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INSIDER

North Korea

School Safety

Training Minority Leaders

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SUMMER 2018

Between War and Peace

IN THIS ISSUE WE FEATURE TWO articles on the problem of North Korea, which is topical because of recent talks between President Donald Trump and North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un.

In neither of these pieces, however, will you find a discussion of how the United States and North Korea might reach an agreement regarding Pyongyang's nuclear weapons, its ballistic missiles, or any other security matters. Instead, you will find sobering assessments of the limits of diplomacy with North Korea.

The first comes in our interview with Nicholas Eberstadt, who has closely studied the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for several decades. "North Korea doesn't do 'Getting to Yes,'" Eberstadt observes. The reason for that, he says, is that the DPRK is deeply rooted in revisionist aspirations.

As Eberstadt sees it, the goal of uniting Korea under its rule is woven into the foundation of the regime. Nuclear weapons give the DPRK its only viable path to achieving that goal today. For North Korea to give up those weapons, and thus give up its seven-decade project of wiping out what it considers to be an illegitimate government in Seoul, would be to call into question the reason for its own existence. Dictatorships don't normally destabilize themselves deliberately.

We also feature an article by Bruce Klingner, who reviews how the possession of a nuclear and ballistic missile arsenal fits into North Korea's grand strategy. Among a number of purposes, he observes, the weapons are a tool for coercive diplomacy. The pattern is for North Korea to behave belligerently so as to raise tensions and induce diplomatic concessions. Nuclear weapons can be either the saber that gets rattled or the shield that allows the regime to act with impunity—or both.

The main danger of talks with North Korea is not that they will fail to produce an agreement, but that they will lead to concessions that increase North Korea's ability to threaten the United States and its allies. To state the obvious,

we have underestimated the regime quite a few times in the past.

After World War II, U.S. policymakers wanted to bring American soldiers home and maximize America's peace dividend. So they decided that North Korea and South Korea could be restrained from attacking each other by pulling American troops out of Korea and giving the South only defensive weapons—no tanks, heavy artillery, or aircraft. American advisors consistently rated the 100,000-man South Korean military capable of repelling an invasion despite facing a Soviet- and Chinese-supplied North Korean force of 200,000 troops armed with hundreds of tanks, artillery pieces, fighters, and bombers.

In a January 1950 speech on American defensive commitments in Asia, Secretary of State Dean Acheson failed even to mention South Korea. Just two weeks later, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin gave North Korean dictator Kim Il-sung provisional approval for invading the South. The DPRK invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950, and within six days the United States committed troops to South Korea's defense. The war would last three more years and cost 36,000 American lives—all because we thought it could be prevented by failing to prepare for it.

In the 1990s, the DPRK was on the ropes economically, but instead of pressing its advantage, South Korea adopted the Sunshine Policy—the theory being that if they were nice to North Korea, North Korea would be nice in return. South Korean President Kim Dae-jung was so invested in the idea of Sunshine that his government secretly gave Pyongyang half a billion dollars merely for agreeing to participate in an inter-Korean summit.

For engineering this meeting, Kim Dae-jung took home the 2000 Nobel Peace Prize. North Korea took the money and plowed it into making weapons-grade enriched uranium.

Between war and a charm campaign, there is a wide range of options for containing North Korea. But, as both of our authors caution, the necessary first step is to see the danger clearly.



ALEX ADRIANSON edits The Insider. Have a story idea? Want to connect with him? Email insider@heritage.org

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We Need a Long Game for North Korea A CONVERSATION WITH NICHOLAS EBERSTADT





What Can Be Done to Make Schools Safer?

AMY SWEARER

Having the right diagnosis is important; a wrong diagnosis too often leads to an ineffective treatment. Many on the Left have diagnosed an epidemic of school violence as a malady that must be “cured” with severe restrictions on the fundamental rights of law-abiding citizens. Neither the diagnosis nor the proposed cure is consistent with the reality of the symptoms.

By all relevant measures, America’s schools are safer today than they have been at any point in the last 30 years, even though the number of privately owned firearms has increased by 50 percent.

Violent deaths of any kind on K-12 campuses are incredibly rare—the National Center for Education Statistics estimated that there was one homicide or suicide on school property

per 2.8 million students during the 2013-2014 school year. Even though children spend a significant portion of their time at school, fewer than 3 percent of all youth homicides occur on campus.

Firearm-related deaths are even rarer. Out of America’s 55 million K-12 students, an average of 10 will die every year from gunfire at school. That is certainly 10 too many, and we should not be satisfied until the number is zero. But for context, roughly 800 students will die this year during their normal course of travel to and from school.

Mass shootings at school strike terror into the hearts of parents. But one reason these tragedies feel so earth-shattering is because they occur so infrequently. Since 1990, there have been 22 multiple-fatality school shootings—an average of less than one per

year among the nation’s more than 100,000 K-12 schools. Only nine of those have resulted in four or more deaths. Moreover, in terms of five-year averages, the rate of school shooting deaths is on the decline.

Parents should never have to fear for the safety of their children at school, but the prescriptions suggested by the Left will have little substantive effect precisely because the diagnosis is wrong.

Raising the minimum age of firearm purchases to 21 assumes that school shooters are purchasing their own weapons. Most often, however, they use firearms legally owned by parents or friends and which they accessed without permission. This is underscored by the fact that most school shootings are carried out with handguns, which already have a minimum purchase age of 21.

Banning so-called “assault weapons” will also prove ineffective: Most school shooters do not use them. We need only look to California, which prohibits “assault weapons” but which has suffered far more school shootings since 2000 than Texas, which does not. Studies also show that handguns with extra magazines can cause equal amounts of carnage, as evidenced by the use of handguns in the April 2007 massacre at Virginia Tech, the deadliest school shooting in U.S. history.

If we are to ensure the safety of our schools, we must embrace reality as we find it and let our policies be shaped by facts. Our children deserve nothing less.

Ms. Swearer is a Legal Policy Analyst at The Heritage Foundation.

PATRICK RYAN

We can begin by taking better care of the mental health of our children.

The Anxiety and Depression Association of America has released some alarming statistics. Since

2010, clinical depression among adolescents is up more than 33 percent. Suicide attempts are up more than 23 percent, and successful suicide has increased by more than 31 percent.

Teenagers from every race, economic background, and ethnicity are at risk. Research by Thomas Joiner, a professor of psychology at Florida State University, finds that children who spend more than five hours per day online are more likely to have suicidal thoughts, make suicide plans, and attempt suicide.

What are teenagers giving up in order to spend so much time online? Sleep.

If you were to look through the DSM-V (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders), you would find that sleeping issues are associated with most mental health problems. If you were to talk to primary care physicians, you would learn that sleep time and sleep quality are important for normal physical development.

Many teenagers report getting between four and six hours of sleep per night. According to the National Sleep Foundation, children and teenagers should get eight to 10 hours of sleep per night.

In addition to losing sleep, children and adolescents who spend a significant amount of time “plugged in” lose social involvement. Teenagers think social media gives them adequate social interaction with others. Research by Jean Twenge, a professor of psychology at San Diego State University, has found something different: As children and adolescents spend

more time online, they experience an increase in feelings of social isolation, depression, and anxiety. And parental involvement decreases as children and adolescents spend more time online.

What should be done?

Parents must be more involved with their kids’ lives. Parents should know with whom their kids are spending time and what they are doing online. Many parents do not know what their kids are doing until what their kids do leads to consequences. Involved parents also need to be in contact with school personnel or any other adults involved in their kids’ lives. Parents also must encourage more involvement in sports, extracurricular activities, and employment for their kids. Children and adolescents who

are more involved in those activities have higher reported self-esteem, improved emotional development, and better social skills than those who are not.

Parents should know the warning signs. Parents and school personnel who are well trained in the common symptoms of clinical depression and anxiety get help for their kids. Common symptoms include social/academic withdrawal, irritable mood, sleep disturbance,

self-injurious behavior, and suicidal thoughts. Children and adolescents who receive treatment are less likely to experience emotional development delays and behavioral problems.

Parents should be familiar with community resources. Private providers of mental health care can be found online or from a referral

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As children and adolescents spend more time online, they experience an increase in feelings of social isolation, depression, and anxiety.



from a school, a court, or a primary care provider. PsychologyToday.com hosts a searchable database of therapists.

Many counties have a community service board that can provide outpatient therapy and more intensive programs, such as day treatment or residential treatment. Parents should be aware that sometimes programs are overwhelmed and individuals in need of care are placed on a waitlist.

Mr. Ryan is a licensed therapist at Duffy Counseling in McLean, Va.

MAX EDEN

It has become almost customary to see a school shooting followed shortly thereafter by a divisive gun control debate. Nothing changes; the public moves on—both sides angrier than before—while we wait for the

next one. But whatever your views on guns, it wasn't laws that failed before the Parkland school massacre.

Every American agrees that psychopathic criminals should not be allowed to acquire firearms legally. Nikolas Cruz was a psychopath, but he was never committed. He was a criminal, but he was never arrested. It was the humans that failed. The killer skated under the radar, known to some but caught by none. So, when he went to purchase a rifle, no red flags popped up, and when the FBI got a tip, they saw a young man with a clean record.

The worst part of it all is that this human failure was not a policy failure. It was a product of a policy working, albeit not how its proponents desired.

Broward County, the home of Parkland, is ground zero for "discipline reform," which is intended to fight the so-called school-to-

prison pipeline. Social justice activists noted the strong correlation between students who get disciplined and students who drop out or get incarcerated. They thought: "If we can get suspensions, expulsions, and law enforcement referrals down, we'll be doing everyone a favor."

The Obama Department of Education issued a "Dear Colleague Letter," telling school districts they could be liable for an intrusive civil rights investigation and possible loss of federal funding—even if their rules were entirely fair and administered fairly—if students of different races were disciplined at different rates. The notion that poverty or family structure could affect behavior was categorically rejected. Everything was the school's fault.

In this system, superintendents needed to get the discipline numbers down. They'd get in trouble if they

didn't, and get praise from the press if they did. Principals knew the district's goals, and felt pressure to not administer discipline. They passed that pressure along to the teachers, who knew that their principal would be less willing to have their back on misbehavior. The discipline stats got better, but classrooms got worse.

In Broward County, teachers' union president Ana Fusco commented that teachers tell her that when they go to their principal about a misbehaving student, the principal blames them and does nothing. She noted that hundreds of teachers have spoken to her about the "unspoken rule" to not send kids to the principal's office.

This has become standard practice in school districts across the country. Administrators have put statistics over students. School safety is about so much more than just preventing shootings. It's about the adults being able to step in and protect students from bullies—to maintain order. We've systematically disempowered educators from exercising their better judgment. So if you want to make schools safer, go to your local school board; ask the members if they're trying to show "progress" by lowering disciplinary statistics. And, if they are, tell them to put students first once again.

Mr. Eden is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

COREY A. DEANGELIS

Expanding school choice will give us more school safety.

Government schools are struggling to keep kids safe. According to the most recent year of data available from the National Center for Education Statistics, 69 percent of public schools recorded violent crimes on their campuses, while one in every five students

reported being bullied at school. To combat safety issues like these, decision-makers are putting more police officers and metal detectors in schools. But these measures are just Band-Aids. The real issue is systemic.

A peer-reviewed journal article—coauthored by Danish Shakeel and me—sheds light onto this topic. We take advantage of the nationally representative "Schools and Staffing Survey" to examine whether schools of choice are safer than traditional public schools. The school choice advantage is stronger than we expected.

In order to make apples-to-apples comparisons, our models all control for characteristics such as student and teacher racial composition, student socioeconomic status, urbanicity, school level, school size, and safety practices within schools. We find compelling evidence that, all else equal, schools of choice are much safer than traditional government schools. These results hold across various statistical models and for multiple safety-related outcomes.

For example, public school leaders are about 8 percentage points more likely to report observing physical conflicts among students—and 28 percentage points more likely to witness student possession of weapons—than private school leaders. Further, public school leaders are 13 percentage points more likely than private school leaders to report student racial tensions occurring in

their institutions. And we find similar advantages for public charter schools over traditional public schools.

But why?


School choice introduces competitive pressures into the education system. Private and public schools of choice must entice families to opt their children out of the residentially assigned option. One way private school leaders do that is by showing families that their schools are safe. When given the opportunity to choose schools,

families consistently prioritize safety over academics. And that's a smart move by parents; they are simply following Maslow's hierarchy of needs. After all, what good is the Pythagorean Theorem when school gang activity, drug-use, and fighting lands a kid a spot in the slammer?

Private school leaders who understand families' needs have the autonomy to shape their institutions' cultures. In a system of choice, safe schools prosper while dangerous schools either shape up or shut down.

We all know that simply throwing more government regulations at public schools won't make them safer. And more police officers, metal detectors, and

random dog searches will only make children in public schools feel like prisoners. These measures are just Band-Aids that ironically make the underlying problem worse. School choice is the antidote.

Mr. DeAngelis is an education policy analyst at the Cato Institute's Center for Educational Freedom. 

“We’ve systematically disempowered educators from exercising their better judgment. So if you want to make schools safer, go to your local school board; ask the members if they’re trying to show “progress” by lowering disciplinary statistics.

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A CONTAINER SHIP heads to the Port of Oakland on March 21, 2012.

Internet Taxation, Shipping Protectionism, Drug Prices, Obamacare, Universal Basic Income

Should states be able to tax outside their borders? In *South Dakota v. Wayfair*, the Supreme Court dropped its physical-presence standard that had prevented states from taxing sales between their citizens and out-of-state retailers. States had claimed internet commerce was eroding their revenues, making the standard unworkable. Adam Michel and Elizabeth Slattery write:

[Overturning] the physical presence standard in *Quill* and [expanding] state taxing powers risk[s] undermining foundational principles of competitive federalism while increasing compliance burdens on small businesses.

Permitting interstate tax collection [will] undermine local business owners' ability to vote

on tax laws that affect them. Without a physical presence standard, local Oregon e-retailers [will] suddenly have to comply with every sales tax law in over 10,000 state and local taxing jurisdictions. If states wish to impose costs on retailers within their borders, they should be able to do so. However, retailers should not be subject to mandates from states with which they have no physical connection—and whose policymakers face no accountability for the tax and regulatory costs they impose.

Interstate taxation [will] also introduce a new disparity. Local brick-and-mortar stores have only the compliance burden of their state and local tax systems. Expanded interstate taxes [will] subject remote sellers to tax

systems in *every state* in which they have a customer. The compliance burdens for online retailers could be prohibitively expensive. [Internal citations omitted.]

[Adam Michel and Elizabeth Slattery, “Do Borders Matter? The Supreme Court Reviews Internet Sales Taxes,” *The Heritage Foundation*, April 12]

Shipping protectionism has increased the danger of cargo voyages. Thomas Grennes writes:

The Jones Act of 1920 requires, among other things, that cargo voyages between two American ports must use American-built ships. As the United States has lost its comparative advantage in ship-building, U.S. ships have become more expensive, and the average age of ships in the Jones Act–eligible fleet has risen relative to the average age of foreign-flag ships. Older ships are less safe, and reforming the Jones Act is the key to increasing safety in U.S. shipping. [...]

A group at Southampton Solent University conducted a comprehensive study of ship accidents taking place in the last 15 years and concluded, “The evidence confirms the hypothesis that most ship accidents can be linked with older vessels. ...” The average age of vessels lost was consistently above 20 years, and the average age of lost ships increased steadily over the sample period. [...] U.S.-flag ships are older than those of the world fleet, and the Jones Act contributes to the extraordinary aging of the U.S. fleet. The average age of ships in the U.S. fleet (33 years) is greater than the average age of ships in the foreign-flag fleet (13 years).

[Thomas Grennes, “Sacrificing Safety Is an Unintended Consequence of the Jones Act,” *The Mercatus Center*, March 21]

Uncontrolled drug prices are the solution, not the problem. Scott Atlas writes:

Four times as many life-saving cancer drugs were first made available in the United States compared to countries like Germany, Japan, Switzerland, France, Canada, Italy, and the UK, as reported in the *Annals of Oncology* in 2007. Similarly, 29 of the 45 novel drugs approved by the [Food and Drug Administration] in 2015 were approved in the United States first. Most recently, a 2017 study of 45 FDA-approved new cancer drugs found that all of them were covered by Medicare in the United States, while only 26 were approved and covered in the UK, 19 in France, 13 in Canada, and only 11 in Australia.

This early and broad drug access is a key reason why America has better treatment results compared to nationalized systems elsewhere, where drug prices are strictly regulated by government, for virtually all serious diseases reliant on drugs, including cancer, heart disease, stroke, and the most important chronic disorders, including high blood pressure and diabetes.

Not surprisingly, prices and profit margins for prescription drugs in the United States dwarf those in foreign markets. This discrepancy may seem unfair, yet it is undoubtedly a key incentive for the constant innovation and first access to life-saving drugs that Americans enjoy.

[Scott Atlas, “An Overlooked Key to Lower Drug Prices,” *Hoover Institution*, April 4]

Welfare reform is needed again. Sam Adolphsen, Jonathan Ingram, and Josh Archambault write:

In 2000, 17 million people were dependent on food stamps, costing taxpayers roughly \$17 billion annually. By 2016, enrollment had reached 44 million, with costs exploding to \$70 billion per year. Much of this growth is being driven not by seniors, poor children, or individuals with

disabilities, but instead by able-bodied adults.

Under federal law, able-bodied adults who are between the ages of 18 and 50 and who have no dependents are required to work, train, or volunteer at least 20 hours per week to maintain food stamp eligibility after three months. Although work registration and optional workfare requirements have been part of federal law for many years, the 1996 welfare reform created a new time limit for able-bodied childless adults as a way to reorient the program toward work.

But the law exempts all parents and able-bodied, childless adults over 50 from these commonsense

requirements. While some of these adults are subject to a separate requirement to participate in employment and training programs if assigned, few states ever assign them to such programs, rendering the requirement virtually meaningless.

If that weren't bad enough, regulatory guidance has allowed and even encouraged states to use gimmicks and loopholes to keep as many able-bodied adults on the program as

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possible. These waivers, originally intended only for areas with high unemployment, have been expanded to the point of absurdity. More than a third of the nation lives in an area where work requirements are waived, despite record-low unemployment and more than 6 million open jobs across the country. Those loopholes let states like California—with nearly 560,000 open jobs and a record low unemployment rate—waive work requirements in every corner of the state, even in cities with unemployment rates as low as 2.1 percent.

[Sam Adolphsen, Jonathan Ingram, and Josh Archambault, “6 In 10 Able-Bodied Food Stamp Recipients Do Not Work At All. That Has To Change,” *The Federalist*, May 3]

Union-backed study finds unions aren’t attractive to workers. In *Janus v. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees* the Supreme Court ruled that the agency-fee set-up that governs

“The Illinois Economic Policy Institute estimates that 726,000 workers would choose to stop paying dues if they had that choice, which public sector workers in many states currently do not.

public employment in 22 states violates the First Amendment rights of workers who do not wish to belong to a union. Prior to the decision, Eric Boehm reported that the unions themselves had studied what would happen if workers had a choice:

The Illinois Economic Policy Institute estimates that 726,000 workers would choose to stop paying dues if they had that choice, which public sector workers in many states currently do not. That could change after the U.S. Supreme Court announces a ruling—likely to come next month—in the

much watched *Janus v. AFSCME* case. [...]

A ruling in *Janus*’ favor could require unions to do what all other non-government entities already have to do: convince people to voluntarily support their activities.

[Eric Boehm, “Unions Could Lose 726,000 Members if Mark Janus Wins His Supreme Court Case,” *Reason*, May 10]

Universal basic income will cost a lot, shift resources from the poor, and undermine work. Robert Doar writes:

A truly universal payment of \$10,000 to every citizen every year adds up to a new expense of about \$3 trillion, well more than we spend on our social safety net now, and close to the entirety of the tax revenue currently collected by the federal government.

If any element of the current safety net is going to be preserved, taxes will have to be raised dramatically, beyond what is politically plausible or economically desirable, or the U.S. would have to borrow even more money than we already do. Proponents of UBI should have to answer: what social programs will be cut to make room for their proposal? [...]

[I]n the major study of UBI-like programs provided in Seattle and Denver, substantial, unconditional payments were found to cause a near 14 percent decline in labor force participation, and a 27 percent reduction in hours worked by women. That’s a labor force drop-off greater than the difference between the highest participation rate we’ve ever seen in this country and the lowest.

That doesn’t only mean people will be less driven than ever to

PICTURE ALLIANCE/FRANK MAY/NEWS.COM



earn their way out of poverty. Less work also means fewer “feelings of citizenship and social inclusion,” worse mental health and feelings of wellbeing, less happiness, worse self-esteem, even worse health among children, more crime, and way more drug abuse. The benefits of working are vast and well-documented, and anti-poverty programs should encourage work—not discourage it.

[Robert Doar, “Universal Basic Income Would Undermine the Success of Our Safety Net,” *The American Enterprise Institute*, May 17]

States are innovating to lower health care costs. Getting a waiver from Obamacare’s insurance market regulations is the first step, writes Robert Moffit:

Alaska secured a 1332 waiver that enabled officials to redeploy federal subsidies and re-channel those funds into a risk pool for high-cost enrollees and thus stabilize its market. The result: Alaska reduced individual market premiums by a stunning 25 percent.

Likewise, Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin signed legislation to apply for a waiver to create a reinsurance program that would cover 80 percent of high-cost claims. Under the waiver, the state would use federal dollars

NYCSHOOTER/GETTY IMAGES

to cover 75 percent of the cost and state taxpayers would fund the remainder. Wisconsin officials project a 13 percent premium reduction in 2019 and 12 percent in 2020.

Gov. Larry Hogan of Maryland also recently signed bipartisan legislation authorizing a waiver and creating a reinsurance program. While Maryland would impose a small premium tax to finance its reinsurance program to finance high-cost claims, Maryland officials are hoping to cut individual market premiums “in half.”

State officials using these waivers from current law can stabilize their markets, reduce premiums, and provide relief to individuals and families currently entrapped in severely damaged individual and small group health insurance markets. [...]

Federal waivers and reinsurance initiatives are, however, only a partial answer to the multi-faceted crises in the various state health insurance markets. Under

“Armed citizens can make a difference, and as more Americans obtain carry permits, more Americans will be on-scene and able to react.

Obamacare, the elected representatives of the people of the states are still largely hamstrung in their efforts to secure market innovations, inasmuch as they still are little more than supplicants for federal regulatory relief.

[Robert Moffit, “States Are Offering Relief from Rising Health Care Costs. Here’s How Congress Can Help,” *The Daily Signal*, May 23]

Ride-sharing helps lower health care costs. Leon S. Moskatel and David J. G. Slusky write:

Unnecessary ambulance use (when the patient could have taken a less expensive means of transportation without a reduction in health outcome) is partially due to lack of alternatives. Recently, though, alternatives have become available. Many individuals have started to seek cheaper transport from ride-sharing services such as Lyft and Uber. In addition, while ambulances prioritize patient safety and typically insist on transporting a person to the nearest hospital, ride-sharing cars allow the



patient to pick which hospital to go to. This is important because farther facilities can have differing results for the same condition. Also, the closest hospital may not be in network for the patient, and therefore directing a ride-sharing vehicle to a farther hospital would lower the hospital bill itself as well. [...]

There is at least a 7 percent decrease in the ambulance rate from the time of UberX entry into a city. Given that this decrease happened so soon after the UberX introduction, ambulance companies likely did not adjust the size of their fleets, so UberX entry likely also led to a reduction in the time spent waiting for an ambulance for the remaining volume. Because a reduction of a few minutes can drastically improve the odds of survival for many serious conditions, that decrease could have caused a substantial reduction in loss of life.

[Leon S. Moskatel and David J. G. Slusky, “Does Ride-Sharing Substitute for Ambulances?” *Cato Institute*, May 23]

Armed citizens increasingly are stopping mass shootings. David French reports some findings from the FBI’s April 2018 report on active shooter incidents:

From 2000 to 2013, only five times did an armed citizen (who was not a police officer) exchange fire with the shooter. Three times the citizen killed the shooter, once the shooter committed suicide, and once the shooter was wounded. Fast forward to 2016–2017. In that time period, six armed citizens confronted active shooters. They stopped the shooting four times (in one case, the shooter fled to a different site and continued shooting, and in the other the armed citizen was wounded before he could stop the shooting).

The lesson? Armed citizens can make a difference, and as more Americans obtain carry permits, more Americans will be on-scene and able to react. Moreover, what’s missing from the data is any indication that armed citizens make the crisis worse.

The stereotype of carry-permit holders spraying panicked gunfire is simply wrong.

[David French, “New FBI Data on Active Shooters Shows the Importance of Armed Citizens,” *National Review*, May 25]

Less free, more lies. Charles Hughes writes:

A recent working paper from Luis R. Martinez of the University of Chicago uses a novel data set of satellite imagery and finds that yearly GDP growth rates in the most authoritarian regimes are inflated by between 15 and 30 percent. [...]

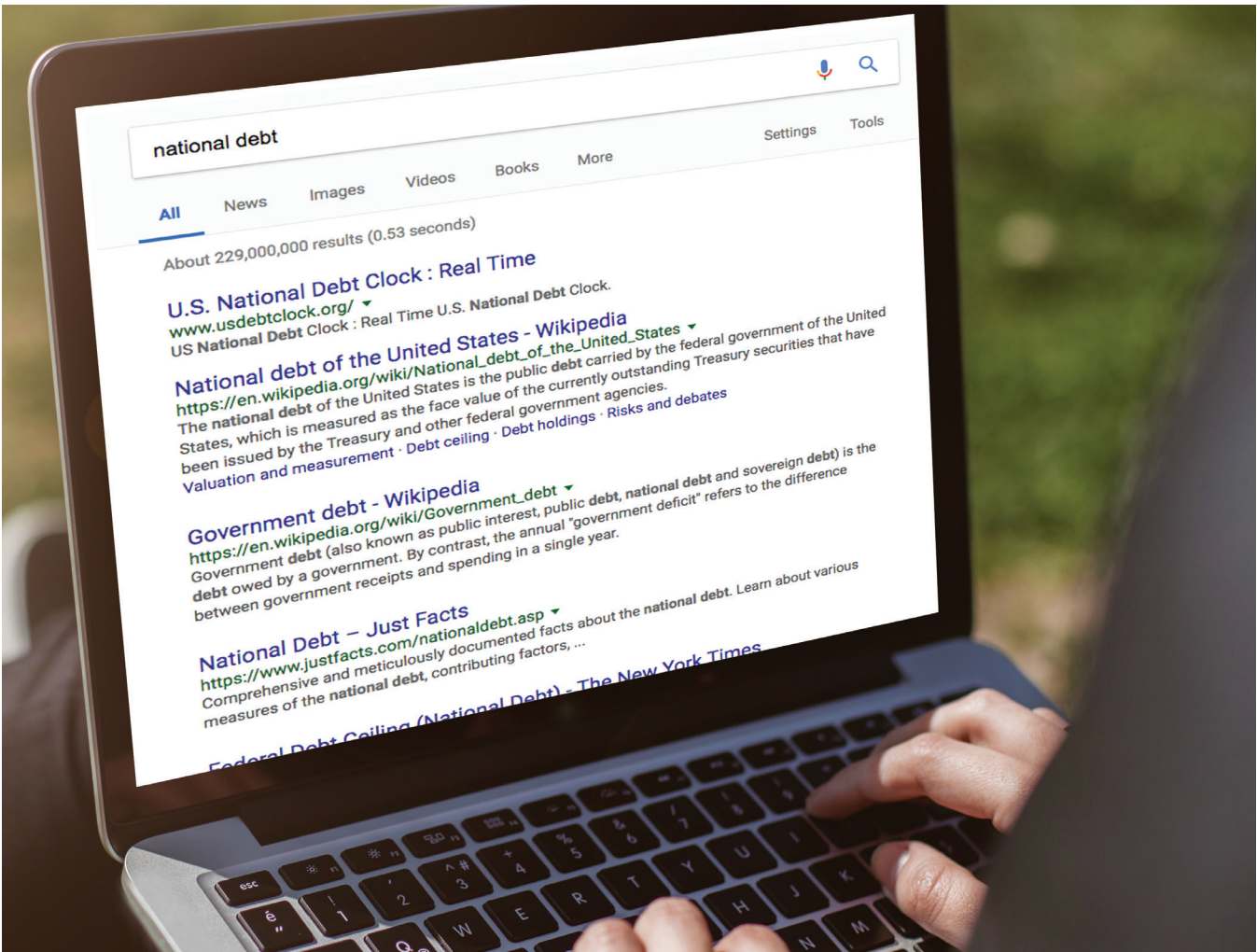
In a previous study in the *American Economic Review*, the authors developed a statistical framework to use satellite images to estimate growth. To answer the question of whether authoritarian countries were manipulating official GDP statistics, Martinez compared reported GDP figures to satellite images of night time lights. While governments might be able to influence or change reported figures, it would be difficult or impossible for them to similarly affect satellite imagery. [...]

A topline comparison of average growth rates in night lights and GDP reveals that the same amount of growth in night lights translates to a significantly higher amount of GDP growth in more authoritarian countries. [...]

Using raw GDP, only 4 of the 20 countries that had the highest aggregate growth from 1992 to 2008 were classified as “free” by Freedom House, compared to 5 being “partially free” and 11 that were “not free.” After correcting for the data manipulation in authoritarian regimes, 9 of the countries in the top 20 were “free.”

[Charles Hughes, “Satellites to Authoritarian Regimes: Your GDP Is Inflated,” *e21*, May 22]

GETTY IMAGES



Boost Your Search Engine Rankings to Reach New Audiences

BY JAMES D. AGRESTI

OVER THE PAST DECADE AND A half, the portion of Americans who trust the media at least “a fair amount” has shrunk from 54 percent in 2003 to a record low of 32 percent in 2016. During this same period, the internet became the most trusted source of information in America. A 2009 Zogby poll that asked Americans what sources of information are most reliable found: “The internet was way out front with 37%, with the others closely

bunched as follows: television 17%, newspapers 16% and radio 13%.” Why is the internet considered more reliable? A leading theory is that it gives people unprecedented access to sources that reinforce their viewpoints. As pollster John Zogby said: “The internet allows people to seek information from thousands of blogs, aggregators and social networks, and to migrate to those that share their point of view.” This is a

manifestation of confirmation bias, which is the human tendency to favor information that supports one's views. This common trait makes it difficult to reach people with facts that don't align with their preconceptions.

The same is true of social media.

A 2017 paper in *The Proceedings of the National Academies of Sciences* found:

"Content consumption on Facebook is strongly affected by the tendency of users to limit their exposure to a few sites. Despite the wide availability of content and heterogeneous narratives, there is major segregation and growing polarization in online news consumption."

All these trends present a tremendous obstacle to reaching people who are not already in "the choir."

There is, however, an important exception to the partisan self-censorship that dominates today's media consumption: Information gathered through search engines.

A 2012 Pew poll found that 73% of Americans use search engines, and "73% of search engine users say that most or all the information they find as they use search engines is accurate and trustworthy."

The impact of search engines on public opinion was documented in a 2015 paper in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. This research presented "evidence from five experiments in two countries" showing that "biased search rankings can shift the voting preferences of undecided voters by 20% or more."

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The quality and diversity of links is vital. Links from credible organizations have more value than links from blogs, and 10 links from different websites have much more value than 10 links from the same website.

When voters, students, educators, and researchers are seeking information about a policy issue, their typical first course of action is to search for it via Google or another search engine, such as Yahoo or Bing. When they do this, they inevitably find millions of results, but the vast

majority of people don't look beyond the first 10 results, which account for more than 95 percent of all search engine referrals.

Hence, the top 10 results receive the lion's share of search engine visitors, while the remaining millions of results are virtually ignored.

Yet, Just Facts, a small four-person think tank, received more than 1.4 million separate visits from search engines in 2017. Just Facts has top-10 search engine rankings for terms such as *national debt*, *healthcare facts*, *gun control*, *tax facts*, *social spending*, *racial issues*, *education facts*, and *immigration facts*. This drives a continual stream

of new, information-

seeking readers to our research.

Note that these search engine rankings are completely organic, as Just Facts has never used any type of search engine optimization service. The rankings are simply the outgrowth of applying these basic principles:

Produce quality content. It's no secret that links are crucial to search engine rankings. If you publish content that people want to link to, you have taken the most important step for great rankings. Note that the qual-

ity and diversity of links is vital. Links from credible organizations have more value than links from blogs, and 10 links from different websites have much more value than 10 links from the same website.

Make an overview page for every issue that is important to your organization. Keep this page up to date with the latest information and your publications on this issue. Link to this page in your content.

Place keywords in the URL. For instance, if your article is about the national debt, make sure it has the phrase "national debt" in the URL. Don't use a generic URL generator that assigns only numbers to your URLs.

Publicize your work to educators, elected officials, journalists, and commentators who are likely to find it valuable. Send them personalized notes that show you understand their work and how your content fits with it. Take the time to do quality publicity that brings real value to the recipients. Also, respect their time and don't inundate them.

If you haven't already done so, make all pages of your website secure via an SSL certificate.

Be honest. Don't hire search engine optimization firms that use questionable practices like link-building campaigns. And don't wantonly post links to your website.

For additional tips, read Google's Search Engine Optimization (SEO) Starter Guide (support.google.com/webmasters/answer/7451184?hl=en).

None of this is rocket science. It's just a matter of doing the right things and doing them consistently. 🍷

Mr. Agresti is the President of the Just Facts Foundation.



PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un held talks in Singapore on June 12.

We Need a Long Game for North Korea: A Conversation with Nicholas Eberstadt

NICHOLAS EBERSTADT'S scholarship has covered many topics, including federal entitlements, employment, opioid abuse, economic development, and the misuse of statistics, as well as North Korea—the topic of our discussion below.

Eberstadt is the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute. He is also a senior adviser to the National Bureau of Asian Research, a member of the Global Leadership Council at the World Economic Forum, and a member of the publications committee of the journal *Public Interest*. He has served on the President's Commission on Bioethics. In 2012, he was awarded a Bradley Prize.

He is a founding member of the U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea. His books on North Korea include *The End of North Korea* (1999), *Korea's Future and the Great Powers* (2001), and *The North Korean Economy Between Crisis and Catastrophe* (2007).

THE INSIDER: Recently there was a bubble of optimism that talks between the United States and North Korea would happen soon and would lead to a real thawing in the relationship. In your commentaries, you haven't been optimistic that talks—even if they were to happen—would produce anything positive. Why so?

NICHOLAS EBERSTADT: I don't know whether high level talks will occur, but something radically transformative would have to occur in Pyongyang to lead to any outcome that serves U.S. security interests. The interests of the North Korean state are diametrically opposed to U.S. security and to the security of U.S. allies in Northeast Asia, especially the security of the South Korean government. From its founding up until let's say lunchtime today, in fact, the North Korean regime has been categorically committed to wiping the South Korean government off the face of the earth.

TI: From where does that commitment come?

NE: The North Korean regime is a state with a deep and stable logic. And that logic is the logic of a revisionist state—a state that is fundamentally dissatisfied with the configuration of the international chess board. The North Korean regime, given its own ideology (which today is a form of racial socialism), claims that it is the only legitimate authority to rule the Korean peninsula and what it calls the Korean race, the Korean *minjok*. It regards the Republic of Korea as a vile, illegitimate, puppet state supported only by foreign bayonets. It sees no room for compromise on its vision that the Korean peninsula deserves to be ruled by an “independent socialist” state in Pyongyang run by the Kim family.

TI: And that ideology goes back to the end of the Korean War, right?

NE: Yes, to the ceasefire in the Korean War in 1953. And there were even stirrings of it before that. The North Korean state began as a Soviet satellite, a Stalin-style satellite at the end of World War II, but the North Korean leadership broke free of its Stalinist tetherings in the way that the Eastern European socialist states did not. It not only broke free from its Stalinist tetherings, but it eventually discarded Marxism and Leninism altogether. Even the statues of Marx and Lenin

are gone from Kim Il-sung Square. Now Marx and Lenin no longer figure into the constitution or the workers’ party charter. What is extolled instead is what they call “our own style of socialism,” which as I mentioned is racially narrow-cast, focused not on the world as a whole but instead on the

Korean people. Of course, the two great geniuses who are credited with this world-shattering doctrine are the late Kim Il-Sung and his son, the late Kim Jong-Il.

TI: So does the regime fear that accepting the South Korea government as legitimate and giving up its nuclear and missile programs would undermine its own legitimacy at home?

NE: There are several different problems for them here. The first problem is they have demanded horrendous sacrifices from their subjects for more than 70 years under the claim and with the objective of gathering or reunifying the Korean people. If the North Korean government were to suddenly say, “Well that was then and this is now. Now we’re OK with a Southern state bumping up the demarcation line, that would be

just fine with us,” then the question would naturally arise, “Well, then, why are you ruling at all?” So that’s one problem.

The second problem is that the nuke quest and the quest for long-range ballistic missiles to deliver those nuclear weapons constitute the

regime’s only plausible path today to hammering in a reunification on its own terms. After all, North Korea isn’t going to win an economic race with South Korea, and it’s certainly not going to win a popularity contest. Its only hope of crafting events to its own liking may be to orchestrate a nuclear showdown with the United States on the Korean peninsula. And if the regime voluntarily relinquishes its nuclear quest, it’s easy to see how the leadership might be accused of something like treason.

TI: North Korea is terribly poor, mostly as a result of its own policies. How has the DPRK managed not merely to survive but to finance a nuclear weapons and a ballistic missile program?

NE: A good question. We have to remember that not everybody in North Korea is poor, but the people who are poor are in designated classes where the government is OK with destitution prevailing. The North Korean system operates what is called a *songbun* system, which is a class stratification where you are trapped for life by the class to which you are assigned.

I think we can be quite sure that nobody from the upper classes died of starvation during the terrible famine of the 1990s. The North Korean system, in a way, is uniquely qualified to deal with mass poverty, with relegating masses of people to hunger and penury. It’s as qualified as any secular system could be, given its very particular ideology.

That being said, the North Korean government has really interesting and innovative methods for financing its nuclear weapon and missile quest. And you have to remember these folks to the north of the DMZ are Koreans—distinguished by many of the very same characteristics we associate with Koreans in the South. They are

smart. They’re enterprising. They’re motivated. They think things through many steps in advance and they are constantly testing new methods.

One of the fascinating new methods that the third Kim—Kim Jong Un—has developed is a “simultaneous development” policy (*byungjin*) which is supposed to promote a certain amount of consumer well-being along with the increase in defense economy. There’s more of what some may call pragmatism in the limited commercial sector today than there was in the past. And that has allowed for a limited increase in consumerism. But the regime demands a bite of the profits, and from this bite of profits, the government has partially financed its nuke and missile program. That is one of the factors which helps to account for the sharp uptick in tempo of nuke testing and missile testing under Kim Jong Un.

That’s the domestic part of it. The international part has to do with the North Korean-style international finance and trade system, which we might see more or less as globalization for the league of supervillains. Through different sorts of illicit activities, through drugs, through counterfeiting, through cyber theft—and also through WMD proliferation to unsavory states like Iran and Syria, and also to terror organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah—North Korea has financed its defense quest. The final aspect, of course, is the abiding support of the Chinese regime which, at the moment, is North Korea’s largest and practically only visible means of international support nowadays.

TI: They seem to be good at generating income outside their borders. Are we not enforcing sanctions well or is there no sanctions policy that can shift North Korea’s behavior?



STATUE OF KIM IL-SUNG, first Supreme Leader of North Korea, in Pyongyang.

NE: North Korea is a poster child for a successful sanctions campaign. As we know from looking at economic history, coercive economic diplomacy usually fails. But North Korea is an almost uniquely distorted and dependent economy, which means the prospects for successfully choking off resources and forcing the North Korean defense economy into paralysis is much greater than with Iran or with any of the other troublesome states with which the international community must currently contend.

The weakness of sanctions against North Korea in the recent past have largely been a matter of implementation. Until recently, half of the countries in the United Nations didn’t even bother to submit an implementation report to the UN Security Council on the UNSC sanctions that had already been passed. Some of the states that were submitting implementation reports included China and the Russian Federation, who shamelessly violated the very sanctions they’d voted for.

That’s one implementation problem. Another implementation

problem is the rather lackadaisical attitude that the United States has had towards using its very powerful “secondary sanctions” tools that accrue to us by dint of possessing the world’s reserve currency. Even though the Trump administration has increased quite significantly the number of entities that have been sanctioned for violating strictures on dealing with North Korea, North Korea is, I think, still only number four on the “most sanctioned” list. So there is, let’s say, plenty of room for improvement in increasing economic penalties and pressures against the DPRK.

We have to remember, as well, that the North Korean government does not ever wish to be seen as succumbing to outside international pressure. One of the unknowns in this drama is the size of North Korea’s strategic and currency reserves and how fast Pyongyang is spending those down. My guess is that, at present, they’re having to spend those down fairly rapidly. Things from the outside will look normal, at least in North Korean terms, until suddenly they don’t. So stronger sanctions and



SOLDIERS AND civilians walk by propaganda billboards near a train station in Pyongyang on May 3, 2001.

increased economic pressure will bring that breaking point closer to us.

TI: What role if any should human rights concerns and the humanitarian situation inside North Korea play in U.S. policy?

NE: North Korea has the world’s worst human rights situation. It’s a huge outdoor prison camp. For any open society that cherishes individual rights, it would be imperative to speak out about the nightmare of human rights in North Korea. The North Korean government does everything it can to preclude such discussions and deliberations among international parties. One of the reasons, of course, is that they have Google just like us, and they can google “Nuremburg trials” just as easily as we can. They see human rights as a regime threatening issue, and I’m not sure they’re wrong about that.

There’s a second aspect to your question which I suppose we would call the humanitarian aspect as opposed to the human rights aspect—humanitarian meaning the dealing with mass distress, famine, pandemics, and the like. The international

community had a miserably wrong-headed approach 20 years ago to North Korean famine, when we more or less cut a check to the North Korean government and trusted the North Korean government to use the monies and the resources for the needy and the deserving. Of course doing so meant that the North Korean system fed the army first and the disfavored classes last.

It is entirely possible, if we have a successful economic pressure campaign, that the North Korean government will resume its famine policy. If we wish to relieve the distress that the North Korean *songbun* system will cause them, we have to be prepared to ready an intrusive aid program where we decide and we evaluate humanitarian need. If the North Korean government prevents well-meaning outsiders from saving the lives of its own peoples, that will be on their head.

TI: South Korean policy seems to cycle between phases of a sunshine approach and a harder line on North Korea, and now it is back in the sunshine phase. Do South Korean leaders think that could really work,

or do they just believe that there’s no other good option for dealing with North Korea?

NE: Well you have to understand that there are two civil wars on the Korean peninsula. There’s the civil war that’s demarcated at the DMZ between the two Korean states, and then there’s another civil war in South Korea between progressives and conservatives. The degree of polarization in South Korean society is even more extreme than in America today, if you can believe that. And in that extraordinarily polarized environment, it’s people in the progressive camp who tend to adhere to this sunshine ideology.

Sunshine is a kind of secular religion. One of the key aspects of any religion is that you don’t need empirical validation for the faith. You can keep on doing the same thing again and again and again and expect this time to get different results from all the previous times. That’s where the faith is. Sunshine is a very strong faith for many in South Korea, not a majority, but among many people in South Korea.

There are lots of historical reasons why that secular faith has taken hold. One of the most obvious reasons is an “end of history” mentality. It’s wearying to be in endless conflict against an implacable foe. It’s wonderful to see a magical solution to that problem. Given this magical-mystical aspect of sunshine, real-world validation hasn’t been needed by its adherents too often.

TI: What would happen if South Korea were to make a separate peace with North Korea?

NE: If the South made a separate peace with the North, the North would immediately say that the Korean War is over and there is no longer any need for any foreign forces in the Korean

peninsula. It would immediately demand the exit of U.S. forces, the end of the defensive alliance, and the withdrawal of the nuclear protective umbrella over South Korea. The North’s doctrine proclaims peaceful and democratic reunification of the country, but in their code-language “peaceful” means no resistance from the South and “democratic” means that the forces supporting the North should triumph in the political process in the South.

TI: Do you think there’s a nonproliferation policy that could possibly work on North Korea?

NE: Yes, but I don’t think it can succeed via signed diplomatic documents because the North Korean government has a situational-ethics view of signed treaties and promises. As long as those agreements and promises advance the North Korean government’s self-assessed interests, they’re fine. The instant these constrain North Korean interests, they’re violated, ignored, or repudiated.

A nonproliferation approach has to be a threat reduction approach, akin to the long game that the United States played during the Cold War, in which we use different alliances and coalitions and a wide array of instruments and approaches to reduce the killing power of the North Korean state. Diplomacy will obviously have a role in that, but a lot of that diplomacy will be alliance building, alliance cohesion, and coalition forming. There isn’t that much room for “getting to yes” with the North Korean regime, because the North Korean regime doesn’t do “getting to yes.”

TI: Your description of the dynamics on the peninsula make it sound like either side might see the contest as a race against time. Is that what’s going on?

NE: You could put it that way. You could see it as a race against time. There are asymmetric vulnerabilities. The vulnerabilities in the North lie in its distorted and dependent economy, and in the risk of what Pyongyang calls ideological and cultural poisoning from interaction with the outside world. The risk for the South lies in the sorts of major policy blunders that leadership in open societies sometimes make when they are locked in conflict with mortal enemies.

TI: What do you think North Korea’s endgame is?

NE: At a time and place of their choosing, the North Korean leadership would manufacture a crisis in which there would be a confrontation with the United States—and that the United States would blink. And by blinking the United States defense guarantee would lose credibility and the U.S. military alliance with South Korea would collapse. U.S. forces would leave the peninsula. The North Korean side would be a giant step closer to unconditional reunification.

Of course, even if things were to go that far, it’s not obvious to me that the North Korean state would be capable in succeeding in unconditional unification. The population’s much smaller; the economy’s infinitesimal; and the South has nuclear capabilities, if they care to develop them. It’s not clear to me that North Korea is the cat that comes out of the bag if you throw those two cats into a bag. But the North Korean regime seems to be absolutely convinced that they can prevail in that sort of a contest

because they regard the people in the South and the regime in the South as corrupt and gutless and unwilling to fight.

TI: I think you said earlier that something other than diplomacy needs to happen in order for North Korea to shift its aims and start behaving more like a normal state. What could that something else be?

NE: For our interests to prevail, we need something in addition to diplomacy. I think diplomacy has a role, but a small one. From a North Korean standpoint, there would have to be a complete change in mentality, viewpoint and objectives for the leadership. But for reasons that I mentioned already, it’s hard to

see how the leadership would pull that off, given the logic of the state as it has developed up until now. It would require a fundamental break from the past.

TI: Would that kind of change require somebody other than the Kim family to rule the DPRK?

NE: Not necessarily, of course. We can take a look at the Soviet example. Every so often, one of God’s idiots ends up running a totalitarian regime—witness Mikhail

Gorbachev in the Kremlin in the 1980s. He may not have recognized it, but he was undermining the basis of the entire Soviet state from one move to the next. It’s not impossible that someone in North Korea would do the same thing, but I think we have to understand that agreeing to genuine peace with South Korea and genuinely giving up nukes could be regime-destabilizing concessions. ■

CHEN-MIN CHUNG/REUTERS/NEWS.COM

YOU'LL NEED A LICENSE FOR THAT JOB

By Dick M. Carpenter

*In the 1950s, only about 1 in 20
American workers needed a license to do their job.
That figure now stands at roughly 1 in 4.*



IN 2013, HEATHER KOKESCH DEL CASTILLO found herself in an unfulfilling career and began to question whether she was following her true passion. At the same time, she was growing increasingly dissatisfied with her physical fitness. She joined a local gym to make fitness a priority again.

That choice changed her life. Heather soon felt better than ever. And through her gym, she developed a network of supportive friends who introduced her to new ways of thinking about exercise, health, and nutrition.

Energized to pursue a new direction, Heather left her stagnating career to enroll in the Institute for Integrative Nutrition, a New York City-based school that specializes in training holistic health and wellness coaches. After a year of studying, Heather graduated as a privately certified health coach. Soon after, she founded her company, Constitution Nutrition, in Monterey, Calif.

At first, most of Heather's clients were local. For many, the results were life-changing. Satisfied customers sang Heather's praises with five-star reviews on internet ratings sites like Yelp, and many others told friends and family about their positive experience with Heather and Constitution Nutrition.

As word spread, Heather acquired a growing number of out-of-town clients—some from as far away as New York—whom she would coach over the internet or phone. So when her husband, a military officer, was transferred to Eglin Air Force Base in Fort Walton Beach, Fla., in 2015, Heather decided it made sense to continue operating Constitution Nutrition from her new home.

But then the state came knocking in the guise of a prospective client.

In March 2017, Heather received an email from a man calling himself Pat Smith who said he had seen her website and liked what he saw. He said he had tried several weight-loss programs to no avail and asked what information Heather would need from him to personalize a weight-loss plan and what her program would include. Heather responded but heard nothing back until May, when she was served with a cease-and-desist letter ordering her to stop giving dietary advice and fining her \$754.

It turned out that Smith, in fact, was not a potential customer but an investigator from the Florida Department of Health. His March email had been part of a sting operation prompted by a complaint filed by a licensed dietitian, alleging Heather had been engaged in the unlicensed practice of dietetics/nutrition.

Under Florida law, offering paid, individualized dietary advice requires permission from the government in the form of a dietetics/nutrition license. Obtaining a dietitian license requires a bachelor's degree in nutrition or a related field, 900 hours of supervised practice, passage of a dietitian exam, and payment of \$165–\$290 in fees to the state. The unlicensed practice of dietetics/nutrition is a first-degree misdemeanor punishable by up to a year in jail and \$1,000 in fines per offense. The Department of Health can also seek civil fines of up to \$5,000 *per day* for each day a violation occurs.

Heather was unwilling to run that risk. Since the only other alternative was to become a fully licensed dietitian/nutritionist—a process that would take years and cost tens of thousands of dollars—Heather had no real choice but to close her business.

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On average,
it takes 12 times
as much education
and experience to
obtain a cosmetology
license as it does
to obtain an emergency
medical technician
(EMT) license.

Occupational Licensing: A National Problem

Heather's story is not unique. Today, more Americans than ever are finding they need a government permission slip—in the form of an occupational license—to work. In the 1950s, only about one in 20 American workers needed a license to do their job. That figure now stands at roughly one in four.

But the growth of licensure is only the beginning of the problem. Licensing requirements for lower-income occupations are frequently burdensome and irrational. In the Institute for Justice study *License to Work*, Lisa

Knepper, Kyle Sweetland, Jennifer McDonald, and I gathered the licensing requirements for 102 lower-income occupations across all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Those requirements included days devoted to education and experience, number of exams, fees, minimum age, and minimum grade level. We found that, on average, licenses to work in lower-income occupations take about a year of education and experience, one exam, and \$267 in fees. This means aspiring workers in fields as diverse as auctioneering, cosmetology, and tree trimming spend significant amounts of time and money earning a license rather than earning a living.

For example, the most onerous license in our study was for interior designers. In the states that license the occupation, aspiring workers typically must spend six years in education and experience, pass a costly national examination, and pay almost \$1,500 in fees. Licensing proponents assert these requirements are vital to protect consumers, but the vast inconsistencies we find in licensing requirements cast doubt on such claims.



First, the majority of occupations in our study are unlicensed by at least one state and often by many states. For example, interior designers are licensed by only three states and the District of Columbia. Tree trimmers are licensed by seven states. Furniture upholsterers are licensed by 10 states. If tree trimming were truly risky, we would expect the occupation to be licensed by more than seven states. Put differently, the fact that 43 states and D.C. do not see fit to license tree trimmers suggests they pose no threat to public health and safety; the seven states that license them could likely scrap their licenses and see no ill effects.

Second, state licensing requirements for the same job often vary greatly. Among the 30 states that license auctioneers, for example, Vermont requires only nine days of education or experience, Louisiana requires only seven, and 11 others require none. Yet four states require a year or more. It defies credulity that auctioneering in those four states is so different from auctioneering in the other 26 licensed states that all this additional training is really necessary.

Third, licensing requirements are often out of proportion to the health and safety risks posed by an occupation. For example, on average, it takes 12 times as much education and experience to obtain a cosmetology license as it does to obtain an emergency medical technician (EMT) license. And this is not an anomaly; 73 occupations in our study have greater average training requirements than EMTs.

Inconsistencies like these illustrate how erecting licensing hurdles often have little to do with protecting public health and safety. Instead, occupational licenses seem primarily to

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Too often, occupational regulation is seen as a binary choice between no licensing and licensing. Yet this ignores a range of other regulatory options that can protect the public as well as or better than licensing without imposing its costs.

serve to keep some people out of occupations so those who are already in can enjoy an economic benefit.

And there’s the rub—licenses are, at their core, anticompetitive. Legislatures create them not at the behest of harmed consumers or concerned citizens, but at the request of those in the industry to be licensed.

These requests, as William Mellor and I detail in our 2016 book, *Bottle-necked: Gaming the Government for Power and Private Profit*, typically come as part of multi-year industry lobbying campaigns mounted in state capitals. Such campaigns often involve coordinating letter-writing efforts, inviting legislators to the workplace to familiarize them with the occupation and cultivate relationships, making strategic campaign contributions, giving special awards to legislators, and packing legis-

lative hearing rooms with members of the industry during testimony claiming licensing is necessary to protect the public.

Scant support is provided for these assertions, and for good reason—most research has failed to find a connection between licensing and service quality or safety. However, there is ample evidence that licensing comes with significant costs, including higher consumer prices and fewer job opportunities. Indeed, economist Morris Kleiner of the University of Minnesota estimates licensing results in 2.8 million fewer jobs with an annual cost to consumers of \$203 billion.

And that is only the beginning. Kleiner and other colleagues have also found licensing restricts interstate mobility. Because of significant variability in licensing requirements, licensed workers moving to another state may discover that their new state imposes heavier requirements, forcing them

to acquire additional credentials or even start over. Unlicensed workers may find that they need to become licensed for the first time, even if they led successful careers before moving, or else give up their work. Such licensing barriers often make little sense: workers do not become unqualified by crossing a state border. Moreover, these requirements create a disincentive for people to move to where the jobs are and for entrepreneurs to relocate to more desirable markets.

These barriers are particularly burdensome for military families like Heather’s. When the military relocates service members from one state to another, their spouses may find that their credentials from State A are not recognized in State B or that they need a license from State B to practice an occupation they practiced lawfully and successfully without a license in State A. Obtaining the requisite credentials may be expensive and time-consuming—or even impracticable given the likelihood of subsequent relocations.

Research has also found that licensing laws may contribute to criminal recidivism. Many former offenders lack the resources to navigate the licensing process—even when they are allowed to participate in it. Whether through blanket bans that prohibit anyone with a criminal conviction from obtaining a license or through “good character” provisions that grant licensing boards discretion to deny licenses due to an applicant’s criminal record, states often exclude former offenders from the licensing process—a sad irony given states often spend enormous sums training inmates to acquire job skills. Such regulations make it even harder for former offenders to find meaningful employment and stay on the right side of the law.

Reforming Occupational Licensing

Fortunately, with the growth of licensing has come a greater awareness of its costs; that awareness has led to recent interest in and momentum toward reform. In response to this welcome development, we propose a guiding principle and

framework for approaching occupational regulation more generally: Any regulation should be no more burdensome than needed to address present, significant, and substantiated harm from an occupation.

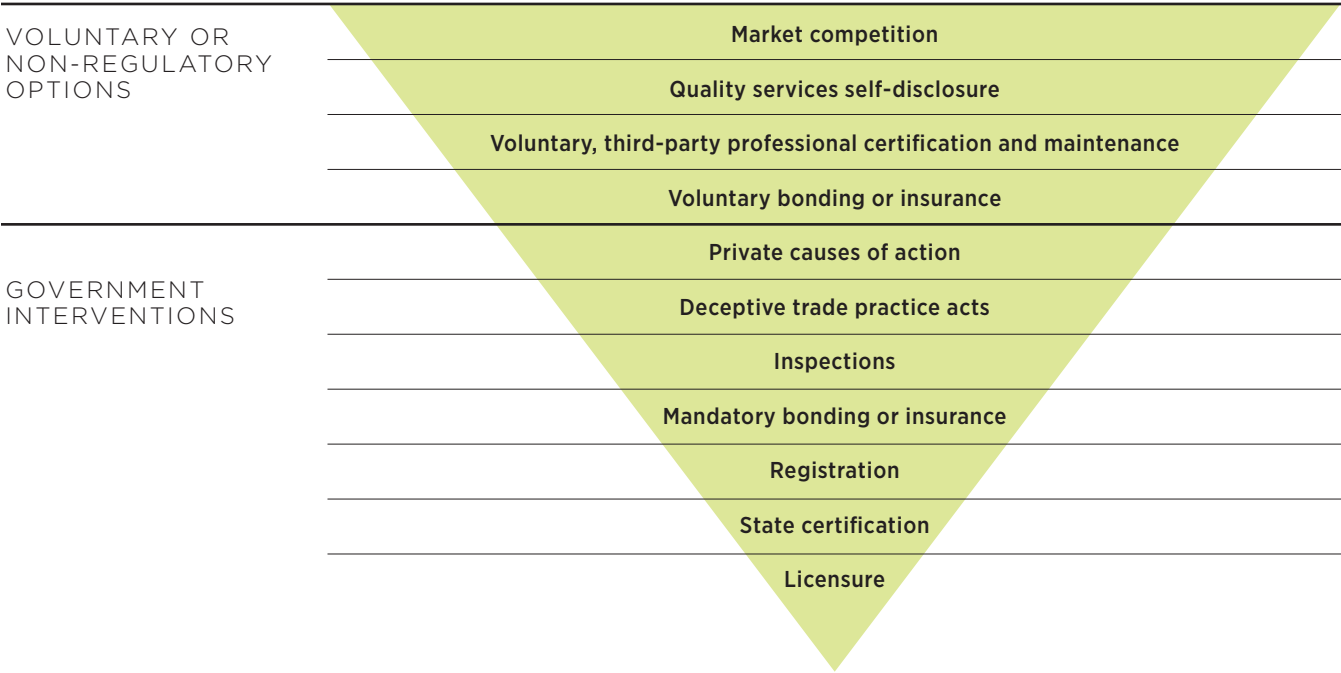
Too often, occupational regulation is seen as a binary choice between no licensing and licensing. Yet this ignores a range of other regulatory options that can protect the public as well as or better than licensing without imposing its costs, which brings us to our proposed framework—the inverted pyramid (see figure on page 24). The inverted pyramid presents 10 alternatives to licensing, ranked from least to most restrictive. The top four options, which can be considered voluntary or non-regulatory are:

1. Market competition. Open markets with no or limited government intervention provide the widest range of consumer choices, allocate resources more efficiently, and give businesses strong incentives to keep their reputations as providers of high-quality services. When service providers are free to compete, consumers weed out providers who fail to deliver safe and quality service by (1) denying them their repeat business and (2) telling others about their experience using social media, advice blogs, and services like Angie’s List, Thumbtack, HomeAdvisor, Houzz, and Yelp. Consumers can also, as Heather’s clients did, use such platforms to drive business to providers with whom they had positive experiences.

2. Quality service self-disclosure. Service providers can facilitate market competition and improve the information available to consumers by proactively sharing information about how previous customers have rated their service quality.

3. Voluntary, third-party professional certification and maintenance. Like licensing, third-party certification sends a signal that a service provider has attained a certain degree

The Inverted Pyramid: A Hierarchy of Alternatives to Licensing



of education or experience. But unlike licensing, it does so without creating barriers to entry and the consequent trailing costs. This is precisely the approach Heather took to signal to her potential clients that she possessed specialized training as a health coach.

4. Voluntary bonding or insurance. Some services pose greater risks to consumers than others. Voluntary bonding and insurance allow providers of such services to outsource risk management to a third-party company that has a direct financial stake in preventing consumers from suffering harm or loss.

The next six options are government interventions that, although more restrictive than the preceding options, are nevertheless less restrictive than licensure:

5. Private causes of action. These give consumers the right to bring lawsuits against service providers who have injured them. The existence of such rights may compel providers to adopt standards of quality to avoid litigation and an accompanying loss of reputation.

6. Deceptive trade practices acts. All 50 states and D.C. already have deceptive trade practices acts. These consumer protection laws allow attorneys general and consumers to sue service providers engaged in certain practices deemed false,

misleading, or deceptive and permit enforcement agencies to prosecute them.

7. Inspections. In settings where the state may have a legitimate interest in instrument or facility cleanliness, inspections may be sufficient to protect the public. Periodic random inspections could also replace the licensing of various trades where the application of skills is repeated and detectable to the experienced eye of an inspector, such as building contractors.

8. Mandatory bonding or insurance. Voluntary bonding or insurance is generally preferable, but states may prefer a mandatory requirement when the risks associated with the services of certain firms extend beyond just the immediate consumer. For example, the state interest in regulating tree trimmers is in ensuring that the service provider can pay for repairs in the event of damage to power lines or to the home or other property of a neighbor who is not involved in the contract between the trimmer and customer.

9. Registration. Registration requires service providers to provide the government with their name, their address, and a description of their services. Registration can deter fly-by-night operators and complement private causes of action because it often requires providers to indicate where and how they can be notified that they are being sued.

10. State certification. State certification differs from third-party certification in that (1) the certifying body is the government rather than a private association and (2) it restricts the use of an occupational title—though not, as licensing does, the practice of an occupation. Under state certification, anyone can work in an occupation, but only those who meet the state’s qualifications can call themselves “certified.”

Finally, at the bottom of the inverted pyramid’s hierarchy is licensure. Only where there is systematic, empirical proof of demonstrated, substantial harms from an occupation that cannot be mitigated by a less restrictive option should policymakers consider this regulation of last resort.

When considering whether to create a new licensing scheme (or perpetuate an existing one), lawmakers should begin by asking whether there is a demonstrated need for the government to regulate the occupation in question. If there is, they should then use the inverted pyramid to select the least restrictive means of addressing the problem.

Within that general framework, there are at least six specific reforms lawmakers can undertake to rein in licensing. The first is to repeal needless licenses. Lawmakers should scrutinize their states’ licensing laws and eliminate any that do not advance public health and safety, replacing them, if necessary, with less restrictive alternatives. This is the most direct way to free in-state workers and entrepreneurs from licensing red tape. And because the most portable license is the one that does not exist, repealing needless licenses is also the best way to welcome out-of-state workers and entrepreneurs.

The second reform is to roll back license creep, which is the expansion of occupational boundaries and accretion of unnecessary occupational rules that stifle competition. Legislators have the authority to revise and clarify licensing statutes and rules to pare back anticompetitive regulations. They should do so by statutorily exempting distinct fields where licensing is unnecessary, revising occupational definitions to permit lower-cost practitioners to provide services they are trained to provide, repealing regulations that allow licensed practitioners to monopolize harmless occupational practices, and repealing regulations that stifle innovative practices by non-licensees. Exempting hair braiders from cosmetology laws or allowing teeth whitening companies to offer services without a dentist license are just two examples.

The third reform is to codify in statute the right to engage in a lawful occupation and empower the courts to enforce it. This would give workers and entrepreneurs stymied by unnecessary licensing laws a new path to challenge them in court and win.

The fourth reform is to implement meaningful sunrise and sunset reviews for licensing laws. When implemented faithfully, these reviews provide meaningful scrutiny to

proposed (sunrise) and already enacted (sunset) licensing schemes. Lawmakers should charge an independent agency with reviewing proposed and existing occupational regulations and give it a mandate to protect competition by favoring regulation only in cases of demonstrated harm and by selecting the least restrictive option to address that harm.

The fifth reform is to rein in anticompetitive behavior of licensing boards by establishing meaningful oversight through an independent office in the executive branch. It should be charged with approving or disapproving boards’ rules, policies, and enforcement actions prior to implementation. The supervisory office should be given a mandate to promote competition and to ensure boards adopt the least restrictive means necessary to address proven public health and safety harms.

The sixth reform is to strengthen rights of people with a criminal record to gain meaningful employment by requiring case-by-case decisions on license applicants, demanding substantial proof of risk of harm to deny a license, and allowing occupational aspirants to petition boards for a written determination of whether their criminal record is disqualifying *before* they invest in required education and training for a license.

The right to earn an honest living—the “free choice of [our] occupations,” as James Madison called it—has always been a fundamental American right. But in recent decades, this right has become increasingly circumscribed by licensing barriers. Fortunately, this problem is solvable. Policymakers, scholars, and opinion leaders left, right, and center are increasingly coming to understand the drawbacks of licensing and calling for reform.

In 2015, the Obama administration called for reforming occupational licensing and provided its own guidelines for reform in a comprehensive report detailing the evidence of harms caused by overzealous licensing regimes. Among those who agree on the need for reform of occupational licensing are the Trump administration, California’s bi-partisan Little Hoover Commission, the Brookings Institution, The Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, and state leaders across the country. Such agreement on practically anything has become quite rare.

Lawmakers can use the guideline and framework presented here to seize this opportunity to reform occupational licensing. A growing body of evidence indicates such reforms will protect the public from the higher prices and poorer service that follows when professions are shielded from competition. Most of all, reforms will protect the rights of Heather and many others to pursue the occupations of their choice. ■

Mr. Carpenter is a professor at the University of Colorado and Director of Strategic Research at the Institute for Justice, a public-interest law firm specializing in economic liberty cases.

Why Does North Korea Want Nukes?

BY BRUCE KLINGNER

SINCE ASSUMING POWER IN 2011, NORTH KOREAN leader Kim Jong-un has exponentially increased testing of nuclear weapons and the missiles needed to deliver them against the United States and its allies. Experts assess that the regime now has 30 or more nuclear weapons. In 2017, North Korea tested a weapon at least 10 times more powerful than those used in 1945, indicating it has developed highly destructive hydrogen bombs.

North Korea likely already has the ability to hit South Korea and Japan with nuclear weapons on medium-range ballistic missiles. The regime also has chemical and biological weapons programs, the latter demonstrated when it used deadly VX nerve agent to assassinate the leader's half-brother in a crowded civilian airport in Indonesia. Pyongyang is also nearing deployment of intermediate-range missiles to threaten critical U.S. military bases in Guam, a key node in the defense of U.S. allies in Asia.

3DSCULPTOR/GETTY IMAGES

North Korea is on the cusp of having the ability to reach the American homeland with nuclear-tipped intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Pyongyang has successfully tested missiles that can reach the entire continental United States all the way down to Florida. Earlier this year, then-CIA Director Mike Pompeo warned that the regime may complete the program within “a handful of months.”

Pyongyang has frequently threatened to use its nuclear weapons to turn Washington into a “sea of fire.” The regime also announced that some of its missile launches were practicing nuclear airbursts against U.S. bases in South Korea and Japan.

Pyongyang’s Multiple Objectives

For decades, debate has raged over North Korea’s motivations for developing nuclear weapons. Initially, the dispute was whether Pyongyang was building a military capability or merely a negotiating chip to be bargained away for economic and diplomatic benefits. Today, some experts assess North Korea seeks only a nuclear arsenal sufficient to deter a U.S. attack. Conversely, others perceive a desire to use nuclear weapons to achieve unification of the Korean Peninsula on the North’s terms or to attack the United States.

The U.S. Intelligence Community has “long assessed that Pyongyang’s nuclear capabilities are intended for deterrence, international prestige, and coercive diplomacy.” From Pyongyang’s perspective, having nuclear weapons makes eminent sense since it concurrently fulfills several long-standing foreign policy objectives:

- Regime survival, by deterring allied attacks or retaliations in response to North Korean provocations;
- Source of national pride, by achieving equal status with the United States;
- Domestic legitimacy and international prestige for the leadership;
- Tremendous military power, overcoming deficiencies in conventional forces to achieve reunification;
- Formidable leverage for coercive diplomacy, to wrest concessions and benefits;
- Undermining of the U.S.-South Korean alliance, by sowing doubt that Washington would come to Seoul’s defense once the American homeland is under nuclear threat.

REGIME SURVIVAL. North Korean leader Kim Jong-un claims his nuclear force constitutes” a powerful deterrent that prevents [the United States] from starting an adventurous war.” Pyongyang justifies its nuclear weapons as guaranteed protection against the U.S. “hostile policy” of intimidation, military attacks, and regime change against authoritarian regimes. The North Korean military supreme command

declared: “This land is neither the Balkans nor Iraq and Libya.”

Pyongyang’s military threats, including the colorful taunt to turn Washington and Seoul into a “sea of fire,” are usually issued in a conditional context, depicting them as a response to any U.S. attack. In his 2018 New Year’s Day speech, Kim Jong-un declared: “As a responsible nuclear weapons state, our Republic will not use a nuclear weapon unless its sovereignty is encroached upon by any aggressive hostile forces with nukes.”

NORTH KOREA STANDS ALONE. Contrary to widespread misperception of a close Chinese-North Korean political relationship, Pyongyang feels threatened by its neighbor to the north as well as by the United States since Beijing has acquiesced to joining in sanctions against North Korea. All three generations of North Korean leadership have warned of the dangers of Chinese intimidation. A traditional Korean adage depicts the peninsula as a “shrimp amongst whales.”

The North Korean nuclear program was born in the 1960s due to the perception that the regime couldn’t rely on either of its superpower allies—the Soviet Union and China—for its defense. Moscow was seen as having abandoned Havana during the Cuban missile crisis, and Beijing refused to share information from its nuclear tests.

North Korea sees nuclear weapons as a means of gaining equal status with the United States. Pyongyang has long sought formal recognition as a nuclear weapons state in order to deal with Washington from a position of equity. North Korean Foreign Minister Ri Yong-ho told the UN General Assembly that Pyongyang’s ultimate goal is to “establish the balance of power with the U.S.”

LEADERSHIP LEGITIMACY. Even more than his father and grandfather, Kim Jong-un has linked his personal prestige to the country’s nuclear and ICBM programs. Lacking the revolutionary credentials or lengthy government tenure of his predecessors, Kim embraces the programs and the breakthroughs in recent years as his exclusive contribution to fulfilling long-standing regime objectives and defending the country.

North Korean official media frequently release photos of Kim attending missile launches, lauding him as the visionary and driving force. Kim is thus able to convey an image of infallibility and invincibility which helps secure his control of power. By declaring that the nuclear button is on his desk, Kim portrays himself as uniquely qualified to defend the country.

MILITARY CAPABILITY. Nuclear devices are the ultimate weapon and give North Korea the power to wreak havoc on its neighbors and the United States. Pyongyang already has the ability to target South Korea and Japan with nuclear weapons



NORTH KOREAN TROOPS march through Kim Il-sung square in Pyongyang on the eve of the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea.

and is nearing completion of longer-range missiles to hit U.S. bases in Guam and the American homeland. Last year, the regime successfully tested two ICBM variants and an H-bomb with at least 10 times the explosive power of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs.

North Korea is developing several means to ensure greater survivability of its missile forces, enhancing both a preemptive first-strike and retaliatory second-strike capability. Pyongyang is testing several different solid-fueled missiles which require less fueling time, along with mobile ground-based launchers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. The regime has also practiced missile launches under wartime conditions by firing them from diverse locations throughout the country and conducting salvo launches of several missiles simultaneously.

ENHANCING COERCIVE DIPLOMACY. Attaining an unambiguous nuclear ICBM capability could lead Pyongyang to perceive it has immunity from any international response. This might tempt the regime to act even more belligerently, trying to intimidate the United States and its allies into accepting North Korean diktats. The regime could also use rising international fear of its nuclear prowess to pressure

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North Korea has long sought to drive a wedge between the United States and its partners by depicting Seoul’s alliance with Washington as the impediment to improved inter-Korean relations and eventual reunification.

other Six-Party Talks participants to abandon denuclearization as their goal and instead accept limitations on North Korea’s nuclear programs in return for diplomatic and economic concessions.

DECOUPLING THE ALLIANCES. North Korea has long sought to drive a wedge between the United States and its partners by depicting Seoul’s alliance with Washington as the impediment to improved inter-Korean relations and eventual reunification. Characteristically, Kim Jong-un declared in his 2018 New Year’s Day speech: “the North and the South improve the relations between themselves and take decisive measures for achieving a breakthrough

for independent reunification” without U.S. interference. Doing so, however, requires South Korea to “discontinue all the nuclear war drills they stage with outside forces [and] refrain from any acts of bringing in nuclear armaments and aggressive forces from the United States.”

Pyongyang’s approaching ability to target the continental United States with nuclear weapons has aggravated allied concerns about U.S. capability, resolve, and willingness to defend their countries. This trend is most prevalent in South Korea, which fears the United States “wouldn’t trade Los Angeles for Seoul.” This, coupled with growing anxi-

KCNA/UPI/NEWS.COM



NORTH KOREAN TANKS take part in a parade to mark the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea in Kim Il-sung Square in Pyongyang on October 10, 2010.

ety that the United States is contemplating a preventive attack on North Korea, has led some in South Korea to advocate a more independent policy from Washington.

How Does North Korea Achieve Its Objectives?

For decades, North Korea was able to keep the world at bay as it pursued nuclear weapons and ICBM programs, first in secret and then in open defiance of UN resolutions. The regime was able to do so through a comprehensive multi-faceted strategy of “deny, deceive, and delay.”

PREPARING THE BATTLEFIELD—DEMANDING A PRICE FOR ATTENDING NEGOTIATIONS.

North Korea often achieved several objectives prior to even entering the negotiating venue. Pyongyang would fortify its bargaining position by conditioning its return on receiving preliminary concessions from its opponents as well as determining the agenda so that it reflected North Korean policy priorities.

By holding out the promise of returning to the talks rather than issuing an outright rejection, North Korea sought to

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Pyongyang’s approaching ability to target the continental United States with nuclear weapons has aggravated allied concerns about U.S. capability, resolve, and willingness to defend their countries.

portray itself as a reasonable negotiating partner. Pyongyang would signal it was interested in resuming negotiations while concurrently rejecting U.S. preconditions by characterizing them as insufficient. Doing so put Washington on the defensive and susceptible to additional pressure from China (and from South Korea, when it had Left-leaning governments) to provide greater U.S. “flexibility.”

“GOOD COP, BAD COP”—CREATING THE ILLUSION OF FACTIONALISM. North Korea long cultivated the image of factional infighting between “engagers” and “hardliners” as a negotiating tool. In fact, the ministries of foreign affairs and defense were simply playing the roles of good cop and bad cop in order to gain maximum diplomatic and economic

benefits. In the words of a Korean adage, “the same animal has sharp claws and soft fur.”

RAISING BRINKSMANSHIP TO AN ART FORM. Pyongyang escalated tensions to define negotiating parameters and extract maximum benefits for minimal

KYODO/NEWS.COM

concessions. North Korean brinksmanship raised the price of an eventual deal, slowed down the negotiating process until opponents were willing to meet North Korean terms, and created a parallel crisis to divert attention from a negotiating impasse.

North Korea’s escalation is opportunistic rather than reactive to U.S. actions. By moving up the escalatory ladder, North Korea retains the initiative and controls the pace of the game, forcing the United States and others to respond. Raising tensions may gain Pyongyang what it desires or at least expose fault lines in a coalition that North Korea can then exploit. Pyongyang believes it can force the United States to negotiate either by applying leverage directly on Washington or indirectly through its allies.

TWO-TRACK DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY. Pyongyang often used a combination of threats and assurances to garner diplomatic and economic support from China, Russia, and South Korea by raising the specter of a deteriorating security situation.

Pyongyang’s two-track strategy complicated U.S. attempts to gain Chinese and Russian support for imposing sanctions. North Korea’s seeming reasonableness encouraged Beijing and Moscow to resist tough enforcement of the trade sanctions, let alone U.S. demands for additional sanctions beyond those mandated by the UN.

INCHING ACROSS THE REDLINE. Pyongyang used the years of negotiating foot-dragging and delays to augment its stockpile from an estimated one to two nuclear weapons at the end of the 1990s to enough fissile material for approximately 30 or more weapons today.

Under Kim Jong-il, North Korea’s strategy had been to build slowly toward an escalatory act, thereby allowing the United States and its allies sufficient time to offer new diplomatic or economic inducements. On those occasions when North Korea carried out the act, it followed with several months of calm to allow all countries to become accustomed to the new elevated status quo prior to initiating the next lengthy provocation process.

Unlike his father, Kim Jong-un has eschewed engagement, maneuvering for negotiations, and charm offensives. Kim *files* preferred an all-out sprint to cross the finish line of a viable nuclear weapons and ICBM capability. He lost an opportunity to induce liberal Presidents Obama and Moon Jae-in to offer benefits and move away from pressure tactics. Kim’s hardline strategy drove the international community into greater consensus on the need to punish and pressure the recalcitrant regime.

But Kim’s 2018 New Year Day speech may have marked a turning point. In it, he extended an olive branch to Seoul which was quickly grasped by President Moon in order to

lower tensions on the peninsula. Bilateral discussions led to an agreement for a North Korean team to join the Olympics in South Korea. Skepticism abounds as to how sincere or effective Kim Jong-un’s charm offensive will be, since all previous Korean reconciliation efforts collapsed.

TOO HIGH A COST. If Kim shows a willingness to return to nuclear negotiations, it would come with a price. Pyongyang has always coupled diplomatic outreach with an ambitious list of demands, including:

- **Military:** the end of U.S.-South Korean military exercises, removal of U.S. troops from South Korea, abrogation of the bilateral defense alliance between the United States and South Korea, cancellation of the U.S. extended-deterrence guarantee, and worldwide dismantlement of all U.S. nuclear weapons;
- **Political:** establishment of formal diplomatic relations with the United States, signing of a peace treaty to end the Korean War, and no action on the U.N. Commission of Inquiry report on North Korean human rights abuses;
- **Law enforcement:** removal of all U.N. sanctions, U.S. sanctions, EU sanctions, and targeted financial measures; and
- **Societal:** restrictions on South Korean constitutionally protected freedoms of speech and assembly, including suppressing the publication of “insulting” articles by South Korean media and forbidding anti-North Korean public demonstrations in Seoul.

Conclusion

How one interprets the motivations driving North Korea’s nuclear weapons program influences one’s views on the appropriate U.S. policy response. A belief that the primary purpose is defensive leads to advocacy for pursuing a negotiated freeze on the regime’s nuclear program. Theoretically, a freeze could lead to denuclearization.

At the other end of the spectrum, an assessment that Pyongyang’s dominant reason for a nuclear arsenal is to invade South Korea and achieve Korean unification leads to advocacy for a U.S. preventive attack before Pyongyang achieves an ICBM capability. A middle viewpoint is that the North’s nuclear weapons are more than a benign defense mechanism, but that the regime is unlikely to initiate an invasion as long as the U.S.-South Korean alliance remains strong. As such, the best policy for the U.S. is a comprehensive strategy of deterrence, containment, pressure, and eventual regime change. 🇺🇸

Mr. Klingner is a senior research fellow on Northeast Asia at The Heritage Foundation.



Taking Students Out of Safe Spaces

HOW THE GLOUCESTER INSTITUTE IS BUILDING THE NEXT GENERATION OF MINORITY LEADERS

BY KELSEY HARKNESS AND JARRETT STEPMAN

HOLLY KNOLL, IN CAPPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA, the home of the Gloucester Institute.

MAURICE KUYKENDOLL GREW UP ON THE west side of Chicago, one of the most dangerous areas in the city. He easily could have gone down the path of crime, drugs, and gangs, as many children in this neighborhood did, but Kuykendoll's parents had a different plan for their children.

"My parents worked very, very hard to leverage education as the key to upward mobility," he says. "So my brother and I went to very good magnet schools in the city."

That decision was a good one. Unlike most of his childhood friends, Kuykendoll and his brother succeeded academically and went to college. But while everything looked good on paper, there was a disconnect in their lives.

"We were living two lives," Kuykendoll says. "We went to a black church and I had black friends and we were in a black family, and then five days a week we'd go off to this school somewhere in another neighborhood."

As difficult as the arrangement sometimes was, Kuykendoll went on to obtain a full scholarship to Hampton University in southeastern Virginia, where he became one of the top-performing students in his class.

"We're kind of on the climb in our generation, even within our family unit, to something better," he says. "But what that meant and looked like and how it operated was still relatively undefined."

That's because growing up in inner-city Chicago, Kuykendoll rarely brushed shoulders with African-American leaders in business, politics, or culture.

Kuykendoll lacked the networks that wealthier students often had, such as the resources to fund internships that lead to jobs. But during his junior year at Hampton University, Kuykendoll received a break: the opportunity to connect with some of the most successful African-American leaders in the Virginia region and the country.

Building Skills

The opportunity came in the form of a letter from The Gloucester Institute, asking him to join its inaugural class of Emerging Leaders.

"I had no idea who these people were," Kuykendoll says. But, not wanting to pass up a good opportunity, Kuykendoll and a few friends packed their bags and made the hour-long drive from Hampton University to Cappahosic, Virginia, to spend the weekend hearing from people like Ken Blackwell, a former

Republican secretary of state for Ohio and now a senior fellow at the Family Research Council.

"We actually sat in the car for a while to decide if we wanted to go in," Kuykendoll says of his arrival at the Robert Russa Moton House, which was still undergoing renovations for its first group of students. "The outside was not the kind of place where we thought we should be spending our weekend."

The Gloucester Institute nurtures and trains promising African-American young leaders through a variety of fellowships, seminars, and meet-ups.

Separating itself from other organizations that strive to help minority students, The Gloucester Institute selects from the highest-performing African-American students—those who are already destined to be leaders in their chosen fields.

One goal of The Gloucester Institute is to equip students with the community connections and competitive edge they need to go on to become community, business, and national leaders.

"These are students who are the achievers and leaders on their campuses and who will more than likely be the leaders and achievers in the future," says Martin Brown, executive director

at The Gloucester Institute. Part of his job is to work with colleges to find their best and brightest.

These students, Brown says, "are capable in their hard skills but not in their soft skills."

Their hard skills get them hired but their soft skills get them fired. One of the things we started implementing at Gloucester was a character program where they have to write about and speak about and understand different character principles like virtue, and responsibility, and the meaning of loyalty—things that made our country great.

Another goal is to expose students to people and ideas The Gloucester Institute believes will create a better future for minorities and the country as a whole. Among those ideas are educational freedom, immigration reform, tax cuts, and preservation of the family.

"We're not associated with any party or any movement," says Kay Coles James, founder of The Gloucester Institute. She adds:

But it should surprise no one that if you want to solve the problem of educational disparities, then you have



GLOUCESTER INSTITUTE
alumnus Maurice Kuykendall
accepts a Marketplace Award on
behalf of Prudential Financial, Inc.,
from Springboard Consulting's
Nadine Vogel at the
2010 Disability Matters
North America Conference.

to look at issues like school choice. It should surprise no one that if you want to know how to resolve the problems of entitlements in our country, then we have to look at ways of making people self-sufficient and independent. I can go right down the list of issues.

Carrying the Torch

While Kuykendoll would not see the Moton House fully renovated until after his fellowship ended, his semester in Cappahosic allowed him to experience it as generations of African-American leaders before him had—as a place of fellowship, inspiration, and strength for the battles ahead.

In 1935, Robert Russa Moton, a black educator and civil rights leader, built a large retirement manor on the banks of the York River in Gloucester County. This is the house that would eventually be known as the Moton House, but it was known then as Holly Knoll—a moniker still used today as well.

“His purpose in building such a large retirement home was to have a safe place not only for people to come and debate the issues of the day but to also have a retreat center for the presidents of historically black colleges and universities,” says Brown. “Because during that time, they weren’t allowed to go anywhere else. They were limited to homes of others.”

Moton was the second president of the Tuskegee Institute, taking over for its famed founder, Booker T. Washington, in 1915. Washington was deeply impressed by Moton, and said of his eventual successor, “It has been through contact with men like Major Moton—clean, wholesome, high-souled gentlemen [...]—that I have received a kind of education no books could impart.”

Moton lived at Holly Knoll only five years until his death in 1940, but his work helped lay the foundation for the civil rights movement. Indeed, Holly Knoll would continue to serve the leaders who would turn the civil rights movement into a national force.

For example, Moton’s son-in-law, Frederick Douglass Patterson, took over the property and used it to promote the education of young, black Americans. With the help of other activists, Patterson spearheaded the creation of the United Negro College Fund, which grants scholarships to students so they may attend historically black colleges and universities.

The home continued to be a safe harbor for African-Americans throughout the civil rights era. In 1960, four North Carolina A&T students met at Holly Knoll to plan a protest of the segregated lunch counters at Woolworth’s department store in Greensboro, North Carolina. By asking for lunch

SPRINGBOARD CONSULTING, LLC AND THE 2010 DISABILITY MATTERS NORTH AMERICA CONFERENCE & AWARDS

and refusing to leave when denied service, the “Greensboro Four” inspired a sit-in movement that spread to 55 cities in 13 states over the next few months.

Martin Luther King, Jr., visited Holly Knoll many times. On one visit, a brief rest stop, he was preparing to deliver his “I Have a Dream” speech at the 1963 March on Washington.

Holly Knoll was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1981. By that time however, the property was largely abandoned and stood vacant until 1995, when a couple purchased the home and attempted a restoration. However, Holly Knoll didn’t receive a full-fledged renovation until it was purchased by Charles and Kay Coles James in 2005.

Engaging with Ideas

Through The Gloucester Institute, Holly Knoll continues today as a safe place for learning and debating the issues of the day. But while African-Americans of generations past faced very real threats to their physical safety on a daily basis, many of today’s students clamor for a different kind of safe space. For them, the term “safe space” means not a refuge against those who would assault them or worse; rather it means a refuge against those who would challenge their ideas.

That, says James, is most emphatically not what The Gloucester Institute offers. “I just had this conversation with students who were debating with me, claiming that we need safe spaces on college campuses,” James says. “They actually want physical safe spaces where they can go. And I said: ‘Sweetie, I’m trying to raise you to be in a place where your safe space is within you. You just need to go internally because it’s a tough, difficult, cruel world out there.’ We’re trying to raise war fighters, not snowflakes.”

The task is not easy. “You can’t expect one interaction to turn it around,” James says. “That’s why it’s a year-long program with lots of conversations.”

The most well-known program at The Gloucester Institute, the Emerging Leaders Program, runs for an entire school year, taking a group of 20 to 25 students and fostering their personal development in the public, political, and nonprofit realms. Students spend one weekend a month at the Moton campus, typically coming from nearby colleges such as Hampton University, Virginia Union University, or Virginia State.

Other programs at The Gloucester Institute include the Moton Fellowship, which pays undergrads a \$1,500 stipend to spend the summer in the Washington, D.C., area experiencing one-on-one coaching and mentoring from experts in their field.

In each of these programs, The Gloucester Institute brings in minority leaders from diverse backgrounds and perspectives, such as former Congressman J. C. Watts, R-Okla., Rep. Bobby Scott, D-Va., conservative leader Ken Blackwell, former

Secretary of Education Rod Paige, and former CEO of Popeyes Louisiana Kitchen Cheryl Bachelder.

“When I got summer internships—for instance at Price-waterhouseCoopers—there weren’t a lot of black leaders at public accounting firms,” Kuykendoll says.

Meeting minority leaders face-to-face and seeing them invest in his career was a big step.

“That was a really important piece of me getting to where I am, but it was hard for me to know I didn’t have that until it appeared,” he says, adding:

I had a person who was on the board of a major public company who I could call and say: “I got invited to the board meeting. What should I say? What shouldn’t I say? What are they going to care about? What are they not interested in? What’s the right level of detail?” That’s what really makes a difference, that those people were there and they were accessible to me. I had a model, and I had an adviser.

“Leadership development is a really important part of making the transition from high potential into highly effective,” Kuykendoll says, adding:

Working with students who are smart, who are driven, who have what it takes on the standard metrics, who need just a little bit of coaching, a little bit of polish, some different exposure, the institute can build a cadre of leaders and get a critical mass across industry, business, and politics.

Finding Solutions

Kuykendoll is a conservative. Many students who go through The Gloucester Institute are not, including his best friend who started the program alongside him. “I’m still conservative and he’s still not, but we’re still best friends in a lot of ways because we went through the program together,” Kuykendoll says.

James is an accomplished and dedicated conservative. She held positions in the Reagan administration and both Bush administrations, served under Virginia Governor George Allen, and was dean of Regent University’s government school. Shortly before Christmas, she was named president of The Heritage Foundation. In her own life, she welcomes discussion and debate with people who identify as liberal, which is precisely what she hopes to foster inside the Moton House.

“You don’t have to be a conservative in The Gloucester Institute,” says James. “You have to be respectful and logical and well-reasoned and go with the conclusion that you think is right for you but not demagogue the other side.”

The program seeks to connect with accomplished students regardless of political perspective and to engage them in civil,



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Martin Luther King, Jr., visited Holly Knoll many times. On one visit, a brief rest stop, he was preparing to deliver his “I Have a Dream” speech at the 1963 March on Washington.

respectful discussions surrounding the important policy questions of our day. In doing so, James believes students are able to get past the labels that are so often thrown around in politics and avoid demonizing those with whom they disagree.

An example of how the institute fulfills that mission is “The Great Debate,” an annual event where students take turns debating one side of an issue and then switch.

“In today’s college environment, you don’t hear that. You don’t receive that. I mean, everything is unfortunately so politically correct that students are discouraged to think outside of the orthodoxy of the day. And so what we do is require them to not only think it, but to study it and be able to debate it,” says Brown.

Jordyn Hawkins-Rippie, a Baltimore native and a graduate of the 2016-2017 Emerging Leaders program, says his class debated whether the current immigration policy is favorable to current U.S. citizens. Each student is required to take both the affirmative and the negative position, so they learn, understand, and become conversant in both sides.

“I think a lot of people tend to have a very one-sided understanding of certain issues because they don’t understand them entirely,” he says. “But a skill that Gloucester has taught us is to really look at both sides of an issue or both sides of a

topic. Then go from there and draw whatever conclusions or whatever belief you have from that point.”

After graduating from the program, Hawkins-Rippie went on to intern in House Speaker Paul Ryan’s office and then served as James’s executive assistant. Now he is a Fulbright scholar teaching students in Malaysia how to read and write English. One day, he hopes to enter politics, or a career where he can use the communication skills he learned at The Gloucester Institute to work across different cultures and political ideologies.

“Not everybody comes out of the program as a conservative,” James says. “But many have come out of the program saying: ‘Oh my gosh, I have to be able to listen to other ideas and make this about ideas and not about debating a political party—ideas that help our community.’ That’s all I want.”

“We’re trying to produce ‘solutionists,’” added Brown. “We’re trying to produce people who are able to understand and solve the problems of their day.”

Ms. Harkness is the 2017-2018 Tony Blankley Fellow at The Steamboat Institute and a Senior News Producer at The Daily Signal, the multimedia news outlet of The Heritage Foundation. Mr. Stepman is a contributor to The Daily Signal.

UPI PHOTO SERVICE/NEWSCOM



AUGUST

6-8 Economics and Morality, Acton Institute, Kreitingos g. 36, Klaipeda, Lithuania

7 America First Energy Conference, The Heartland Institute, Hilton Riverside Hotel, New Orleans

7 Evening Reception with Economist Stephen Moore, Maine Heritage Policy Center, Portland Country Club, Falmouth, Maine, 5:30 PM

8-10 45th American Legislative Exchange Council Annual Meeting, Hilton New Orleans Riverside

8-11 August Reagan Ranch High School Conference, Young America’s Foundation, Reagan Ranch Center, Santa Barbara, Calif.

9 Abraham Lincoln’s Moral Constitution, Acton Institute, Grand Rapids, Mich., Noon

13-22 Young America’s Foundation River Cruise, Prague

19-25 Hoover Institution Summer Policy Boot Camp, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

23-24 Africa Liberty Forum, Atlas Network, Eko Hotels and Suites, Lagos, Nigeria.

PHOTO COURTESY YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

SEPTEMBER

7 Texas Chapters Conference, Federalist Society, Fort Worth Convention Center, 5:30 PM

13 Pacific Research Institute’s Baroness Thatcher Gala, Fashion Island Hotel Newport Beach, Calif., 6 PM

14 Conference on the 10th Anniversary of the 2008 Financial Crisis, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., 10 AM-4 PM

17 17th Annual Constitution Day, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C. 10:30 AM-7 PM

17 Constitution Day Celebration, Allan P. Kirby, Jr., Center for Constitutional Studies and Citizenship

21-23 Values Voter Summit, Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

24 Better Government Competition Awards Gala, Pioneer Institute, Seaport Hotel, Boston, 6 PM-9 PM

26 American Legislative Exchange Council 45th Anniversary Gala, Trump International Hotel, Washington, D.C.

OCTOBER

1 Fall Briefing Featuring Alan Dershowitz, Center of the American Experiment, Ordway Center for the Performing Arts, St. Paul, 7 PM

9-12 State Policy Network Annual Meeting, The Grand America Hotel, Salt Lake City

12 Cato Institute Policy Perspectives 2018, Intercontinental Barclay Hotel, New York, 10:30 AM-2 PM

12 Washington Policy Center Annual Dinner, Hyatt Regency, Bellevue, Wash., 6 pm-9 PM

12 Young Professionals Annual Dinner, Washington Policy Center, Hyatt Regency, Bellevue, Wash., 6 PM-9 PM

17 Acton Institute Annual Dinner, JW Marriot, Grand Rapids, Mich., 6 PM

17-20 October Reagan Ranch High School Conference, Young America’s Foundation, Reagan Ranch Center, Santa Barbara, Calif.

23 Badger Institute Annual Dinner, Wisconsin Club, Milwaukee, 5:30 PM-8 PM

24 Eastern Washington Annual Dinner, Washington Policy Center, Davenport Grand Hotel, Spokane, Wash., 6 PM-9 PM

26 Heartland Institute’s 34th Anniversary Dinner, The Cotillion, Palatine, Illinois, 5:30 PM-9 PM

NOVEMBER

2 Cato Institute Policy Perspectives 2018, The St. Regis San Francisco, 10:30 AM-2 PM

3 Reason’s 50th Anniversary Gala, The Ritz-Carlton, Los Angeles,

7 Foreign Policy Research Institute Annual Dinner—Dictators vs. Democrats in the 21st Century: A Scorecard, Union League of Philadelphia, 6 PM-9 PM

7-8 Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner, Atlas Network, Crowne Plaza Times Square Hotel and Intrepid Museum Manhattan, New York

9 Goldwater Institute’s 30th Anniversary Dinner Gala, JW Marriot Scottsdale Camelback Inn, Scottsdale, Ariz., 6:30 PM-9 PM

9-10 Fall College Retreat, Young America’s Foundation

12 Conversations with Tyler: Daniel Kahneman, Mercatus Center, George Mason University Founders Hall Auditorium, Arlington, Va., 6 PM

14 Independent Women’s Forum Annual Awards Gala, DAR Constitution Hall, Washington, D.C., 6 PM

15 National Lawyers Convention, Federalist Society, The Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., Noon

15 Tax Prom, Tax Foundation, National Building Museum, Washington, D.C., 6 PM-10:30 PM

15-17 Liberty and the Intellectual Roots of Modern Market Economics, Acton Institute, Amway Grand Plaza Hotel, Grand Rapids, Mich.

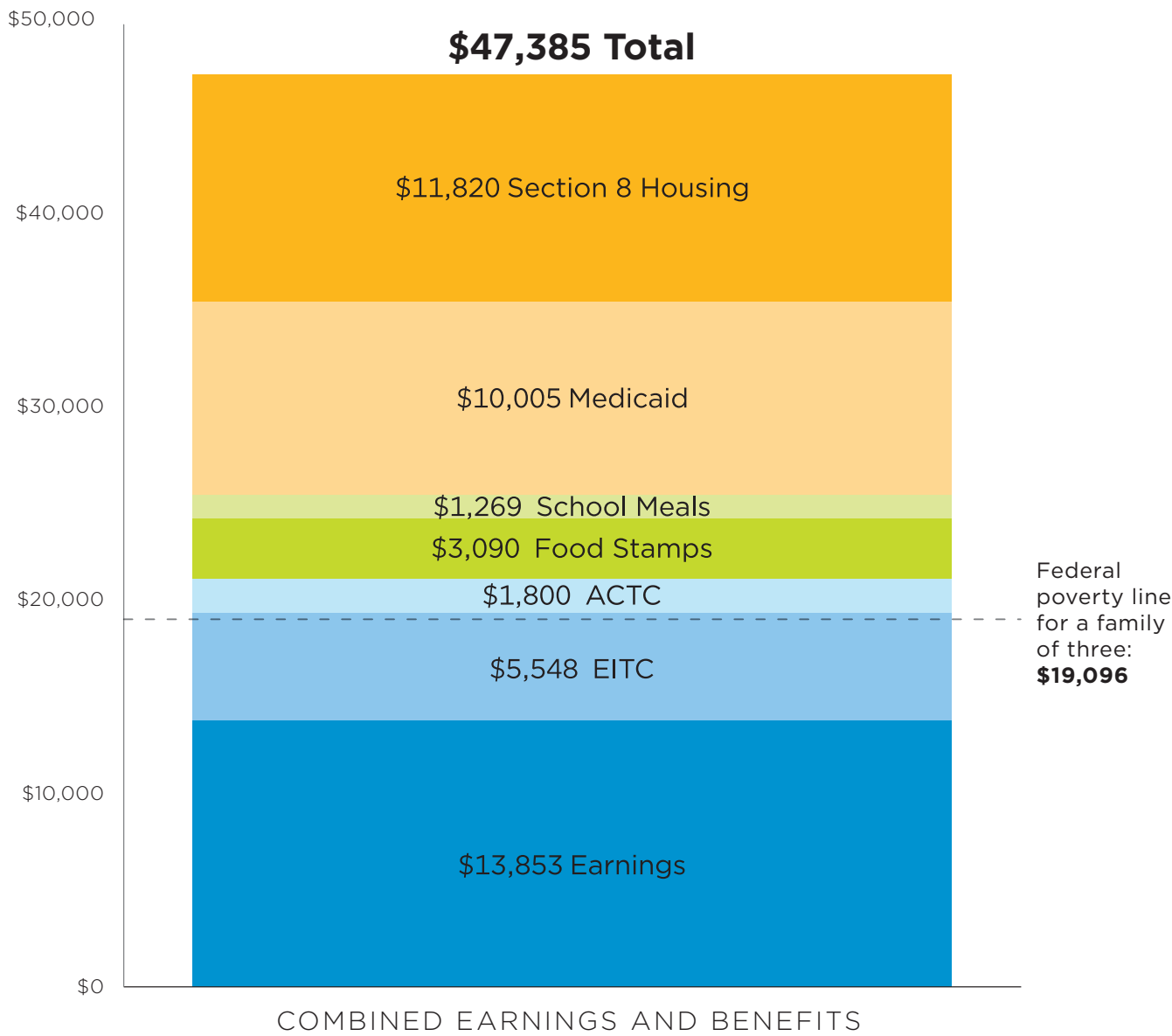
23 Policy Over Politics Leadership Breakfast, Georgia Public Policy Foundation, 1818 Club, Duluth, Ga., 8 AM

28-30 States & Nation Policy Summit, American Legislative Exchange Council, Grand Hyatt, Washington, D.C.

30 Cato Institute Policy Perspectives 2018, The Drake Hotel, Chicago, 10:30 AM-2 PM

How Generous Is the Welfare State?

The resources available to a single mother of two



NOTES: Figures are for 2015. In this scenario, the mother has two school-age children, lives in a Medicaid expansion state, and receives Section 8 vouchers for a three-bedroom apartment.
SOURCE: Calculations by Robert Rector and Vijay Menon from “Understanding the Hidden \$1.1 Trillion Welfare System and How to Reform It,” *Backgrounders* 3294, The Heritage Foundation, April 5, 2018.

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Getting a cosmetology license takes 12 times longer than getting an EMT license.

According to the Institute for Justice, it takes 372 days of training and/or experience, on average, to get a license to practice cosmetology. On the other hand, a person needs only 33 days of training and/or experience, on average, to become a licensed emergency medical technician. Other jobs that have greater average training requirements than EMTs include interior designer, glazier, tree trimmer, auctioneer, and home entertainment installer. Why are these seemingly low-risk jobs so heavily regulated? Read our cover story beginning at page 20 to find out.

GRANGER WOOTZ BLEND IMAGES/NEWSCOM