

THE PREMIERE ISSUE

Volume 1 Issue 2 • March/April 2008

www.freedomsjournalmagazine.com

\$3.50



# Freedom's

JOURNAL MAGAZINE

The Political Voice of Conservative Reform



# Is The Black Conservative Our Hope For Tomorrow?





# Books With A Christian Worldview

educate, encourage, empower



*Reflecting  
the Character  
of Christ*

**i  
b**  
integrity books



Volume 1 • Issue 2

**Corporate office**

PO Box 2281  
Matteson, IL 60443  
(708) 679-0758

**E-mail**

info@freedomjournalmagazine.com

**Web site**

www.freedomjournalmagazine.com

**PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER**

Eric M. Wallace, PhD

**EDITORIAL**

Michael Donnelly  
Joan S. Wallace, PhD  
John H. Wallace

**CONTRIBUTING WRITERS**

Joseph Bast  
David Brooks  
John Eaglin  
Eddie Huff  
Caesar LeFlore  
Anthony Palmer  
Talitha Phillips  
Eric M. Wallace  
Armstrong Williams

**OP-ED ARTICLES**

Ken Blackwell  
Star Parker  
Michael Steele  
Lee Walker

**ART DEPARTMENT**

MDM Design  
Michelle D. Muhammad

**Freedom's Journal Magazine** is published bi-monthly by Wallace Multimedia Group, llc P.O. Box 2281 Matteson IL 60443. Copyright Wallace Multimedia Group, llc 2008. All rights reserved. Reproduction or use without permission, of editorial or graphic content in any manner, is strictly prohibited. Views expressed in opinion stories, contributions, articles and letters are not necessarily the view of the publisher. The appearance of advertisements for products or services does not constitute an endorsement of the particular product or service. The publisher will not be responsible for mistakes in advertisements unless notified within five days of publication. Wallace Multimedia Group, LLC reserves the right to revise or reject any and all advertising.

**Publisher's Welcome**



**Welcome to Freedom's Journal Magazine (FJM)**

**W**elcome to the premiere edition of Freedom's Journal Magazine (FJM). In this issue we discuss conservatism, its principled foundation, and why it is the hope for tomorrow. We believe that conservatism in general and black conservatism in particular is our hope for transforming the black community. This issue is intended to be a catalyst for the debate, not the end of it. The question of the relevance of conservative ideas for the advancement of black people and any race for that matter, will be a continuing discussion in future issues of FJM. Our goal is to help shape and reform conservative ideas and precepts that have either been lost or contorted so that they are no longer recognized. We hope to destroy the misconceptions of conservative philosophy and policy that pervades the black community and is sometimes perpetuated by uninformed white conservatives.

I believe, along with other black conservatives, that the future of our race as a people and our nation as a whole rises and falls on our comprehending, articulating then implementing these conservative ideas. We proffer ideas and policies that will promote freedom and personal responsibility and discourage dependency. These ideas and policies empower the average person to reach their fullest potential and fulfill the American dream.

One of the first leading black conservatives said, "Our destiny is largely in our own hands. If we find, we shall have to seek. If we

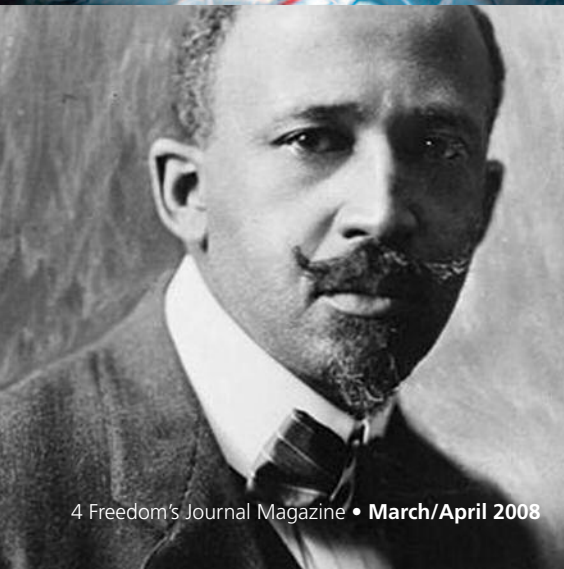
succeed in the race of life it must be by our own energies, and by our own exertions. Others may clear the road, but we must go forward, or be left behind in the race of life."

He also warned against relying on others but to become self-sufficient when he said, "[i]f we remain poor and dependent, the riches of other men will not avail us. If we are ignorant, the intelligence of other men will do but little for us. If we are foolish, the wisdom of other men will not guide us. If we are wasteful of time and money, the economy of other men will only make our destitution the more disgraceful and hurtful."

These words of Frederick Douglass hold as much meaning today as they did when he first proclaimed them to newly freed slaves. Unfortunately many today have not taken his sentiment to heart. They have become dependent on the riches of others and left their destiny in the hands of the bureaucracy. They will never know true freedom because they have gone from one master to another. It is freedom from big government that will grant us the opportunity to "succeed in the race of life," through our own blood, sweat, and tears.

Freedom's Journal Magazine intends to do its part in the emancipation of the mindset that believes big government can solve our problems. This issue is the first step in a series of many in the long arduous journey to real freedom and our hope for tomorrow. ■

*Eric M. Wallace, PhD*  
Eric M. Wallace, PhD



# Table of Contents

Publisher's Welcome 3

Conservative Principles 101 6

The Black Social Conservative 8

## FEATURES

An Interview With Herman Cain 12

The Economy, Republican Hypocrisy & An Argument for Economic Conservatism 16

Conservatism vs The Borg (Liberalism) 20

The State of Black Conservatism 22

The Uncommon Pledge 24

The Origins of Black Liberalism and Conservatism 26

## THE ISSUES

Whose Choice? 30

The Real Essence of Freedom 32

What's Happening to My Healthcare? 34

## POINT — COUNTER POINT

A Fundamental Choice 36

Response To: A Fundamental Choice 37

The Wisdom of Milton Friedman and Conservative Ideology 38

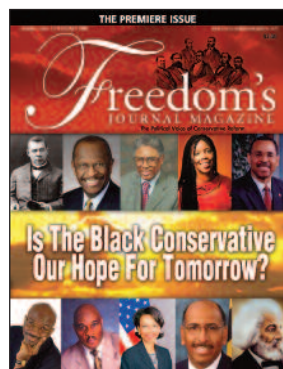
## OPINIONS

Can Blacks Live The American Dream? 40

Hillarycare Is Not The Answer 41

Now Is The Time To Act 42

The Real Obama 43

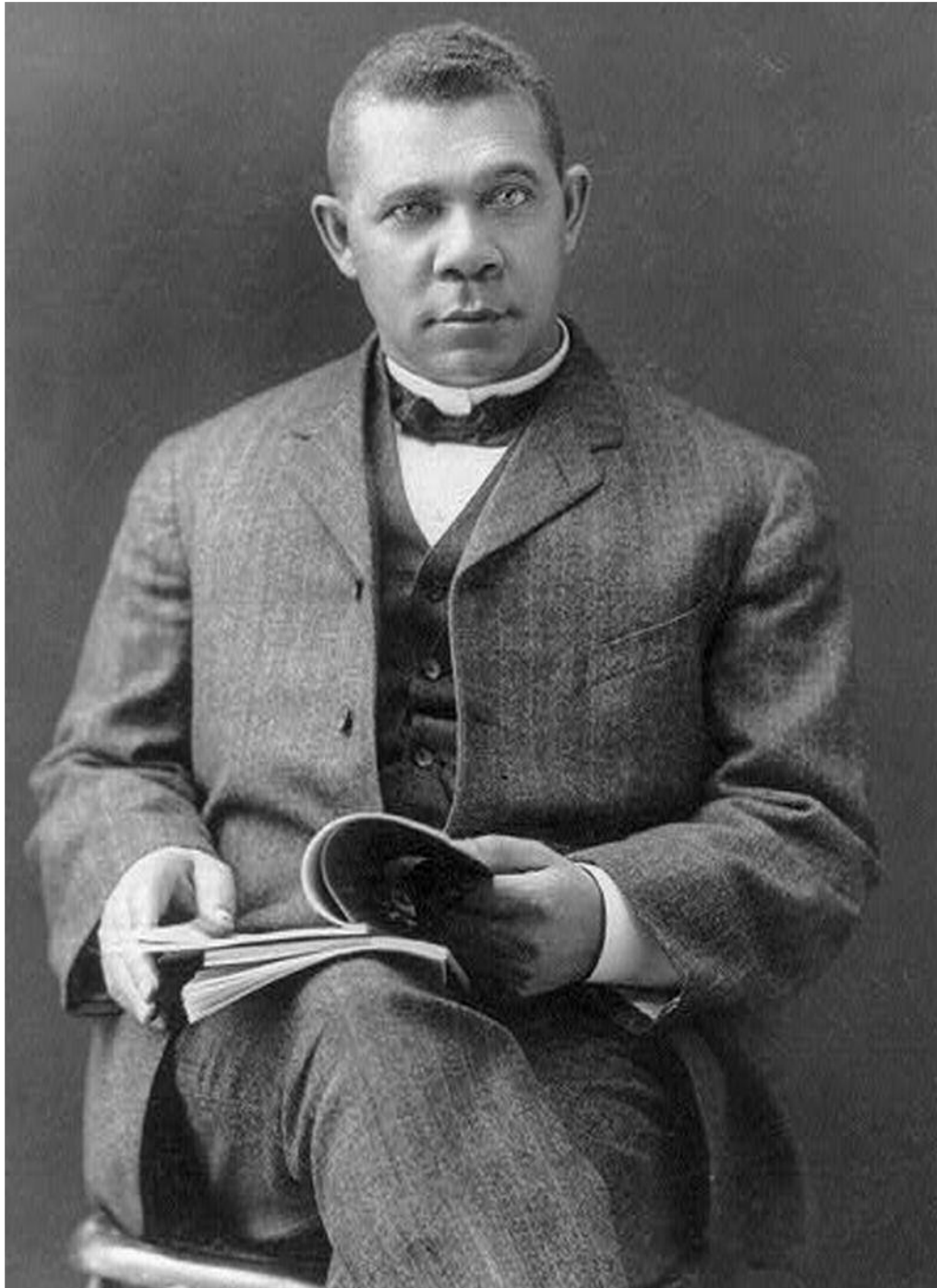


### On The Cover:

**Top:** Booker T. Washington, Herman Cain, Star Parker, Ken Blackwell

**Bottom:** Armstrong Williams, Wayne Perryman, Condoleeza Rice, Michael Steele, Frederick Douglass





“Success is to be measured not so much by the position that one has reached in life... as by the obstacles which he has overcome while trying to succeed.”

*Booker T. Washington*

# What Do Conservatives Believe?

Conservatives hold to a set of core values and principles that are foundational to our political philosophy. They have been dubbed the **L.I.F.T. Principles**:

### Limited Government

Citizens deserve a government, which is fiscally responsible. Waste, fraud and duplication in government must be eliminated. Public debt, except for infrastructure, should be avoided. Government budgets should fit within existing revenues. Spending reductions, not tax increases, are the preferred solutions to revenue shortfalls.

Taxation should be restricted to the most minimal levels, and the burden of taxation should be spread as equally as possible among US citizens. Taxation should never be employed for the purposes of redistributing wealth or restricting productivity, economic growth, or savings.

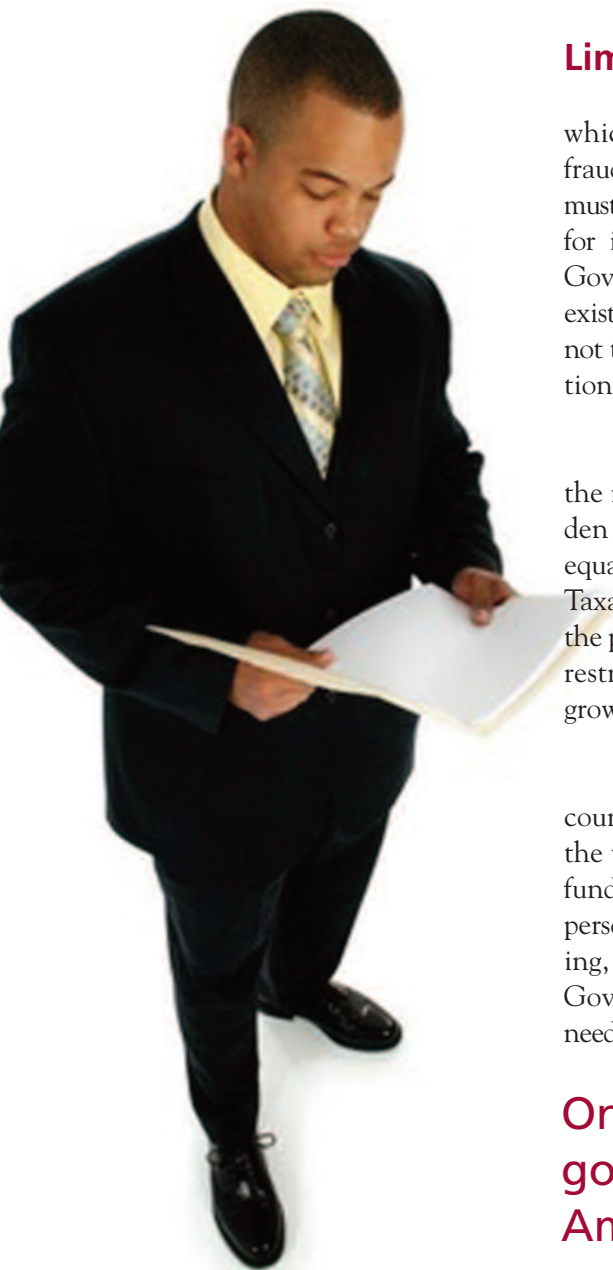
Government policy should encourage self-sufficiency and promote the work ethic among citizens. Public funds should not be used to support persons who are capable, albeit unwilling, to provide for their own needs. Government welfare programs for the needy should strive to enforce the dignity

of the individual, strengthen the family unit, and encourage the individual's potential for self-sufficiency.

Government policy should be constrained by rule of law embodied in the Constitution, which innovatively guarantees our liberties by spreading power among the three branches of the federal government, and between the federal government and the states. Hence each branch of government, including the delineation of power between state and federal, should perform their function as defined by the Constitution.

One of the main responsibilities of the federal government is to protect the nation and the American people. This requires a strong and effective military, capable intelligence services, and a vigorous law enforcement and homeland security capacity. It also mandates an effective and proactive foreign policy that looks after American interests in conjunction with our allies yet stands resolute against our enemies.

**One of the main responsibilities of the federal government is to protect the nation and the American people.**



## Individual Liberty and Responsibility

Laws restrict the free exercise of liberty and property. Consequently, no law should be passed unless there is a compelling reason to do so. The proponents of any law should have the burden of proof that passage is necessary.

The rights of an individual should include, but not be limited to, those rights guaranteed in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the United States. They should also include those God-given rights of freedom, not specified in any written document, which necessarily exist in a nation where the individual is more important than the state.

Conversely, these rights should not negate the responsibility of the individual's obligation to conduct himself as a responsible and productive member of society. No civilization can succeed and thrive for any duration unless free people act in a responsible way. Each one of us must take responsibility for our actions and endeavor to build a better society and improve our own lives.

All citizens are entitled to security of their persons and property. Government's primary task is the maintenance of law and order to ensure these rights are protected. Accordingly, the system of justice must afford each person access to competent representation and a level playing field to ensure the imperatives of justice can be met.

## Free Enterprise

Through free markets individuals and groups form relationships and exercise self-government. The state should only intervene to establish minimum health and safety standards, and encourage competition. When the government does choose to use its power to regulate free people, it should be exceedingly cautious to use the least burdensome method possible.

As individuals have the right to choose in free market systems, they are vested with the responsibility to inform themselves and make choices that best suit their needs. While government should actively enforce fraud statutes, it should not attempt to protect the public from what it perceives as poor choices by eliminating those possibilities from the market.

Private property is the cornerstone of a free nation. Therefore, communal needs should override private property rights only in the most convincing circumstances - not merely for the sake of convenience. In those instances when a compelling need does exist, property owners should be justly compensated for their whole loss.

## Traditional Values

Traditional family values must be preserved and impressed upon each generation. Duty, honor and love of country are some of those values, but equally important are the pursuit of justice and equality before the law.


The family is the foundation of society; therefore, the state should encourage its formation and interfere in its function as little as possible. Family unity and inter-dependency is necessary to foster and encourage culture, learning and long-term national stability. Marriage is intended to be a permanent relationship between one man and one woman and is a foundation for healthy and stable families.

Human life is sacred and inviolable from conception to natural death. Protection for the unborn and elderly, and compassion for the sick and infirm, are essential elements of a culture of life; and necessary for the health of civil society.

The free exercise of religious faith is paramount to the health and well-being of a free society. Government is prohibited in the establishment of any religion, but also prohibited in interfering in the practice thereof. Citizens therefore should be free to worship as they choose without fear of governmental interference, coercion or manipulation. ■

*L.I.F.T principles were adapted by Eric Wallace from Dennis LaComb executive director of the United Republican Fund of Illinois and the principles of Conservatism by Fred Thompson.*





*We respect life and the principles associated  
with protecting innocent human life at all  
stages, even those who are pre-born...*

**The Black Social Conservative**

# **A Study in Conviction and Moral Character**

By Rev. Caesar LeFlore

8 Freedom's Journal Magazine • March/April 2008



**C**harles Barkley was absolutely correct, in my opinion, when he stated in a popular television commercial that “he was not a role model” for anyone, especially not for me or any person I would direct towards a mentor/role model. Besides his sometimes brutish behavior on the basketball courts through acts from spitting on a young spectator in a public arena to throwing bar patrons through plate glass windows, the former pro basketball player once known as the “round mound of rebound” has always presented himself as a massive blob of ethical contradictions to me, claiming on the one hand to have been raised with good Christian values while at the same time conducting his public affairs like one who hadn’t. But through all of the despicable behavior exhibited on the courts and sometimes even in the courts, Charles recently sank to an amazingly new low for me when he opened his mouth and recklessly embarrassed himself by impugning the character and moral convictions of millions of decent Americans simply to make a political point in support of a presidential candidate and political party.

During a recent appearance on CNN’s “Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer,” Sir Charles passionately underlined his unwavering and, in my opinion, unwarranted support for Senator Barack Obama’s presidential campaign by expressing how much he hated those identified as conservatives in America, and then went on to say that conservatives were nothing more than a bunch of “fake Christians and hypocrites.” When Mr. Blitzer offered Charles a chance to correct his irresponsible statement by offering an opportunity for retraction, Charles plowed right ahead and attempted to contrast himself from what he understood as the values that we “fake Christians” (I count myself in that number) seek to live by. Mr. Barkley went on to declare his pro-abortion and pro-gay marriage positions, which are without a doubt two of the frontline issues which have served to demark the battle lines between those who are secular progressive and those who are identified as social conservatives. When challenged to justify his assertion that conservatives are “fake Christians” because we hold ethical beliefs in direct opposition to his stated positions, Barkley repeated the same old tired line heard thousands of times before from those who can’t justify the conduct in question on its merit and are left to simply contend “because the Bible says that we should not judge.”

As I listened to Mr. Barkley’s ridiculous and theologically weak defense of his bigoted and hateful statements about conservatives in America, I could not help but wonder if his hatred for conservatives was reserved for white “fakers,” or was he an equal opportunity hater. I wondered how he and people like him presently feel about me and the tens of thousands of other black conservatives in America who not only don’t support Senator Obama’s effort to become the first black president of the United States, but, because of deeply held moral convictions based on a Christian worldview, stand with every fiber of their being against those things which Charles Barkley and Senator Obama unashamedly advocate. I wonder how he would view the intent and motives of black social conservatives who, out of true love, believe that the contention for non-rights such as abortion and gay marriage by his kind in no way serve the cause of black advancement in America, but rather serve only to contribute to its continued national and moral decline. Well, regardless of what he thinks, Mr. Barkley may choose to accuse some Christians of being fake – and may well be accurate concerning some – but he cannot impugn the core values on which black social conservatism is built without exposing himself as the true fake Christian in the discussion. He is one who is obviously living with an under-developed moral compass that is matched only by his very limited understanding of the scripture which he attempts to use to justify his misguided notions.

I didn’t have to ponder long on how I and other black conservatives would be understood by the Charles Barkley’s of black America during the historical developments of 2007 and 2008. I simply had to revisit my own life experience as an emerging black conservative in the early 1990’s to realize just how much character and conviction has to be developed within an African American willing to

***“...nothing is more intimidating to people than to “stand out in sharp contrast against the prevailing public opinion.”*** Martin Luther King, Jr.

*We cherish the family and the institution of marriage...*



stand on his core beliefs when adherence to those beliefs does not square itself with the prevailing public and political opinions – even in his own community. Martin Luther King said it best when he observed that nothing is more intimidating to people than to “stand out in sharp contrast against the prevailing public opinion.” It’s in this context that I believe the black social conservative to be a unique study in character and moral conviction unlike any other in America today. As I and others have come to understand, taking the conservative position is very unpopular, especially among blacks both secular and religious, and our treatment is not so dissimilar to how the early Christians were treated.

And if I can be personal and the truth be told, I must admit that the harsh treatment by my peers because of my beliefs and political affiliations caused me to not always be as bold as I am now concerning my conservative values - not because I was ashamed, but because I had become fatigued by the constant need to defend these values against people who

would debate me not entirely upon the facts concerning each particular issue but often out of emotional volatility, rage, ignorance, tradition, and even racism. And the most surprising factor in all of this is that many of these people who would spew the same types of venomous accusations towards me as Sir Charles did shared the same social and religious background as I. It was amazing to see just how differently we developed.

I was developed as a social conservative in the very first institute of black conservative thinking known in America – the institution known as the Christian church. And a funny thing happened to me on my path of spiritual development within that church – I developed spiritual convictions and religious principles that I could not easily set aside simply to get along with those who were less inclined to stand firm upon things in which they claimed deep conviction in order to embrace populist position.

Unlike Mr. Barkley and others, I could not bring myself to fragment my worldview into separate little



pieces so that my core values and beliefs would not rub up against that which had now become socially acceptable but in direct conflict with the social mores that had once been the main pillars supporting foundational black doctrine and discipline.

The core values of the black social conservative are clear and are without question worthy to be preserved and passed on to this and future generations.

We respect life and the principles associated with protecting innocent human life at all stages, even those who are pre-born. **We are pro-life!**

We cherish the family and the institution of marriage as defined by our faith. Conservatives believe that marriage is defined as between one man and one woman and would not afford lifestyles that deviate from that definition equal status by either local statute or constitutional amendment. We also believe that the optimum environment for children to be born and nurtured is in a loving home where both father and mother are present and involved. Black conservatives directly relate the statistics showing 70% of black children being born to a single parent with the statistics that identify blacks as lagging behind in almost every socially measurable category. **We are pro-family.**

We believe in the rule of law and equal justice for all under the law.

We believe that government should be ethical and not oppressive towards citizens through excessive taxation to fund entitlements that stifle personal initiative and promote government dependency.

A staunch defense of these values is what I have come to understand to be the measure of character for black social conservatives and anyone claiming to believe in the values of the Christian faith. True conservatives and authentic Christians are willing not only to stand for and conserve what's right at great personal risk but refuse to fall in line to defend the indefensible for the sake of political and populist expediency. They value traditional morality and social mores and desire to preserve them in present day society as part of their Juedo-Christian worldview.

Christian philosopher and author Francis Schaeffer spoke volumes to me in his 1981 Christian Manifesto where he stated "*the basic problem of the Christians in this country in the last eighty years or so, in regard to society and in regard to government, is that they have seen things in bits and pieces instead of totals.*"

In other words, Mr. Barkley, the Christians with the real problems today are those who see their faith like pieces of a puzzle but have no idea what the overall big picture looks like. I could not separate

the precious core values that I embraced as a result of my Christian worldview from that which I would support in the public and political arenas and still consider myself true to my faith. If I did, then and only then would Sir Charles be correct in calling me a phony Christian.

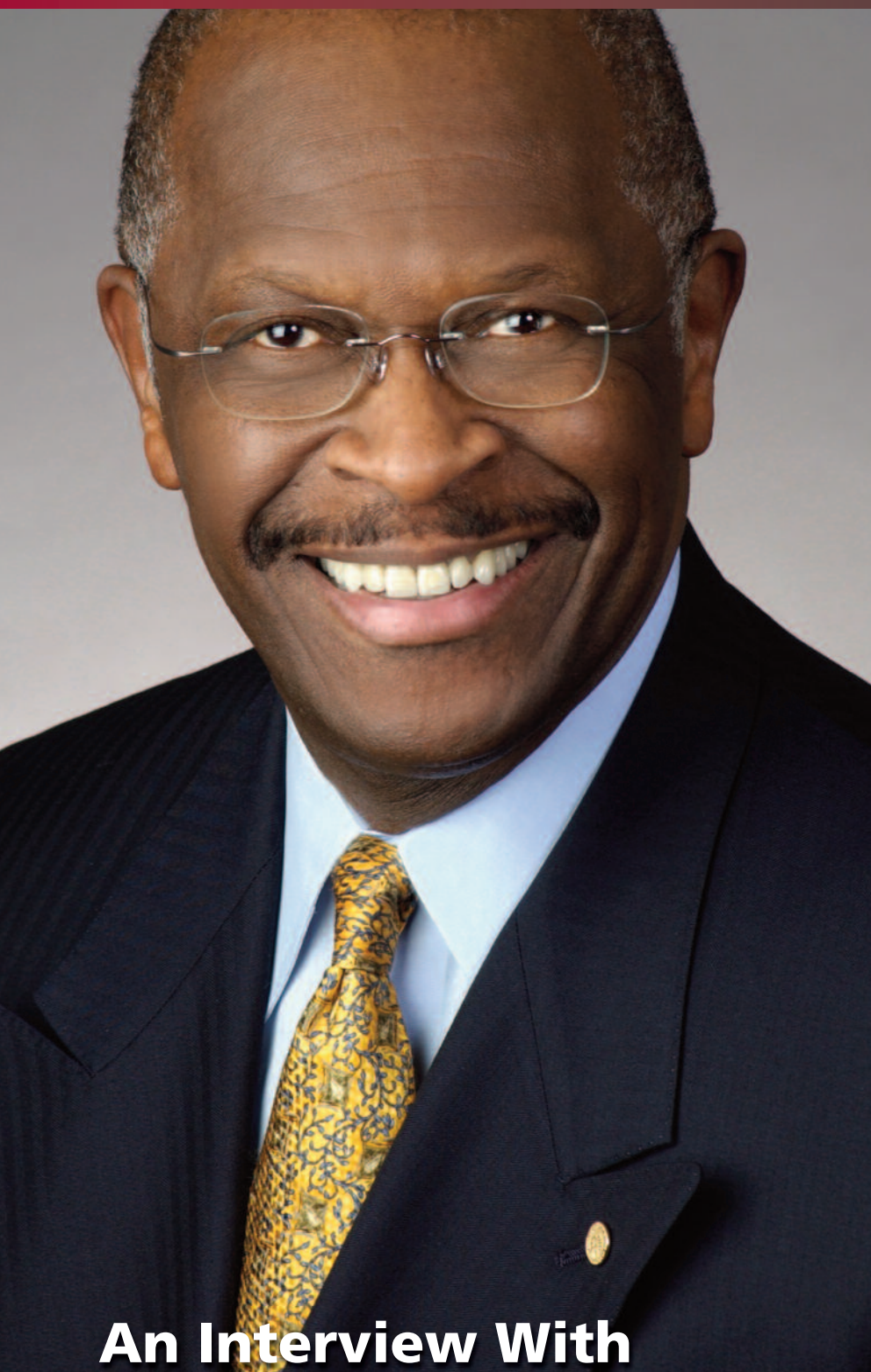
One core value that I can personally never lay aside is my reverence for the sanctity of innocent human life. As a social conservative, I believe that abortion is wrong and that killing a million children each year in the name of a choice God never gave us is, without question, destroying the moral fabric of our nation. The worldview I developed in my church directs me to believe that we should respect and protect innocent human life and never relegate it to a choice primarily pursued by those looking to erase the consequences of immoral behavior or comply with certain social profiles. This became especially important to me as a conscientious Christian when I observed just how disproportionately abortion was affecting the African American community.

So how can Charles Barkley and other black secular progressives, in good conscience, disparage the motives of conservatives and call them unloving when he and Senator Obama, without shame, would fight to preserve that which has brought us so much hurt and social shame? 15 million black lives and over 40 million total lives lost, and those of us speaking out against this national shame are being called unloving and fake Christians by the Charles Barkley's of today because they wrongly believe the Bible prohibits us from making judgments.

As Charles searched the scriptures, I wonder if he ever came across the one that says "Thou shall not murder". I wonder if he has discovered that The Ten Commandments are not the 10 suggestions, nor are they the 10 exceptions to civil liberties. I believe that

**Cont. on pg 44**

***True conservatives and authentic Christians are willing not only to stand for and conserve what's right at great personal risk but refuse to fall in line to defend the indefensible...***



**Herman Cain** is a unique personality and he has a multi-dimensional background in business, politics and life. Herman is an accomplished speaker and writer on the subjects of leadership, motivation, national and economic policy, politics, and achieving one's American Dream. Mr. Cain is a FOX News Business Commentator and North Star Writers Syndicated Columnist. He is currently Chief Executive Officer and President of THE New Voice, Inc., a business and leadership consulting company. Today, Herman is a radio talk show host on "The Herman Cain Show" out of Atlanta's WSB 750am. Cain serves on the Boards of Directors for AGCO Corporation, Hallmark Cards Incorporated and Whirlpool Corporation. In 2004, he ran as a candidate for the United States Senate from Georgia. David Brooks interviewed Mr. Cain for Freedom's Journal Magazine to get his unique and straight forward perspective on the topic of conservatism.

**An Interview With**

# Herman Cain on **CONSERVATISM**

**By David Brooks**



**FJM:** How do you define conservatism? What are its major or core principles?

**Mr. Cain:** "I'm glad you asked that first because then that way, people will know what I'm talking about when I give you the rest of my answer. My definition of a conservative is someone who believes in and supports traditional principles and traditional values. That includes life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as traditional principles as defined by the founding fathers. That includes less government, lower taxes, less regulations, and more individual responsibility. And that includes a free market economy. That's my definition. So those are the major principles relative to that. Some of them can't be collapsed because if you say less government, that generally means less taxes, but you've got to be specific and that's why I say less government, less taxes, less regulations, more individual responsibility. All four of those to me are underpinning of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And they are all the underpinnings of a free market economy. So if you wanted to narrow it down to the four key ones that I believe are an outgrowth of those umbrella principles, then they are less government, less taxes, less regulations, and more individual responsibility operating in a free market economy. That's my concise definition."

**FJM:** Is there a difference between conservatism and Black conservatism? Would you say that Frederick Douglass was a conservative or a Black conservative? Would you say that you are a conservative, a Black conservative, or a conservative who just so happens to be Black?

**Mr. Cain:** "Is there a difference between conservatism and Black conservatism? No, because many Blacks are conservative and they don't know it because they don't know the history or they don't have a consistent definition. Frederick Douglass was a conservative who happened to have been Black. All Frederick Douglass was fighting for and all Martin Luther King, Jr. was fighting for was to apply the ideals of the founding fathers to everybody. That's a conservative. That's all he was trying to do. You have these ideals; 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' that the nation had not worked up to yet. They set the bar real high. But the country – our nation, hadn't worked

up to it yet. That was the wisdom of that vision. They didn't say, life for white people, liberty for white people, and the pursuit of happiness for white people. No. They didn't say that all whites are created equal. No. They said all men. They set the ideological bar high realizing it might take the nation a while to get there and it did. And Frederick Douglass was one of the first drum majors to stir the consciousness of the nation to move in that direction. And he did. It wasn't until that other drum major, Martin Luther King, Jr., came along that they jumped the broom. They jumped the social broom. You understand what I mean. And I hate to say this. Most black people just don't know the history. I will admit that I wasn't aware of a lot of the history until I started to look into it. I wasn't aware of a lot of the history until I wrote my most recent book, *They Think You're Stupid*."

**FJM:** Historically speaking, around 87-90% of Black people vote for Democrats. What was the "tipping point" (or points) in your life that pulled you away and brought about your conservative epiphany?

**Mr. Cain:** "The first tipping point for me was economics. The 50's and the 60's was about civil rights. I was inspired and wise enough and encouraged enough by people in my life like my dad, who didn't have a lot of education and like Charles Johnson, my high school math teacher. I was encouraged to look beyond race and look at economic opportunity in those decades to come following the Civil Rights Movement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I graduated from college in 1967. I was blessed to be a part of the first generation given the opportunity to pursue economic opportunity openly in this country. It wasn't easy. I describe it as some of us in that first generation as we walked up to the door of opportunity and looked in, but we were afraid to go through the door. Some of us walked up to that door of opportunity following those landmark pieces of legislation and we walked through the door of opportunity. Some of us walked up and we ran through. I ran through. When I started working for the Department of the Navy in 1967, I was there for six years and I did well. I got consistently outstanding performance evaluations. I went away and got my graduate de-

gree and came back and realized that I was still running. So I changed careers and went to work for Coca-Cola. I went into the private sector. I worked for Coca-Cola, then Pillsbury. I worked my way up to become a vice president and I was still running. I was running at every opportunity to any door that would open to me. I became the vice president of Pillsbury. I wasn't tired yet. I decided I didn't have enough. I changed careers and went to work for Burger King, which was owned by Pillsbury and I started all over. I worked my way up to VP and eventually became president of Godfather's Pizza -- still running through that door of opportunity. Then after ten years with Godfather's -- part of that was owning the company -- I then became president and CEO of the National Restaurant Association. Still running through that door of opportunity. After that, I moved back to Atlanta. I thought I was going to refocus and slow down and play golf and then that running urge hit me again and I ran for the United States Senate. After that, I published my latest book and looking back on my life and looking at various things, I'm still running. It's just in my genes. Not running from, running through doors of opportunity. That's how I ended up with this latest career that I have stumbled into being a radio talk show host weekday evenings on WSB-AM here in Atlanta."

**FJM:** What are your thoughts on the discussion regarding who is a "real conservative", especially as it is being applied to Senator John McCain?

**Mr. Cain:** "Until there is a convention to develop a consensus definition of a real conservative, it is a silly argument. As I mentioned when we first started, tell me -- define conservative. And so what happens is -- just like I gave you my main tenants of how I define a conservative, every major conservative out there would have their own definition. I think it is a silly discussion. Let's go back to how some people in the media, some "conservatives" and some republicans have talked about it. Conservatism is basically a three-legged stool. You've got fiscal conservatives, social conservatives and then national defense conservatives -- the three legs of the stool. So some people you're talking to say he's not a real conservative. They may mean he's not a real social conservative. Some people are thinking he's not a real fiscal conservative, and others will say he's not a real strong military or defense conservative. And so, if you don't prioritize which one of those planks you're

putting first, then you may not be talking about the same thing. I think what they ought to be talking about is, "Is he conservative enough?" which will force you and different constituencies to look at specific points or specific issues. So it is a silly, silly argument unless you define what you mean by a real conservative."

**FJM:** Would an Obama presidency be good or bad for Americans in general and Black Americans in particular?

**Mr. Cain:** "That's a great question. I would say that his presidency for Americans in general would be questionable, depending upon how much he allows the Democratic establishment to control him. I would say that his presidency for Black Americans would be a great social accomplishment, but it would only be a great accomplishment for Black Americans if he is also a great president for all Americans. If he is a great president for all Americans then he will have been a great president for Black Americans. But, if he is a great president for Black Americans, other than the social achievement, then he would not necessarily have been a great president for all Americans."

**FJM:** Let's say you have just been named Czar of the Republican Party. How would you begin to strategically address the disconnect that many Black people have with the GOP?

**Mr. Cain:** "The first thing I would do is I would actively define what we mean by conservative. I would actively define it. I would send talking points to all candidates that are running as conservatives. Most of them probably would be Republicans. He or she would need to drop these talking points in every time -- like in a political campaign. Every time Hillary Clinton talks, she talks about universal healthcare. She talks about her 35 years of experience. She talks about being ready to lead from day one. She has been well schooled in terms of how to always say what you want to say regardless of the question. Well, that same technique should be used to define what is a conservative, but currently we don't -- in other words, we don't huddle. The RNC doesn't huddle with the White House and huddle with the Republican governors and Republican representatives across the country to make sure that they're all perpetuating the definition of what a conservative is.



We must define what conservatism means, who we are, and what it represents in a way that everybody that's claiming to carry the banner of being a conservative can start educating the public. This is why the Republicans have lost so terribly with the Black community for the most part because the Democrats have done a good job of demagoguing Republicans on the terms 'Republican' and 'conservative'. And the Republicans and the conservative movement haven't done diddly as far as countering that through the media. Secondly, demand that everybody who claims to be a conservative at least agree upon a few conservative principles. One of the reasons that the Libertarian party has not gotten off the ground is because they're still debating who they are. It's sad. So, the two things that you have to do is that you have to define, demand and then deliver once you get into office. The current administration didn't deliver on spending. People are going to debate the war. They are going to debate things that are complicated that they don't really understand. They're going to debate whether or not the economic policies are working, even after you put data in front of them. But people do understand that you spent too much money. They understand that. So the answer to the question if I were czar, I'd call a meeting and say we're going to define, we're going to demand, and we're going to deliver. That's what Newt Gingrich did with America with his 'Contract with America'. He defined and he demanded that the rest of his colleagues went along. He had to break some knees and twist some arms along the way, but then they went on and delivered on nine out of ten of the points in the Contract with America. This ain't rocket science. ■

**David Brooks** is senior editor for Freedom's Journal Magazine. He is also a Senior Pharmaceutical Sales Representative for Eli Lilly and Company. Please e-mail replies and comments to [iamunplugged@mac.com](mailto:iamunplugged@mac.com). The ideas expressed should not be construed or interpreted as being representative of, or endorsed by, Eli Lilly and Company.



“It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.”

*W. E. B. Du Bois*





# The Economy, Republican Hypocrisy, & An Argument For Economic Conservatism

By Anthony Palmer



**A**side from the presidential race, one of the biggest issues facing the country regarding its government is the precarious state of the nation's economy. Economic volatility, a slumping housing market, and a weak dollar have contributed to a pervasive sense of pessimism among many voters. To address these voters' concerns, President Bush, members of Congress, and even the presidential candidates have talked about the need for some sort of "stimulus" that will benefit American families and help jumpstart the American economy. However, their rhetoric and the very nature of the economic stimulus package recently passed blatantly contradict some of the principal tenets of their political philosophies. While the rebates being offered may seem beneficial at first glance, an argument can be made that fiscal conservatism is actually the most effective remedy available to the American people, especially Black Americans who are disproportionately poor.

Unfortunately, both Democrats and Republicans are guilty of contradicting their own campaign rhetoric when it comes to their support of this stimulus package. However, it seems that conservative Republicans are a bit more egregious in their hypocrisy because what *should* be their argument is actually quite credible. One major part of the package involves mailing out rebate checks to people who paid federal income taxes last year. The size of these rebates depends on one's marital status and how many children they have. Republicans, including the presidential candidates (both current candidates and those who have recently dropped out), have talked about the need for Americans to get those rebate checks so they can "put that money back into the economy" by buying consumer goods, such as clothes or electronics.

However, these wishes fly in the face of traditional conservative campaign rhetoric about the importance of saving money or encouraging people to invest it. Encouraging people to spend money they received as some sort of "gift" from the government sounds more like telling people to take advantage of a government giveaway—something that appears more in line with liberal philosophy.

On top of this, the people who are struggling financially can't really afford to spend this money on a new pair of shoes or a new television. And if they did, then they would only risk plunging themselves deeper into debt. But then again, since many Republicans want Americans to spend these checks, it seems like they are only exacerbating the financial

squeeze many families find themselves in at present.

People are generally pessimistic about the economy, but this pessimism has a lot to do with the choices one has made in the past. For people with mounting credit card debt and rising mortgage payments, the economy is obviously not so good for them. This is where *true conservatism* (not the current "conservative" rhetoric) could serve as a remedy. Many of the people struggling with their mortgage payments are those who had obtained subprime loans. In other words, their previous poor financial decisions are directly responsible for their poor credit and their poor decision to purchase a house they could not afford. And now they are struggling and need help.

True conservatism would warn people that they should live within their means. A house is the biggest investment any person will make in their lifetime. It takes decades to pay off a mortgage, and it takes stable and reasonably lucrative employment to be able to cover the payments. If someone is not able to handle these conditions, the solution is not to call for the government to bail you out. The solution is to rent an apartment.

As for credit cards, smart consumers know that if they are not able to pay for something in cash or if they can't pay off the bill in full at the end of the month, they should not use their credit cards for anything at all unless it's an emergency. However, consumers in all income brackets are buying iPods, PlayStations, and flat-screen televisions—often on credit.

Conservatives would rightfully argue that people who are not financially independent should be more careful when making these kinds of purchases. Put more bluntly, poor people should not have a Nintendo Wii in the house. People making \$35,000 a year should not be making payments on a BMW 3-series. People who get paid by the hour or who work for tips should not be upgrading their cell phones every year.

***People are generally pessimistic about the economy, but this pessimism has a lot to do with the choices one has made in the past...***

For these people, their own poor past decisions are directly responsible for their current economic plight. For people who have lived within their means and managed their credit carefully, the economy is doing fine (save for declining property values and high gas prices). Renters aren't worried about rising mortgages, and people without credit card debt aren't worried about rising APRs. However, it is too politically risky for a politician to say this for two reasons: 1) it makes the politician seem "out of touch" with the voters who are suffering from problems they really brought upon themselves, and 2) their "you should have been more careful" rhetoric doesn't provide a solution to the fact that families are struggling now.

One of the tenets of liberalism is that if you do your part and play by the rules, the government will help you or protect you if you are down on your luck through no fault of your own. The problem with this argument is that in most of these cases of current financial hardship, consumers did in fact break these rules and brought about their own ruin. Consumers who paid their bills on time never had to worry about sub-prime mortgages. Consumers with tight wallets who bought board games or comic books for Christmas instead of DVD players and laptop computers aren't worrying

about paying down credit card debt. Lower-income consumers who are driving Corollas instead of Camrys and station wagons instead of SUVs aren't worrying about expensive car insurance and high car payments.

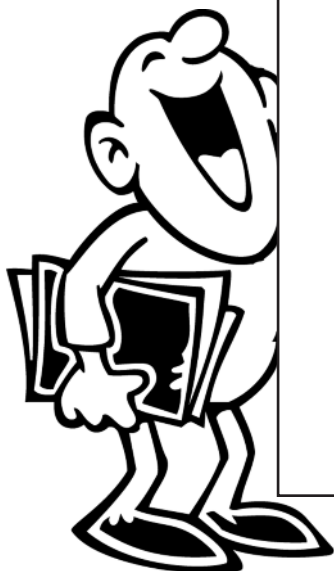
Conservative voters realize this, but none of the presidential candidates are really addressing it. To his credit, Mike Huckabee has warned that the Chinese economy stands to benefit more than the American economy given the glut of Chinese products on the market. But most of the other candidates and congressmen are spending more time talking about extending unemployment benefits and getting these rebates in the hands of the American people as fast as they can. Conservatives look at their (usually Republican) political leaders and shake their heads in disbelief at their rhetoric because it seems like politicians of all persuasions are more interested in pandering than in principle, and that's a shame. ■

---

**Mr. Palmer** teaches English as a second language and is currently a doctoral student at the University of South Carolina studying journalism with a concentration in political communication. He received a Masters of Mass Communications degree from the University of South Carolina in 2003 and a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1999 from Duke University. For more articles by Mr. Palmer see his blog called 7-10 ([www.theseventen.com](http://www.theseventen.com)). Copyright 2008 by Anthony Palmer.

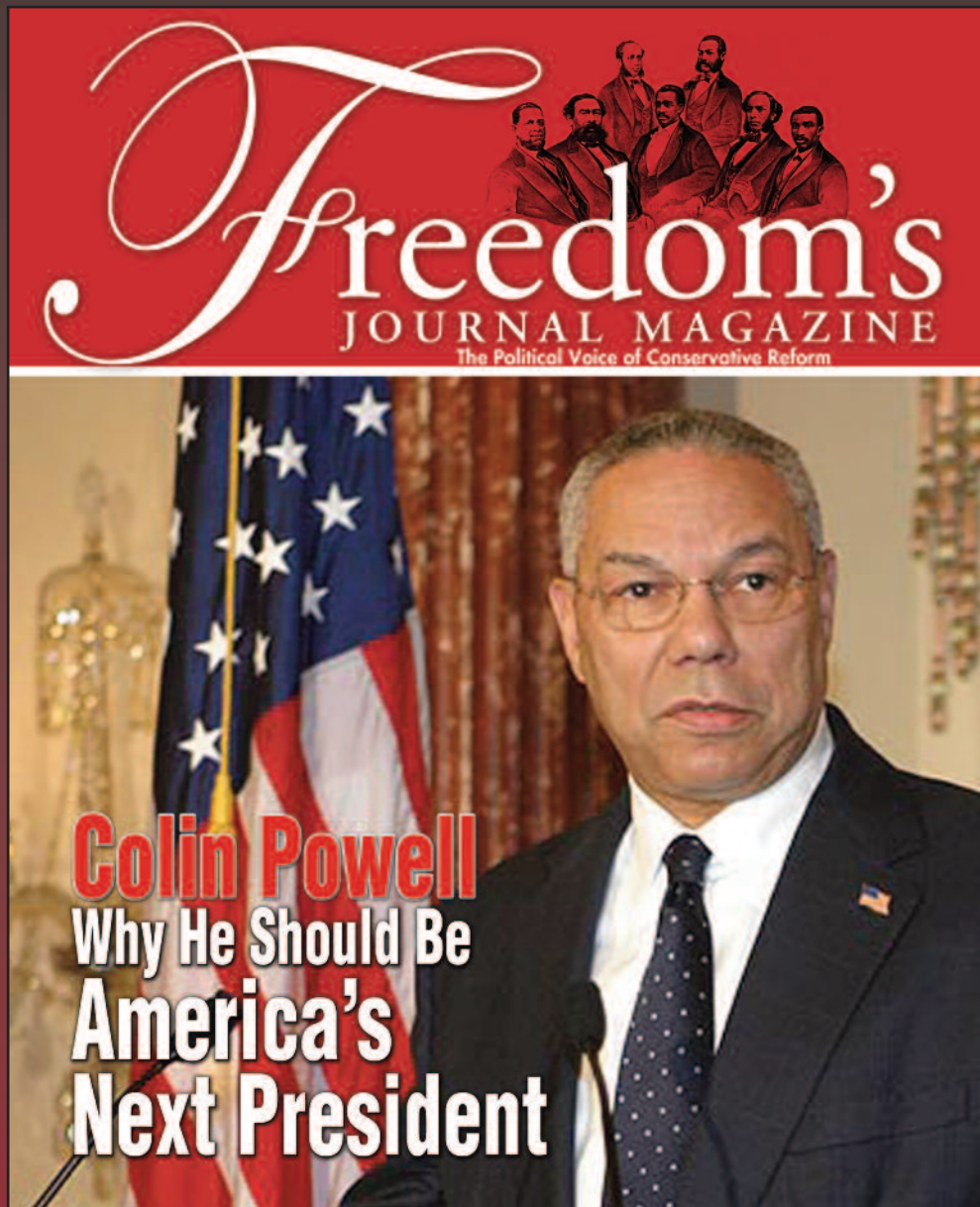
## A Time to Laugh

# Ma & Pa Kettle and Economics 101





# Subscribe Today!



[www.freedomjournalmagazine.com](http://www.freedomjournalmagazine.com)

Get the Premier magazine for Black Conservatives for only \$15.00 for six issues (one year) and \$26.00 for twelve issues (two years)

# Conservatism vs. The Borg (Liberalism)

By Eric Wallace, PhD

“**T**he root difference between the Conservatives and the Liberals of today is that Conservatives take account of the *whole* man, while the Liberals tend to look only at the material side of man’s nature. The Conservative believes that man is, in part, an economic, an animal creature; but that he is also a spiritual creature with spiritual needs and spiritual desires. What is more, these needs, and desires reflect the *superior* side of man’s nature, and thus take precedence over his economic wants. Conservatism therefore looks upon the enhancement of man’s spiritual nature as the primary concern of political philosophy. Liberals, on the other hand, — in the name of a concern for “human beings” — regard the satisfaction of economic wants as the dominant mission, of society. They are, moreover, in a hurry. So that their characteristic approach is to harness the society’s political and economic forces into a collective effort to *compel* “progress.” In this approach, I believe they fight against Nature.” Barry Goldwater, (*The Conscience of a Conservative*, 1960) p. 2-3

The description of the liberal ideology above can be summed up in the science fiction depiction of the Borg. The Star Trek nemesis of the Starship Enterprise was a collective of half human half machine that had no individual identity. They only saw themselves as part of the collective. Gone was any individualistic idea, hopes, aspirations or achievement. Gone was any ethnic or cultural distinctiveness. They were all part of the collective. They were men and women without souls. Joining this collective was not optional, as they would always proclaim, “resistance is futile.” When you really listen to the proposals of the liberal democrats you can hear that same mantra in the distant background. Forced universal health care, more taxation, government run schools and redistribution of wealth is synonymous with the collectivism of the Borg.

Conservative ideology exposed by Goldwater understood the nature of man as both spiritual and material. He understood that it is the individual achievements of Man that gives meaning, purpose and material comfort to the society at large not the other way around. Goldwater based his ideology on the follow principles.

First each human being is a “unique creature,” possessing a mortal soul and an immortal soul. Goldwater argued that the mortal soul established the differences between every other human being. Therefore each human being has different potential and must be seen in respect to their own unique abilities. This respect for the individual and the desire for individual freedom are suffocated in the collectivist ideology of liberals. No one can reach their fullest potential unless they are totally free to do so. Milton Friedman and Goldwater would agree that individual freedoms ultimately benefit society and the individual, not the collective will of society.

Second, the conservative understands that “the economic and spiritual aspects of a man’s nature are inextricably intertwined.” Man’s status of economic health is based on his political freedom. Mankind will never experience economic freedom as wards of the state. Free people require limited government in order to be productive to their fullest potential. Government control stifles creativity and asphyxiates industry.

Thirdly, “Man’s development, in both spiritual and material aspects, is not something that can be directed by outside forces.” Each individual is responsible for his/her actions and their own development. We are responsible for the choices we make in life, good or bad. Society cannot be responsible for the bad decisions people make nor should we try to shield people from the consequences of those poor decisions.

Intrinsic in these principles is that human beings are material and spiritual. One does damage to the spirit of Man if we ignore the spiritual and only focus on the material welfare of an individual. People learn





*Forced universal health care, more taxation, government run schools and redistribution of wealth is synonymous with the collectivism of the Borg.*

by being free to make mistakes and grow from those mistakes. They are also encouraged by their successes. Hence the axiom “give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will eat for a lifetime.”

Collectivist liberals underestimate the need for individuals to achieve on their own, to be productive with their own hands, hearts, minds or whatever skill-sets they develop. They also underestimate the damage that government involvement can cause to the individual because they are no longer an individual but a number, a part of the collective, the Borg if you will. Liberals want to maximize government in an attempt to force change based on their ideas. Conservatives want to minimize government believing that government impedes progress and freedom, that a free people will always out perform a governmentally controlled people, who are ultimately slaves of the state. Goldwater makes this clear when he says, “that the material and spiritual sides of man are intertwined; that it is impossible for the State to assume responsibility for one without intruding on the essential nature of the other; that if we take from a man the personal responsibility for caring for his material needs, we take

from him also the will and the opportunity to be free.” (p. 70) Implied in the opportunity to be free is the desire to stand on ones own two feet.

The poor are the ones who suffer the most from this problem. The welfare state takes away the freedom of the individual. It empowers the state when it over taxes those not on welfare then dictates to the recipients of the welfare what they can and can not do with the “charity.” As Goldwater warns, “it transforms the individual from a dignified, industrious, self-reliant spiritual being into a dependent animal creature without his knowing it.” It also breeds an attitude that the government owes the benefits it confers or that they are somehow entitled to such help. Thus cultivating dependence at the sacrifice of freedom.

Conservative ideology promotes freedom and rejects the collectivism of the Liberals. Though they may claim, “resistance is futile” we retort in the words of Patrick Henry, “Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!” ■

## The State of Black Conservatism

# Why Republicans Should Be **Optimistic**

By: **Star Parker**



**T**here was a time, not so many years ago, that Republicans got excited about the prospect of drawing in new support from America's black community. Similar discussions these days are more likely to provoke rolling of eyes. Before discussing this state of affairs and the prospects of outreach into the black community with the conservative agenda, two points need to be clarified.

First, a "conservative agenda" is one that is driven by traditional values and limited government. It seeks a nation in which abortion is illegal and where the core social institution is the traditional family. A nation in which our constitution is taken seriously and in which the role of the federal government is understood to be what is specifically spelled out in that document. The second point is that it is the Republican Party that carries the banner of this conservative agenda.

### **So why the eye-rolling today about conservative black outreach?**

Taking black votes for Republicans as a proxy of their adoption of conservatism, there hasn't been much good news. Over the course of twenty years and the last six presidential elections, the black vote for the Republican candidate has hovered between nine and twelve percent. In 2000, George W. Bush garnered nine percent of the black vote. In 2004, this edged up to eleven percent.

### **Should conservatives "write off" blacks?**

Not only should we not, but we cannot. Blacks need the conservative agenda,

but also America needs conservative blacks.

Our country today is weighed down with what businesses call "legacy systems" outmoded systems that are failing, in need of modernization. These include our public school system, our health care system, and our massive regime of entitlements—Social Security and Medicare.

In business, the CEO simply orders change. In government, change can only come through the vote. It's why it is so dangerous to begin with to expand government. Once programs are in place, political interests are established to protect them and the status quo.

If there is any hope at all for introducing choice in education in America, to enact market-based reforms to lower costs and drive efficiencies in health care, or to replace the payroll tax with personal retirement accounts, we have got to get support from low and middle income voters. Without this support, these reforms will be impossible and our nation will be slowly strangled by the weight of these failing "legacy systems." Ironically, it is low and middle income earners who would most benefit through the choice and ownership that would result from these reforms.

Beyond this stands the moral crisis of our country. Our foundation is rotting and most Americans are barely aware that it is happening. When I travel and in passing conversation mention that almost 40 percent of American babies are now born to unwed mothers, most people are in shock to hear this. The most vulnerable, those of low income, disproportionately black, are hurt most by this national unraveling of values.



As Lawrence Mead of New York University has pointed out, “Families are poor in America in 2007 typically because unmarried parents have children and then do not work regularly to support them. Other social problems—crime, substance abuse, school failure—tend to cluster in poor areas... It has become difficult to avoid the conclusion that serious poverty in America is rooted in the culture of the poor.”

It’s the greatest irony that the civil rights movement, a grass roots movement started in black churches in the South, driven by biblical imagery of slavery and liberation, and led by a black pastor, coincided with a time when the nation as a whole was going in the opposite direction.

As Dr. King led this liberation movement with Christian principles, the rest of the country was banning prayer from school. Not long after, the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act followed *Roe V. Wade* and the legalization of abortion. As doors swung open for blacks to the nation at large, welfare state materialism marched in to undermine the pillar of the black community—the black family.

But despite recent history, there are solid reasons to be optimistic today about the prospects of reaching more blacks with the conservative message.

Michael Steele, former lieutenant governor of Maryland, Republican senatorial candidate, and current chairman of GOPAC, sees core conservative values resonant with black Americans. “At the beginning of this century,” he says, “it is the challenge of the Republican party to reach out to blacks and strike the common ground with them and our values of faith, empowerment and ownership.”

The handful of black conservatives that have been preaching this message over the last twenty years have suffered from the syndrome identified by futurist John Naisbitt: “Don’t get so far ahead of the parade that people don’t know you’re in it.” But the parade is catching up.

Significantly, last summer, the NAACP, after seeing it’s president of only 18 months depart because of internal dissension, announced that it was cutting its national staff by 40 percent and cutting back in seven regional offices. The old left wing program is a harder sell today among blacks.

A recent Pew Research Center survey shows a trend in black attitudes toward conservatism. In identifying impediments to black progress, 53 percent of blacks now say they are “responsible for their own condition,” as opposed to 30 percent saying the problem is racism. Moreover, among young blacks (ages 18-29), 60 percent say blacks are responsible for their own condition. As recently as the mid-’90s, the majority of blacks identified racism as their major impediment. Perhaps most importantly are the deep spiritual roots of the black community.

Much has been written about the correspondence between church attendance and Republican voting. In 2004, almost two of three who attend church at least weekly voted for President Bush. The one exception to the rule has been blacks. Despite black church attendance higher than the population at large, 90 percent of blacks continue to vote Democratic. But, today 50 percent of blacks, compared to 28 percent of whites, identify themselves as “born again or evangelical” Christians.

This should be understood as a major opportunity. Seventy-four percent of black Protestants oppose same sex marriage, compared to 67 percent of white Protestants and 56 percent of the nation. In a 2006 Pew survey, 19 percent of blacks self-identified as “religious right” compared to 11 percent of the total surveyed. If just these 19 percent of blacks were captured politically, the black Republican vote would double. Conservative outreach to blacks must go beyond the social agenda. It must include ownership and limited government.

Pastor Levon Yuille is a black conservative and pastor of the Bible Church in Detroit, Michigan, where he also does a weekly local radio talk show. Says Yuille, “When I began the show three years ago, my audience was overwhelmingly white. Now, 50 percent of my calls are from blacks, many of whom are buying into the message. The more knowledge blacks get of their own history, and the facts today, the more likely they are to become conservative.”

Historian Joseph Ellis, in his book *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (Vintage), writes of the debate in the first Congress in 1790 to end slavery. The debate soon became politicized and went nowhere. Ellis writes: “Perhaps it was inevitable, even preferable, that slavery as a national problem be moved from the Congress to the churches, where it could come under scrutiny as a sin requiring national purging, rather than as a social dilemma requiring a political solution.”

Similarly today, conservative outreach and education must be understood as a moral rather than political challenge and must be sold at the grass roots through churches.

Over time, more blacks will inevitably join Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas in his conclusion that “I saw no good coming from an ever-larger government that meddle...in the lives of its citizens...and the Democratic Party’s ceaseless promises to legislate the problems of blacks out of existence.” ■

---

**Star Parker** is president of CURE, Coalition on Urban Renewal and Education ([urbancure.org](http://urbancure.org)), a national organization that addresses issues of race and poverty through an agenda of faith, personal responsibility and limited government. She is also author of three books and can be reached at [parker@urbancure.org](mailto:parker@urbancure.org).

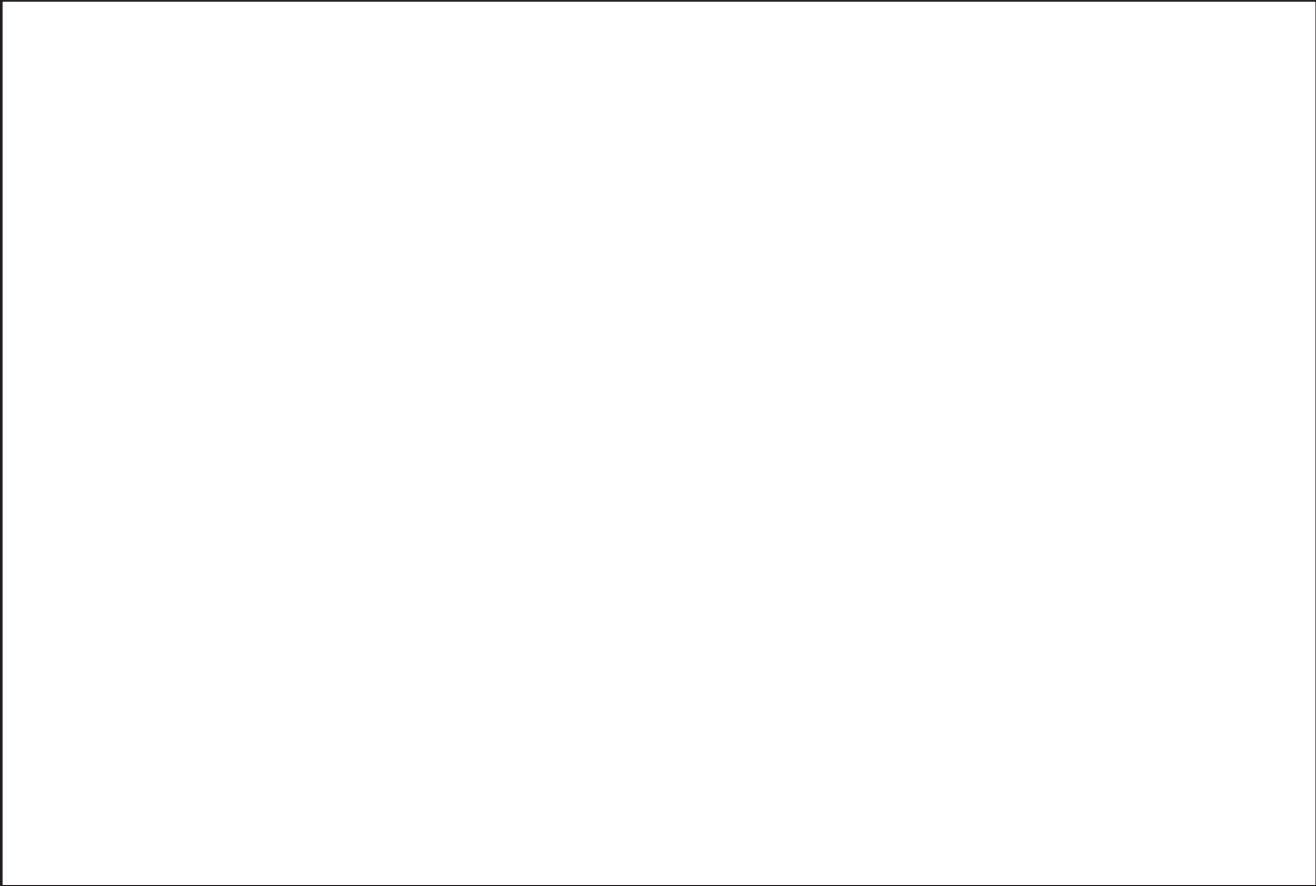
# The UNCOMMON PLEDGE

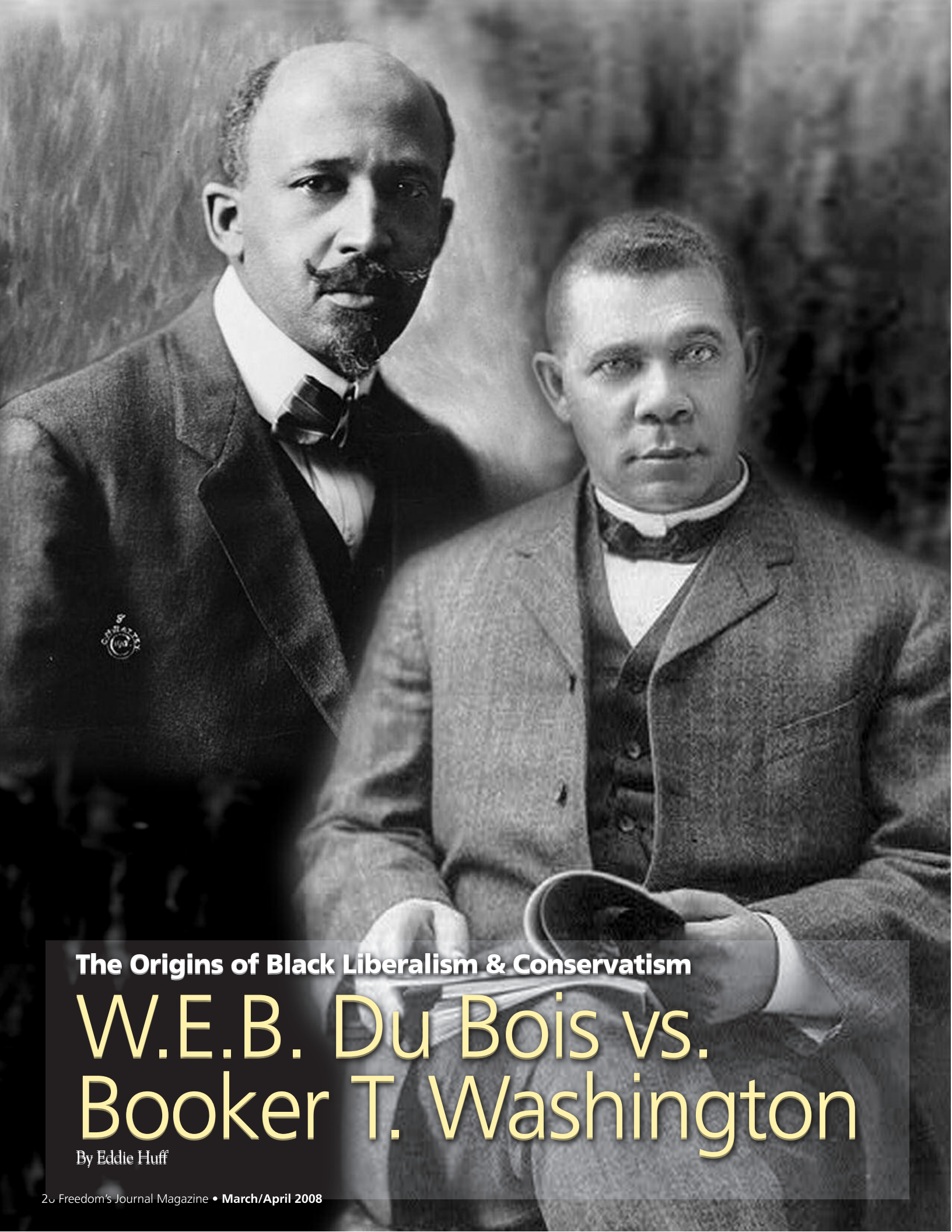
—Eric Wallace adapted from Dean Alfange

*I do not choose to be a common man.  
It is my right to be uncommon—if I can.  
I seek opportunity to develop whatever talents God  
gave me—not security.  
I will not cultivate negative stereotypes nor judge  
others because of their hue;  
neither will I seek privilege or advantage based  
on complexion.  
I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled and  
dulled by having the state look after me.  
I want to take the calculated risk; to dream and  
to build, to fail and to succeed. I refuse to barter  
incentive for a dole.  
I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed  
existence;  
the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of  
utopia.  
I will not trade freedom for charity nor my dignity  
for a handout.  
I will never cower before any master nor bend to  
any threat.  
It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid;  
to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of  
my creations, and to face the world boldly and  
say, with God's help, this I have done.  
All this is what it means to be an American, an  
African American.*









**The Origins of Black Liberalism & Conservatism**

# W.E.B. Du Bois vs. Booker T. Washington

By Eddie Huff



## PART ONE

**W**e hear the terms conservatives and liberals thrown about in political discussions on a regular basis, but for the longest time we only seemed to apply the terms to “white” people. Today the conversation has

broadened to include at least the “black conservative.” It is strange, however, that we never hear much about the “black liberal.”

It is my belief that in this discussion, instead of going back to find an origin to “black conservatism,” we really need to go back to find the origins of “black liberalism.” Looking at the historical evidence, the descendants of African slaves in America have always tended to be conservative. There have been no greater patriots, no more loyal citizens, and no more of a consistently faith oriented people in the history of this nation. Never the less to hear the talk today, “the black conservative” is the rare and new breed.

While this discussion of black conservatives and/or liberals seems like a relatively new one, dating back only to the 2000 elections or shortly before, the origins of the debate between black conservatives and black liberals actually trace back to 100 years earlier and the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. It was highlighted by the juxtapositions of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois.

On September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1895, Booker T. Washington gave one of the greatest speeches ever given in the United States and possibly in any nation, by any man or woman, of any color or nationality. So powerful was this speech that from the very next day for weeks, the name Booker T. Washington and “the speech” were discussed on every corner and on the front pages of major newspapers across America, and the entire western world. The speech before a mixed crowd of thousands, black and white, attending the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition was significant not only for what was said, but also for the fact of who said it and where. A black man, an ex-slave, in the Jim Crow south, had given a speech before a mixed crowd of thousands and received a thunderous reception and ovation from all. Whites cheered madly while much of the black audience wept with joy.

After the speech even Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois sent Dr. Washington a message that read as follows:

**My dear Mr. Washington,  
Let me congratulate your phenomenal  
success at Atlanta- it was a word fitly  
spoken.**

**W.E.B. Du Bois  
Wilberforce, 24 Sept. 1895**

As congratulatory as Dr. Du Bois was on September 24<sup>th</sup> of 1895, however, in 1903 in a now famous book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Dr. Du Bois used an entire chapter to denigrate Booker T. Washington as a sellout for the very same speech. He even renamed the speech the “Atlanta Compromise Speech,” which to their shame, most books and resource sites now refer to it. While I would like to discuss this matter of the name “compromise” in detail, and what to do about it, I will have to save that for another time. My focus here will be to discuss what was different about these men, and their ideologies which caused Du Bois to consider Washington a “compromiser and a sellout.”

Let’s first look at the backgrounds of Drs. Du Bois and Washington. Their backgrounds are as different as their ideologies and worldviews.

Washington was born a slave, poor and in the south—Du Bois free, of some means and in the north.

Washington was born illegitimately and never knew his father, who was white. Du Bois was born to respectable parents and knew his father who was mostly black.

Washington was denied an official education until he was a teen. Du Bois attended good northern schools.

Washington received an industrial education at Hampton Institute in Virginia and never studied at a university. Du Bois studied at three universities, two of which were among the most prestigious in the world. (Harvard and The University of Berlin, Germany)

Washington lived and worked his entire life in the south. Du Bois lived and worked most of his entire life in the north or abroad.

Washington taught, spoke and wrote for the uplift of the common man. Du Bois taught, spoke and wrote for the uplift of the elite, his “Talented Tenth.”

These backgrounds were the fertile ground in which the ideologies and worldviews of these men grew. Washington's ideology grew from the practical realities of what he learned in the salt and coalmines, as well as the practical, industrial education in the segregated society of the south. Du Bois' ideology grew from theoretical education he received in the radicalized and elitist universities of Hartford, Connecticut and Berlin Germany. A great part of these ideologies were based upon prevalent worldviews of their times and surroundings. Hampton Institute was very much biblically centered, while Harvard College and the University of Berlin were centers of the formation of secular humanist thought

Booker T. Washington believed that a relationship with a living God was essential to success in life. He believed that the walk of faith and the relationship with God was a personal one. He gained his love for God's Word from his time at the Hampton Institute. He recounts his introduction to the bible as follows:

*No man's life is really complete until he owns a bible that is part of himself. One of the most valuable lessons I ever learned at this institute (Hampton), was the value of the Bible. For the first time in my life I had put into my hands a copy of that book which I could call my own. And ever since, I have possessed that Bible. No matter how busy I may be and no matter how many responsibilities crowd upon me, I never have let a day pass without taking my bible and reading a chapter, or at least a few verses. It is valuable from an historical and a literary point of view; it is more valuable from a spiritual point of view.*

His daughter Portia stated: "We never at home started a day without prayer, and we closed the day with prayer in the evening. He read the bible to us each day at breakfast, and prayed. That was never missed."

His speeches and writings were not full of the sentimental, spiritually charged rhetoric, however, which was and is still so common in the speeches and writings of many black ministers, activists and leaders. Washington's faith was one lived in context of life. He took seriously the scripture 2 Timothy 3:5, which said there would be those "having a form of godliness but denying its power." He lost patience with churches and ministers who spoke of "pie in the sky" religion, but whose religion was not beneficial to every man and woman. He was often at odds with clergy and prone to taking them to task over their flowery emotional messages, and sentimental themes, yet lacking the substance needed to elevate the individual above real problems. "Our religion," he said, "must not alone be the concern of the emotions, but must be woven into

the warp and woof of everyday life."

Law and living under the authority of laws that did not conflict with clear biblical law, or principle, was very important to Washington's belief system. As he also said:

"A man is free just in proportion as he learns to live within God's law, and he makes grievous mistakes and serious blunders the moment he departs from these laws."

Do you read the paradox of these words? A man is free in proportion as he learns to live within the law? In other words we must bind ourselves with laws to be truly free.

He went further to say, "if we would live happily, live honored and useful lives, modeled after our perfect leader, Christ, we must conform to the law, and learn that there is no possible escape from punishment that follows the breaking the law." Here he was referring to man made laws. As stated, Dr. Washington truly believed in a personal relationship with a living God from whom we derive divine blessing. This God has laws governing life. If we are to expect blessing and success we must understand and live by these laws. These laws also dictated a submitting to authority both divine and human.

Now, juxtapose this idea of a living personal God, and living under the rule of law with that of W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois said:

*The Soviet Union does not allow any church of any kind to interfere with education, and religion is not taught in public schools. It seems to me that this is the greatest gift of the Russian Revolution to the modern world. Most educated modern men no longer believe in religious dogma. If questioned they will usually resort to double-talk before admitting the fact. But who today actually believes that this world is ruled and directed by a benevolent person of great power who, on humble appeal, will change the course of events at our request? Who believes in miracles? Many folk follow religious ceremonies and services and allow their children to learn fairy tales and so-called religious truth, which in time the children come to recognize as conventional lies told by their parents and teachers for the children's good. One can hardly exaggerate the moral disaster of the custom. We have to thank the Soviet Union for the courage to stop it. (The Autobiography of W.E. Burghardt Du Bois (International publishers, 1968), ch. IV: The Soviet Union)*

Du Bois spent most of his life advocating civil disobedience. This disobedience began with rejection of faith in a living, personal and caring God and all He stands for. This is the essence of secular humanism and what was at



the core of W.E.B. Du Bois' ideology and all that has sprung from it. Du Bois pushed for agitation and civil disobedience as the way to freedom. In the formation of the Niagara Movement, the precursor to the NAACP, he and the other founding members declared:

*"Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the cooperation of all men of all races."* (From the Declaration of Principles of the Niagara Movement, July 11, 1905)

And later in life regarding civil disobedience for change he stated:

*"Use of force of every sort: moral suasion, propaganda, and where possible even physical resistance."* (Dusk of Dawn 1940)

The two divergent views of Washington and Du Bois would lead to a major rift in the black community. A rift that would eventually make these men adversaries from that time forward, even though they each respected one another highly.

The Du Bois faction, beginning with the Niagara Movement launched a vigorous attack upon the person and character of Dr. Washington. The attacks of the Niagara Movement became so fierce and the rift so wide that Dr. Du Bois had to separate himself from this group, which would lead him eventually to join with others and form the NAACP. Interestingly, however, in spite of the attacks upon his character Booker T. Washington rarely, if ever, spoke a harsh word, or publicly criticized any individual detractors, black or white, on a personal level. Once at a dinner in Boston that both Dr. Washington and his critics were invited to, one after another of his critics stood up to attack him. When he was finally asked to speak he stood and said, "gentlemen, let me tell you what we are doing at Tuskegee." And that he did. But the attacks were not as much upon the person of Booker T. Washington as upon what he symbolized. The real attack was upon the black community's faith and loyalty to the ideals of the United States of America.

Part 2 will discuss the influences and collaborators with each of these two men as well as the modern day affects of following after the Du Bois model vs. the Washington model. ■

## PART ONE

# Speech at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition

by Booker T. Washington

September 18, 1895 — Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom. Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River.

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are" — cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to

**Cont. on pg 44**



*think that what it will bring into play would be, in addition to the existing school, there will be new schools out there that will come into being that find their niche to begin to teach kids that we are not currently reaching or that we're losing. I think it will begin to give poor parents some capacity to have leverage over this entire discussion. And the reason they will have leverage is because they will begin to have leverage over resources, the same type of control over resources that people with money have....You begin to create a synergism for change that I think is key, if the system is going to be changed, so that we...save these kids that we're losing each and every day.<sup>1</sup>*

Dr. Howard L. Fuller, former Milwaukee Public Schools superintendent, chairman of the Black Alliance for Educational Options, champion of school choice.

In the widely debated public discourse about education the subject of school choice has been lauded with applause and also mired with skepticism. As politicians fight in Washington to chart the best course for educational progress and equality, the lives of our children, especially our minority children, are seriously at stake. Stringent government controlled education where the framework of urban centers of learning crumble and fail the basic metrics of academic progress are empowering parents to seek an alternative. Although opponents of school choice would argue

# Whose CHOICE?

By Johnathan Eaglin



that free market choice based education that enables both schools, students, and parents the opportunity to choose their academic destiny is not the solution, there are a growing number of metropolitan school districts that prove that school choice works.

We must take a closer look at the benefits and proven success provided by school choice for minorities. For many years, school districts in cities such as in Milwaukee, Washington, D.C. and states like Florida and Arizona have employed vouchers, tax credits, scholarships, and school choice as viable mechanisms to deliver quality education to minorities. One state, though, that draws significant attention is the state of Ohio.

Since 1989 when the Ohio legislature enacted Senate Bill 140 to enable students to transfer to another school within their district, Ohio took the progressive steps to give families considerable freedom to independently choose schools for their children. Due to this legislation, low income families were able to be reimbursed for transportation costs that allowed their children to travel to higher performing schools. In 1995 the Ohio state legislature included within their budget a test voucher program to expand opportunities for Cleveland students.<sup>2</sup> The forthcoming results make no mistake that the strides to improve educational conditions for low income and minority families was not a step, but a monumental leap in the right direction.

Cleveland, Cincinnati, Akron, and Dayton make up the largest concentration of minorities in the state of Ohio, so the state saw fit to develop programs to meet the missing needs of the failing public school systems in these cities.

Cleveland, in particular, has taken extensive measures to address the growing education gaps, needs, and demands of African-Americans, its largest racial makeup at nearly 51 percent. For example, Cleveland is the home of the landmark Supreme Court decision that declared school vouchers constitutional. Many of these Cleveland school vouchers address the financial needs of minority students by leveling the playing field of wealth, affluence, access, and academic opportunity. School choice policy, legislation, and action by both legislators and parents have proven beneficial for Cleveland. According to the study, "The Effects of School Choice on Student Achievement" conducted by the National Center for Political Analysis, two years after the pilot program launched in Cleveland, student achievement jumped 8 percentile points in reading and 16 percentile points in math.

In 1999 Cleveland parents chimed with praise for

## ***Cultural diversity and equality play a significant role in expanding the realm of possibilities for traditionally deprived students.***

school choice. In a study conducted by Harvard University, researchers evaluating the Cleveland voucher system discovered that educational voucher receiving parents were more satisfied than parents who remained in Cleveland public schools in terms of safety, academic programs, teacher skills, school discipline, class size and school facilities. One year prior to the study, the organization Parents Advocating Choice in Education (PACE) began offering scholarships for low income students to attend a private school in Dayton. Two years later another Harvard University study found that African-American students in grades 2-8 scored 7 percentile points higher than non-scholarship students. Broader choices, which leads to better scoring helps to prepare minority students with the necessary skills to compete outside of their physical and racial boundaries and speak the language of diversity.

Cultural diversity and equality play a significant role in expanding the realm of possibilities for traditionally deprived students. According to David J. Owsiany, J.D., president of the Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions, in a 1999 study, found that the children in the voucher program attended schools that were much more racially integrated than the Cleveland public schools. In Cleveland the school choice mechanism has been successful in breaking the spirit of segregation that existed by way of limited choices, geographic barriers, and the blight of economic negligence. Cleveland public school students experience a severe disconnect from the true racial identity of the entire city. Almost 20 percent of voucher recipients attend private schools that resemble the racial blend of the metropolitan center.

Opponents express that school choice will further segregate schools by extracting the best minority students to private schools, thus abandoning already failing public schools leaving the most needy, academically challenged students. To support this philosophy would further suggest restrictions on the personal choice of lower income minority families who don't have the financial means to whisk their children away to the suburbs. Cleveland and the state of Ohio refuse to become a pawn in the revitalization of the public school plight, but opt to be a major catalyst to leveling the playing field for minority students

**Cont. on pg 45**

## The Real Essence of Freedom

by Talitha Phillips

“**C**hoice is the essence of freedom.” This statement written in 1989 by Marcia Gillespie, then editor of *Ms. Magazine*, refers to the freedom an African American woman experiences when she exercises her right to choose abortion. She continues “empowering” African American women by comparing legalized abortion to the freedom of slaves.

After reading her entire position, possibly the only thing that she and I agree on is that in this nation, we are currently free to choose abortion. However, is abortion freeing? Do women feel empowered when they lie down and undergo such a procedure? A procedure that has become so common that according to the Center for Disease Control (CDC), it has claimed the lives of thirteen million African Americans, making abortion the leading cause of death in the black community since 1973. Abortion has taken 1/3 of the present African American population and black women are more than 3 times as likely to have an abortion. The CDC reports that of the approximately 4000 abortions performed daily in the United States, 1452 are performed on African-American women. To many these are just statistics, or procedures, or products of conception. But to a God-fearing Christian those are precious lives. Thirteen million lives that God knew before they were formed in the womb. Lives lost, lives sacrificed. And sacrificed for what? In the Old Testament, the Egyptians sac-

rificed their children as food to the idols. Today we sacrifice ours to the idols of convenience. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, the number one reason to have an abortion is the desire to postpone childbearing, followed by not being able to afford a child, relationship issues, being too young, or feeling a child will disrupt an education or career.

I have spent the last 7 years counseling women and men who find themselves in unplanned pregnancy situations. Our clinic presents its patients with all their options, educating on each and providing positive solutions. Yet, many still end up choosing abortion. Interestingly, not one has ever returned claiming they are glad they chose abortion. Many, too many to count, have contacted us hurting after the procedure, some physically, and all emotionally. The tragedy of abortion is that it may be a simple procedure, but it has a lasting effect on the lives of many. A woman lies down on an exam table, never to be the same. A child will not survive the procedure alive. A man fails to protect his offspring by either encouraging the procedure, remaining silent or standing up for the life of his child only to be told it is “her body, her choice”.

Some of these men and women are plagued with nightmares, eating disorders, suicidal thoughts, and addiction. Others have trouble bonding with future children or become over-protective parents. The symptoms of those hurting are too many to mention...however, none exemplify freedom. Quite the contrary, men and women in our society, in our neighborhoods, in our churches and in our homes are in bondage!

Their grief is silent and met with apathy, especially in the church. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute 70% of those getting an abortion identify themselves as either Protestant or Catholic. Yet why is it that the churches are afraid to discuss this issue? Why do I keep hearing from my patients that their pastors are encouraging them to have an abortion? Why is it that most African Americans in the church believe abortion is wrong yet they are engaging in pre or extra-marital sex, resulting in an unplanned pregnancy and ultimately an abortion?

Ninety-four percent of all abortion providers are located in the metropolitan areas, which typically have high black populations. It's time for



*“A man fails to protect his offspring by either encouraging the procedure, remaining silent or standing up for the life of his child only to be told it is “her body, her choice....”*



African Americans to say enough and to recognize that the abortion industry is preying on their community. They and their children are targeted. Since 1/3 of abortions are performed on African American women, the industry has received over \$4 billion from the black community alone!

The Christian community must speak up on this issue. We need to present the message of truth and grace. The truth is that we need to live lives of integrity, lives that reflect an understanding that our bodies are the temple of Christ and therefore resist temptation. We should also understand that even though many will fail the test, the church is a sanctuary, a place for the broken to be restored. No sin is too great. If you are

reading this article and are struggling with a past abortion decision, please know that there is hope and healing. To speak to a counselor or to reach an abortion-recovery program close to you, please contact 1-800-395-Help.

**Talitha Philips** is the Executive Director of the Westside Pregnancy Clinic in West Los Angeles. She is a certified labor and post-partum doula, a certified abortion recovery counselor, and serves on the Santa Monica Chamber of Commerce's Health Committee. As Director, Talitha has been working to equip pregnancy centers in Africa with the knowledge, skills, and supplies of the WPC, and has made visits to pregnancy centers and orphanages in Uganda and Zambia. <http://www.wpclinic.org> ■



## What's **Happening** To My **Health Care?**

By: Joseph Bast

**U**ntil the last few years, the national debate over health care reform was frequently loud but produced few changes in public policy. Most people still relied on their employers or the government to provide health insurance, and most policies were “one size fits all” with low deductibles and co-pays. Everyone complained about rising costs and the number of people without insurance, but nobody did anything about it.

The events of the past few years have put an end to that. We’ve seen more real change in the health care marketplace in the past four years than took place in the past three decades. Some of it is bad, but most of it is good.

### **Health Savings Accounts**

The biggest change taking place is the rapid replace-

ment of traditional health insurance by health savings accounts (HSAs). HSAs are like 401(k) plans, only the money deposited into them can be used for medical expenses rather than saved for retirement.

Employers and employees can make monthly deposits into the HSAs. Since deposits aren’t counted as taxable income, employees get a significant tax break. Having money in the account to pay for small and routine expenses means an insurance plan with a higher deductible can be chosen without risk to the employee. Not having to process small claims allows insurance companies to charge much lower premiums.

The 2003 Medicare Modernization Act removed many regulatory restrictions from HSAs. The result has been explosive growth in the number of policies. In just two years, 3 million HSA policies have been sold. Experts predict 15 to 25 million policies will be in effect by 2010, with the accounts holding more than \$75 billion in assets.



## **I Love My HSA**

I love HSAs for three reasons. First, by letting consumers decide how to spend a larger portion of their health care spending, HSAs force hospitals and doctors to compete based on price and quality. Reliance on “third-party payers” is greatly reduced. Armies of managed care bureaucrats will get pink slips and move on to more productive employment.

Competition and choice lead to lower prices and better quality. Deloitte Services announced survey results in January that found premiums for consumer-driven health plans such as HSAs, health reimbursement arrangements (HRAs), and flexible spending accounts (FSAs) rose 2.8 percent from 2004 to 2005, while other types of insurance plans rose an average 7.3 percent.

Second, HSAs are an important part of the solution to the looming long-term care crisis. Too many seniors think Medicaid is going to be there for them when they need nursing home care. Wrong. Medicaid can't cope with millions of middle-income seniors hiding their assets and qualifying for its benefits.

With HSAs, people save now for their future health care needs. To see how much you could save in an HSA by the time you retire, go to <http://www.wageworks.com> and use the nifty HSA calculator. (Click on “How You Can Save.”)

Finally, HSAs are a nail in the coffin of single-payer health insurance (aka socialized medicine). People with HSAs rate them very highly and when given a choice, don't give them up. Millions of health care consumers with billions of dollars in their own private accounts, entering their doctors' offices empowered by their HSAs to pay cash for services or choose a different doctor, won't want to give up that power to stand in line for government-run health care.

## **New Health Care Institutions**

The second big change is the arrival of new institutions delivering health care services at lower prices and on more consumer-friendly terms. For example, small investor-owned specialty hospitals have sprung up around the country. By specializing in a few areas of surgical practice, such as heart or orthopedic surgery, these hospitals deliver superior levels of care and are more responsive to their patients' concerns.

Another new institution is the insurance-free doctor's office and pharmacy. These firms refuse to accept insurance payments, or they offer steep discounts to customers willing to pay cash. The costs and

delays associated with processing insurance claims are so great these doctors and pharmacies are more profitable even though they lose some customers.

A third innovation is quick clinics, scaled-down doctors' offices set up in malls or inside big retail stores such as Cub Foods, CVS pharmacies, and Target. A national network of such clinics, called MinuteClinic, says on its Web site: “MinuteClinic is: Quick (about 15-minute visits and no appointment needed); Affordable (treatments cost between \$28 and \$110, and reimbursed by most insurance plans); Convenient (open seven days a week, located near pharmacies).”

You can find the nearest MinuteClinic by going to <http://www.MinuteClinic.com>.

## **Prescription Drugs**

Depending on who you believe, the new prescription drug benefit for seniors (Medicare Part D) is either the best thing since sliced bread or a complete disaster. It is neither.

On the positive side, adding a drug benefit to Medicare was long over-due. We know treating diseases with drugs is often much less costly than surgery and results in less time away from work and family and less pain and suffering. Only a government-run health insurance plan would be so poorly designed as to exclude the most cost-efficient treatments for so many illnesses!

On the negative side, the benefit is projected to cost taxpayers \$700 billion during its first 10 years and adds a staggering \$18.2 trillion to the national government's unfunded liabilities, according to the Cato Institute. It is the largest expansion of a public entitlement program since the Great Depression.

On the positive side, the average premium is turning out to be \$25 a month, not the \$37 originally predicted, thanks to lively competition among drug plans and their ability to negotiate low prices from drug companies. The government says costs this year should be about 20 percent less than predicted.

Most seniors will save more than 50 percent on their drug spending, but not all will save. That is why the program is voluntary. Fewer people are signing up for it than expected, opting to keep their private insurance. That's a good thing.

## **A Partisan Battle**

Following President George W. Bush's State of the Union address in January, the White House released a 17-page document titled “Reforming Health

**Cont. on pg 45**

# A Fundamental Choice

By Armstrong Williams

*Do you vote for a far less experienced candidate whose election will make history here in America... Or, the more experienced, status quo, candidate?*



Armstrong Williams  
201 Massachusetts Avenue Suite C-1  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 546-5400  
www.armstrongwilliams.com

When you cast a vote for the President of the United States of America on November 4, 2008, you will be doing something far greater than just electing someone to occupy the greatest office in the land. You will be making a fundamental choice about the direction of our country for the next generation or more. For most voters, it will be the biggest political decision they have never made, a decision that runs deeper than politics to the fundamental character of our nation for the foreseeable future.

It comes down to two perspectives. Do you vote for a far less experienced candidate whose election will not only make history here in America, but send a message to the world about our social progress? Or, do you vote for the more experienced, status quo, candidate capable of maintaining America's dominance as a world power?

The decision for some of you will be easy. You lean either so far left or to the right that the idea of jumping party lines is not even a question. You will walk into a church, or school or community center later this year and cast your vote without batting an eye. However, many of us "millions of us actually" are somewhere in the middle, and could provide the deciding difference in the outcome in the election. It is upon your shoulders that this choice weighs most heavily.

Is it more important to you that we demonstrate to the world that Martin Luther King's dream has become a reality? Is the message that we have finally arrived at a colorblind society, in which those of humble origins and various ethnicities can break through barriers and rise to the top of your foremost priority? Is the equitable division of the American pie what you are aiming for? Or could it be that we are in a time in which expanding the pie, consolidating our gains and shoring up our nation's security is

more important at this juncture in our nation's history.

John McCain might present a better choice if you care about the safety, security, and superiority of our country. He is experienced, confident, and knowledgeable in just about every issue that could arise. McCain is obviously not the flashiest or the most charismatic candidate, but earns respect and admiration for his willingness to stand his ground, speak the truth, and do the unpopular, yet necessary job of protecting America's interests at home and abroad.

Senator Barack Obama might present a better choice if you care about changing course, progressing beyond limits previously viewed as impossible, or jump-starting our nation's idealistic spirit. He is young, energetic, and claims to be a Washington "outsider". But most importantly, he is an American who happens to be black and white. As the first, of a mix race marriage to be elected President, he could drastically change race relations at home and abroad. The message sent by his election could go a long way in helping to mend relationships and bridge gaps with foreign governments and the global community as a whole. He could literally, with just one day in the Oval Office, give everyone more hope and re-dedicated commitment for a better future regardless of their current lot in life.

No one worth their salt could say that Mr. Obama is unqualified to run our country. Arguably less experienced candidates have provided outstanding leadership in the role of President. It may be, however, that he is not as qualified as his probable opponent, John McCain. The question comes down to who one would you vote for if race were not a factor.

But the bottom line is that, in this Presidential election, race matters. It is almost impossible to separate Obama from his race, because that is part of his appeal to voters. Conversely, McCain, despite his other qualifications, may be hindered by the perception that his candidacy represents the old-boy network of white men that have run this country since its inception.

In making the choice this November, closely observing the character of the candidates would go a long way in cutting through the superficial perceptions that divide us as Americans. Either way, your vote in this election will set the course of this nation for a long time to come. ■



# A Response To: A Fundamental Choice

By Eric Wallace, PhD.



Eric Wallace and  
John McCain

My good friend Armstrong Williams is correct in his article, “A Fundamental Choice,” when he says, “you will be making a fundamental choice about the direction of our country for the next generation or more” with Obama and McCain as the prospective nominees. But he is wrong in the essential questions that need to be addressed in November.

Mr Williams’ questions do not illustrate the fundamental differences between the liberal and conservative philosophy and policy. His questions only focus on skin color and youth. These are superficial, to say the least.

I could care less what the rest of the world thinks about our progression on race matters. The fact that Barack has made it thus far corresponding with the fact that Dr. Rice and Colin Powell served at the highest levels of government addresses that issue. To even suggest that race be considered, and in the same thought worry about what other countries may think of us is to suggest that the color of our president is more important than his/her policies. Dr. Martin Luther King, JR.’s admonition was that we not be so judged.

The choice here is about the function of government in our lives. Senator Obama is for big government and Senator McCain is for smaller less intrusive government. There are real

*Who has the better policies for running this country? Who is prepared to lead this country in the face of the various military and economic threats?*

policy differences that cannot be glossed over as Mr. Williams did in his piece. Foreign policy, social issues and fiscal discipline are concrete issues that are clearly defined in the stances of these candidates. They have staked out their policies, as diametrically opposed as they are, which are based on their philosophical ideology.

Barack is black and John is white but that has nothing to do with how this country will be run by the next administration. To vote for Barack because of his color or not vote for John because of his color means we have not progressed as far as we might think.

The real question is this; Who has the better policies for running this country? Who is prepared to lead this country in the face of the various military and economic threats? We do not have the luxury to fantasize about some idealist thought of how Obama will bring peace on earth and good will to humankind. We only have one Messiah and He is not running for president.

The hope that Senator Obama espouses is a false hope like that proclaimed at the Million-man-March years ago. It inspired and promised so much but produced so little. I agree with Thomas Sowell when he says, “Of all the presidential candidates in both parties, Barack Obama is the best performer on stage. He has the most presence, the most command of his words, the most quietly dramatic style. What he actually says, however, is mostly warmed-over 1960s ideas that have been failing ever since the 1960s.” If this is “change we can believe in” then you must be nostalgic for the sixties. With Obama as president we’d have to go back to the future for the change and hope he promotes.

So yes, we do have a fundamental choice before us in November. Therefore let’s do what Dr. King suggested, judge the candidates by the content of their character and their policies not by the color of their skin. ■

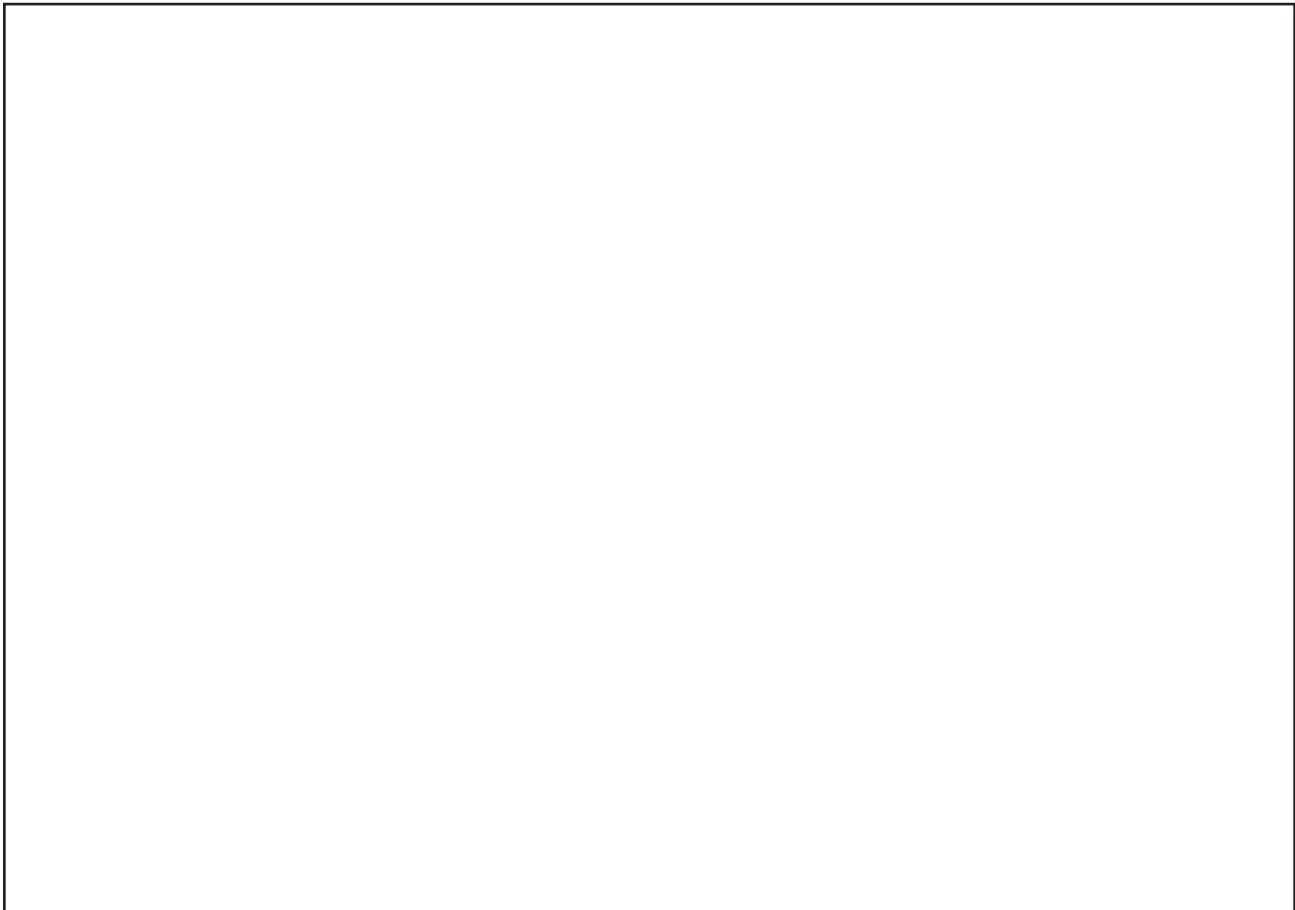
# The Wisdom of Milton Friedman and Conservative Ideology

In the history of the conservative movement Dr. Milton Friedman has done more to promote individual freedom around the world than any one person. A former professor of economics at the University of Chicago, he taught leading scholars such as Thomas Sowell and average citizens free market principles. He was a catalyst in helping to change the way many people think about money, government spending, incentives and freedom.

One of his landmark program series was entitled “Freedom to Choose.” It was from this platform that he espoused his opinions on school choice, free markets economies and a host of other, what today we call, “conservative” ideas.

In the video presented here (Open Mind), Dr. Friedman lays out his philosophy even redefining conservatism as classical liberalism. He contends that conservative ideas are about setting people free, which is the classical definition of liberalism. He was a classical liberal, which is today’s conservative.

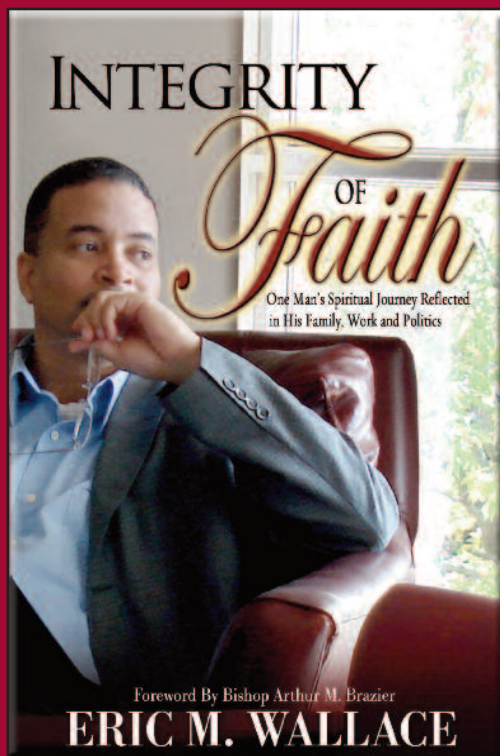
Dr. Friedman passed away on November 16th 2006, but his contributions to conservative thought live on. Please take a moment to hear the wisdom of Dr. Milton Friedman in this early interview. You will only be the wiser for it. ■





*“Dr. Wallace’s story is a testimony of integrity and faith experienced by many, but told by only a few. His account is a compelling reminder that those values are enduring despite the negative forces to the contrary.”*

Herman Cain, President and CEO  
THE New Voice, Inc.



**T**hrough the ages, God has chosen men after His own heart to confound the wise and energize the weak. Old Testament heroes like Moses, Abraham, Isaac and King David were imperfect men who God ultimately perfected because of their faith in the midst of hardship and trials.

Dr. Eric M. Wallace is a 21st century replica of those heroes, a man whose ongoing faith journey is one that will encourage and inspire you.

While traveling through the numerous peaks and valleys of his life, Wallace learns to appreciate his family and heritage in a new and uplifting way. Then building on those lessons, his story of hope and faith will challenge you to discover a new purpose and energize you to commit to the Lord and His people your best.

Through sharing his life’s travels as a janitor, a theological student, a youth minister to his experience as political candidate, Dr. Wallace in “Integrity of Faith” gives insight into the heart of a modern day Abraham as he strives to honor his Lord and exemplify God’s perfecting power to his family and those about him.



**Available at a book store near you or visit  
[www.integritybooks.net](http://www.integritybooks.net)**

# Can Blacks Live The American Dream?

By: Lee H. Walker

A recent Pew Research Center survey of the national black community has led to many news stories about the values of the black middle class. The Washington, D.C.-based nonpartisan “fact tank” provides information on issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world through public opinion polling. Last November, the center released Blacks See Growing Values Gap Between the Poor and the Middle Class: Optimism about Black Progress Declines, an 88-page survey on black America. This report raised the question, “Can blacks live the American dream?” Unexpected findings in the survey highlight a growing values gap between the poor and middle classes.

The word “values,” when connected to a large community of people, should not be overlooked without a more thorough questioning when a negative trend line begins to show. In 1965, Sen. Daniel Moynihan, an economist, wrote *The Negro Family*, emphasizing the connection between fatherless families and increased welfare rolls. It was ignored and criticized. However, the study led to the 1988 Welfare Reform Act. The black community, four decades later, is again faced with a negative trend line that should not be ignored.

Based on the Pew survey, for the first time in the history of blacks in America, we have two

black Americas that go beyond haves versus have-nots. Traditional standards like behavior, morals, self-worth and ethics are societal values that are primarily passed to children through family.

The survey asked, “Have the values of middle class and poor blacks become more similar or more different, no change or don’t know?” Sixty-one percent of the people said, “more different.”

Another question asked whether blacks are “better or worse off now than five years ago?” Twenty percent said “better,” while 29 percent said “worse.” Forty-nine percent said “the same.”

Blacks said discrimination is common, but whites disagreed. However, blacks and whites agree that most immigrants work harder than most blacks and whites in low-wage jobs. Both groups agree hip-hop and rap music has a bad influence on society.

While the Pew survey has generated much media attention, it has been void of solutions.

Some scholars sounded warnings more than two years ago. In July 2005, a panel of experts briefed members of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on the consequences of stagnation in the growth of the black middle class. It was televised by C-SPAN. Policies coming from outside the black community can address this pathology, but there is a need for a paradigm shift that must come from within.

Blacks with healthy values are prosperous, and those without them are left behind. Wholesome values stem from a belief in individual freedom and personal responsibility. Those who are not successful exercise freedom without personal responsibility. This behavior lures people into destructive pursuits of instant gratification rather than their own long-term good and that of their families.

The primary way to teach proper values is in the schools, but quality schools, which are educating and preparing students for the outside world or market-place are few and far between. Only education and positive values can change the attitudes young black people. ■

*Those who are not successful exercise freedom without personal responsibility.*



Lee Walker (lwalker@newcoalition.org) is the president of The New Coalition of Social and Economic Change.



## Hillarycare Is NOT The Answer

**Soviet-style mandates are morally repugnant, the antithesis of everything that a free society is about.**

**Star Parker, President of CURE**

Suppose I tell you that the government will design a product and make you buy it. If you say no thanks, that's too bad. The government will decide what you need and what you will buy. If you say you can't afford it, we'll send in government investigators to check, and if they conclude indeed you can't afford it, we'll tax your neighbors and make them subsidize you so you can pay for it.

We'll set up a government bureaucracy to monitor and make sure you're cooperating. If they discover you haven't made the purchase, they'll go to your employer and have your wages garnished. Let's assume further that total spending for this government-designed and -mandated product accounts for about a fifth of the nation's total economy.

The former Soviet Union? Communist China? No, this is the new Hillarycare. Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, D-N.Y., having once failed to explicitly nationalize the one-fifth of our economy going to health care, now wants to slip it past us by dressing it up in drag. Her plan is to use a federal government mandate to force every American to buy health insurance. She claims it won't violate our freedom because if you already have a private plan that's OK. But a government alternative plan will be made available.

The government will regulate health care, define acceptable health insurance and force every American to buy a plan based on the government-established standard.

Her opponent for the Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois, also wants vast government regulations and con-

trols to define and price out health care. But Obama, who has the most liberal voting record in the U.S. Senate, grasps that, short of invoking a police state, it still must be up to consumers to decide to purchase health insurance.

This last point does not intimidate Clinton's Soviet-style affinities. When asked how purchase can be enforced, she told interviewer George Stephanopoulos, "We will have an enforcement mechanism. ... you know, going after people's wages." Incredibly, Clinton calls her concept of government-mandated universal health coverage "a core Democratic value."

Indeed, we have a problem in the delivery of health care in our country. Costs are going up at twice the overall rate of inflation, with increasing burdens on working families. Why have health-care costs gone out the roof when the prices of just about everything else have gone down? Because health care already has become a highly regulated, highly bureaucratized industry. If we want cheaper and more creatively delivered health care, we need less, not more, government.

According to Dr. David Grutzer of the Manhattan Institute, in 1960 about half of health-care expenditures were directly controlled by consumers. Today, it is about 15 percent. Over the same period in which consumers have relinquished control, per-capita health-care spending has quintupled and costs have skyrocketed.

When someone else is paying, individuals behave differently. In a recent book by Shannon Brownlee of the New America Foundation, "Overtreated: Why Too Much Medicine is Making Us Sicker and Poorer," she argues that up to a third of our health-care expenditures are frivolous and ineffectual. Beyond the pure economic calculus lies the moral question of individual responsibility and freedom.

Last year, the pharmaceutical firm Merck unleashed a state-by-state lobbying campaign to get state governments to mandate that teen-age girls receive an expensive vaccine they developed to combat the virus that causes cervical cancer. Deemed irrelevant was the fact that this virus is transmitted overwhelmingly through promiscuous sexual behavior. Those most at risk are poor black girls, so the costs would flip over to government (taxpayers). The core behavioral problem, immorality and promiscuity, driving

**Cont. on pg 45**



Star Parker is president of the Coalition on Urban Renewal & Education and author of the new book *White Ghetto: How Middle Class America Reflects Inner City Decay*.

# Now Is The Time To Act

By Michael Steele

In each Republican presidential debate over the past months, somehow the conversation found itself focused on Ronald Reagan. Maybe it was the candidates themselves claiming the mantle of "Reagan conservative," or perhaps it was the moderators demanding who Mr. Reagan himself would have supported. The idea of "being like Reagan" has taken hold of both candidates and pundits and the result has been something less than inspiring.

Mr. Reagan's successes were in large part due to his ability to focus on those things that unite us. Rather than trying to divide the American people along philosophical or political lines, he made a connection with average citizens through themes that inspired us and policies that restored our national pride as well as the security and prosperity of a nation. Mr. Reagan did the unthinkable: he helped America embrace conservatism and the core beliefs of the Republican Party.

A great deal has changed since Mr. Reagan left the national stage. Our enemy has come to our shores, the rising tide of our economy has not "lifted all boats" and our government has increased, not lessened its intrusion into our lives. However, many of the issues that united us during the Reagan Revolution in the 1980s -- lower taxes, less government spending, free markets and strong national security -- are the same issues that motivate voters today.

Our party has changed too, but the core of who we are and what we believe has not. We are conflicted not by the ups and downs of elections, but rather by the very nature of conservatism in this post-Reagan era. We are conflicted over the vision of the conservative movement, its radical nature, and the unique challenges and opportunities that lie before America. We are conflicted over who and how we will lead during these changing times. Republicans stand on the precipice of conservatism, ready to throw each other off because we feel as if we've lost our grip on what conservatism means; indeed, what it means to be a Republican.

But, we should never lose faith first and fore-

most in our belief in the power and ingenuity of the individual to create the legacy of a nation through hard work and self-discipline. Conservatives must stand firm in our belief that government should be limited so that it never becomes powerful enough to infringe on the rights of the individual. We also must continue to stand for low taxes so that individuals might keep more of their own money, and the economic power that it represents; for business regulations that encourage entrepreneurs to take risks so that more individuals can enjoy the satisfaction and fruits of self-made success; and for the ideal of a colorblind society, so that each man or woman is treated as an individual and not as a member of some hyphenated class or group.

Conservatives now have a window of opportunity to act in a genuine way to demonstrate the truth of America: that every American, regardless of his or her station in life, upbringing or social status has the opportunity to turn their hopes into action and to realize the promise that is the "American Dream." Ronald Reagan understood that, and he acted to lift a dispirited nation to become that "shining city on a hill." Let's remind America once again that its promise is the promise of endless possibilities. Let's define for America those values we hold dear: the value to the soul of religious faith, complete integrity, loyalty and truthfulness. Let's honor America with incorruptible public service, a respect for economy in government, self-reliance, thrift and individual liberty. Let's stand firm in our patriotism, real love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it as those who have gone before us.

The Republican Party is the party of ideas and leadership that have made and will continue to make this nation great. Republicans must now gather strength from within as we enter a critical period in America's history. We must work to restore faith in our party by standing on those principles that not only unite us as Republicans, but as Americans. Republicans need to stop looking for Reagan and start acting like Republicans.

It is still a long and bumpy road to the White House this November, but I am confident that Republicans and the conservative movement they inspired will regain in strength if we stick to those values that have long united our party and stirred a generation to join our cause. These are the values that continue to empower, uplift and remind us that America will always be the one place on earth where possibility meets opportunity -- a place we call the "American Dream." ■



Michael Steele, former lieutenant governor of Maryland, is chairman of GOPAC.



## The REAL Obama

By Ken Blackwell

*“Civilizational war is real, even if political leaders and polite punditry must call it by another name.”*

—Robert D. Kaplan in the December 2001 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*

It's an amazing time to be alive in America. We're in a year of firsts in this presidential election: the first viable woman candidate; the first viable African-American candidate; and, a candidate who is the first frontrunning freedom fighter over 70. The next president of America will be a first.

We won't truly be in an election of firsts, however, until we judge every candidate by where they stand. We won't arrive where we should be until we no longer talk about skin color or gender. Now that Barack Obama steps to the front of the Democratic field, we need to stop talking about his race, and start talking about his policies and his politics.

The reality is this: Though the Democrats will not have a nominee until August, unless Hillary Clinton drops out, Mr. Obama is now the frontrunner, and its time America takes a closer and deeper look at him.

Some pundits are calling him the next John F. Kennedy. He's not. He's the next George McGovern. And it's time people learned the facts. Because the truth is that Mr. Obama is the single most liberal senator in the entire U.S. Senate. He is more liberal than Ted Kennedy, Bernie Sanders, or Mrs. Clinton.

Never in my life have I seen a presidential frontrunner whose rhetoric is so far removed from his record. Walter Mondale promised to raise our taxes, and he lost. George McGovern promised military weakness, and he lost. Michael Dukakis promised a liberal domestic agenda, and he lost. Yet Mr. Obama is promising all those things, and he's not behind in the polls. Why? Because the press has dealt with him as if he were in a beauty pageant.

Mr. Obama talks about getting past party, getting past red and blue, to lead the United States of America. But let's look at the more de-

finer strokes of who he is underneath this superficial "beauty."

Start with national security, since the president's most important duties are as commander-in-chief. Over the summer, Mr. Obama talked about invading Pakistan, a nation armed with nuclear weapons; meeting without preconditions with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who vows to destroy Israel and create another Holocaust; and Kim Jong II, who is murdering and starving his people, but emphasized that the nuclear option was off the table against terrorists — something no president has ever taken off the table since we created nuclear weapons in the 1940s. Even Democrats who have worked in national security condemned all of those remarks. Mr. Obama is a foreign-policy novice who would put our national security at risk.

Next, consider economic policy. For all its faults, our health care system is the strongest in the world. And free trade agreements, created by Bill Clinton as well as President Bush, have made more goods more affordable so that even people of modest means can live a life that no one imagined a generation ago. Yet Mr. Obama promises to raise taxes on "the rich." How to fix Social Security? Raise taxes. How to fix Medicare? Raise taxes. Prescription drugs? Raise taxes. Free college? Raise taxes. Socialize medicine? Raise taxes. His solution to everything is to have government take it over. Big Brother on steroids, funded by your paycheck.

Finally, look at the social issues. Mr. Obama had the audacity to open a stadium rally by saying, "All praise and glory to God!" but says that Christian leaders speaking for life and marriage have "hijacked" — hijacked — Christianity. He is pro-partial birth abortion, and promises to appoint Supreme Court justices who will rule any restriction on it unconstitutional. He espouses the abortion views of Margaret Sanger, one of the early advocates of racial cleansing. His spiritual leaders endorse homosexual marriage, and he is moving in that direction. In Illinois, he refused to vote against a statewide ban — ban — on all handguns in the state. These are radical left, Hollywood, and San Francisco values, not Middle America values.

The real Mr. Obama is an easy target for the general election. Mrs. Clinton is a far tougher



Mr. Blackwell is Chairman of the Coalition for a Conservative Majority, a Fellow at the American Civil Rights Union, and the Buckeye Institute. He is a columnist for the *New York Sun*, a contributing editor for *Townhall.com*, and a member of the NRA Public Affairs Committee.

Cont. on pg 45

## Moral Character cont'd. from pg 11

the commandments reflect the character of God, and as a Christian conservative, shouldn't that also be reflected in that which I would represent in public and demand that those I would support represent in politics? Black conservatives, you see, want to preserve our commitment to live according to those sacred principles in the midst of a post-Christian society which seems oblivious to the need to live according to any standards of ethical behavior. Our desire is to hold on to our traditional adherence to the faith and values that our community long held dear.

One last thing, Sir Charles, in regard to judging: the admonishment in Matt 7 is about how we judge - not that we shouldn't do it. It points out that we will be judged in the same manner that we judge others. We are told in verse 16 that we will know the false prophets by their fruit. This not only implies judgment but requires it! We are required to judge between good and bad lest we follow the bad. It is the lack of sound judgment that causes people to follow and vote for people who don't share their core values. That's not only regrettable, but it's also unacceptable seeing exactly how much is at stake concerning the soul of a nation and its people.

And if our values as black social conservatives are more in line with what we believe to be right based on our faith, then God and history will judge us harshly if we don't stand firmly on them, even at the risk of being called fake. I think it's clear exactly who the fake Christians are, and I judge them not to be the conservatives. ■  
Rev. Ceasar I. LeFlore III is the Midwest Regional Director for the Life Education and Resource Network (LEARN), the nation's largest African American pro-life & pro-family organization. He also is the past executive director of The African American Family Association, and presently sits of the boards of The Pro-Life / Pro-Family Coalition and The No Mixed Signals Coalition ([www.nomixedsignals.org](http://www.nomixedsignals.org)).

## Washington's Speech cont'd. from pg 29

live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental

gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail

the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed — blessing him that gives and him that takes.

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind Oppressor with oppressed; And close as sin and suffering joined We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles.

While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the southern states, but especially from northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle



rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges.

The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house. In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth. ■

---

### **Whose Choice? cont'd. from pg 29**

and families. However, school choice in Cleveland, though progressive, is not immune to the pressures of fiscal management and organization. In particular the historical Cleveland voucher system has been recently scrutinized for vouchers benefiting more middle income families than low income families. No system, though, is without its flaws. Yet, devoid of the aid vouchers provide, nearly all the students in the voucher program would attend Cleveland public schools and be subject to continuing school in one of the worst performing school districts in the nation.

Today, School Choice Ohio, the Buckeye State employs a wide variety of education options to students and fami-

lies statewide and throughout major cities. The EdChoice Scholarship provides a voucher up to \$5000 per year to students, who switch from underperforming public schools to private schools of their choice. The city of Cleveland utilizes the Cleveland Scholarship and Tuition Program to provide private school tuition scholarships for low-income families.

Cleveland is not a perfect city with perfect students. However, the strides made in Cleveland to leverage resources in order to redirect power to parents giving them a choice and giving their children a chance not only demonstrates a work in progress, but a work of progress. ■

1. Quoted in "Schools That Work for Minority Students" by Clint Bollick ([http://media.hoover.org/documents/0817998721\\_277.pdf](http://media.hoover.org/documents/0817998721_277.pdf))

2. Informational Brief Prepared for Members of the Ohio General Assembly by the Legislative Service Commission Staff, "School Choice," Vol. 121, Issue 11, January 24, 1997, at [www.lsc.state.oh.us/membersonly/schoolchoice.pdf](http://www.lsc.state.oh.us/membersonly/schoolchoice.pdf).

**Johnathan Eaglin** authors an inspirational weekly email called "Bite Sized Word." He has also written articles for Rolling Out Magazine. He can be reached at [johneaglin@yahoo.com](mailto:johneaglin@yahoo.com)

---

### **Healthcare cont'd. from pg 35**

Care for the 21st Century."\* It lays out a free-market vision for health care reform that rivals any released in recent years by free-market think tanks.

Democrats in Congress, by contrast, want to put the free-market genie back into its bottle by shutting down HSAs, mandating that employers pay for health insurance, extending a moratorium on new specialty hospitals, and gutting the market-based provisions of the prescription drug benefit.

The Democrats' worst idea is expanding Medicaid to cover everyone. This is akin to having each state's Department of Motor Vehicles take over the auto manufacturing plants inside their borders. Who would ever support such a thing? Majorities of state legislators in Illinois and Maine, to name just two states headed down this dark path.

The nation's smartest governors are following a different path, finding ways to modernize their Medicaid programs by introducing competition and choice and relying less on regulations and price controls. Florida's Jeb Bush and South Carolina's Mark Sanford are leaders in this regard.

### **Conclusion**

We are witnessing the end of a long and harmful experiment with too much government involvement in health care. The return to market-based health care institutions is one of the biggest success stories

for proponents of free markets in the past four years.

We can help ensure this victory by the choices we make as consumers, employees, and employers. Take advantage of HSAs and seek out efficient health care providers. Don't tolerate bureaucracy, and don't waste other people's money.

Government must never again be allowed to play so large a role in our health care decisions. ■

**Joseph L. Bast** ([jbast@heartland.org](mailto:jbast@heartland.org)) is president of The Heartland Institute.

---

### **Hillarycare cont'd. from pg 41**

the poverty and risk of the disease is not only ignored but effectively subsidized.

Our health-care ills are symptomatic of our social ills. And our social ills reflect a society where the link between personal responsibilities and costs and personal rights and benefits has been largely severed.

Soviet-style mandates like what Clinton wants will simply dig the hole into which we are sinking deeper. The approach is morally repugnant, the antithesis of everything that a free society is about, and, like the former Soviet Union, does not work.

More individual freedom, choice and responsibility in both the delivery and purchase of health care is our only hope. ■

---

### **Real Obama cont'd. from pg 43**

opponent. But Mr. Obama could win if people don't start looking behind his veneer and flowery speeches. His vision of "bringing America together" means saying that those who disagree with his agenda for America are hijackers or warmongers. Uniting the country means adopting his liberal agenda and abandoning any conflicting beliefs.

But right now everyone is talking about how eloquent of a speaker he is and — yes — they're talking about his race. Those should never be the factors on which we base our choice for president. Mr. Obama's radical agenda sets him far outside the American mainstream, to the left of Mrs. Clinton.

It's time to talk about the real Barack Obama. In an election of firsts, let's first make sure we elect the person who is qualified to be our president in a nuclear age during a global civilizational war. ■



# Creative Ideas Quality Graphics Excellent Service

**m  
dm  
Design**

A Full Service Visual Communication Company  
Committed To Serving With Excellence & Integrity



**Let Us Create An Eye Catching  
Visual Solution For Your Business.**

Annual Reports, Logo's, Business Cards, Books, Brochures,  
Magazines, Marketing Materials, and more!

Visit [www.mdmdesign.biz](http://www.mdmdesign.biz)  
or call 708•868•1777 today!

# **What Black Men Think**

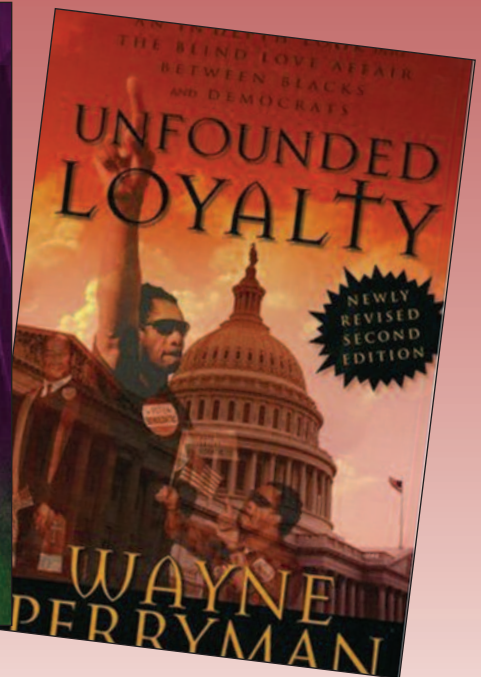
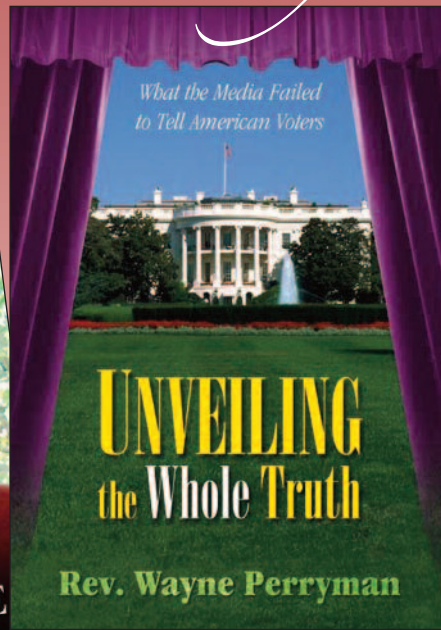
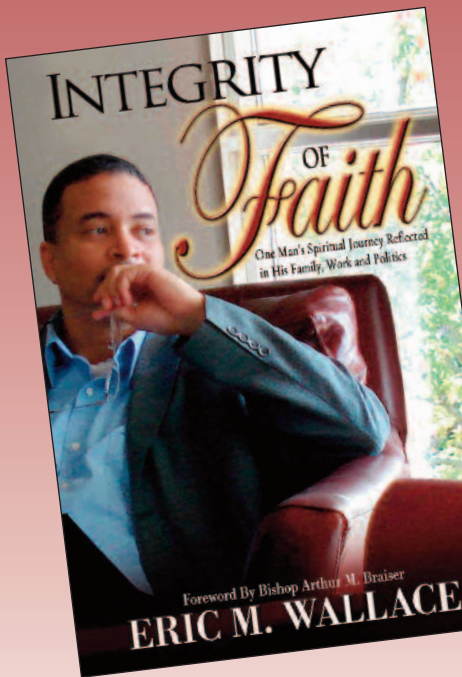
A Film By Janks Morton



**[www.whatblackmenthink.com](http://www.whatblackmenthink.com)**



# Reflecting the Character of Christ



educate, encourage, empower

