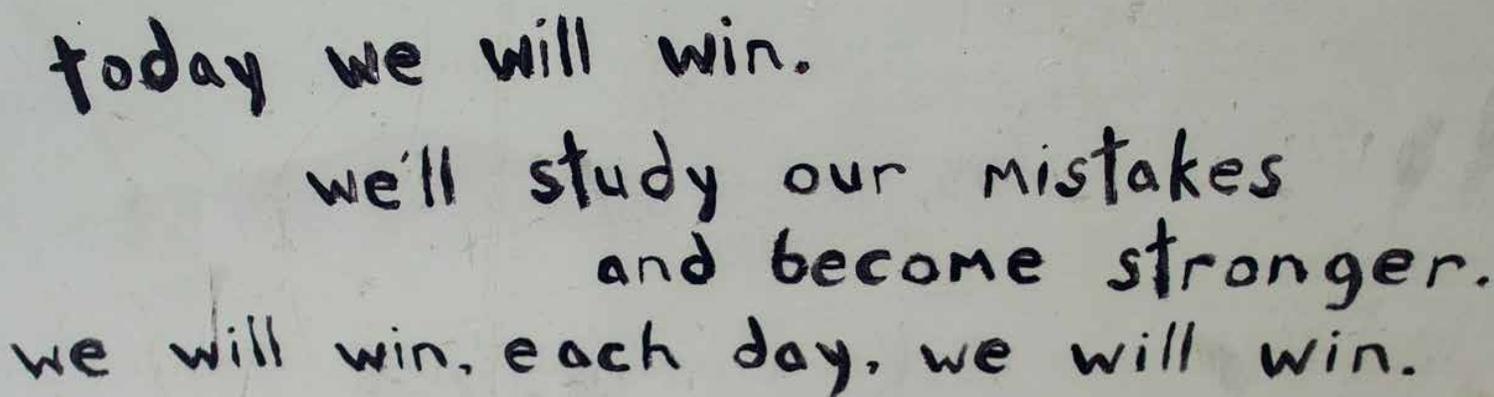


Religion & Liberty

ACTON INSTITUTE'S INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RELIGION,
ECONOMICS AND CULTURE



today we will win.
we'll study our mistakes
and become stronger.
we will win, each day, we will win.



Out of the frying pan into the fire

Working humans,
working women

Bulgaria unveils
Reagan statue

House of European
History erases religion

EDITOR'S NOTE

Sarah Stanley MANAGING EDITOR

As summer in Michigan begins to wind down, *Religion & Liberty* Summer 2017 takes a look at several important issues. We explore religious liberty in Eastern Europe, “pink” issues, Martin Luther, cooking and recidivism, the “Jon Stewart of Egypt” and more.

For the cover feature, I decided to revisit a subject we previously covered. We tracked down several graduates of Edwins Leadership and Restaurant Institute (which was profiled in the Fall 2015 issue of *R&L*) and talked to them about their struggles and triumphs before and after making their way to fine dining in Cleveland’s Shaker Square.

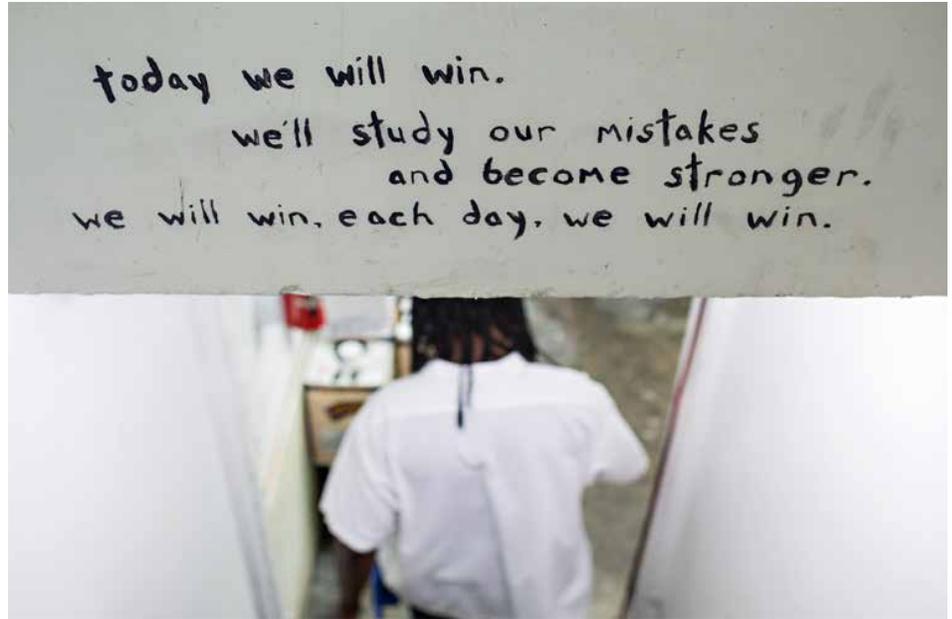
Ronald Reagan may be considered one of the most influential presidents in the United States, but what about abroad? Krassen Stanchev reflects on his enduring legacy in Eastern Europe in his essay “Reagan Remembered: Bulgaria unveils a statue to Ronald Reagan in the battleground for religious liberty.” Also from our transatlantic partners is a review of European Parliament’s new “House of European History.” Arnold Huijgen recently visited it and found a glaring omission.

The year 2017 represents the 500th anniversary of the birth of the Protestant movement. In honor of Luther’s famous (or infamous) nailing of the 95 theses, Andrew McGinnis reviews *Brand Luther*, a new book by Andrew Pettegree that explores not only Luther’s work but also the early years of the printing industry.

I recently watched the 2017 documentary “Tickling Giants.” This funny and heartbreaking story follows a heart surgeon whose passion for satire and free speech led him to become the “Jon Stewart of Egypt.”

In the Liberal Tradition remembers long-time friend of the Acton Institute and one of the biggest defenders of the free market, Michael Novak. His life and work won’t soon be forgotten.

Women certainly belong at “work,” but how do we balance all the pressures and difficulties associated with that? Katelyn Beaty, author of *A Woman’s Place*, discusses work, the faith-at-work movement and how Christian women fit into all this. This conversation can be found in “Working humans, working women.”



Cover Photo: “Edwins Institute” by Scott Shaw. Owned by Acton Institute.

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If you care about human flourishing, promote growth

Samuel Gregg ACTON COMMENTARY

Economic data flood our screens these days. But there's one number upon which everyone should focus: The rate of economic growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It shows an increase in an economy's ability to produce goods and services.

How is America doing? Not well. In the first quarter of 2017, the U.S. growth rate was a mere 0.7 percent. That's the lowest since 2014. In fact, between 2010 and 2016, the economy grew at an annual average of only 2.1 percent. That's more than one percentage point lower than the average rate of 3.21 percent since 1947.

Now retail jobs are often part-time at lower wages. But they're still important. Many people need part-time employment. Think of students who want to help pay for their studies. A part-time job often allows one parent in a family to look after the children while also contributing to the family's overall income.

All this is usually put at risk in low-growth or negative-growth economies. The rich can look after themselves. The poor, however, cannot. They don't have the assets to weather the storm.

Economic growth isn't the solution to all of humanity's problems. As no less than Adam Smith understood, it's a means to an end—not an end in itself. It can even fuel the perennial temptations associated with materialism. But that's no excuse for trivializing growth. It is hugely important to societies that want to reduce poverty—and achieve less material goals, such as increasing education. It's

harder for people to pursue goods such as education or fulfill their family responsibilities in an anemic or stagnant economy.

Put another way: if America wants to be great in the fullest sense of that word again, more lasting and higher economic growth isn't an optional extra. It's a necessity.

Will free trade help the environment after Brexit?

Philip Booth

R&L TRANSATLANTIC BLOG

Many people believe Brexit will be bad for the environment. The EU has major responsibilities in this policy area, and it is feared that, after Brexit, policy priorities will be realigned.

As it happens, the EU's record when it comes to environmental matters is not good. It is often suggested that the Common Agricultural Policy, an important protectionist measure that supports EU farmers, encourages farming practices that damage the environment, though its explicit objectives are designed to promote sustainability. And although there have been improvements in recent years, the first 20 years of the EU's Common Fisheries Policy was a disaster for fish stocks. An indication of the degree of waste is given by the fact that in 2011, in some EU fisheries, as much as 70 percent of caught fish were discarded because of the perverse incentives of the quota system. More market-based systems of fish conservation, such as that used in Iceland, produce much better environmental outcomes. The EU also has not been notably successful at reducing carbon emissions and goes about the job in a way that imposes much higher costs on the economy

than is necessary. In addition, the EU's insistence on banning genetically modified crops—an issue on which it is now intending to give a little more sovereignty to member countries—does it no credit at all.

Indeed, we should not expect the EU to be effective in promoting the environment. One reason for that is that very few environmental problems are EU-wide challenges. There are global environmental problems (such as climate change) and there are local and national problems.

Certainly, the surest way to encourage people to be good stewards of creation is to have a free economy combined with good institutional mechanisms for ensuring that people take responsibility for the environmental resources they consume. Free trade and private property are the linchpins of such a system.

Anti-Americanism at the Vatican

Kishore Jayabalan ACTON ROME

It's been a couple weeks since *La Civiltà Cattolica* published "Evangelical Fundamentalism and Catholic Integralism: A Surprising Ecumenism," basically attacking American religious conservatives for practicing an "ecumenism of hate." It drew immediate criticism from many on the Right and the praise of those on the Left.

The article is so shoddy in tone and substance that it really should not be taken seriously. It's as if it were written just to add fuel to an already raging partisan fire in the Catholic Church in the United States of America. The only reasons it has drawn so much attention are that its authors are known to be close friends of Pope Francis and that *La*

Civiltà Cattolica is essentially vetted by, and therefore unofficially representative of the views of, the Vatican's Secretariat of State.

Politics is not simply a matter of holding to certain principles but also of adapting to changing realities and allegiances. If everyone held the same beliefs about God and politics, we wouldn't have much to live or die for, and the world would be a much less interesting place.

Ultimately, denying religious and political differences is a cowardly retreat from the world, born of a desire to avoid messy and sometimes violent conflicts, of which Europe has seen its share. America is both a result of and a reaction to this European way of thinking. On the one hand, many Americans are proud of their European heritage and continue to come here for educational and cultural reasons; on the other, they left their old countries in search of a better life with more opportunities for advancement and growth. Americans are, therefore, much more willing to express their differences openly and work together in spite of them. This often strikes Europeans as uncivilized if not dangerous to the common good, but it accounts for much of the misunderstanding I've witnessed both personally and professionally.

The misunderstanding applies to everything from religion and politics to crime and punishment and economics. Americans embrace pluralism while Europeans first ignore, then placate, before becoming alarmed and finally destroy each other over their differences. At least they eat, drink, dress well and leave behind some very impressive works of art.

Vive la différence!



Photo: Left: November 18, 1989, Sofia, Bulgaria. Anti-Communist demo in front of Alexander Nevski cathedral © Неймо Ага

INTERVIEW

Reagan remembered

Bulgaria unveils a statue to Ronald Reagan in the battleground for religious liberty.

Krassen Stanchev

Ronald Reagan remains the most influential U.S. president of the latter half of the 20th century. He is remembered as an optimistic advocate of free minds, free markets, free elections and the free exercise of religion. But gratitude, a universal human emotion, is not limited to the United States. Instead, it extends across the transatlantic sphere to the former Soviet bloc.

On May 10, in Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria, officials unveiled a monument of President Ronald Reagan. Just nine days later the bust, which was erected in Sofia's South Park, was vandalized—a red stocking pulled over the bronze head, vampire-looking

paint put on the face, and the statue and the marble pedestal smudged in white. Volunteers immediately cleaned up the statue.

What was behind the vandalism? Ronald Reagan's legacy vexes die-hard Communists more than a decade after his death on June 5, 2004. The growing popularity of Communists (and extremists favorably disposed to Nazism) is on the rise in Bulgaria. In a strange twist, due to the better life that Reagan's ideas brought about, there is a growing trend of Bulgarians forgetting the misfortunes of the past.

The nation is undeniably better off today than under Marxism. In 1994, the country's GDP was \$9.7 billion (U.S.); in 2016, it was \$50 billion. Since Eurostat started measuring Bulgaria in 2004, the households here have enjoyed the highest growth of real income in the EU (8–9 percent annually) and people live longer.

But the most important aspect of the statue, and its current placement, may be that this is the spot where religious liberty began to blossom in Bulgaria in the modern era.

The other Reagan Revolution

My attachment to this bust is not simply that it was erected in Sofia's South Park, where I taught my kids how to walk, play soccer and skate. It is not even simply that I became friends with many of the economists who worked with Reagan's two administrations. I bear a personal attachment to President Reagan's deeds.

Some say that in the mid-to-late 1980s, South Park became to Bulgaria what Hyde Park was to Chicago in 1969. The cause of public discontent was the government's persecution of its Turkish minority. Although the policy continued for decades, the government intensified pressure during this time. From 1984– to 1985, atheistic officials began a campaign of renaming Bulgarian Turks with Slavic names at gunpoint. Public discontent reached its peak in 1989. Between May and August of that year, the regime began forcibly expelling Turks, with hundreds of thousands ultimately leaving the nation. In October, we went out to the streets—at first in small numbers—protesting against what seemed to us the most evidently anti-human nature of the secularist regime.

An international environmental conference, which brought foreign diplomats to the city, allowed a more prominent protest, this time on environmental concerns. I was one

of the organizers of the event. On October 26, which happened to be my birthday, the militia cracked down on us by force. The police violence, however limited, caused an outcry abroad and resistance at home and motivated diplomatic *démarches* by U.S. and European ambassadors. (The American ambassadors of the Reagan era, especially Sol Polansky and Hugh Kenneth Hill, deserve a monument of their own.) Wary of further scandals, and already isolated internationally even by the Soviet Union over its policy against the Turks, the Communist authorities announced South Park as a dedicated spot for public gatherings.

Free speech had won its first victory in South Park.

Religious liberty benefited all Bulgarians

Underground civic groups of all sorts moved their rallies to the park. First, opposition conferences were channeled to a nearby cinema hall and several key organization committees met in my kitchen. Human rights activists gathered bigger and bigger crowds in the park. Different oppressed religious groups crawled out from obscurity. One of them was the Bulgarian Church of God, an evangelical Protestant group that was officially banned in 1949 and operated for decades without legal protection.

A week after the October 1989 breakthrough, we moved our rally downtown to formally submit signatures on a petition to the Parliament dealing with the environment, but we used the occasion to call for democracy.

After another week, on November 10, the old regime collapsed.

By Christmas 1989, we forced the Communists to back off their campaign and allow Turks to resume using their Muslim names. In January 1990, we forced the Communist Party into a series of roundtable talks. And in June of that year, we held the first free elections since 1931 for Constitutional Assembly. I won the majority vote in my constituency. Members of the Bulgarian Church of God helped me distribute leaflets around my electoral district, which for some reason happened to be the largest in the country; clearly, I could not have led the campaign without volunteers.

In the second half of 1990, Bulgaria started its meandering journey back to normalcy. This was the thing we dreamed of: restoring democracy, property rights and the rule of law.

Ronald Reagan's diplomacy had triumphed. It was time to express our thanks.

Reagan's statue is not without precedent in South Park. Since 1996, the park has featured a monument of Manfred Wörner, the ex-secretary general of NATO who helped Bulgaria's reorientation to the West. (Bulgaria has taken part in all NATO operations since the Gulf War of 1991.) The country became a member of NATO in 2004 and joined the EU in 2007.

The idea of a Reagan monument had simmered for a decade. A student organization had proposed the idea at the municipal level in 2005. In 2011, for the 100th anniversary of Reagan's birth, South Park's main alley was named after him. Members of the committee to build the monument had been members of the anti-Communist opposition, albeit from different political backgrounds: scientists, lawyers, doctors, heirs of dissidents murdered by the Communists, Orthodox Church priests, businessmen and university students. The chairman Vladimir Kisiov, former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria and chief negotiator of Bulgaria's EU membership. These people raised the donations to build the monument.

The unfulfilled blueprint for the liberation of Bulgaria

The vandalism of Reagan's monument is sometimes explained among Bulgarians as revenge for the belittling of a Soviet Army monument, by painting the soldiers as Western superheroes. (There has been a civic movement in Sofia to remove this monument for 12 years; opponents believe it represents the occupation of Bulgaria, not its liberation.) A Reagan statue is said to be in complete opposition to the Communist Party.

However, it bears remembering that Communist reformers were the first to liaise with President Reagan's associates in February 1990. They took control of the government and attempted to steer it toward a more market-oriented economy, although one they would maintain their strong influence over.

Then-Prime Minister Andrey Lukhanov asked the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for help drafting a blueprint for his nation's transition. The National Chamber Foundation responded, and a privately funded team, led by Dr. Richard Rahn and Dr. Ronald Utt and including former Reagan administration officials, submitted to the Bulgarian government the "Proposal for a



Bulgarian Economic Growth and Transition Project.” I met the group in October 1990.

This blueprint was never implemented. Politicians were not interested in its outlines. Some attempted implementing their own brand of reforms. However, years later, they have returned to the same Rahn-Utt team set of ideas, often after bitter government failures, high social costs, hyperinflation and public discontent.

Richard Rahn concluded 30 years later: “Despite the many disappointments and setbacks, Bulgaria is now a far better place than it was in the late 1980s. The people are essentially free and living under a parliamentary democracy.” He added: “One of the tangible and important side benefits of the transition project was the creation of the Institute for Market Economics (IME), which has served as a highly productive and influential ‘think tank.’ IME continues to promote free markets, free people and a civil society.”

All of this—democracy, a firmer commitment to the rule of law, economic prosperity and mobility and the growing religious freedom at the heart of every free Western society—can be traced to the courageous actions of Ronald Reagan. Those involved who lived through those days will never forget him. Now this monument in Sofia’s South Park assures that future generations will remember his role in their religious, political and economic freedom as well.

Krassen Stanchev is a professor in public choice and macroeconomic analysis of politics at Sofia University in Bulgaria, where he also teaches the history of economics at the post-graduate level. [R&L](#)

BRIEF

OUR ECONOMIC AGE OF ANXIETY

Victor V. Claar & Greg Forster

We are all Keynesians now, in a chilling sense. Through the cultural effects of the Keynesian Revolution, we have been taught to think of ourselves fundamentally as consumers, as bundles of desires striving to be satisfied rather than as producers of good things that improve the world and serve humanity. We have been taught to think only of what satisfies present desires, not to build up good things over time so our grandchildren inherit a better world. “In the long run we are all dead,” Keynes said, banishing from our horizons any concern for what kind of world we leave our descendants when we go. And we have been taught to think of ourselves as cogs in a vast machine, under the control of managerial experts. To accommodate the experts’ demands we must all be ready to reorder our lives down to their very roots—since taking control of the economy necessarily involves exercising ever-greater control of all areas of human life.

There is a sense in which even the anti-Keynesians are all Keynesians now. The major schools of economic thought that have emerged to challenge Keynesianism—the Chicago and Austrian schools—developed within the amoral discourse incubated in the neoclassical period and consolidated by Keynes. They share, in a somewhat mitigated but essentially similar form, Keynesianism’s privileging of consumptive preferences over productive purposes, and its reductive inability to think cross-generationally. And while they strive to resist the Keynesian tendency to justify the encroaching powers of managerial technocracy, their acceptance of Keynesianism’s materialistic anthropology and morally shallow categories for thinking about economic activity leaves them unable to offer the effective resistance to creeping totalitarianism that is one of their primary goals.

In the long run, however, it is the Keynesian Revolution that is dead. Awareness of the limitations of dominant economic categories is growing. The only remedy for our moral anxiety about economics is a thorough repudiation of the influence of the materialistic model of *homo economicus* on our thinking and practice. That influence has been complex and extensive; uprooting it will be the work of a generation. We believe that it is the work of this generation, and a failure to undertake it will leave our nations unequipped to face the unfolding political, economic and social crises of our times.

This essay was excerpted and adapted from Acton Institute’s Journal of Markets and Morality (Vol. 20, No. 1).

Victor V. Claar is associate professor of economics at Florida Gulf Coast University in Fort Myers.

Greg Forster serves as the director of the Oikonomia Network at the Center for Transformational Churches.

BRIEF

MAKING COLLEGE EXPENSIVE BY MAKING IT FREE

Anne Rathbone Bradley

The state of New York recently passed legislation initiated and pushed by Governor Andrew Cuomo to make college “free.” The Excelsior Scholarship, as the program is known, attempts to provide free tuition to New York public universities for families making \$125,000 or less.

In the long run, this policy will make college much more expensive. The legislation doesn’t free up scarce resources; it rearranges existing resources and is funded through taxes. It discourages innovation and cost-saving measures by colleges.

Many are predicting that the Excelsior Scholarship will help traditional college students, but not the neediest. Those students at the lowest end of the income distribution already have access to grants and loans, so this funding will not be offered to them first.

People will enter college who may be better off pursuing some other form of education. These students will have a more difficult time finishing college and many may drop out. College dropout rates are an increasing problem, with about one-third of students dropping out, and the Excelsior Scholarship will likely exacerbate this problem.

We can all agree that an educated population has vast societal benefit. Higher education is important in the increasingly digital and global age and necessary for us to live into our God-given skills and talents. We need to encourage competition so that each of us can receive the education we need—one that suits who we are and does so at ever-lower prices.

BRIEF

Civil asset forfeiture

What you should know

Joe Carter

Civil asset forfeiture (hereafter CAF) is a controversial legal tool that allows law enforcement officials to seize property they claim has been involved in specific criminal activity.

Typically, civil law involves disputes between private citizens, while criminal law involves disputes between private citizens and the state (i.e., the “people” represent the interest of victims). CAF is a hybrid of the two, a dispute between the state and a private citizen’s *property*. Because CAF proceedings charge the property itself with involvement in a crime, the property owner must prove the property was *not involved* in criminal activity. Such property can include land, vehicles, cash, personal possessions, etc.

According to the Department of Justice, the Justice Asset Forfeiture Program is an initiative that “removes the tools of crime from criminal organizations, deprives wrongdoers of the proceeds of their crimes, recovers property that may be used to compensate victims, and deters crime.”

At the federal level, forfeiture can be administrative, judicial, criminal and civil.

Administrative forfeiture is the process

by which federal seizing agencies may declare property forfeited to the U.S. government without judicial involvement. Seizures must be based on probable cause.

Judicial forfeiture, both civil and criminal, is the process by which property is declared forfeited to the United States by a court.

Criminal forfeiture is an action brought as part of the criminal prosecution of a defendant that includes the forfeiture of property used or derived from the crime. If the defendant is convicted, the judge or the jury may find that the property is forfeitable.

Civil forfeiture is a proceeding brought against the property rather than against the person who committed the offense. Civil forfeiture does not require either criminal charges against the owner of the property or a criminal conviction.

In federal law, the burden of proof is placed on the owners of the property to prove they had nothing to do with the alleged crime. As the Institute for Justice explains,

In essence, most civil forfeiture laws presume that people are connected to any criminal activity involving their property and force them to prove otherwise to recover it. This is precisely the opposite of what happens in criminal trials, where the accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty by the government. It also often involves a practical impossibility, as it requires people to prove a negative—that they did not know about or consent to the illegal use of their property.

A person must prove they are innocent of the crime to get back their seized property.

If a claimant is successful in proving their innocence in a civil forfeiture case, Congress has mandated they are entitled to have the government pay all attorneys fees and other litigation expenses.

In the fiscal year 2016, a total of \$1,921,273,552 was collected in the sale of seized property by the federal government.

Joe Carter is a senior editor at the Acton Institute. [R&L](#)



INTERVIEW

Out of the frying pan into the fire

Once men and women leave prison, they have few options and little hope. Edwins is working to change that.

Sarah Stanley



Photo: Left: Donnan, Preston, Jose. 2017 Students at Edwins © Clifford Norton Studio

After someone has paid the price for their crime and completed a prison sentence, the difficulties of their life certainly don't end there. In her research for *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*, Joan Petersilia found that nearly 75 percent of men and women remained jobless up to a year after release from prison. Department of Justice research found that including a criminal record on an employment application reduced the likelihood of a callback or job offer by up to 50 percent. The United States Sentencing Commission found that more than 40 percent of ex-offenders return to prison within three years. The United States has one of the highest prison populations in the world, with nearly 7 million men and women behind bars; this costs the United States more than \$80 billion per year, not including social costs.

Desperate, hopeless men and women pay their debts to society in the form of prison sentences and continue to pay in the forms of unemployment and recidivism.

Despite this gloomy outlook, there is hope. Job training, life skills and a safety net can help ex-offenders learn not only to thrive but also to improve their own communities. Edwins Leadership and Restaurant Institute teaches people these skills. In 2015, *Religion & Liberty* visited the restaurant in Cleveland and learned more about it and founder Brandon Chrostowski. Two years later, we decided to check in with Edwins and some of the men and women who've gone through the program. According to Edwins' 2016 Report to the Community, 80 restaurants have hired Edwins graduates (165 from the institute and 75 from a program inside Grafton Correctional Institution, less than 30 miles outside of Cleveland). Recidivism for Edwins graduates is 1.2 percent.

Chrostowski recently stepped down as CEO to focus on community development and is running for mayor of Cleveland. As of July 2017, Thomas Nobbe is interim CEO.

We spoke to four Edwins graduates who wanted to share their journeys, successes and struggles.

"It just gave me a sense of purpose," explains February 2017 graduate Faustino Torres. "I got laid off in 2013, and I had been going from job to job."

Exhausted with seasonal jobs and struggling financially, Torres heard about Edwins and took advantage of the opportunity. A former Navy serviceman, Torres sees correlations between his military experience and his formation at Edwins. "It helped me kind of remind myself of where I've been and what I've done," Torres says, reflecting on both experiences. "I've always had the attitude that there's nothing I can't do without preparation and work . . . I had been unemployed for so long that I kind of started to doubt myself. At Edwins you're constantly under the fire, you're constantly learning, taking on new skills, and that just reminded me that I can pretty much do anything that I set my mind to."

This positive mental outlook and intense training helped Torres turn his situation around. He's currently working as a prep cook at Urban Farmer, a restaurant in Cleveland. Things certainly aren't perfect now. He says that finances are still a struggle, but he's overcoming this obstacle slowly both through his job and through the skills he gained at Edwins. His favorite dish to prepare is duck risotto.

Not everyone who goes through Edwins has been convicted of a crime or has served prison time; the program is about giving people second chances. Some people work hard, follow the law and still find themselves in seemingly hopeless situations. Angela Sharpley was one of these people. She describes herself as a single mother and victim of domestic violence. She had opened a restaurant in 2010 but, despite winning awards, had been forced to close it in 2014. Looking back she admits she didn't have the front-of-house skills to run a business, but she says her domestic situation also heavily weighed on her decision to shut down.

Without a job and with a young daughter to care for, Sharpley took a job canvassing for a presidential candidate. During this time she was invited to a Christmas party at Edwins. Sharpley didn't want to attend the party because it was the last day of canvassing and she didn't have enough signatures. But she reluctantly attended, met Brandon Chrostowski and took a leap. She asked him to mentor her.

Chrostowski encouraged Sharpley to join the Edwins program as soon as possible, so she visited the website. Registration ended at 10 a.m. and it was 8:30 a.m. Despite registration having been open for months, she hadn't had a chance to visit the website until then. To complete her registration, she needed to visit the restaurant, which was on the other side of town.

It was wintertime. She didn't own a car. She was getting over the flu. Sharpley accepted it wasn't meant to be, but her daughter didn't accept defeat so easily. "Mom, call Uncle Michael," her daughter suggested. Sharpley's brother, who works for the city of Euclid, had a car but was usually busy with work during the day. Sharpley got a hold of Michael, who just happened to be home with a sick puppy that day. He drove her to Edwins, where she signed up and was chosen for the next class.

Like so many other students, Sharpley discovered the hard work didn't end with acceptance into Edwins. "It's a very tedious process," Sharpley recalls of the training. "The program is very hard. You work 12 hours a day. And it's four days a week."

Along with maintaining her spot in the program, she had the added stress of worrying about her daughter. It was an extremely difficult six months, but she finished the program and graduated at the top of her class in 2016.

Looking forward, Sharpley hopes to build an organization similar to Edwins but with a focus on single mothers. She knows from her own experience that there just aren't enough resources for single mothers and women in dire situations. The United States has more than nine million single-mother households—and only one-third receive any child support from the father. That support averages less than \$400 a month. Impassioned by these numbers and her own experience, Sharpley is finalizing a business plan for a for-profit restaurant (Edwins is a nonprofit), Pipe'N Hot Grill, and a separate culinary school for low-income single mothers.

Reflecting on her journey from separate family situation to where she is now, she knows she was meant to travel this course. The daughter of an evangelist mother, Sharpley spent her childhood in the church and recalls giving her life to Christ when she was six. But with her business failing and her personal life in tumult, Sharpley struggled with her relationship with God and her love for her hometown of Cleveland. "I don't know that [God] cared about me," Sharpley recalls.

But now she understands that her difficult journey was necessary for where she is now. In her own words:

I had to experience these things to even have empathy for those who God called me to help. So now I can relate to single mothers who have been through these different phases because I've been through the abuse. I've been through brokenness. You just name it. . . . When I was getting ready to leave, I prayed. I told God, "I'm done with Cleveland. I can't make it here. No one wants to help me. I'm leaving. I'm taking my daughter. I'm going someplace where they help African-American people. where

“And God is making ways for me to get it done. So my faith is what kept me here and has gotten me to this place. I was never afraid.”

they appreciate my business.” I was just done. Within 30 days I met Brandon and my life turned around. My business isn't open yet, but I have met people who have helped me get in position. Doors have opened for me because I came through the program, even though I had never been in prison or anything like that. I got discouraged when I saw it was a re-entry for ex-offenders. I'm like, "Oh, gosh. Now I still can't go." And Brandon told me, "You were in prison. You just weren't on the inside." So he opened the door for me. And God is making ways for me to get it done. So my faith is what kept me here and has gotten me to this place. I was never afraid. It was like I knew God was with me.

Angela Sharpley is currently exploring locations for Pipe'N Hot Grill.

Domonique Bell graduated from Edwins at the top of her class in April 2017. She's a chef with her own station at the Terrace

Club, an exclusive restaurant at Progressive Field, home of the Cleveland Indians. She's responsible for creating menus and food for the visiting teams. She makes the menus by choosing a country or region and picking the best cuisines they have to offer. Don't worry, she assures, she never sabotages the opposing team's meals. Bell's experience at Edwins wasn't her first time in a culinary institute. She graduated high school at 16 and immediately attended Pennsylvania Culinary but was unable to finish since certain courses required students to be 18 years old. She began working in restaurants and started her own small catering business. One day she was walking through Shaker Square Neighborhood and happened to notice Edwins and walked

in. "I went in there and it was immaculate. It was beautiful," she says. "You would never think a restaurant like that would be on Shaker Square." Intrigued, she started talking to staff and learning about the restaurant and found out it was actually a school. "So they gave me some information,

and a week later I was in the program."

Despite Bell's initial excitement about the program and the restaurant itself, the training was incredibly difficult. "I'm known to be a quitter," Bell admits, and the training certainly pushed her. Not only does Edwins squeeze a two-year program into six months, but students are expected to create a fine dining experience for 250–300 diners a night. This didn't stop Bell. Between her passion for food and the Edwins support system, she not only made it through the program but also graduated top of her class. She credits the instructor's tough love for this success. "There was support everywhere you turned," she recalls. "The minute they saw me with a sad face, three instructors were over saying there's no time for sad faces. They really pushed me, and they pulled out certain things [in me] that I didn't know I was capable of."

She expresses her great appreciation for Edwins and plans to continue a relationship with the institute, hoping to pay it forward.

After a life of working difficult construction jobs, drinking heavily, several DUIs

and a stay in Grafton Correctional Institution, Rich Anderson got a wakeup call and a second chance. While serving for a DUI, Anderson decided to get sober and turn his life around. Edwins was a popular program at Grafton because it was a chance to learn culinary skills and try all sorts of gourmet food. Chrostowski visited with plenty of treats to share, so it was never difficult to find inmates interested in the program. However, most inmates didn't last long. Anderson estimates his class started with more than 60 students, but fewer than 10 graduated.

Laziness isn't tolerated. Stealing isn't tolerated. Drinking on the job isn't tolerated. It isn't a free ride. If you can't help yourself, Edwins can't help you.

Anderson now realizes the program is about so much more than learning to sauté and flambé. "Edwins isn't just a place to go and learn how to cook," he explains. "It can teach you how to live your life without having to drink and do drugs." This is how he describes what he learned in the program:

Edwins is something that I can't explain. It's God's gift to a lot of people . . . You've got to understand it, and you've got to take it. You cannot be like most people who get out of prison and still have that mental attitude that they don't have to do, they don't have to do, and they don't have to do. . . . There are rules in the world. I mean, there are rules in life. And when we're drinking and partying and having a good time, we don't want to think about rules. There are rules, period. I mean, everybody's got rules. When you were a kid, you had rules. Just because some of your parents didn't enforce them doesn't mean you grow up and don't have rules. That's the thing. A lot of people are stuck on that they want to do things their own way, and it's not going to happen.

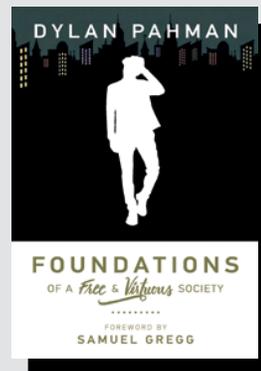
Since graduating from Edwins in 2015, Rich Anderson has been working at Fire Food + Drink in Shaker Square and recently started working in management at a casino buffet in downtown Cleveland. At the time of the interview, he was waiting for his lease to end so he could move into the house he recently purchased. He's been sober for eight years now.

Sarah Stanley is managing editor at the Acton Institute. 

BOOK

THE COOPERATIVE MAGIC OF WORK

Dylan Pahman



"Work," writes the Reformed theologian Lester DeKoster, "is the form in which we make ourselves useful to others." I like this definition because it puts things in a realistic, everyday perspective. Certainly, people can work just because they want a paycheck to spend on themselves alone. That might be greedy, but we need to be careful not to confuse profit with greed.

People work in order to profit, but profit is not good or evil in itself. That judgment depends on the circumstances in which it was gained and the use to which it is put. And as DeKoster points out, our work itself is service to others. If it wasn't, they wouldn't pay us to do it in the first place, and most people wouldn't want to do it for free. It's an exchange.

The division of labor is the phenomenon that the more the manufacturing of individual components of an eventual, finished product can be broken down into separate jobs, the more efficiently it can be produced.

When people work together (literally), they are able to multiply the fruits of their labors far beyond what they could each do alone. God made us to flourish in communion with one another. Ten people working alone might be able to produce 10 pins total in a single day, maybe up to 200 (20 each) if they were really good, but nowhere near 48,000.

Nearly every product, every fruit of the cultivation of creation, connects us with nearly every other human being on the planet. And their collective contributions make this book more affordable while also benefiting more people in the process. (Thanks, guys!) In this way, our work connects us with other people, serves their needs through products and property, provides for us and fulfills one of the purposes for which God made us.

This brief was excerpted and adapted from Dylan Pahman's Foundations of a Free & Virtuous Society (Acton Institute 2017).

Dylan Pahman is a research fellow at the Acton Institute, where he serves as managing editor of the Journal of Markets & Morality.

The House of European History erases religion

Without Christianity, Europe has no soul.

Arnold Huijgen



In May, the brand-new House of European History in Brussels opened its doors. Since I happened to be in Brussels on the day of the opening, I decided to pay the House a visit. With respect to religion and religious liberty, I found an empty House.

The House—a project of the European Parliament—has been wildly controversial, not only because of its cost (€55 million or \$61.7 million U.S.) but also because of the ideology behind it. Ever since Hans-Gert Pöttering presented the idea of this House “to enable Europeans of all generations to learn more about their own history” in his inaugural speech as president of the European Parliament, there has been an intense debate about what parts of European history should be presented.

The setup of the permanent exposition is tasteful, but the first floor already hints at what is lacking in the soul of this European project. It is dedicated to various sorts of exchange across Europe: food, drink, ideas and even fashion are highlighted as examples of European exchange. But it begs the question, “What makes all this typically European?” After all, other cultures trade goods and services as well.

The overview of European history presented from the second floor upward is both typically modern and emphatically French and socialist. The French Revolution seems to be the birthplace of Europe; there is little room for anything that may have preceded it. The Napoleonic Code and the philosophy of Karl Marx receive a prominent place, while slavery and colonialism are highlighted as the darker sides of European culture.

One must give credit where it is due. The floors devoted to the atrocities of the 20th century—the First and Second World Wars—are particularly impressive. One enters these parts of the exhibition in the dark, feeling disoriented. That is a physical experience of the mental state that one experiences walking past the House’s impressive exhibition on the Holocaust.

After these stirring images, the top floor is truly a disappointment. It is reserved for an overview of the European Union’s institutions, such as the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Commission. This is literally the apex of the European Union’s narcissism, as if the high point of European history consists in an overview of the various responsibilities of the present-day bureaucracy.

But the most remarkable thing about the House is that, as far as its account is concerned, it is as if religion does not exist. In fact, it never existed and never impacted the history of the continent. No attention is paid to the Reformation as the great divide between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, to religious wars between confessions, or the quest for freedom of religion that was at the heart of the Dutch Revolt. If one did not know that the Roman Catholic Church existed, one would not find it out in the permanent exposition of European history that the European Parliament seeks to present to every European (at that European’s expense). No longer is European secularism fighting the Christian religion; it simply ignores every

religious aspect in life altogether.

Meanwhile, it is clear that religion did play a crucial role in European history. Social structures in southern European countries cannot be understood without the role of the Roman Catholic Church. The responsibility of the individual, stressed in Protestantism, is a central tenet of European culture. Calvinism may or may not be the fertile soil that buds forth capitalism as Max Weber theorized, but at least its role in creating the cultural structures of much of Europe needs to be discussed. Until the 1960s, at the very minimum, most Europeans understood themselves as Christians. And to cite but one example, Christian Democratic political parties still play an important role in the politics of large European countries such as Germany.

In modern, secular Europe, there is a tendency to ignore religion altogether. This is due, in no small part, to the rise of Islam and its potential demographic replacement of Christianity as the continent's largest religion. When attention would be paid to religion in European history, this would result in a distinctly Christian focus, and those two millennia of history seem to be heinous things to many politicians. Whatever the cause, the European Constitution (the Treaty of Lisbon) does not mention God at all.

The impact of all this is not relegated to the past. Its greatest cost is in the present. When God and religion are no longer mentioned as part of public life, the technocrats can lay claim to control, and the European discourse is governed by experts in the fields of money and power. Instead of God, the European institutions of Brussels take center stage. Not surprisingly, these provide neither motivation nor enthusiasm to Europeans, which in turn stimulates right-wing populist movements, such as Marine Le Pen's National Front in France or Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom (*Partij voor de Vrijheid*) in the Netherlands. These populist movements seek to limit freedom in different ways than the technocrats but often use the same mechanisms. At the end of the day, the erasure of religion from the House of European History undermines its powerful warnings against potentially violent movements and wars.

Without Christianity, Europe has no soul.

Arnold Huijgen is a professor of systematic theology at the Theological University Apeldoorn. [R&L](#)

FILM

Are you brave enough to tell a joke?

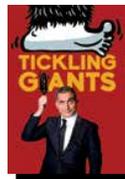
Tickling Giants (2017) tells how an Egyptian comedian found a way to fight against and call out abusive leaders using creative nonviolence.

Sarah Stanley

This new documentary directed and produced by Sara Taksler follows Dr. Bassem Youssef, the “Jon Stewart of Egypt,” a heart surgeon turned late-night comedian who takes on Egyptian authority. It opens on Tahrir Square in Cairo, where protests have broken out against military control of the government. Youssef and a camera crew walk around talking to the fed-up masses. Gunshots constantly go off, some in the distance and some close by.

It's January 2011, and Hosni Mubarak is still in power. Despite him having ruled Egypt for nearly 30 years without competition, the people are suddenly taking to the streets to demand his removal. This kind of demonstration is practically unheard of in Egyptian culture. The media, who largely support whoever rules Egypt, calls the protestors “insurgents.” This is where Youssef, in a voiceover, explains the two realities that exist in Egypt: the reality on the streets and the “reality” on TV.

The protestors' work pays off. Mubarak steps down in February 2011. Youssef is thrilled for the new direction



of his nation, calling it a “New Egypt.” His optimism is short-lived.

The documentary then focuses on Youssef himself and what led him to become Egypt's Jon Stewart. Despite success as a heart surgeon, Youssef and a friend began making videos and sharing them online. They used humor to point out the many, many flaws with their government and the media, a model based on Jon Stewart's *The Daily Show*. They hoped it would be moderately successful; the first video got 35,000 views on the first day and continued to climb in popularity. This was the first time Egyptians were laughing at or making fun of their leaders. “Hold authority accountable,” Youssef explains of the show. “No matter who's in charge.” Eventually the videos took off and Youssef established a real show on TV called *Al Bernameg* (in English, *The Show*). *Al Bernameg* was run entirely by amateurs. It was created by recent grads, architects and lawyers, and, of course, it starred a heart surgeon. One of the writers explains why this type of commentary was so important: “The funniest joke ever is the one told at a funeral.”

Meanwhile, the first true election was held in Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood's

Mohamed Morsi was elected president of Egypt.

Despite 40 percent of the population watching *The Show*, Youssef didn't enjoy universal popularity. A warrant was issued for his arrest and he willingly turned himself in. There was immediate outcry, forcing the authorities to release him. Youssef describes the incident as "what happens when you go after a joker."

Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood tried to force Islamic conservatism on the nation, much to the ire of Egyptian General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who ousted Morsi in a military coup. *The Show* continued to attack leaders, gaining and losing die-hard fans depending on who was on the receiving end of Youssef's satire. He described it in 2013 when he accepted an International Press Freedom Award from the Committee to Protect Journalists:

For some reason, a joke would piss off a lot of people although the same people were laughing at the same joke before, but it only hurts when the joke is on you. So the same people who defended our freedom a few months ago as I was taken for

questioning on accounts of blasphemy, insulting the president and threatening national security are now quite indifferent when I am faced with charges like disturbing the peace, grand treason and, of course, the gift that keeps on giving: threatening national security.

Men and women working on *The Show* suddenly had family members getting arrested with no official charges. Protests and violence continued. "It's like 9/11 every day," Youssef says. Meanwhile, the network that had been so supportive of this revolutionary show no longer wanted to challenge authority. Executives from the network told Youssef that they had to quit mocking the government if they wanted to stay on the air. So *The Show* found a new network. During a broadcast on the new channel, people had trouble watching it. The signal for the show was lost, yet commercials were broadcast without a problem. Sisi's people jammed it.

The importance of the work of *The Show* was soon overshadowed by how dangerous doing that work had become. Its old network sued Youssef for breach

of contract, but he lost the case and that became the highest fine ever given. In 2014, he canceled *The Show*. Between the growing negative sentiment and fearing for his wife and daughter, Youssef made the decision to leave Egypt. Once he was out, the realization set in that he may never go back. He missed his father's funeral because his brother warned it was too dangerous to return.

The documentary ends with footage of cars and motorcycles driving backward through Cairo. After all the hope from the first democratic election in Egypt, Youssef voices his disgust with the nation he once had so much hope for.

At 113 minutes long, *Tickling Giants* is not too long of a documentary and shares a very unique perspective on the Arab Spring. Bassem Youssef and *The Show* demonstrate not only the power of humor in bringing down dangerous regimes but also the need for free speech. The film isn't rated, but it features strong language, violence and some disturbing imagery. The language alone would certainly warrant an R rating.

Sarah Stanley is managing editor at the Acton Institute. **R&I**



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She currently serves as the 11th United States Secretary of Education. Prior to her confirmation, DeVos served as the chairman of The Windquest Group for more than 20 years. From 1995 to 2005, Betsy DeVos sat on the Acton Institute's board of directors, and served numerous local educational and philanthropic organizations. She is married to entrepreneur, philanthropist and community activist Dick DeVos, and together they have four children and six grandchildren.

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Medium and message in Luther's reformation

Review of *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (Penguin Press 2015).

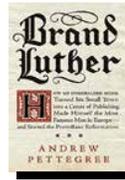
Andrew M. McGinnis



In the lead up to 1617, the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation, a flood of celebratory and educational publications poured over Protestant Germany. These publications included sermons, plays, prayers, hymns and, of course, reprints of the works of Martin Luther. That the lead up to the Reformation's five hundredth anniversary would be accompanied by an analogous flood of new books on the Wittenberg Reformer is entirely consistent with Luther's own life and legacy—a life and legacy intimately tied to the power of the printed page and the explosive growth of the publishing industry.

The present deluge of anniversary books on Luther and the Reformation has yet to crest, but in *Brand Luther*, Andrew Pettegree—a distinguished scholar of both the Reformation and the history of communication—has already given us a refreshingly original account of Luther and his movement that deserves particular attention. *Brand Luther* includes the usual elements of a traditional biography. All the major events and controversies of Luther's life are recounted. At every step, however, Pettegree shows how Luther's rise was in a symbiotic relationship with the printing industry. Thus Pettegree simultaneously tells the history of the explosive development of printing in Germany—especially in Wittenberg—and argues that Luther became a brand that reshaped both the book industry and the church.

In 1522, still relatively early in his contest with the church hierarchy, Luther gave this famous account of the reason for his movement's success: "I simply taught, preached, and wrote God's Word; otherwise I did nothing. And while I slept,



or drank Wittenberg beer with my friends Philip and Amsdorf, the Word so greatly weakened the papacy that no prince or emperor ever inflicted such losses upon it. I did nothing; the Word did everything." Without evaluating Luther's claim regarding ultimate, divine causality, we can still say that Luther is correct in the sense of secondary causality. That is, regardless of whether it was ultimately the Word of God or merely the word of Luther, the written and printed word did in fact do everything. Certainly iconography, preaching, liturgy and song had their impact as well, but as Pettegree's account illustrates, the printed word—the book—was central to the success of the movement.

The sales figures and statistics for Luther's (and his supporters') books are sprinkled throughout Pettegree's account. These numbers are astounding. Pettegree writes, "Within five years of penning the ninety-five theses, [Luther] was Europe's most published author—ever." Luther's *Sermon on Indulgence and Grace* went through at least two Wittenberg editions, four reprints in Leipzig and two each in Nuremberg, Augsburg and Basel—all in 1518, the first year of its publication. And that was merely the beginning. By the end of 1522, Luther had written about 160 works and these had been published in 828 editions. "The next eight years," Pettegree notes, "would see the publication of some 1,245 more, an estimated total of some two million copies." Between 1521 and 1525, during the height of the pamphlet war over Luther's ideas, "Luther and his supporters outpublished their opponents by a margin of nine to one."

Truly Luther was a prolific author who sent a constant stream of works to the various Wittenberg publishers. But what

explains such a voracious public appetite for these books? According to Pettegree, the Luther brand and its many facets are the key to understanding the unprecedented popularity of Luther's writings and the wild success of his movement.

One facet of brand Luther is so often stated as to be almost cliché: Luther's great success was due to his decision to write in the vernacular and thus to relocate a theological contest from the academy to the realm of the common folk. Pettegree, however, carefully nuances this well-worn observation. He points out that Luther's opponents also wrote in the vernacular and attempted to meet him on the same ground. The difference was that the vernacular books of Luther's opponents sold miserably, and so publishers—largely irrespective of their own individual religious convictions—chose to print what sold. Thus Luther's opponents could scarcely find German printers who would publish their books.

The size and format of many of Luther's works also fueled their success. Luther made great use of pamphlets, or *Flugschriften*. These short vernacular works were inexpensive to print, used very little paper, could be produced quickly in large quantities and were cheap to buy. As Pettegree points out, many people who had previously never owned a book or who could afford only one or two could now buy dozens of Reformation pamphlets. The *Flugschriften* were also easily and cheaply reprinted, and so publishers across Germany could print their own editions rapidly to meet local demand. An important contextual factor was also at play here.

Due to the political divisions of the Holy Roman Empire, Germany's publishing industry spanned several sovereign territories and cities. It was thus highly decentralized. This made it virtually impossible for the church hierarchy or the emperor to stem the tide of Luther's works. The combination of the pamphlet format and the

decentralized publishing industry allowed Luther and his supporters to reach vast numbers of people who had never before engaged theological and ecclesial issues.

The design of these works was also a critical element in their popularity and branding. One of the most fascinating figures in Pettegree's account is Lucas Cranach (the elder), who was court painter for Frederick the Wise and whose workshop was in Wittenberg. Cranach was central to the creation of brand Luther not merely for his many famous portraits of the Reformer, but especially for his brilliant iconographical woodcuts that adorned the title pages of Luther's works. In many ways, Pettegree's account is as much the story of Cranach's genius as it is Luther's. Cranach was central to the crafting of the distinct look of Luther's works. This gave these publications from back-country Wittenberg a visual appeal that rivaled that of the publications from the traditional printing houses of Europe.

Ultimately Pettegree has carefully elucidated the ingenuity, readability and marketability of Luther's books and the reciprocal relationship between Luther and the German printing industry. Indeed, in *Brand Luther*, Pettegree has accomplished a rare feat. He has written something both original and compelling about Luther.

points to features of the medium and the historical context, such as Luther's use of the vernacular, the pamphlet format, the decentralization of the German publishing industry, Cranach's design brilliance and—as Pettegree is apt to note—luck. Absent Luther's message, however, all these factors fail to explain fully the voracity with which people consumed Luther's books and brand.

Pettegree undoubtedly knows that Luther's success was tied to his message of, for example, the doctrine of justification by faith alone and the criticism of the sacramental system. At certain points he mentions how Luther's early works surgically attacked the church's doctrine and practice, and he devotes a whole chapter to the way Luther functioned as a pastor for the whole German people. In a short section on Luther's writings on good works and Christian freedom, Pettegree even recognizes that Luther's "careful exposition of a healing Gospel . . . struck an increasing chord with the German public." But on the whole, Pettegree gives little attention to the importance of the message. In fact, he suggests that the radical impact of Luther's theology "may well have escaped the first generation of readers." Such a suggestion seems to miss the full picture.

Luther said, "I did nothing; the Word did everything." Yes, Luther carefully crafted a brand. He did not simply watch the word do the work while he and Melancthon swigged beer. But it does not suffice to say that Luther's books alone did the work of reform. Neither does it suffice to say that Luther's brand alone did the work. A full explanation of the

success of Luther's movement must go beyond the medium to the message. The word did everything.

Andrew M. McGinnis is editorial director and a research fellow at the Acton Institute.

R&L

“Thus Pettegree simultaneously tells the history of the explosive development of printing in Germany—especially in Wittenberg—and argues that Luther became a brand that reshaped both the book industry and the church.”

But despite the compelling account of the success of Luther's books, something still seems to be missing from Pettegree's answer to that central question: Why *these* books? That is, why did Luther's books in particular captivate thousands of people and ignite a movement unlike any in history? Pettegree

Justice, applied equally

Rev. Robert A. Sirico



Oftentimes during prayer I reflect on my good fortune. I grew up in a loving Italian-American family during an amazing era of progress both economically and technologically. My Italian roots were planted so strong.

However, as they say, the Lord works in mysterious ways. Instead of leading a life in quiet near-obscurity, I pursued the public life of a free-market proponent. This entailed employing the Word and other theological and divinely inspired tools to support the small-“w” words of renowned economic thinkers.

Amazingly, the task wasn’t all that difficult. At first blush, it would seem we founders of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty were attempting to pound square pegs into round circles.

My public life has granted me innumerable opportunities to travel throughout the United States and abroad. My point isn’t to boast, but only to make a point that my travels have provided me with tremendous lessons in what constitutes humanity as our culture traditionally understands it.

Far from being homogenous, our world consists of many perspectives, attitudes and values. However, these myriad views aren’t inherently irreconcilable. In my adopted hometown, for example, religious diversity abounds and there exists dozens of different political views.

Such is the enormity of some of these differences of opinion, readers may recall an attempt by the local government to levy a tax burden on our headquarters. Had this effort succeeded, the Acton Institute no doubt would have survived, at the very least, financially wounded. Fortunately, the case eventually was resolved in our favor, but not before wreaking havoc in the personal and business lives of everyone affiliated with our nonprofit, tax-exempt enterprise.

However large this threat loomed over Acton specifically, we fought not just for our own survival, because a victory for Acton would represent a victory for our entire community as well as our movement. Winning for us meant that the rule of law for everyone also won.

For the most part, somehow, our many tribes have managed to coalesce into a thriving community. People thrive when justice is applied equally. Justice is but one of the lynchpins of a free and virtuous society.

By justice, I don’t mean the sense of fairness we practiced on playgrounds as kids. I mean such practices as applying laws fairly for everyone, protecting private-property rights and religious freedoms as well as ensuring that government follows the laws it enforces on the rest of us. We do this better than many other countries, but we can also do so much better. This, in part, is why the Acton Institute will continue its mission indefinitely. **R&L**

THE GREATEST CRONY CAPITALIST DEAL IN WISCONSIN HISTORY

Joe Carter

President Trump, Speaker Ryan and Gov. Scott Walker recently announced Foxconn Technology Group would be building a display panel plant in Wisconsin. Gov. Walker called it “the single largest economic development project in the history of Wisconsin.” It will also be the biggest crony deal in Wisconsin history.

The government-granted privileges offered to Foxconn are a mix of different types reportedly worth \$3 billion. Even if in the long run the deal turns out to be profitable for Wisconsin, it’s still a moral loss for the state. The power of the government should not be used to determine winners and losers in business.

The free market should also be a level playing field, but because of cronyism, Big Business is able to gain an advantage over smaller firms. Not only will small and medium-size businesses in Wisconsin not be getting the same types of breaks, they’ll be expected to fund the privileges given to Foxconn.

Does a company with revenues of \$135 billion really need to be subsidized by Wisconsin taxpayers? Of course not. In the crony game, it’s not about what the *company* needs, it’s about what *politicians* need. Trump needs to claim he brought jobs back to the US of A. Ryan needs to show he can use the federal connections to bring the goodies back to his home state. And Walker needs to be able to say he “created jobs.”

So what if the taxpayers get stuck with the bill? That’s a price the crony politicians are willing to pay.

Joe Carter is a senior editor at the Acton Institute.

We Can Do It!



INTERVIEW

Working humans, working women

Women are called to the workplace, so how do we make it work?

Sarah Stanley

Photo: Left: Public domain

Where are the resources for Christian women called to the workplace? Why isn't there a larger discussion in churches about the life experiences of women? Asking these questions led Katelyn Beaty to write *A Woman's Place: A Christian Vision for Your Calling in the Office, the Home and the World* (Simon & Schuster 2016). Beaty was the first female and youngest managing editor of *Christianity Today* and the co-founder of the blog *Her.meneutics*. She discussed several of the overall themes in her book with *Religion & Liberty's Sarah Stanley*. The following interview has been edited for length and clarity.

Religion & Liberty: How do you define "feminism"?

Beaty: Historically the first wave of feminism in the early 20th Century was really about women's full participation in the political sphere. It was centered on giving women the right to vote. A lot of the women who were early champions of women's voting rights were actually Christian, who wanted to see women have more influence on social issues of the day. So recognizing that women often had a reforming influence, they were concerned about alcohol abuse and the way that prisoners were treated, what was happening in schools and the abuses of factories that were employing young children.

Those early women of the feminist movement were really motivated by wanting women to have more of a reforming influence on society. The second wave of feminism, which most people take as a whole of feminism, was really centered on giving women greater power in the workplace and in institutions. It was also very much connected to the sexual revolution of the 1960s and '70s.

So the second-wave feminists believed that women should have as much sexual freedom as men. And so they tended to be advocates of birth control. And of course that's connected to the reproductive rights and the legalization of abortion. When Christians think of feminism, I think that's the movement that they tend to think of.

There have been efforts made to integrate mainstream feminism with Christianity. I think you can make the case that there are aspects of feminist ideas that can be connected to what the Bible says about dignity of women and women bearing the image of God and being owed honor and worth and dignity. And that's different from saying that there are no differences between men and women. I am thankful, as an evangelical Christian, for the fact that as a young girl, I could ask, "What do I want to be when I grow up?" and that there were options. It was accepted that I would work and have a profession. And I think we can thank our feminist forbearers for the work they did to advocate for women in the workplace even if they advocated for other ideas and movements we may find destructive. So I'm thankful for aspects of feminism. I am not ready to throw out the baby with the bathwater, but there are also aspects of feminism that are obviously very concerning and may have created problems for Western culture in the past 50 years.

How do you define "work"?

I define work by going back to the Genesis narrative. We read that God put Adam and Eve in the garden to keep and tend it; to work the soil and to really bring about abundance and order and beauty to the garden. Work, at its most basic definition, is what happens when humans interact with the created order to bring about something that wasn't there before. That's a really broad definition, but that would in-

clude work that's done without pay, in the privacy of one's home. For example: when you're making a meal, when you're tending your own garden, when you're changing a diaper. You're interacting with created goods in order to tend and keep them for the sake of other people.

feast that a friend and I put together in 2010. We invited a dozen people over, and we had multicourses of all sorts of Mediterranean food, and it was just a beautiful evening. That, I would say, was us working. That was us putting our hands to raw creative good to bring about something that wasn't there before. By comparison, I talk about Café 180, which is a pay-what-you-can restaurant in a lower-income neighborhood in Denver, where Kathy Matthews, the founder, has created a restaurant model where people can come and enjoy fresh and healthy food and are asked to pay what they can. If you can't pay anything, then you work for an hour or something doing dishes to earn your meal. But the restaurant brings together people from different backgrounds, different neighborhoods, to share a meal together. The fact that she has created this restaurant and this business is an example of how her work can reach far more people and have far greater systemic effects at good transformation than my friend's and my meal. Those are examples of work.

But the point of the book is to call women to the second kind of work. Because I believe our institutions need women in positions of influence and leadership. And I believe women are called to participate in those institutions.

Your book and the issues addressed in it are often listed as "women's issues" and sidelined into pink sections of bookstores and blogs. Ultimately this is really a human issue. How do we bring these issues to the mainstream?

I will say I have been really encouraged by the number of men who have read my book and have appreciated and resonated with it. And what I hear from those men many times is that the issues I'm writing about (such as greater representation in the workplace or work/life balance or, you know, flex time or paid parental leave) are issues that directly affect the women in their lives, whether their wives or their daughters or their coworkers. Simply by account of men being in relationships with women, men are called to hear and listen to the concerns of women when

"Work, at its most basic definition, is what happens when humans interact with the created order to bring about something that wasn't there before."

In the book, I give this example of a

tion in the workplace or work/life balance or, you know, flex time or paid parental leave) are issues that directly affect the women in their lives, whether their wives or their daughters or their coworkers. Simply by account of men being in relationships with women, men are called to hear and listen to the concerns of women when

it comes to work and vocation.

When you look at the local church, every church is composed of at least 50 percent women. If you're a pastor, it's within your responsibility and care, simply as a discipleship issue, to concern yourself with the questions that women are asking and thinking about. If these are the questions and concerns that half of my congregation is bringing to the table, then I really need to understand them. And ultimately, I think, advocate for them in some way. Advocate doesn't necessarily mean the pastor needs to go speak to a boss and advocate for equal pay but, rather, think about how the local church supports women who are wading into these questions of work and vocation.

Say a woman has just had a baby and is going back to work full time. Is she going to find support or encouragement at the local church level? If a woman in your church has experienced gender discrimination in the workplace, is there a space at the local church for her to share that concern and find support? At the local church level, I would just love to see women's issues stop being relegated to the pink section.

Women are human, and yet I think the way we disciple women in the local church sometimes suggests that women are these fundamentally different kinds of things from men. I believe what women and men share in common is far greater than what separates them or what makes them unique. So if we believe women are human, then women's issues need to be the conversation of all people in the church.

Would you explain the Industrial Revolution's impact and influence on creating separate male and female "work?"

For most of human history, relatively speaking, the locus of industry was either at home or closely connected to home. The Industrial Revolution essentially took work outside of the home. It moved the locus of work from the home to the factory or to the business. With that, it separated men and women. So husbands and wives, who would have been working together on the farm, were now separated with the husband going to work in the factory for 12 hours a day to make a wage and the woman managing the responsibilities at home. That's why we have this divide.

When we talk about work/life balance and the difficulty of balancing work and life, we are really reflecting the legacy of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution and the technological advances of the last 100 years have taken a lot of the creative and time-consuming work of the home outside of the home. The work of managing a home became much less taxing and time consuming, especially in the 20th century. Because of that you have advertisers and businesses praising the housewife. She can cook and clean, but it all takes very little time. What does she do during all this free time? We don't know. But the point is that the interesting work of the home has been replaced by machines, whether outside or inside of the home. And so the work of managing the home has ultimately become, for a lot of women, less interesting. That's why you have the women of the mid-20th century saying, "I'm actually really bored at home." We can't blame these women for wanting to enter the workforce outside the home because they want the good fulfillment of meaningful work that is really connected to our bearing the image of God.

What do you see for the future of the faith-and-work movement?

I think most leaders in the faith-and-work movement recognize that if the movement is going to have long-lasting effects in the church, then it needs to become more diverse in a few different

ways. So more ethnically diverse and speaking to the concerns of leaders of color and persons of color in the church. Connected to that, becoming more socioeconomically diverse. One potential pitfall of the faith-and-work movement is to set up white-collar jobs as being more important or holier than working-class or blue-collar jobs. That denigrates the importance of manual labor.

I actually see much more interest in faith-and-work leaders in honoring the dignity of manual labor and wanting to avoid the suggestion that meaningful work only includes things like founding a company that has a social good component. For example, working in an investment firm where all of the money is invested in social good. Anything with a social good component. These are jobs that simply aren't available to most people. We want to avoid the impression that only those jobs are the ones that have an element of importance or meaning for our society.

I think there is also a gender imbalance. There just aren't that many women leaders in the faith-and-work movement. There are certainly some, but this tends to be a male-led movement. I think incorporating the experiences of more women will go a long way for this movement because the reality is that more and more women are working outside the home. We can't assume that if you're a Christian woman, you will work for maybe some time after college, but then you'll drop out of the workforce as soon as you have a family. Women are simply going to be in the workforce for a lot longer than previous generations of women. They will certainly need the same faith-and-work resources as their male counterparts. **R&I**

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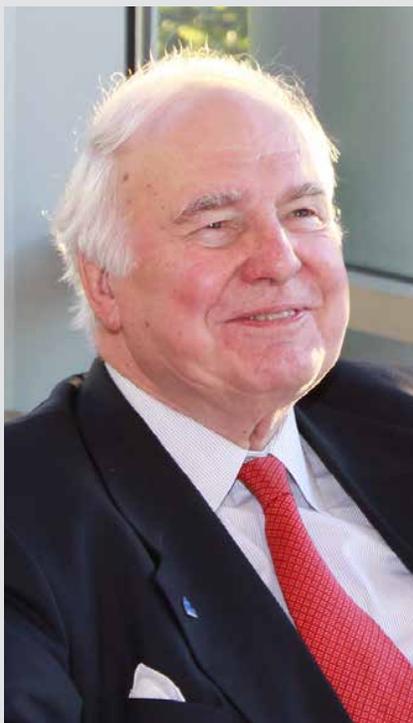
MICHAEL NOVAK (1933–2017)

Sarah Stanley

Our Founders always wondered about how long it would last. The price of liberty is everlasting vigilance. You've got to be on your guard every minute or you will lose it.

Michael Novak was born in Pennsylvania on September 9, 1933. His parents instilled in him an appreciation for reading and critical thinking. His lifelong love of Catholicism came from his mother and led him, at 14, to seriously consider the priesthood. He earned a bachelor's degree in philosophy from Stonehill College and then a bachelor of sacred theology degree from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Novak ultimately chose not to enter the priesthood and attended Harvard on a graduate fellowship in late 1960.

During the Second Vatican Council, Novak spent much time in Rome covering the event for several publications. He recorded his accounts of the second session of the Council in his book *The Open Church*. Later, he became the first Roman Catholic to teach in the humanities program at Stanford University, where he continued to write. After Stanford he held a number of different academic roles until 1978, when he joined the American Enterprise Institute as a resident scholar. He also regularly wrote for various conservative and Catholic outlets. He held a number of other noteworthy roles, including U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. He also served on the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and advised the Institute on Religion and Public Life.



Novak's most famous book, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, was one of the first to take an in-depth look at the free market from a moral perspective. The 1982 revolutionary work offered a new assessment of capitalism. Capitalism had been accused of (and is still being accused of) lacking any moral or spiritual dimensions. Its endgame seeming to be simple profit maximizing. Novak challenged that assumption, arguing that democratic capitalism is, beyond being a more practical system, morally superior to socialism or any other economic system for that matter. Novak wrote that capitalism has a very distinctive spirit

with three significant elements: democracy, a market-based economy and a pluralistic, liberal culture. "*The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*," begins Samuel McCracken in his review, "may prove one of those rare books that actually changes the way things are."

Novak didn't just write about economics, morality and democracy. He was also very interested in athletics. In 1976, he published *The Joy of Sports*, which *Sports Illustrated* listed as one of the Top 100 Sports Books of all time. Novak looks into baseball, basketball and football as the three sports invented by Americans for Americans. "All around this land there is a faith without an explanation, a love without a rationale," Novak writes in the book. "This book is written to fill a void among the faithful." He explained that sports in America is almost a kind of religion, "built on cult and ceremony." This lesser-known book explores that idea in depth.

Novak had long been associated with Acton, speaking at multiple Acton Universities and enjoying close friendships with many Acton staff. One of Acton's biggest projects is the "Novak Award." This annual award recognizes an outstanding scholar whose work includes the intersection of theology, philosophy and free-market economics. Acton has awarded a Novak Award every year since 2001.

Michael Novak was married for more than 40 years to Karen Laub-Novak, a professional painter, sculptor and writer who passed away in 2009. They had three children together.



BOOK

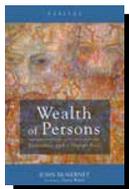
Entrepreneurs all

Anyone can fulfill an entrepreneurial vocation.

David P. Deavel

Everyone today is a critic of “soulless” market economies and the machine-like view of economies taken by professional economists who, on the neo-classical side, think of that abstraction of humanity called *homo economicus* and, on the Keynesian side, see only aggregate views of supply and demand. Do we have to leave markets behind to find real flesh-and-blood human persons and allow them to flourish?

Fr. John McNerney, an Irish priest who served as head chaplain at University College Dublin and is currently doing research at the Catholic University of America, agrees that too much of orthodox economics deals in abstractions. He does not, however, think the problem is that the modern world is too



caught up in markets. In his new book, *The Wealth of Persons*, McNerney attempts to get a view of the actual human persons who are the central actors in economics by developing a “higher viewpoint” by which to see persons in all their richness. While persons are not simply economic agents, McNerney thinks that it is in a free market under the rule of law that we can see the many sides of human capacity in dynamic and startling fashion. If Aristotle famously saw man as “rational animal,” McNerney sees humans as acting, judging, choosing, discovering, innovating and creating animals. They are persons and not mere individuals because they are always in communion of some sort with other human beings and God.

McNerney’s book is very full (295 pages of text, with another 60 of bibliography and notes), with the occasional repetition that slips into books of such size, but it is really a delight for anyone interested in what it means to be human both inside and outside the marketplace. The higher viewpoint he seeks to develop in this book is derived from his interactions with a whole parade of economists, philosophers, theologians and entrepreneurs, including Saint John Paul II; Bernard Lonergan; Eric Voegelin; Joseph Schumpeter; the Austrian economists Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Israel Kirzner; and Bologna University scholars such as Stephano Zamagni. Yet the reason for this eclectic mix of figures (and a host of others who can’t be mentioned in a review of this

size) is that they all looked at the human being through a broader lens than those offered by the “orthodox” economists of their times, whether of right or left. They all focused on the marketplace not as a system to be fixed by those with higher knowledge (Adam Smith’s “man of system”) but as a dynamic arena, indeed a “process,” of interaction and discovery on the part of all the participants.

McNerney thinks that despite their superior performance, free markets are more often vulnerable to critiques concerning their moral legitimacy than other systems in part because of the way their friends talk about them and about being human. Too often the friends of free markets depict them as arenas for only a few select dynamic individuals whom we know as entrepreneurs. The heart of the book is found in the middle five chapters that explore the questions of who are entrepreneurs and what do they do?

Joseph Schumpeter, in contrast to Ricardo and other classical economists, stressed the role of entrepreneur as innovating producer who comes from outside the system and drives new development. While McNerney doesn’t discount this picture entirely, he insists on seeing all economic participants, from producers to middlemen to consumers, as showing entrepreneurial gifts in their discoveries and decisions. These themes were developed in different directions by Mises, Hayek, Kirzner and others who considered the role of choice, alertness to reality and cooperation not simply to their self-interests but, in McNerney’s view, something deeper: “The art of the entrepreneur does not think about what is good for the art of entrepreneurship, but what is good for the body-economic, that is the common good of persons who are all participants in the economic drama.”

For McNerney, the “real wellspring of human wealth” is the human person exercising creativity and judgment to meet others’ needs. Most captivating is his chapter on Agnes Morrogh Bernard, a 19th-century Irish nun whose creation of textile mills—against the advice of advisors—provided work, dignity and profits for the poor of Foxford, County Mayo. Her vision of a “flash of transcendence” in the poor for whom she worked motivated her to trust Providence to bring that out in the workplace even for people unlikely to be considered “entrepreneurial material.”

David P. Deavel is editor of *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* and a visiting professor at the University of St. Thomas. He is the 2013 winner of the Novak Prize. **R&L**

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The notion of shared values on both sides of the Atlantic has received new attention. Leaders like French socialist president François Hollande cite “democracy, freedoms, and the respect of every individual” as key values. But what about religious liberty, the breakdown of the welfare state, advancing secularism and the health of civil society? R&L Transatlantic will cover these issues here with new articles.

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WHEN GOOD IDEAS CROSS THE ATLANTIC

Alex Chediak

Apprenticeships train young people in the skills needed to fill high-paying jobs, not only in manufacturing and construction but also in “white-collar” fields. Apprentices earn while they learn, meaning they experience the dignity of work and a paycheck from day one.

Apprenticeships have a long history of success in Germany. By age 20, about 60 percent of young adults have earned some kind of professional credential. Not only have they done so without paying for college, but they have earned income as apprentices. One of the key differences between the U.S. and German systems is that German students are required to choose a career track while in high school. Perhaps the United States has something to learn from this European policy.

The winds of change may be blowing in American education. For one, the U.S. manufacturing sector is on the rebound. Labor costs per unit of output in the United States are now only a bit higher than China and lower than industrialized nations, such as Germany.

Second, while unemployment is at a 10-year nadir of 4.3 percent, some six million jobs remain unfilled. While the 2009–17 trend promotes higher salaries for wage earners, the lack of additional skilled labor is hurting overall employer and nationwide productivity.

Tragically, while six million jobs remain unfilled, some seven million American men between the ages of 25 and 54 are neither working nor looking for work. Another two million men in this age range are looking for work but unable to secure a position. Apprenticeships have the potential to connect the long-term unemployed with high-paying jobs.

What do we know about these seven million men who are not even looking for work? We know they are disproportionately poor, uneducated (some haven’t graduated high school) and unmarried.

These unemployed men are not doing extra household chores or caring for ailing relatives. They are spending more time watching TV. They are increasingly signing up for government disability programs—sometimes as a form of unemployment, but also because idleness itself has caused young people’s health to deteriorate. In *Men without Work*, Nicholas Eberstadt shows that “57 percent of men twenty-five to fifty-four years of age who are out of the labor force reported [receiving] benefits from at least one government disability program in 2013.” Sadly, these men have significantly higher rates of depression, drug use (particularly opioid addiction) and suicide. They have largely given up on the possibility of gainful employment.

Apprenticeships have the potential to give these underutilized men the skills they need to enter productive society.

There is another factor that should steer the U.S. toward expanding apprenticeships. About 40 to 45 percent of those who begin a four-year college program will not graduate within six years. About 70 percent of college students rely on federal and private loans. The average debt load among the class of 2016 was about \$37,000—a figure that has risen steadily in the last two decades, even as starting salaries (until recently) have barely budged. Default rates on student loans are higher among college dropouts—even though their debt loads tend to be much lower.

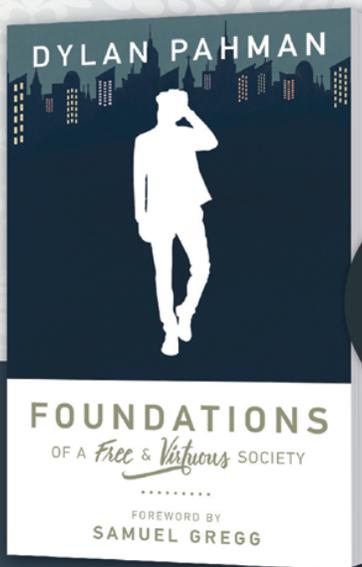
Let’s be clear: traditional college is not the right path for every high school graduate. And we can do more in high school to expose young men and women to lines of work that can be accessed with apprenticeships, trade schools and associate’s degrees—particularly in the healthcare sector and STEM-related disciplines.

The biggest trick now, it seems, is getting more employers to increase their investment in apprenticeships. In Germany, employers underwrite two-thirds of the total training costs. That exceeds the amount that U.S. firms spend on the less than 5 percent of apprentices.

Now is the best time for apprenticeships to migrate successfully from Europe to the United States.

Alex Chediak is the author of Beating the College Debt Trap (Zondervan 2016) and a frequent writer on issues that young adults face. **R&L**

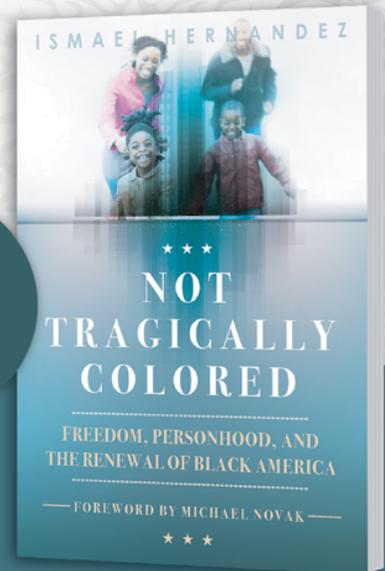
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