” He acknowledged their concerns about law and order in a speech titled, “Liberalism and

Law and Order—Must There Be a Conflict?” saying that liberals “must let the hardhats, Mr. and Mrs. Middle America, know that they understand what is bugging them, that they too condemn crime and riots and violence and extreme turbulence, that they scorn extremists of the left as well as extremists of the right.”

His ambition undimmed, Humphrey decided to run again in 1972. He opposed McGovern’s welfare plan, saying, “I’ll be damned if I’m giving everybody in the country a thousand-dollar bill... People in this country want jobs, not handouts.” He pointed out that McGovern’s “tax the rich” policies would actually see single people who earned \$8,000 a year pay more tax than a family of four with an income of \$12,000 who, themselves, would see taxes rise by \$409. He attacked McGovern’s proposed defense cuts. He opposed abortion saying, “I am not for it.”

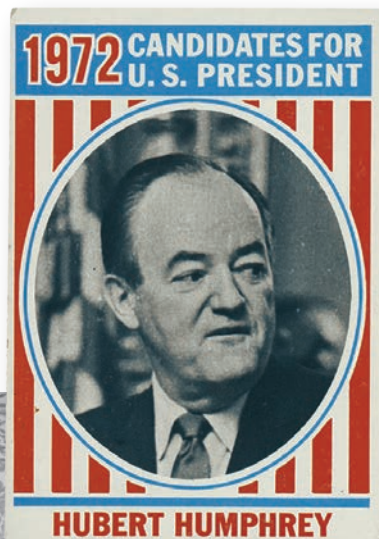
Humphrey stood little chance at the convention. Under the McGovern Commission’s rules, the delegates were richer, better educated whites and minorities. Thirty-one percent of the delegates earned over \$25,000 a year compared to just 5 percent of Americans overall. A disproportionate number had advanced degrees. There were no farmers in Iowa’s delegation, but New York’s contained nine delegates who were associated with gay rights groups, and South Dakota’s were “anointed” by two Native Americans. The Democratic Party left little room for that old blue collar, working class, patriotic vote.

Actress Shirley MacLaine cooed that it looked “like a couple of high schools, a grape boycott, a Black Panther rally, and four or five politicians who walked in the wrong door.” Humphrey, by contrast, noted that “many who were on the outside raising hell in 1968 were on the inside running things” and that “the Democratic National Convention once again displayed an unattractive image that did nothing to enhance [McGovern’s] chances for election.” However much the Miami Beach menagerie might have impressed Shirley MacLaine, come November it turned out that American voters shared Humphrey’s assessment. Nixon carried 49 states, won 61 percent of the vote, and had 521 Electoral College votes to McGovern’s 17.

Waverley

After a painful and protracted battle with cancer, Hubert Humphrey died at his home in Waverley, Minnesota in January 1978. The tragedy of his career was that the inheritance he had so long coveted—leadership of the Democratic Party—came to him just as the coalition its successes had been based on fell apart. The liberals—radicalized by civil rights and Vietnam—moved to the left. This alienated labor, which was socially conservative. The aim of the union worker was to improve his lot within the system, not to overturn the system entirely. That

was the concern of the liberals who took over the party after 1968. As Humphrey feared, this was an electoral dead end. The Democratic Party would not retake the White House until it had learned this lesson. ★



Hubert Humphrey speaking from a podium / PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Information card for 1972 United States presidential candidate, Hubert H. Humphrey / PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THIS TIME IT'S PERSONAL

Electronic communication is a wonderful thing, but mass communication has never been a substitute for personal contact.



John Hinderaker

But the most effective form of communication—now more than ever, in my opinion—is personal contact.

We live in a world of cheap mass communication. At little or no cost, we can send thousands of emails. Digital ads can be placed on social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter. We can attract readers to a website, and we can text. We can use older forms of mass communication too, through radio and television ads and billboards.

American Experiment uses all of these modes of communication, including highly sophisticated, targeted electronic messaging. The challenge is that everyone else also uses these methods.

And today's proliferation of easy electronic messaging places a premium on more tangible methods of communication. For example, consider *Thinking Minnesota*. We launched *Thinking Minnesota* without knowing whether there was still a place for a physical magazine in a digital world. We needn't have worried, as this magazine has become one of our most important outlets. We often hear from readers how much they enjoy a magazine that they can hold in their hands.

But the most effective form of communication—now more than ever, in my opinion—is personal contact. This is why the Center places an ever-increasing emphasis on meeting with groups all across the State of Minnesota and emphasizes smaller and more diverse events alongside our Annual Dinner, Fall Briefing, and lunch forums.

The "Morning in Minnesota" series is a good example. In 2019, we sponsored breakfast meetings in Willmar, Grand Rapids, Mankato, Red Wing, St. Cloud and Alexandria. Our presence at Farmfest and our "night at the movies" pre-release screening of *No Safe Spaces* illustrate how we interact personally with groups of Minnesotans. Going forward, we intend to put on many more such events that cover a range of policy topics and experiment with times and venues.

Just as important are opportunities to speak

on policy issues during programs hosted by others. We have found service clubs like Rotary and Kiwanis, local chambers of commerce, and politically-oriented organizations to be excellent avenues for getting our policy fellows in front of groups. There are many advantages to sharing our research, data and common-sense conservative ideas with a group of, say, 30 Minnesotans who appreciate the fact that we care enough to show up.

A great example is the effort that Policy Fellow Catrin Wigfall and Greater Minnesota Outreach Director Micah Olson made to attend a Red Lake Tribal Council meeting and share ideas about technical education and workforce development. At the Council's invitation, Catrin and Micah spent eight hours in a car and stayed overnight in Bemidji. Catrin presented before the Council and Hereditary Chiefs on the Center's Great Jobs project, after which she and Micah toured the tribe's training facilities (see p. 18). No number of emails, texts or other mass communication can build a cooperative relationship like showing up in person.

Because we believe in-person contact is so important, we're about to hire an events manager to produce the Center's events and help get our policy fellows in front of service clubs, chambers, and other third-party groups.

Center policy fellows are available to speak on a broad range of issues, including Minnesota's economy, taxes and spending, various aspects of education such as alternatives to four-year degrees, natural resource development (e.g., mining), energy and the environment, transportation and traffic congestion, and more. If you are involved with an organization that is interested in lining up one of our staff for a presentation, just give us a call at 612-338-3605. ★

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Thomas Lindberg, Two Harbors, Minn., says, *"I have arthritis pain in my shoulders and back and was having trouble sleeping through the night because of the pain. I read about Stuart's in FARM SHOW and was a bit skeptical at first but thought I'd give it a try. I was absolutely amazed at how well it worked and now use it every day. It works better than anything on the market."*

Tom Donelson says, *"I give samples to everyone I meet that complains of joint or muscle pain. I've had minor knee surgery and a torn meniscus, as well as a degenerating disc. I originally used to take 2 to 3 ibuprofen a day. But now, after using Stuart's, I'm down to 2 to 3 a week. This product is great for anyone that doesn't want to or can't take drugs to manage pain."*

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