TOM CRONIN
AND
BOB LOEVY
IN THE NEWSPAPERS

2021

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 2016 two professors of Political Science at Colorado College, Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy, were offered the opportunity to write periodic opinion columns for the local newspaper – the *Colorado Springs Gazette*. This launched a longtime project of the two professors writing for the newspaper for a number of years.

Previously Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy had written together for the *Denver Post*, but only periodically. They also collaborated on a book on government and politics in Colorado.

This book is a collection of the newspaper stories Cronin and Loevy wrote for the *Colorado Springs Gazette* in the year 2021. This book offers the opportunity to read the facts, ideas, and opinions of two scholars of Colorado politics all in one place for the calendar year 2021.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Not Used
January 3, 2021

UNSOLICITED NEW YEAR ADVICE FOR COLORADO REPUBLICANS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Nobody asked us for advice, but here our ideas for how the Republican Party can begin to stage a comeback in Colorado electoral politics in 2021 and beyond.

There is no question Colorado Republicans need to do some rethinking. The 2018 and 2020 general elections were disasters for the party. Democrats have now been elected to every major statewide office in Colorado and have commanding majorities in both houses of the state legislature.

Let us begin by urging Colorado Republicans to face the following four realities:

1. Colorado has the second most educated electorate of the 50 states. The 2010 U.S. census revealed Colorado was second only to Massachusetts in terms of the percentage of state residents who have completed college or university. This talented electorate cannot be easily swayed with simple campaign slogans. The Republicans are going to have to begin developing concrete policies and programs that appeal to the well-educated.

2. Colorado is a highly urbanized state with the vast majority of its citizens living in cities and suburbs along the Front Range, that highly-populated corridor at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains extending from Pueblo on the south through Colorado Springs and Denver to Greeley and Fort Collins to the north. It is great that rural farming and ranching counties in Colorado vote more than 80 percent Republican, but the reality is that over 80 percent of the state's population lives and votes on the Front

Range. The Republican Party must come up with ideas and proposals that appeal to this state's highly urbane and cosmopolitan voters.

3. Conservative social policies, such as opposing any form of firearms safety regulations and advocating against gay and lesbian rights, have not worked for the Republican Party in Colorado in recent years. The party is going to have to shift ideologically to more moderate political stances if it hopes to compete for Colorado's highly educated and citified/suburbanized electorate.

4. Similar to most states in the United States, Colorado has a two-party system composed of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. With the Democratic Party now controlling all the positions of electoral power in the state, the Republicans will be where voters turn when the Democrats make mistakes and goof -up state government. When this happens, the Republicans cannot just run on a "We're not the bad guys" ticket. They will need concrete proposals for operating state government that give real meaning to their campaign charge: "We Republicans can run this state better than the Democrats can."

Our recommendation is that the Republican Party in Colorado shifts its emphasis from social issues to economic issues. In doing so, it would model itself after the Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican presidency of the 1950s. Instead of attacking the activist New Deal and Fair Deal policies of his two predecessors – Democrats Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman – Eisenhower wisely supported most of those programs but argued he could run them more effectively and economically.

When Eisenhower's moderate economic policies led to his landslide reelection to a second term in the White House, one observer labeled it the "Revolt of the Moderates."

With its powerful and outspoken liberal wing, Colorado Democrats can be counted on to take startlingly liberal positions on big-spending state programs of questionable efficacy. This is where Colorado Republicans will have the opportunity to respond with more sensible moderate economic alternatives.

And there will be opportunities for moderate responses on non-economic issues as well. We have just seen in the 2020 general election how radical left-wing proposals to "Defund the Police" led to a moderate response at the polls. Voters expressed their dissatisfaction with "Defund the Police" by voting Republican and thereby preventing a Democratic "blue wave" in elections for U.S. Senate and U.S House of Representatives.

We recognize the magnitude of the changes we are recommending for the Colorado Republican Party. The far-right conservative beliefs that characterized the party in past decades have been deeply held and long supported. Changing to a more moderate party and emphasizing economic issues rather than social issues will be difficult for many longtime and sincere supporters of the Colorado GOP.

But the demographic data on education and urbanization in Colorado are daunting for party members. And the poor performance of Republican candidates in statewide elections in the last two election cycles is so dismal as to demand immediate change and reform.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and comment regularly on Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
January 10, 2021

THE ONGOING REZONING REVOLUTION IN THE SPRINGS

By Bob Loevy

In an e-mail to City Council members and the RetoolCOS mailing list, Colorado Springs city planners have backed away slightly from their original proposal to permit Four-Family apartment buildings (fourplexes) in Two-Family (R-2) zones.

RetoolCOS is the progressive process by which the city planners, with the help of a consultant, are rewriting the zoning codes in Colorado Springs. A recently released version of Module 2 of the program provided that all Two-Family zones would automatically become R-Flex: Low zones. That would have permitted the construction of large modern Four-Family apartment buildings where previously Two-Family homes were all that was allowed.

The e-mail explained that "the drafted language in Modules 1 and 2 is conflicting and not reflective of the project proposal… It is not the intent of RetoolCOS to propose the elimination of the … R-2 zones nor convert these properties to an R-Flex zone."

"Analysis is ongoing," the e-mail noted, but it did not say specifically that the final version of RetoolCOS would not allow fourplexes in Two-Family R-2 zones.

Mysteriously, the e-mail then went on to mention that work was also being done on "properties zoned R-4 and R-5, which are multi-family zones." As things stand at the moment under RetoolCOS, the R-4 and R-5 zones are slated to become R-Flex: High zones with significant increases in

population density and, concomitantly, increases in automobile traffic and parking problems.

This could be a problem for people who live in both Single Family (R-1) zones or Two-Family (R-2) zones. That is because R-4 apartment zones are scattered haphazardly about the older neighborhoods in the city surrounding downtown. The effect of greatly increasing population densities and automobiles in R-4 zones (slated to become R-Flex: High zones) will have spillover effects into neighboring residential areas.

Similar to other RetoolCOS zoning proposals, R-Flex: High reduces setbacks for apartment building developments. This shrinks the size of the front yards. The current R-4 (multi-family) zone has a front yard setback of 20 feet. Under the new R-Flex: High that will drop to 10 feet.

Most disturbing is the fact that apartment buildings in the proposed R-Flex High zone will be allowed to rise to 95 feet (6 to 7 stories). That means properties with two and three-story apartment buildings on them now could be cleared and apartment towers rising seven stories into the sky erected.

In addition, the new R-Flex High zone would allow commercial uses as an accessory use in apartment developments along with outdoor festivals and mobile vending trucks as temporary uses.

RetoolCOS is misnamed. In all fairness, it should be called RevolutionCOS instead. Within the 335 pages of detailed plans in Module 2, it so far has proposed extensive increases in population density and automobiles in our city. These are changes that will greatly affect the quality of life in our town, particularly, as previously noted, in the older pre-World War II neighborhoods that form an inner ring of desirable middle-class housing around the downtown.

If there are to be major increases in the population densities in older neighborhoods in Colorado Springs, that issue should be openly discussed and voted upon by City Council. It is not a change that should be made by quietly changing our zoning laws, bit by bit, and never really discussing the significant effects of the major changes being made.

We have a Density War going on in Colorado Springs. Some want to increase our population densities. Others wish to leave them where they stand now. Let us fight this out in the open, with both sides clearly acknowledging the battle and the gigantic effects it will have on the future of our city.

Bob Loevy is a political scientist at Colorado College and a former member (1972-1975) of the City Planning Commission.

Colorado Springs Gazette
January 31, 2021

LEADERSHIP MATTERS, CHARACTER MATTERS

By Tom Cronin

Most of what we know about leadership we have learned from great storytellers like Homer and Shakespeare, noted generals like Sun Tzu and Thucydides and ingenious writers like James Madison, Peter Drucker and James MacGregor Burns.

We learn from them and others that leadership means different things to different people. For many of us leadership is an evocative word rich in positive meaning — it refers to empowerment and liberation. It is about making good things happen and preventing bad things from happening. It is a process of getting people to work collaboratively to achieve common purposes.

But not everyone understands leadership in a positive way. Some define leadership as manipulation, as wheeling and dealing often combined with deception and even coercion.

Leadership involves leaders, followers, context and power. And power, temporarily loaned by followers to those in leadership positions gets lodged in human hands — and this can be problematic. For strong and charismatic leaders can have compelling liabilities as well as organizational and rhetorical skills. We have seen this recently.

Power harnessed for noble ends is of tremendous value. But power can be an aphrodisiac and toxic.

The best leaders understand the deepest yearnings and needs of their followers. Leaders, at their best, educate and inspire and mobilize people to become their best. Effective leaders unlock the talents and energies of good people, so they can create, innovate and make desirable, even noble, things happen.

Empowering leaders understand that trust is the coin of the realm. Good things happen in high trust organizations. Most people want to be part of a meaningful and socially responsible enterprise where they can grow, learn, contribute and develop their full potential.

Fair play, fair pay and decency motivate everyone. When deceit, distrust and intimidation are involved good things and innovation seldom happen. Ruling by fear can work in the short run, yet invariably fails.

Rarely can one leader provide an organization's entire range of leadership needs. Most organizations and societies have all kinds of leaders, and these diverse leaders, in turn, depend for their success on others. Some leaders excel at creating or inventing new structures. Others are splendid task or managerial leaders, encouraging groups at problem solving. Others are social architects, enriching morale and renewing the spirit of an organization or a people.

Still other leaders influence us because of their integrity, character and moral authority. They compel us to ask: Is this right? Is this wise? Is this fair? They raise their voices on behalf of those who have been left behind. They rally us to protest when some of our sisters or brothers find their rights and liberties diminished. These leaders are consciousness-raisers, urging us toward social responsibility — social and economic justice, individual freedoms and racial, religious and gender tolerance.

Spirited critical discussion about leadership and the moral uses of power is extremely important. Prescient observers remind us that power wielded justly today may be wielded corruptly tomorrow. Artists, poets, critics, scientists, writers, theologians and scholars are often able to help us determine whether we are using power or whether power is using us.

The most lasting and pervasive leadership is often intangible and may come from people who are not in formal institutional positions of authority. This is the leadership of ideas embodied in social, political or artistic movements, the leadership expressed in speeches and writings, and in the memories of valiant lives, valiantly lived.

The central job of a leader is less the challenge of producing followers than the challenge of producing community, meaning and, in turn, more leaders.

Leadership defies formulaic prescriptions. Harvard Professor Joe Nye warns that “holding a leadership position” is like having a fishing license: A license alone is no guarantee of catching a fish. Similarly, a military proverb

states that “If you think you are leading your troops up a mountain and mid-way up you turn around and there is no one behind you — you’re not leading, you’re merely taking a hike.” A leader’s legitimacy is fragile and must be regularly re-earned.

Leadership needs in complex organizations and societies have to be viewed as an engagement between partners and collaborators. All of us are followers and, at least in some ways, all of us can lead. Followers, much more than is appreciated, often have considerable influence on their leaders.

When leadership takes place it involves a two-way communication and the mutual engagement of leaders and “led.” Hence it is essentially a collective enterprise; an ongoing, if subtle, interplay between common wants and a leader’s capacity to understand and respond to these shared aspirations.

Virtually every leader has to have ideas and must contribute to the substantive thinking necessary to move an organization beyond problems and toward achievements. Leaders define reality, clarify options, and help minimize the obstacles that make it difficult for members of an organization to succeed.

The essence of the leader as artist is consciousness-raising and unlocking the energies and talents of fellow associates. Leaders at their best are not involved in doing great deeds so much as getting their followers to believe they can do great deeds and excel.

Leaders define and defend and promote values. And they help redefine values, and understand when, in Lincoln's phrase, the dogmas of the past are inadequate for the stormy present. They understand when new circumstances call for new vision. Leaders are skilled listeners and learners, carefully consulting their own and their colleagues' values, beliefs, and passions.

As important as anything else, a leader has to nurture trust and self-confidence. Associates and followers expect leaders to have bold visions and to pursue them with enthusiasm. People being led yearn for a mission or vision that is clearly stated.

Yet followers will not support and strive to achieve something if they do not understand it and if they don't believe in it — and if they don't fully believe as well that their leaders believe in it.

While it is true that an effective manager is sometimes an effective leader and that leadership requires many of the skills of an effective manager, there are differences. Leaders infuse vision into an enterprise; they are preoccupied with purpose and the longer range dreams and aspirations of a society.

While a good manager is rightly concerned with efficiency, with routines and standard operating procedures, the creative leader acts as an inventor, risk-taker, and general entrepreneur, forever asking or searching for what is right, what is true, what is worth doing, and keenly sensing new directions, new possibilities, and welcoming change.

Leaders can delegate efficiency, yet they own the responsibility for effectiveness. Leaders dwell on the why and the purpose, while managers dwell on the how, the process. An effective organization needs plenty of managers as well as leaders and ideally leaders with a good deal of managerial ability. But leadership and managerial outlooks are often different and sometimes clash.

Leaders are typically optimistic. They believe in breakthroughs. They are alliance-builders who never give up. They often have a contagious self-confidence and incurable idealism that attracts others to join them and persevere. They instill enthusiasm in an organization by convincing people about what is important, right, and true. They enhance the possibilities for freedom and for change. Leaders build on strengths — their own, their colleagues', and the strengths and opportunities afforded by the situation.

Here are a few of the central leadership realities that leaders need to master.

Leaders define, defend, promote and manage their organization's vision and dreams.

Leaders understand it is much easier to lead people to where they want to go than to where they ought or need to go.

Leaders understand too the adage: Good judgment is usually the result of experience — and that experience invariably comes from lessons learned stemming from the previous exercise of bad judgment.

Leaders risk failure if they ignore or try to delegate their organizational culture. Enriching organizational culture is paramount.

Mistakes happen. Embrace them and keep learning from them. Understand what they are teaching. But just like an agile skier or surfer they get up and navigate the next challenges.

Flatten the pyramid when possible. Be allergic to unnecessary bureaucracy, layers and hierarchy. Reward and thank people who are contributing and recruit the right people.

Hiring the right people makes firing less necessary. But hiring and firing are even more important than most people appreciate.

Effective organizations have fun, invent jobs that are opportunities — not obligations — and provide everyone an understanding of the importance of what they are all doing.

Leaders are optimistic, yet theirs is a tough-minded optimism rather than a naive optimism. Leaders understand how things may be, yet keep searching for the possibilities.

Leaders understand that ambition and leadership are uneasy yet indispensable companions. Leaders need to have a strong dose of ambition, pride, and egotism — strong egos, not swollen ones or what is called a

narcissistic personality disorder. They understand too that ambition can be both a good servant and a dangerous master.

As psychologists and management scholars suggest, the effective leader must be an integrative thinker, able to knit together diverse information and competing ideas into a coherent strategy.

Leaders learn that their primary challenge is less to produce followers than to produce community, meaning, and more leaders.

Effective leaders understand the above, and understand, too, that paradoxes, dilemmas, and quandaries are everywhere. Leaders embrace paradoxes and learn to reconcile them when they can, yet they coexist with them when they cannot. The best of leaders learn to exploit paradoxes, transcend either/or choices, and, where possible, unlock the power and advantages of paradox.

Life would be easier if leadership was merely some type of equation or list of simple rules, but paradoxes are always present in politics and the business world. Paradoxes and dilemmas come with the territory. The best of leaders — and this is asking a lot — learn not only how to operate in this world of paradoxes and contradictions, but how to embrace or transcend paradoxes.

Here are six of the paradoxes that have to be navigated by performing art leaders:

• Need to be optimistic and to radiate confidence …

Yet need to be hard-headed realists and confront brutal realities.

• Need to be humble, decent, empathetic, servant-leaders …

Yet have ferocious resolve, heightened self-confidence, strong ego.

• Need to be intuitive and risk-taking …

Yet not at the expense of the data. Obtain as much rigorous data as possible.

• Need to be passionate, inspirational performers and actors …

Yet people hate phonies, fakers, and overpromising of any kind.

• Need to be customer-driven …

Yet put your own people first … they need purpose, autonomy, space and fun. A sense of drive and urgency is crucial, and the customers are not always right.

• Vision is important …

Yet so also is execution and getting small things accomplished. Sometimes the best vision is supervision. "Yes, we need leadership," says a fellow in one of my favorite Wall Street Journal cartoons, "but we also need somebody to tell us what to do."

This lesson is clear: Recruit and promote people who can understand and who deal best with paradox and dialectics.

Leaders are people who help create options and opportunities and help inspire people to imagine and see the possibilities of a better world. Leaders understand that leadership and responsibility go together — that's the deal.

**Tom Cronin is president emeritus, Whitman College and served as acting president of Colorado College. He served on a dozen boards including Cascade Natural Gas Corporation (Seattle), The American Leadership Forum (Houston), The Monterey Institute of International Studies (Monterey) and the National Commission for the Teacher Corps (Washington D.C.) and is the author or co-author of several books including Government by The People and the prize-winning Leadership Matters.*

Colorado Springs Gazette
February 7, 2021

RETHINKING ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION

By Bob Loevy

February celebrates both Black History Month and Abraham Lincoln's birthday (February 12). It comes at a time when a statue of Lincoln proclaiming the Emancipation Proclamation and helping a newly freed African slave rise to his feet is being removed from public view in Boston, Massachusetts. The statue is said to be racist because Lincoln, a white man, is portrayed in a superior position to the black man.

Events such as this are part of a major rethinking of American history in which Lincoln's role in the freeing of the slaves is being questioned and reevaluated. I have a major interest in this controversy. My most notable ancestor, Archibald Williams of Quincy, Illinois, was a close lifelong friend of Abraham Lincoln. In researching the life and times of my ancestor, I have learned a great deal about President Lincoln and his role in the emancipation of the slaves.

Archibald Williams was my great-great-grandfather on my grandmother's side. He was similar to Lincoln in many ways. Both were born in Kentucky in humble circumstances. Both gained enough education to become backwoods country lawyers. Both were regarded as rustic and unsophisticated and unattractive in appearance and unskilled in the social graces. Both moved to Illinois and, as young adults, went into electoral politics.

Lincoln met my ancestor when both were serving in the Illinois state legislature in the 1830s. My ancestor was the older and was said to have mentored Lincoln in the ways of the legislature. One observer, seeing

Lincoln and Archibald Williams conferring, asked: "Who are those two ugly men?"

In the 1840s Lincoln and Williams were both members of the Illinois Colonization Society. They supported solving the slavery issue by having all the slaves voluntarily return to Africa. Most observers today would see this colonization proposal as unworkable and unfair, particularly in view of slavery having existed in the country for more than 200 years at that time. Most of the slaves had little connection to Africa and no desire to go there.

Lincoln and my ancestor both joined the Whig Party and campaigned against the Democratic Party. In 1848 Lincoln wrote a letter to Archibald Williams recruiting Williams to support Zachary Taylor for the Whig nomination for president. When Taylor won both the Whig nomination and the presidency, he appointed Archibald Williams the U.S. attorney for Illinois. Lincoln wrote a letter supporting Williams being named to this coveted patronage job.

Tension heated up in 1854 when the Democrats in the U.S. Congress passed the famous Kansas-Nebraska Act. This allowed citizens in these two potential new states to vote on whether to be slave or free. Lincoln and Williams strenuously opposed this "popular sovereignty" because it would permit, if citizens voted for it, slavery to be established in new territories outside the boundaries of the "Old South."

The Lincoln-Williams position was clear. They opposed slavery on moral grounds, but they would continue to let it exist in the Old South in the interest of keeping the United States a united country. They would not tolerate, however, the expansion of slavery into new states, such as Kansas and Nebraska, being added to the Union.

In 1854 Archibald Williams ran for the U.S House of Representatives as a critic of the Kansas and Nebraska Act. Lincoln traveled from his hometown in Springfield, Illinois, to Quincy, Illinois, to give a major public speech urging the election of Williams. My ancestor lost the race, but those opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act won control of the U.S. House of Representatives.

"No slavery in the territories" became Lincoln's and Williams' rallying cry. But critics point out that meant slavery could continue unabated in the eleven states in the Old South where it had long existed. Despite their strong moral opposition to slavery, Lincoln and Williams compromised on the issue in the interest of national unity, i.e., keeping the slave-holding South in the Union. Their position left most African-Americans in the United States in human bondage.

At a convention in Bloomington, Illinois, in 1856, Lincoln and Williams came together to participate in the formation of the Republican Party in Illinois. They stayed at a mutual friend's home in Bloomington where Lincoln and Williams slept in the same bed.

In 1858 Archibald Williams campaigned throughout northern Illinois for Lincoln when he ran for U.S. senator against Stephen Douglas, a Democrat. This led to the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. Douglas won the Senate seat, and he and his Democratic supporters were celebrating their victory within ear shot of Lincoln and Williams. When Williams took note of the Democrats' hullabaloo, Lincoln said: "Yes, Archie, Douglas has taken this trick, but the game is not played out."

By 1860 Archibald Williams was in his late 50s but still found the energy to campaign for his old friend Abraham Lincoln for president. Lincoln won in a four-way race, and his victory caused the states of the Old South to secede from the Union and begin the Civil War.

Following his inauguration, President Lincoln appointed his old friend Archibald Williams to be the first judge of the United States Court in the newly created state of Kansas. Williams moved from Quincy to Topeka, Kansas, the state capital, to do this patronage job. President Lincoln and Judge Williams exchanged several letters on emerging problems in Kansas concerning Native Americans and railroads.

The issue of "preserving the Union" became irrelevant following the Southern secession and the continuation of the Civil War. In 1863, as president of the United States, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in the Southern states in revolt. Slavery was

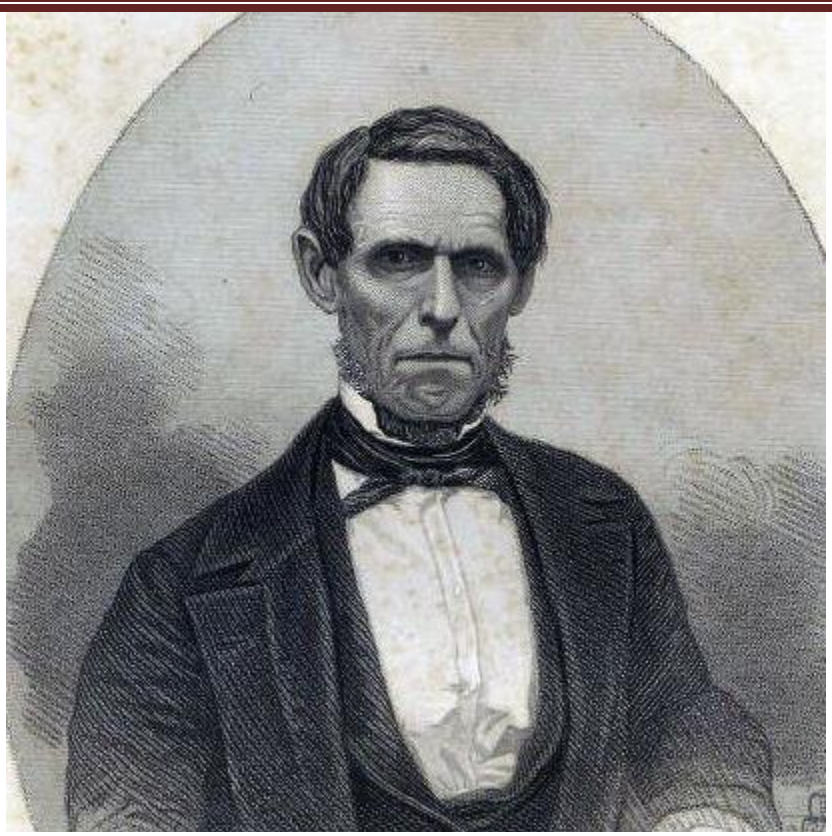
totally outlawed in the subsequent adoption, with Lincoln's strong support, of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

So how shall we judge these two men of the mid-1800s? Their support of African Colonization and allowing slaveholders in the Old South to keep their slaves (to keep the nation united) raises questions about their true morality. They were politicians, however, and they succeeded in electing Lincoln the U.S. president. Lincoln then used his presidential powers to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and begin the process of freeing the slaves.

We have been asked to rethink American history in terms of the treatment of African-Americans. We are rethinking.

Bob Loevy is a retired professor of political science at Colorado College. Lincoln fans who want to read more about Lincoln and Archibald Williams can Google "Robert D. Loevy home page", then click on 9.

A statue that depicts a freed slave kneeling at President Abraham Lincoln's feet rests on a pedestal in Boston. On Dec. 29, the statue that drew objections amid a national reckoning with racial injustice was removed from its perch. The Associated Press



Archibald Williams, lifelong friend of Abraham Lincoln, and great-great-grandfather of Bob Loevy.

Colorado Springs Gazette
February 14, 2021

THE MUCH-REFORMED CITY OF COLORADO SPRINGS CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

It is 2021, and the city of Colorado Springs is celebrating its 150th anniversary. It has been a half-century since the last major celebration of this sort. That was in 1971, when our municipal government turned 100 years old.

The past 50 years have witnessed major governance reforms. There have been significant changes. In 1971, Colorado Springs used the city-manager form of city government. A professional manager, usually from out of town, wielded much of the administrative power in the city. When residents had a problem, they telephoned the city manager and often talked to him personally to get things straightened out.

We had a mayor, but it was a mayor in name only. The mayor was elected by the City Council from the nine City Council members. The mayor's only powers were to chair the City Council meetings and represent the city at public events, such as recognizing visiting dignitaries and turning that first shovel of earth on city building projects. When it came to voting on city legislation, the mayor had one vote, like every other council member.

The City Council consisted of nine members, all of whom were elected citywide. It was believed all the council members should take a "citywide" approach to issues rather than representing an isolated geographical or "parochial" council district.

That changed in 1973, just two years after the city's 100th birthday . African American and Hispanic citizens, it was argued, would have a better chance of being elected to City Council if at least a few of the council members were elected from individual districts rather than citywide. The voters approved a change in the City Charter (the city "constitution") that provided for four council members elected from districts and the remaining five elected by all the city voters.

The first four district council members were elected in 1973 and included a Hispanic, Luis Cortez, and an African American, Leon Young. Young subsequently served as vice mayor and interim mayor of Colorado Springs.

In 1979, a City Charter Commission recommended that the mayor of Colorado Springs be elected by all the city voters rather than by a vote of only the City Council. The voters approved, and Robert M. Isaac became the first popularly elected mayor of the city. He was reelected four times and served almost 20 years. For those two decades, the story of popular "Mayor Bob" and the story of Colorado Springs government were frequently the same story.

Although elected by all the people, the mayor of Colorado Springs was still a "weak mayor." He continued to meet, vote with and chair the City Council, yet the managerial authority, the day-to-day job of running the city government, remained with the city manager. Luckily for Colorado Springs, the city manager for most of the years that Isaac was mayor was the talented and genial George Fellows. Fellows was the city's longest-serving city manager.

Mayor Isaac and City Manager Fellows made an effective leadership. They agreed on most of the issues, such as encouraging the sensible economic development of the city and creating a favorable business climate. The two of them strongly supported seeing that Colorado Springs Utilities developed

the future water, natural gas, and electricity resources to support future population growth.

The Robert M. Isaac Municipal Court building downtown is one of several tributes to Mayor Bob.

Isaac was succeeded as mayor by Mary Lou Makepeace, who was the first woman to be elected citywide mayor. She was followed by Lionel Rivera, the first Hispanic mayor.

By 2010 the population of Colorado Springs had more than doubled since the centennial celebration of 1971. The city seemed to be too populous for the city manager form of government, more suited, many people believed, to smaller rather than larger cities.

Some business leaders with the support of some good government groups initiated reform. Enough petition signatures were gathered to put a "strong mayor" reform before the voters, and this was readily approved by the voters. The mayor was no longer a member of the City Council but a separate official supervising executive decisions and policy implementation in the city. The city manager was eliminated. An annual mayoral salary of $100,000 was instituted in hopes of attracting highly qualified candidates to run for mayor.

The method of electing the mayor also was changed. Instead of one election with the highest vote getter being elected to office, there were to be two elections. In the first election, a number of candidates would run against each other. Then, in the second election, the top two finishers in the first election would "runoff" against each other. This reform was designed to make certain the newly elected mayor would have majority support throughout the city.

If, on occasion, a single candidate won a majority of the vote in the first election for mayor, that person was to be declared elected without a runoff.

And, along the way to the strong mayor system, the number of council members elected by districts was raised from four to six and the number of citywide council members cut from five to three. The six district council seats are all up for election or reelection this April.

The strong mayor system got off to a strong start. Steve Bach, the first strong mayor, had some tensions with his council yet earned credit for initiating the City of Champions program that is just now bringing the nationally recognized Colorado Springs Olympic Museum, a William J. Hybl Center for sports medicine at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, the new Ed Robson Center at Colorado College, and the much awaited downtown stadium for the Switchbacks soccer team.

Bach served one four-year term as mayor and voluntarily stepped down. He was succeeded by the current "strong" mayor, the experienced and popular John Suthers, who had served as a district attorney and a statewide-elected Colorado attorney general.

Over the past half-century, the citizens of Colorado Springs have been adventurous in their willingness to reform the structure of their city government. Both the City Council and the mayor have been updated and modernized to fit the needs of changing times and a rapidly changing city.

An additional reform that some would like to enact faces an uphill battle. This would raise City Council member pay (which has been $6,250 a year for many years) to a higher level such as $48,000 or $50,000. Advocates say this would allow for younger and more diverse candidates. Such a measure was on the ballot back in 2013 and was solidly defeated (80% to 20%). This

deserves to be reconsidered, yet it may be awhile before local voters will adopt this governance change.

The next 50 years will doubtless see further governance changes in Colorado's largest city (land size) and the city destined someday to be Colorado's most populous city.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy regularly write about Colorado and national politics and have lived here a long time.

The view looking west on Colorado Avenue showing a multitude of directional and street signs and traffic at an intersection in 1971. Courtesy of the Pikes Peak Library District

Colorado Springs Gazette
February 21, 2021

TRANSFER OF POWER IN 2021 WAS EVENTUALLY 'PEACEFUL'

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The United States recently completed its 59th presidential election. We have never postponed one, even in times of war or depression. A few weeks ago we witnessed the 25th transfer of power. The departing president was of one political party, the incoming president of another party.

Leadership transitions can be, aside from war, the most trying time for any nation — and there are many nations that have a sad, if not dismal, record in this regard. Part of the notion of American exceptionalism is that we have conducted reasonably fair elections and that we can peacefully transfer power in response to election results.

The 2021 transfer of power, which eventually was "peaceful," was the most contentious in U.S. history. We will come back to that after a brief look at history.

John Adams established the first peaceful transfer of power in 1801. Four years earlier, Adams had narrowly defeated Jefferson for the presidency. But in the 1800 election Adams was in turn defeated by Thomas Jefferson. The two men, who had once been friends, had become bitter rivals.

And on the day of Jefferson's inauguration, March 4, 1801, Adams departed from Washington D.C. (the new capital) in the early hours of the morning, deliberately avoiding Jefferson's inauguration later that day.

A few other presidents, such as Andrew Johnson, also refused to attend their successor's inauguration. In 1837, however, Andrew Jackson and his successor, Martin Van Buren, began a respectful tradition by riding together to Van Buren's inauguration. This custom has not always been practiced, as for example, in 2021.

There has often been considerable bitterness during presidential transitions. Truman, for example, was upset with how Eisenhower had campaigned against him. Nixon in 1960 and Al Gore in 2000 both believed they were the winners.

The challenge in every presidential transition is the need, especially in national security matters, for continuity of ongoing negotiations and policy implementation, yet also the need to honor the wishes of those who voted for change.

Presidential transition planning has generally improved in recent generations. President Dwight Eisenhower met with John F. Kennedy and established liaisons between the incoming and outgoing administrations. Congress passed a Presidential Transition Act of 1963 to provide for expenses and staffing for the incoming and outgoing administrations.

New presidents have the best chance for achieving policy change during their first months in office, making smooth transitions all the more important for them.

The 2021 transfer of power may have eventually been peaceful, yet it was the most unseemly and contested transition in the history of the American republic.

After losing the election, President Trump refused to concede, and instead, waged a long public relations campaign to try to prove falsely that the

election had been rigged and that he had won by a landslide. He faulted Republican governors and state election officials for not finding fraud, and not finding him enough votes to win their states. He also irresponsibly refused national security briefings for a month and a half for the Biden team.

Finally, on January 6. 2021, an angry mob, directed by Trump to march to the U.S. Capitol, attacked the Capitol, attempting to stop Congress from certifying the electoral votes sent in from the states.

In the days preceding the insurrection, a rumor had surfaced that one of Trump's advisers had recommended he declare martial law — presumably to stop the transfer of power. This rumor may or may not have been true. But it was enough to encourage ten former Secretaries of Defense to issue a remarkable public statement affirming that the U.S. military should not be involved in U.S. elections.

Two former Secretaries of Defense for Trump, James Mattis and Mark Esper, were among the signers.

"The time for questioning the results has passed," the statement read, "the time for the formal counting of the electoral votes, as prescribed in the Constitution and by statute, has arrived." Efforts to involve the U.S. military in resolving election disputes would take the country "into dangerous, unlawful and unconstitutional territory."

Two days after this warning, after a rally that Trump had publicized and inspired, an angry mob of his supporters rampaged through the U.S. Capitol and threatened the lives of Vice President Mike Pence and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. There were several deaths and scores of wounded. And the vice president and members of Congress were forced to halt their official business and go into hiding.

How responsible was President Trump for the mob attack that stopped Congressional operations on January 6?

Republican Congresswoman and long-time Trump supporter Liz Cheney of Wyoming said, "The President of the United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob, and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing." Cheney added this historical note: "There has never been a greater betrayal by a President of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution."

Liz Cheney (Colorado College 1988) met with students in two political science classes at Colorado College in 2016. Among other things she explained why she was supporting Trump for President in the 2016 elections.

Trump, as we know, was impeached in the House but not convicted in the Senate, though the final vote was 57 to 43 against him. An ABC poll that weekend found 58 percent saying he should be convicted. A bipartisan commission will investigate exactly what happened in the insurrection.

Minority Leader U.S. Sen. Mitch McConnell wrote in a February 16, 2021 Wall Street Journal opinion piece that there is no question "former President Trump bears moral responsibility. His supporters stormed the Capitol because of the unhinged falsehoods he shouted into the world's largest megaphone." His behavior, McConnell added, "during and after the chaos was also unconscionable, from attacking Vice President Mike Pence during the riot to praising the criminals after it ended."

Republican U.S. Senator Pat Toomey spoke for many, yet apparently not a majority of Republicans when he said that he had voted for Trump and did not want Biden elected, but "there's something more important to me than having my preferred candidate sworn in as the next president. And that's to

have the American people's chosen candidate sworn in as the next president."

After the National Guard and other officials had secured the Capitol, President Trump told his supporters to "Remember this day forever," apparently suggesting they should view themselves as patriots in Trump's America First brigade.

Americans, we hope and trust, will indeed forever remember January 6, 2021— as a reminder that the peaceful transfer of power, from a president of one party to a president of another party, is the exceptional standard we insist on and cherish in our democratic republic.

• *Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write regularly on national and Colorado politics.*

Liz Cheney (Colorado College 1988) met with students in two political science classes at Colorado College in 2016. Among other things she explained why she was supporting Donald Trump for president in the 2016 elections.

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February 28, 2021

THE PURPOSE, POWER, AND POLITICS OF EXECUTIVE ORDERS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Former President Donald Trump issued at least 220 executive orders – including announcing U.S. withdrawal from the Paris climate accord, banning travel to the U.S. from Muslim-majority nations, and approving the building of the Keystone pipeline.

President Joe Biden, in his first six weeks in office, has issued some 50 executive orders – many of them cancelling or revoking orders issued by his predecessor.

What are executive orders? Are they legal and constitutional? People probably wonder if these are some White House toy that presidents employ to do end runs around the slow moving or even resistant U.S. Congress.

Presidents since George Washington (he issued eight) have been using them. Though we do not know the exact number, there have probably been about 14,000 to 15,000 of them. Lincoln was the first president to use the term. One of his executive orders may be the most famous —his Emancipation Proclamation which freed the slaves living in the Confederate states.

The U.S. Government did not begin to number executive orders until early in the 20th century. Confusing matters, too, is that executive orders were usually called executive proclamations in the early days. Even today it is

somewhat murky as to what precisely is an executive order as opposed to proclamations, presidential directives, and national security memorandums.

Our constitutional framers never anticipated the scope and size of today's U.S. Government. They assumed Congress would be the preeminent and dominant policymaking branch of the newly proposed national government. Yet presidents, for many reasons, have long made legally binding policy without the direct participation of Congress. They issue executive orders that direct government workers to take or to refrain from taking particular administrative actions.

Executive orders have been the source of occasional congressional-presidential tensions, especially in this hyper-partisan era. Still executive orders issued with a valid claim of statutory or constitutional authority are legally binding.

U.S. courts have occasionally overturned an executive order, as they did with President Trump's initial Muslim travel ban. In l952, when President Harry Truman tried to have the U.S. Government take over privately owned steel mills during the Korean War, the Supreme Court ruled that action unconstitutional.

Congress can pass a law revoking an executive order yet rarely does so. The failure of Congress to take any action on an executive order is assumed to be acquiescence in the new policy.

The executive order is an implied power, which means it is not specifically mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. It derives from Article Two of the Constitution, which gives the president the power to "take Care that the Laws by faithfully executed" and that "the executive Power be vested in the President."

Every constitutional democracy has some form of executive order, even though it may be called by different names. A chief executive needs a certain amount of authority to perform the job and to issue administrative clarifications to subordinates.

Whether one approves of a particular executive order often depends on the president in office and the purposes for which the order is being used. Interest groups, on the left or right, want "their" president to act by executive order when they know Congress will be painstakingly slow or opposed to their policy preferences.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt famously stopped a run on the nation's banks by declaring a Bank Holiday with an executive order. Roosevelt issued at least 3,500 executive orders.

Roosevelt's most controversial executive order was issued in the first months of U.S. involvement in World War II. It confined Americans of Japanese descent in internment camps. Roosevelt acted after Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor and invaded U.S. possessions such as the Philippines and Wake Island.

Executive orders are a powerful tool to use against the Senate filibuster. A filibuster occurs when a small group of senators talk endlessly about a bill and thereby prevent a vote on the bill. A two-thirds vote of the Senate – 67 out of 100 senators – used to be required to end a filibuster and get the bill passed. Such a vote was called a "cloture vote."

From the 1930s to the early 1960s, Southern senators used the Senate filibuster to stop civil rights legislation favoring African-Americans. The Southerners had enough votes to keep pro-civil rights senators from getting the two-thirds vote needed to end the filibuster (cloture), so no major civil rights bills were enacted during that period.

Presidents from both political parties turned to the executive order as the best way to get around the filibuster and help African-Americans reach civil rights goals.

Prior to World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt used an executive order to require equal treatment of blacks and whites in employment in U.S. defense factories. In 1948 President Harry Truman racially integrated the U.S. Armed Forces with an executive order. In 1957 President Dwight D. Eisenhower used an executive order to send U.S. Army troops into Little Rock, Ark., to enforce court-ordered school desegregation at Central High School. President John F. Kennedy, in November 1962, issued an executive order that banned racial discrimination in U.S. funded housing projects.

Be assured that, if any of the above civil rights proposals had been submitted for passage by Congress, all four would have been permanently delayed (defeated) by a Southern filibuster in the Senate.

Still, passing legislation or amending the Constitution is a better way of gaining lasting change. This is why Lincoln worked tirelessly in his last months to get Congress to approve the 13th Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. He understood his Emancipation Proclamation might be revoked or ignored after the Civil War.

Congress, the courts, and investigative watchdogs should regularly ask: Does this executive order exceed authority delegated by Congress? Does this violate any rights protected in the Constitution?

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about national and Colorado politics.

Not Used
March 4, 2021

COMPREHENDING "SYSTEMIC RACISM"

By Bob Loevy

Turn to the internet for a definition of "systemic racism" and you will be disappointed. There will be much discussion of racism and white privilege but very little to tell you what the "systemic" is about. Here is the way we have observed systemic racism in the United States.

Systemic racism means that the very institutions of government – the fundamental principles – are shaped and operate in a way that ends up being unfair to racial minorities.

Start with federalism, often referred to as the federal system. Federalism is the division of the United States into 50 individual states. Each state is separate from the national government and can operate independently from it in many areas of governmental activity.

Under federalism, the eleven states of the Old South were enabled to have human slavery and, later on, legal racial segregation. There was strong opposition to slavery and then segregation in the northern United States, but federalism allowed the Southern states to ignore the North and continue denying African-Americans their civil rights.

Compromise is another admired feature of the American system of government. An early compromise, included in the U.S. Constitution at its adoption, allowed the abolition of the importation of African-American slaves after 20 years. It was good that the slave trade was eventually ended,

but the compromise included 20 more years – from 1788 to 1808 – of catching free human beings in Africa, transporting them across the ocean in notoriously crowded and unhealthy conditions, and selling them into human bondage.

Another famous compromise was the Missouri Compromise of 1820. It was hoped this compromise would end the slavery problem permanently. It allowed Missouri to be admitted to the Union as a slave state, and it set the southern boundary of Missouri, drawn all the way to the Pacific Ocean, as a national boundary for slavery. All states above the line would be free while all below it would be slave.

A young Abraham Lincoln supported the Missouri Compromise when it was first adopted. That was despite the fact the lower one-third of the nation, from Atlantic to Pacific, was to be officially designated for legal slavery.

The slavery issue had to be resolved with a bitter Civil War (1861-1865). After the war, the victorious North sought to protect the civil rights of the newly freed slaves with the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The 14th famously stated: "No state shall … deprive any person of life, liberty, or property…"

A problem was the three words – "No state shall." These words restricted the states but not the private individuals living in those states. The result was a Southern convention known as "the willing suspension of law and order."

City police and county sheriffs in the South would look the other way while private individuals enforced racial segregation in the South by

murdering, beating, or destroying the property of those African-Americans who sought to gain their civil rights. In many cases organized groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, carried out these violent means of racial suppression.

The 14th Amendment was no help against such racial terrorism because it only applied to the states, not to the white individuals involved.

The right to a jury of one's peers is another valued part of the system of government in the United States. The jury trial, however, was used to protect the few whites who might be brought into court for infringing on the civil rights of blacks. It was called "the free white jury that will never convict." In most Southern states, white citizens who murdered, beat, or destroyed the property of African-Americans could be certain that a jury of their white neighbors and friends would find them "Not Guilty" and let them go free.

A well-publicized example of this was the Emmett Till case. Till, an African-American youth, was murdered and his body dumped in a nearby river. Supposedly he had whistled at a young white woman. The two white men who lynched Emmett Till were found innocent in court by an all-white jury of their peers. They then sold the story of how they killed Till to a national magazine, which printed it for all to see.

There is no more important part of the United States system of government than bicameralism, the creation of a two-house state legislature. No problem with the U.S. House of Representatives, which is based on population and has long been responsive to minority rights. In the U.S. Senate, however, there is equal representation for each state (two senators per state), and that has harmed minorities, particularly African-Americans.

Most of the population of the United States lives in the North and the West, so the Senate's equal representation has historically favored the less-populated South. In addition, the Senate (similar to the House) uses the committee system. Proposed legislation is considered in committee before going to final adoption by the Senate as a whole.

Along with the committee system, both the Senate and the House historically used the seniority system. The powerful chairpersons of Senate committees thus were those senators in the majority party who had served the greatest number of years in the Senate. Southern states would intentionally elect young white racial segregationists to the Senate and then re-elect them so they would build seniority. The Senate in the mid-20th Century thus became famous for having senior Southern committee chairpersons who routinely refused to hold hearings or otherwise advance civil rights bills.

The ultimate systemic barrier to minority rights was in the Senate rules. Rule 22 provided that senators could not be interrupted when speaking on the Senate floor, thus paving the way for the Senate filibuster. Since senators could not be interrupted when speaking, Southern senators would orate endlessly about proposed civil rights bills and literally "talk them to death."

This discussion would not be complete without noting systemic aspects of the U.S. governmental system that promoted rather than hindered civil rights reforms, particularly during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The 1st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protected the rights of African-Americans to speak out and assemble and parade in behalf of civil

rights reform. U.S. presidents used executive orders to racially integrate the military services and open U.S. subsidized public housing projects to all races. The "cloture rule" in the Senate provided for stopping a filibuster with a two-thirds vote of the Senate (now reduced to a three-fifths vote, or 60 votes).

Enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (both required successful two-thirds cloture votes in the Senate) eliminated many of the systemic barriers to equal treatment of minorities in the United States. But the historical picture is all too clear. Federalism, compromise, the 14th Amendment, the jury trial, and the Senate filibuster were all key parts of the U.S. system that operated or were perverted to harm minority rights.

Systemic racism was, indeed, a major part of American history.

Bob Loevy is a retired professor of political science at Colorado College.

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MANY SPRINGS NEIGHBORHOODS QUALIFY FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION OVERLAY ZONING

By Bob Loevy

By a vote of 9 to 0, Colorado Springs City Council recently reaffirmed the historic preservation design standards for the Old North End residential area north of Colorado College. That means remodeling of homes and new construction will continue to conform to the traditional historic look of the neighborhood — turn of the 20th century Victorian.

This was the second time of late City Council has supported historic preservation. Council voted to adopt the city's updated Historic Preservation Master Plan, also known as HistCOS.

Why does the Old North End get this special treatment from the city government? More important, should other neighborhoods join the Old North End by protecting their historic look with historic preservation overlay zoning?

It is called "overlay" zoning because the historic preservation requirements are "overlaid" on top of the regular zoning — one-family, two-family, multi-family, etc.

The Old North End is "the neighborhood that gold built." In 1890 gold was discovered on the southwestern slopes of Pike's Peak near the present-day towns of Cripple Creek and Victor. Soon the Cripple Creek area was generating the largest mining profits in Colorado history.

Cripple Creek and Victor became rough, roaring, and bawdy mining camps. Both were located at around 10,000 feet of elevation and had few amenities, other than large numbers of saloons. Only 40 miles away, however, was the city of Colorado Springs, the luxurious community which General William Palmer had founded to be a city of comfort and grace.

Quite naturally, most of the men who rushed to Cripple Creek and Victor to make money in this latest gold boom did not want to build their homes and locate their families in these two high-altitude mining camps. They elected instead to move to Colorado Springs and only go up to Cripple Creek and Victor when business required it. The result was a phenomenal residential boom in Colorado Springs. From 1890 to 1900, the population more than doubled in General Palmer's little "resort" in the Rocky Mountains.

Although the gold mines were high up on the southwest slopes of Pike's Peak, the mining companies tended to open their management offices in downtown Colorado Springs. More than 400 mining companies eventually were located along Tejon Street south of Colorado College. During the decade of the 1890s, deposits in Colorado Springs banks multiplied nine times.

The Cripple Creek and Victor gold mines thus brought a large group of newly wealthy people to Colorado Springs. Some of them were mine owners who "struck it rich" on the southwest slopes of Pike's Peak and became instant millionaires. Many others, however, were middle-class beneficiaries of the Cripple Creek and Victor gold boom. They were stock traders, or mining company office managers, or merchants who sold supplies and services to the mining companies.

These people needed a place to live, and the timing was just right for the Old North End. Many of these newcomers to Colorado Springs, and some old-timers too, bought lots on the land north of Colorado College. The

millionaires built grand mansions. The middle-class types built large houses on full-length lots.

The millionaires and the middle class all decorated their new homes with fine woodwork. They often added Victorian flourishes, such as large covered porches, elaborate front doorways, circular towers at a corner of the house, and cut-glass and beveled-glass windows.

It was this 1890s building boom that created the distinctly Victorian atmosphere of the Old North End. Thanks to the money being made from the Cripple Creek and Victor gold mines, a large number of homes were built in the Old North End in a relatively short period of time. These homes thus all reflected late 19th century and early 20th century building styles. Most of the Victorian homes in the Old North End that their owners prize so highly were constructed between 1890 and 1910, the Cripple Creek and Victor boom years.

Historic preservation overlay zoning as used in the Old North End can be adopted by other neighborhoods in the city. City Council was careful, when it created Historic overlay zoning in the 1990s, to have it apply all over town and not limit it to the Old North End.

Neighborhoods should consider historic overlay zoning if most of the buildings are more than 50 years old. That means any neighborhood built mainly before 1970 (50 years ago) potentially qualifies. The architectural design of many of the houses in the neighborhood should be characteristic of a particular design period in American architectural history.

Neighborhoods filled with ranch houses or split-level homes can think of preserving the present look of the neighborhood with historic preservation overlay zoning. The design standards mainly apply to the street view of the home. Major additions to the backside of the home are encouraged so long

as they use historic materials and include historic design features. Individual neighborhoods are encouraged to write their own specific design standards.

It is mainly older neighborhoods close to the downtown area that will benefit the most from historic preservation overlay zoning. Many of them have the same Victorian-era architecture that characterizes the Old North End.

Bob Loevy is a retired political scientist at Colorado College. He has lived in the Old North End for 45 years.

This home on North Nevada Avenue is exemplary of the Victorian-era homes built in Colorado Springs during the Cripple Creek and Victor gold strikes.

Historic preservation zoning overlay was reaffirmed recently for the Old North End above Colorado College by the Colorado Springs City Council.

Photos by Bob Loevy

Colorado Springs Gazette
March 13, 2021

TIME TO MODIFY THE FILIBUSTER?

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

From left, Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nev., and Senate Majority Whip Richard Durbin of Ill., defend the Senate Democrats vote to weaken filibusters and make it harder for Republicans to block confirmation of the president's nominees for judges and other top posts, on Nov. 21, 2013. Reid complained that Republican gridlock has prevented the chamber from functioning, while his GOP counterpart, Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., says Democrats are using a power play to distract voters from the president's troubled health care law. (AP Photo by J. Scott Applewhite)

U.S. senators have been using the filibuster since 1841. U.S. Sens. Huey Long of Louisiana, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Wayne Morse of Oregon and Rand Paul of Kentucky are among the more famous filibusterers in U.S. history.

Perhaps our favorite was Sen. Jefferson Smith, played by Hollywood actor Jimmy Stewart, in Frank Capra's 1939 film "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." Sen. Smith successfully, if exhaustingly, filibustered a bill sponsored by a corrupt political cabal that would have allowed dam construction on a site Smith had proposed for a boys' ranger camp. Our hero stood up to machine politicians, took on corruption and fought for the little guy.

Back in the early 1960s, less heroic anti-civil rights Southern senators were the prime agents of filibustering against change. They would discuss and debate civil rights bills so long that the pro-civil rights senators would give up and go on to other business. It is now called the "talking" filibuster.

There is no mention of the filibuster in the U.S. Constitution. It is merely a U.S. Senate rule that derives from the principle that no senator should be derived of his or her right to speak.

Under present Senate rules, in effect since 1975, if a proposed law cannot win an immediate "cloture vote" (60 votes in the 100-member Senate), the filibuster succeeds, the bill under consideration is tabled, and the Senate moves on to other bills on its agenda.

A number of liberal Democratic senators and their allies have been advocating for an end to the filibuster system, or at least a weakening of it.

Democratic President Joe Biden, a creature of the U.S. Senate, has not so far been among them.

Sen. Jeff Merkley of Oregon, with some surprising recent support from centrist Democrat Joe Manchin of West Virginia, says it is "way too easy" for obstructionist senators to derail legislation aimed at helping minorities and the poor. Manchin thinks there will be fewer Republican filibusters of major Democratic legislation if Republicans have to explain themselves and talk for hours on the Senate floor and "feel some pain." This "talking the bill to death" was the required practice back in the 1960s, but is not required now.

The thinking here is that, after a while, the filibustering senators will become exhausted from "talking" and will give up and allow a Senate majority to vote on the matter at hand. However, it is worth looking back at the 1960s to learn that, as is true of many "reforms," things are always more complicated than expected.

By the early 1960s the "talking" filibuster had been developed into a formidable instrument. Twenty-two filibustering Southern senators would divide into three teams of six or so senators each. Each team of six senators was assigned to talk on the Senate floor for one day. This provided each filibustering senator at least two days rest between assignments (when one of the other three six-senator teams was on the Senate floor talking for the day).

Even when it was a filibusterer's day on the Senate floor, the work was not hard. Only three of the six senators had to be on the floor at any particular time, therefore each member of the team had half the day off. When on the Senate floor, only one of the three senators had to be speaking, and he was helped out by the other two senators. They would periodically interrupt him

with lengthy, complex questions or spontaneous thoughts that popped into their minds. It all added up to more "talking."

The filibustering senators thus had an easy time of it, a complete contrast to the popular image of the scratchy voiced near exhaustion filibusterer making an all-night stand on the Senate floor.

In reality, the situation was much tougher physically on those trying to defeat the filibuster. In order to be officially in session, the Senate must have a quorum of 51 senators present. Every two hours, just like clockwork, the filibustering senators would suggest the absence of a quorum, thereby requiring the non-filibustering senators to round up and rush to the floor a minimum of 5l senators.

While the senators conducting the filibuster only had to work a half-day every third day, those working to defeat the filibuster had to come up with a quorum of 51 senators every two hours. Anytime a senator opposing the filibuster wanted to go back to his home state to campaign or leave Washington to give a speech, he would have to make sure that at least 51 senators opposing the filibuster remained in Washington.

Having to stay on Capitol Hill every day and answer a quorum call every two hours soon became both physically and emotionally wearing on the senators opposing the filibuster. As the weeks went by and the "talking" did not end, the filibusterers would become more chipper and relaxed. Meanwhile, those trying to defeat the filibuster looked ever more harried and pale. The filibuster often exacted a greater toll from those trying to break the filibuster than from those working to continue it.

Whatever modifications of the filibuster may come this spring or summer, Democrats have to be wary. Their chances of holding a majority of Senate seats in the future is problematic. Midterm elections (coming up in 2022) generally result in the president's political party losing seats in the Senate. Democrats have no Senate seats they can lose and still have a majority. The Senate is currently split evenly with 50 Democrats, 50 Republicans.

After 2022, the Democrats could find themselves in the minority in the Senate and have no filibuster with which to check the majority Republicans' power.

Modifying the filibuster may or may not be the right strategy for the Democrats yet it deserves and probably will get a good debate. Meanwhile, Democrats should be forging collaborative alliances with moderate Republicans (there are still some) on infrastructure, immigration, climate change and voting rights issues. These are crucial issues where the nation is yearning for bipartisan leadership and progress.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
March 21, 2021

EXPLAINING OUR YES VOTE ON COLORADO SPRINGS BALLOT ISSUE

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

There is only one ballot question facing city voters in the upcoming Colorado Springs City Council elections. Mail-in ballots began arriving in citizen mailboxes last week and are due on April 6.

At first glance the issue seems simple enough. The City Charter (it's our city constitution) currently limits the titles of ballot issues that propose tax increases to a maximum of 30 words. The City Charter further specifies that the first words in the title shall be: "Shall city taxes be increased …"

The title of a ballot issue contains the first words that voters see when they are about to vote on that issue. Politicians fight over the words in the title of a ballot issue, simply because those word choices can determine whether the ballot issue wins popular support and is approved by the voters.

For instance: "To improve conditions for lost puppy dogs and homeless kitty cats …" as the start of a ballot title might produce a different vote outcome than, "Shall city taxes be increased to rebuild the city stray animal control facility ..."

By now longtime residents of Colorado Springs will have figured out who put the 30-word limit on tax increase ballot questions in the City Charter, along with specifying that the first words must be: "Shall City taxes be increased …" It was Douglas Bruce, leader of the TABOR movement

(Taxpayers Bill of Rights), who lives here in the Springs and is a strong supporter of lowering taxes – and government services – whenever possible.

Douglas Bruce petitioned TABOR on to the city election ballot in 1991, and it was adopted into the City Charter by the voters. One year later, in 1992, Bruce petitioned TABOR on to the statewide ballot and it was adopted into the Colorado state constitution.

Colorado Springs thus is tax-limited twice, once in the City Charter and a second time in the state constitution.

The essence of TABOR is that any increase in taxes by the city government must be approved by a vote of the people. The assumption is that most voters will not vote for the tax increase. To make certain that every voter knew the ballot issue was a tax increase, Douglas Bruce required in the City Charter that the first words in the title be. "Shall taxes be increased …"

But why did Bruce add the thirty-word limit to the title of a tax-increase bill? Our assumption is that he wanted to limit the ability of those proposing the tax to make long reasoned statements on why to vote for the tax. By the end of a long list of benefits (parks, open space, biker-hiker trails, street paving, more streetlights, etc.), voters might begin thinking all those benefits were worth the tax increase.

And therein lies the main reason to remove the 30-word limit from the City Carter. Give those who are proposing a tax increase enough words to justify it to voters.

One thing we have learned over almost 30 years under TABOR restrictions is that Colorado Springs voters will vote for tax increases when they can see clearly what they are getting for their money. Our voters passed

tax increases to build bridges that separate major roads from busy railroad tracks (at Garden of the Gods Road and Woodmen Road). Time lost waiting at railroad crossings while long coal trains rolled by convinced voters that the bridges were worth their tax dollars.

Other specific municipal projects that voters proved willing to tax themselves to pay for were a new airport, a number of parks and trails proposals, and, recently, street paving.

The next time you buy an automobile, are you going to limit the salesperson to 30 words? Are you going to limit to 30 words hearing the positive points provided by a salesperson for a new furnace, or washing machine, or any other useful product you might be thinking of buying?

We strongly recommend a "yes" vote on that one big question on the 2021 city election ballot. There will still be a vote on all tax increases. The ballot title will still begin with "Shall city taxes be increased „," To us, the only real change will be that city officials will have more words to tell you why a particular tax increase is worth your hard-earned money.

We agree with Mayor John Suthers and many other experienced city leaders who believe local voters occasionally deserve a more thorough explanation of how and where their taxpayers' money will be spent. Sometimes it might require another five or 10 sentences, and we believe this is appropriate.

Colorado Springs Gazette
April 4, 2021

PROPOSED NEW MASTER PLAN FOR EL PASO COUNTY: PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The proposed new El Paso County master plan is now awaiting adoption by the county commissioners. The planning process involved a thoughtful review of present conditions in the county, which includes the city of Colorado Springs.

The planning consultants preparing the plan, Houseal Lavigne Associates, issued an existing conditions report on planning challenges facing the county.

El Paso County is big geographically. Oblong in shape, it is 85 miles east-to-west and 42 miles north-to-south. It is roughly the size of the state of Delaware, with a population estimated at about 725,000.

The western half of the county contains Pikes Peak and its surrounding Rocky Mountain foothills as well as the city of Colorado Springs, several major military installations, and a scattering of suburbs outside Colorado Springs. The eastern half of the county is high prairie mainly devoted to agriculture.

Thirty percent of El Paso County is government-owned land. Of the county's 2,130 square miles, 285 square miles are owned by the state and 325 square miles by the U.S. government. Apart from the many military

installations, most of the Colorado and U.S. lands are open space and parks, such as Pike National Forest.

Two-thirds of the population of El Paso County resides in Colorado Springs. There are eight other smaller cities and towns (the largest is Fountain — the smallest is Ramah). The remaining county residents, just under 200,000 persons, live in what is called "unincorporated El Paso County."

A lot of people thus live in Unincorporated El Paso County. We capitalize it because, if they were to become a city, these folks would comprise the fourth largest city in Colorado, right behind Aurora and more populous than Fort Collins or Lakewood.

We draw attention to Unincorporated El Paso County because its citizens will be the ones most affected by the new El Paso County master plan. The five El Paso County commissioners are in effect their local government. Colorado Springs and the eight other incorporated cities in the county have their own planning procedures and master plans. The almost 200,000 persons who live in Unincorporated El Paso County, however, are the ones who will live day to day under the new El Paso County master plan.

The existing conditions report notes that there are three thickly populated areas in Unincorporated El Paso County that are highly suburbanized: (1) Woodmoor, the Black Forest, and Gleneagle in the northern part of the county, (2) the Falcon area out U.S. 24, and (3) Security and Widefield south of Colorado Springs.

The plan makes the point that sidewalks can be found in Unincorporated El Paso County only in Gleneagle (part), Falcon (part), Security and Widefield,

and Cimarron Hills (a large enclave surrounded by the city of Colorado Springs located north of Peterson Air Force Base).

In these few citified places in Unincorporated El Paso County, the county sheriff provides the local police force.

The new master plan makes clear that a major cause for concern in Unincorporated El Paso County is the 5-acre ranchettes, or large lot homes, that are being developed on former agricultural lands, particularly on the eastern plains near Falcon, Peyton and Ellicott. This sort of low-density residential housing is also found near the Tri-Lakes area, Black Forest, and Rancho Colorado (on the southern border with Pueblo County).

The big problem with "ranchurbia" is that most of these homes rely on wells for water and septic systems for wastewater treatment. In those 5-acre-lot projects that have local water systems, the local water systems also are dependent on wells. Many of these large lot homes are surrounded by big lawns that require a great deal of water for irrigation.

The starkest fact in the master plan is that, if ranchette development in Unincorporated El Paso County continues at present rates, there will be a 55,000-acre-foot gap in the county water supply by 2060. An acre-foot is an acre of water 1-foot deep. Another way to see it is, if construction in ranchurbia continues as now, only 56 percent of the demand for residential water will be met by 2060.

Surveys conducted by the master planning consultants found large numbers of residents living in ranchettes to be worried about their wells running dry and the huge expenses involved in drilling deeper wells.

The master plan hints at where the needed water for large lot homes in the county might come from: "Collaboration between municipalities and unincorporated areas of the county will be vital to meeting future water supply needs." Likely translation: Colorado Springs will have to find the water. But how, where, and who will pay for it are the questions.

In El Paso County, only Colorado Springs Utilities has the water sources in the Rocky Mountains and the water transporting and storing infrastructure to meet the future water requirements of large numbers of 5-acre ranchettes in Unincorporated El Paso County.

Colorado Springs and El Paso County are working on an agreement that would entitle some county residents to city water, but only within 3 miles of the current boundaries of the city.

Other challenges in Unincorporated El Paso County include the need for families living in 5-acre ranchettes to drive long distances roundtrip to purchase groceries, gasoline, go to the movies, and find other basic services.

Moreover, in these highly dispersed communities, it can be a long wait for police (sheriff's deputies) or firefighters (often volunteers) to get to the property.

The master planners conducted surveys and focus groups that found some support for initiating a program to preserve major portions of the agricultural lands in eastern El Paso County before they all turn into 5-acre ranchettes.

Sections of the El Paso County Master Plan will have to provide creative future solutions to these many problems. Stay tuned.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national political issues.

Representatives from the El Paso County Planning and Community Development Department and consultants from Houseal Lavigne Associates, standing, host a community input workshop in May 14 in this file photo.

Photo by Heila Rogers

Colorado Springs Gazette
April 11, 2021

EL PASO COUNTY MASTER PLAN: GUIDANCE AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM PLANNERS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The proposed El Paso County Master Plan has been made available for public inspection and adoption by the county commissioners. We previously reviewed problems in the county identified by the Master Plan. Here are the plan's major recommendations:

Increase Annexations: The proposed El Paso County Master Plan understandably dwells at length on the Water Supply Gap, particularly in the unincorporated eastern portions of the county. El Paso County will need to acquire an additional 55,000 acre-feet of water per year (AFY) by the year 2060.

The plan identifies the most rapidly developing areas on the eastern border of the city of Colorado Springs and then recommends that they be annexed into the city to be supplied with city water. The plan identifies lands for urban development south of the city of Fountain and urges their annexation into Fountain to access water.

Colorado Springs and El Paso County are already working on this problem. Areas of the county within three miles of the city's boundary lines will be developed to city standards and thereby facilitate future annexations into the city.

Encourage Denser Development: The El Paso County Master Plan reports that senior citizens and young professionals are the two fastest growing groups in El Paso County. To house them, the plan recommends less single-family housing and more multi-family dwellings such as apartment buildings, row houses, twin homes, and senior housing.

Building to higher densities should particularly be undertaken in those areas of unincorporated El Paso County that are being prepared for eventual annexation into existing cities, primarily into Colorado Springs. One of the rewards for building in the county at higher densities could be the provision of future parks and open spaces on the extra land not needed for single-family housing.

Clustered Homes: The planners recommend that housing developers cluster homes on small lots rather than spreading them out on five-acre lots. This will cut the cost of installing utilities such as water and sewer for the homes and reduce the size of lawns. The acreage saved by clustering can be left in its natural state, needing no watering. Note that, in the end, the total land acreage used for the housing development is the same with clustering as with five-acre lots.

Develop Rural Centers: The plan notes about eastern El Paso County: "The farther away you move from Colorado Springs, the more disconnected you become from any food facility." To reduce the excessive amount of driving residents of the eastern portion of the county have to do to purchase food, gasoline, drugs and medicines, and entertainment, the plan calls for the county government to encourage the expansion of such services in rural commercial centers. Payton, Calhan, and Ellicott are examples of the kind of rural centers that should be further developed commercially. Many people, including economists, are likely to say the free-market system should take care of this issue rather than a master plan.

Improve East-West Highways: The Master Plan laments that there are only four major roadways connecting eastern unincorporated El Paso County with Colorado Springs. The plan recommends widening and adding left-turn lanes to U.S. Highway 24 and State Highway 94. As the population of eastern El Paso County steadily increases in the future, traffic on these two crucial roadways will become congested if there are no road improvements.

Require Fire District Participation: Fire protection and emergency medical services (ambulance) in El Paso County are handled by more than

20 separate fire districts, but not all residences are covered. "The lack of fire and emergency medical services access is a key concern for the county." Master Plan consultants recommend all new development in unincorporated El Paso County be forced to join the closest fire district. The plan also notes that poor roads, the lack of water to fight fires (fire plugs), and the growing threat of grassland fires (the prairie version of forest fires) complicate the provision of adequate fire protection in the under-populated parts of the county.

Because of the lack of adequate fire suppression and water for fighting fires, "the county must take steps to ensure that the manner in which these areas develop mitigates fire risk." The plan calls for "defensive landscaping" and fire-resistant "building techniques."

Volunteer Sheriff's Assistants: In 2015 the Sheriff's Office established REO – the Rural Enforcement and Outreach Unit. It provides additional sheriff's deputies to patrol the more remote portions of the county. Despite that, surveys by the master planners found rural residents perceived a lack of patrol officers. Parttime or volunteer units could act as community liaisons and, if volunteers are qualified, answer calls and lower response times in eastern El Paso County.

Deal With TABOR: The El Paso County Master Plan notes that paying for the expensive solutions it recommends to county problems will be complicated by the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights (TABOR). This tax-limiting measure, found in the state constitution yet also applied to county governments, requires a citizen vote on all tax increases and sets upper limits on how much money the county can spend each budget year. The Master Plan makes clear that much of what it hopes to achieve in El Paso County will depend on voter approval of tax increases and government borrowing.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
April 18, 2021

UPDATING AND REVISING THE EL PASO COUNTY MASTER PLAN IS A NECESSITY

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Most people around here are not especially pleased that our county will probably double in size over the next couple of generations. Building our own Pikes Peak regional wall is not an option. But updating and revising our El Paso County Master Plan is an option and a necessity.

The recently proposed master plan, prepared by planning consultants, speaks to long range problems in El Paso County such as potentially inadequate water supply, the need for higher population densities in newly developing areas, the necessity to widen and otherwise improve major roadways, citizen requests for more police patrols, etc.

As we have emphasized, most of these problems occur in the unincorporated parts of El Paso County that are not served by a city government (particularly Colorado Springs). Over 200,000 people live in these unincorporated areas, which are generally underserved in terms of governmental services.

Implementing the new master plan will rest mainly with the five El Paso County commissioners. They set policy for the county Planning Department, appoint the county Planning Commission, and will, at a future date, vote on adopting the new master plan as official county policy.

One problem is that two-thirds of the voters who elect the county commissioners live in Colorado Springs. Most of these voters live far away from unincorporated El Paso County, have most of their governmental needs taken care of by the city government, and either do not know about or care much about the problems in the unincorporated areas.

That reduces the pressure on the county commissioners to act creatively on behalf of the master plan.

Another problem is that El Paso County is a strongly Republican county. Republican candidates for county commissioner are routinely elected to office in general elections. Democrats have little or no chance of winning. The result is that El Paso County commissioners are elected in Republican primary elections rather than general elections. The electorates in Republican Party primaries tend to be small in number and more fiscally conservative than average citizens of El Paso County.

And that is a problem for the master plan. Republicans tend to get elected by promising “less government” and “lower taxes.” Yet an adequate response to the master plan is going to require more county government activity and raising taxes to pay for those activities.

Getting more water. Widening roads. Hiring more police. These programs require increasing taxes and, maybe, borrowing money. U.S. Senator Henry Clay, of the Whig Party in the mid-1800s, called such projects “internal improvements” and strongly supported them.

El Paso County’s five county commissioners need to rise above some of the traditional local Republican Party principles and take the steps necessary to solve the major problems presented by the El Paso County master plan.

After all, aside from party affiliation, the county commissioners are the local government for unincorporated El Paso County.

Though contemporary Freedom Caucus and tea party partisans are inclined to oppose serious investments in planning and infrastructure, there are plenty of Republican, or Republican-leaning, leadership models in American and Colorado history that recognized the vital role government has in keeping America competitive and livable .

Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, a Federalist, set an early example with his plans for taxation and manufacturing policies. Henry Clay's "internal improvements" included dredging deeper harbors and digging canals. Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president, championed transcontinental railroads and the Homestead and Morrill (land grant colleges) acts. Republican President Teddy Roosevelt modernized the U.S. Navy and strongly supported the National Parks. Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Interstate Highway System cost a lot of money yet has proved invaluable.

Colorado Republican Governor Bill Owens wisely backed investments in highway construction — especially in the Denver Tech Center corridor southeast of Denver. Colorado Springs Mayor John Suthers has backed initiatives to keep our roads safe and upgrade the city's infrastructure.

And then there is this problem. Unincorporated El Paso County, for the most part, is characterized by low-density housing developments, many of them featuring five-acre lot ranchettes. Cities crowded with both people and automobiles, and other urban problems, seem far away to these people. Many of them comprise the most loyal Republican voters in the county. Although they would be the biggest beneficiaries of implementing the El

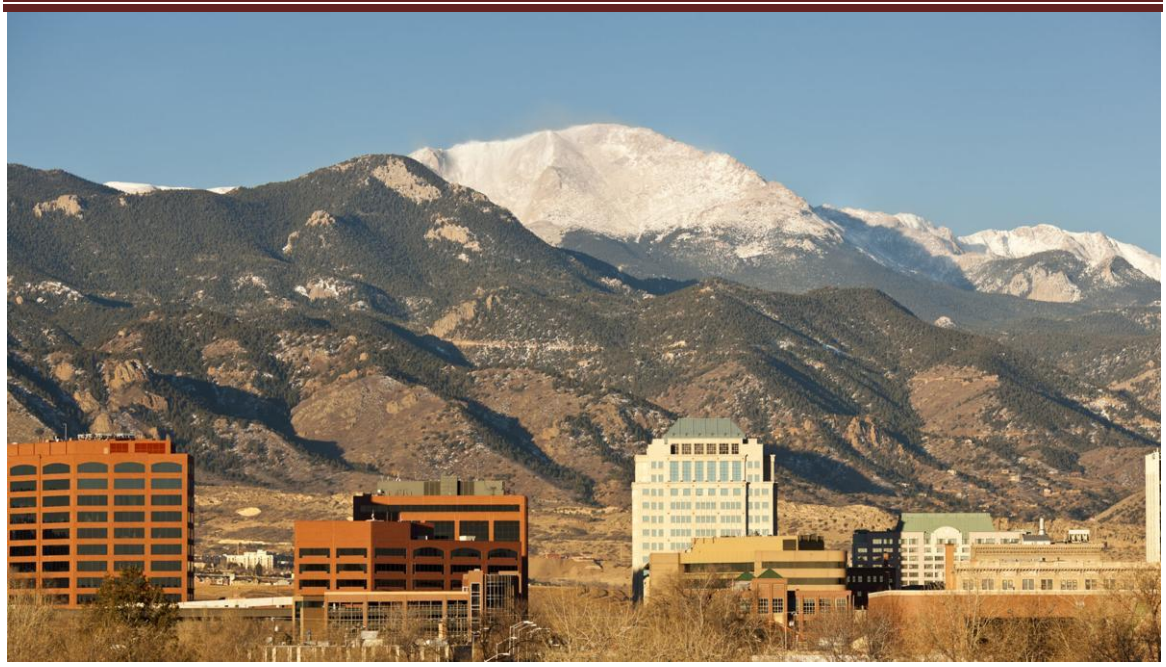
Paso County Master Plan, many of these residents of unincorporated El Paso County will overlook their future needs and oppose the increased government and raised taxes suggested in the master plan.

Finally, the El Paso County Master Plan calls on the existing municipalities in the county, particularly the city of Colorado Springs, to help unincorporated El Paso County solve its problems. Municipal help will particularly be needed where water problems are concerned. Citizens of Colorado Springs should heed this call and make a joint effort to simultaneously improve life in both the city and unincorporated El Paso County.

Master plans, when not backed strongly by the relevant elected officials, tend to sit on the shelf and gather dust. Let's not let that happen to the newly proposed El Paso County Master Plan.

We do not want to imply that we agree with everything recommended in the proposed county master plan. Yet there are many sensible and important recommendations. People who care about this beautiful region and its future should read the plan — available at this internet site, elpaso-hiplanning.hub.aregis.com. Share your views with El Paso County Commissioners at, bocc.elpasoco.com.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write regularly about Colorado and American politics.



A view of downtown Colorado Springs and Pikes Peak in the winter.

All five El Paso County commissioners are Republicans. From left: Carrie Geitner, District 2; Longinos Gonzalez Jr., District 4; Cami Bremer, District 5; Stan VanderWurf, District 3; Holly Williams, District 1.

Colorado Springs Gazette
April 25, 2021

EARLY NOTES ON BIDEN'S FIRST MONTHS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

President Joe Biden came to the White House with little or no public policy mandate. The election of 2020 was primarily a referendum on whether voters approved or disapproved of Donald Trump's way of governing.

Most of those who voted for Trump in 2016 voted for him again in 2020. In fact, he won about 11 million additional votes in 2020. But Biden benefitted from high voter turnout and especially strong support from younger Americans and suburban women. Backlash against Trump played a more important role than any embrace of Biden's specific public policies.

Noteworthy, too, is that even though Trump was soundly defeated in the popular vote, Republicans added about 14 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and won a few more state legislatures than did Democrats. Trump lost for himself, but neither party triumphed totally in 2020.

Biden and his advisers rightly made the war against Covid-19 their top priority. The Trump Administration deserves credit for encouraging the research and development of vaccines, but Trump was politically damaged by his many confusing and sometimes incoherent messages about the tragic pandemic. Biden has made bold claims of how people who wanted vaccines would be able to get them by this summer. His progress on that pledge has been impressive.

As Biden came to the Oval Office, the United States economy was in rough shape – mostly due to the worldwide Coronavirus pandemic. Biden and his economic advisers developed a sweeping and expensive relief package. It won no Republican support in Congress, yet it was popular with most Americans. It passed and went immediately into effect.

President Biden's proposed jobs and infrastructure package is equally sweeping and expensive. Again, most Americans understand the need to address the massive, deferred maintenance on highways, waterways, airports, bridges, and the electric power grid. There also are needed new investments in Research and Development, manufacturing, quantum computers, etc.

But Biden will have to trim and better target some of his plans in an effort to win Republican support. A much-compromised infrastructure program will probably be approved this summer.

Biden acted swiftly to nominate and win confirmation for his Cabinet of appointed officials. He had to withdraw his nominee for director of the Office of Management and Budget. Several of his appointments, such as Garland at Justice, Yellin at Treasury, Burns as CIA Director, Buttigieg at Transportation, and Vilsack at Agriculture, have won praise.

Biden also won praise for quickly recruiting competent health and medical advisers to handle the Coronavirus problem.

But Joe Biden still has another one thousand or so nominations to make, including dozens of ambassadors to foreign nations. The Senate confirmation process for these positions has been painfully slow for both Republican and Democratic presidencies in recent times.

One of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's greatest appointments during World War II was talented and highly respected Republican Henry Stimson as Secretary of War. This was astute politics, and Stimson proved to be an invaluable adviser. President Biden's administration, as far as we can discern, has recruited no highly visible Republican, or even independent, to the top ranks. John F. Kennedy was another Democratic president who put Republicans in key positions.

Tax plans for Joe Biden are still in the development stage. Tax increases on corporations and people earning more than $400,000 per year are likely, yet the projected increases in money from this are unlikely to fund the big spending programs this president is launching.

A controversial wealth tax is championed by leftish Democrats. A relatively novel internationally administered tax on multi-national corporations could have more bipartisan support and is likely to be pushed by the Biden Administration.

Biden's decision to withdraw the final troops from Afghanistan was both the most courageous and controversial of his early decisions. It was not a surprise. Biden has long been less supportive of that military effort than most of his party allies, including former President Barack Obama. Former President Donald Trump made this same decision. Libertarians like U.S. Senator Rand Paul favor this decision.

Americans are split on the war in Afghanistan. Most people know there is a civil war going on in that country, and U.S. troops have prevented it from becoming a disaster. But most Americans also understand that – unlike in South Korea or Germany, where we have kept U.S. troops for decades – the governing elites in Kabul appear to be either corrupt or incompetent, or perhaps both. This has left many Americans believing we are in a never ending no-win situation, and should get out.

The larger question is how much of a world policeman can the United States be. Much of the money spent in Afghanistan could have been invested in making America's economy and infrastructure more world competitive. Biden, more than anyone, realizes pulling out of Afghanistan was a high risk decision.

The Biden Administration hurt itself and the country by too quickly signaling changes of policy on border security. Trump may have overdone closing the border, especially with all his rhetoric on the wall and "invading caravans." Biden and his people sent confusing messages on this, and the result has been one of his biggest first three months' problems. There are still children in cages at border stations.

Biden has appointed a Supreme Court Study Commission. The new president understands that changing the number of Supreme Court justices from nine should not be done. He was forced to appoint the study commission by liberal supporters. There might be popular support for an 18-

year term limit on Supreme Court judges. Yet we suspect Biden will shy away from any form of Supreme Court reform, which will disappoint avid Supreme Court reform supporters.

President Biden has rightly opposed calls for "defunding the police." He did not do this as forcefully as he could have. Defunding the police is an irresponsible proposal. Better police recruiting and training does make sense. "Reinventing" police operations makes sense. Although these policies and programs are primarily a state and local government responsibility, desired improvements could use U.S. Government support, leadership, and money.

Joe Biden's 53 to 55 percent approval ratings as a new president compare favorably to those of George W. Bush and Bill Clinton at the end of their first three months in the White House. Biden's ratings, however, are at least ten percentage points above where Donald Trump was at this point in his presidency. On the other hand, Biden is ten points lower than Barack Obama after three months.

What is notable in Biden's approval ratings is that the partisan divide is so high. Biden has unusually high support among Democrats contrasted with very low support from Republicans.

Biden has not had much of a "honeymoon" in the first three months of his presidency. His prospects for winning bipartisan support in the Congress seem slim. His major political asset right now is that his party is less split on issues now than the GOP. As Republican pundits Karl Rove and Peggy Noonan have put it: The Republicans need stronger positive messages and effective messengers. Today they have neither.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy each have observed and commented on the American presidency for 60 years.

Colorado Springs Gazette
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CAN BIDEN SERVE AS 'AGGREGATOR-IN-CHIEF'?

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

In his speech to both houses of Congress in late April, President Joe Biden made it clear he wants to serve as the aggregator-in-chief.

He called for Americans — including Republicans — to join with him in implementing a long list of national and international improvements. On the list were popular programs such as equal pay for women, pre-school for three and four-year-old children, two years free at community college, expanded help paying for childcare, and defending free trade from Chinese incursions in the Pacific Ocean region.

Consider the theory of aggregation and disaggregation. This theory describes the traditional roles played by American institutions such as the president, the Congress, the political parties, and the news media.

The presidency has typically been described as aggregating — that is bringing people and organizations together to find common ground and make effective policy decisions. Joining the presidency in aggregating support have been the political parties, which strive to bring party members together and unify them to win elections.

One of the things that made the Trump presidency different and unsettling to many voters was that it was disaggregating in nature when we usually expect aggregating. Trump's many personal attacks and harsh policy preferences drove wedges between various groups in American society rather than bringing them together.

Trump even lodged such attacks against members of his own Republican Party, such as George W. Bush and U.S. senators Mitt Romney, John McCain, Jeff Flake and Bob Corker. This made Trump a disaggregator within his own political party as well as the nation.

Under this aggregation-disaggregation theory, the U.S. Congress is seen as disaggregating, yet this is understandable. Senators and House of Representatives members are elected from various parts of the country, and it is political reality that opinions differ from one section of the nation to another. Under normal conditions, we call on the president to use his aggregating powers to get legislation passed in a normally disaggregating Congress.

Aggregation-disaggregation theory also labels the news media as disaggregating. Many working politicians regard the news media as fight promoters. Their "breaking news" ethos is often about highlighting conflicts and partisan divides. Negative developments and political "fistfights" get disproportionate attention.

Yet disaggregation is mostly desirable in the case of the news media. Its job is to see that a wide range of conflicting ideas and opinions are presented to the American public for consideration.

The theory is easy to sum up: President and the political parties — aggregating. Congress and the news media — disaggregating.

Keep in mind that many Americans did not fault Donald Trump for his disaggregating ways as president and political party leader. He was popular with the right and nativist wing of the Republican Party and came fairly close to being reelected. If he had paid a little more attention to aggregating support in the nation and his political party, Trump might still be in the White House.

President Joe Biden has had a generally aggregating first 100 days in office with peaceful and uniting attempts such as his recent speech. Yet he faces a dilemma as his presidency proceeds. He is under pressure from the left side of the Democratic Party to take advantage of being a new president and press forward singlehandedly with a big spending program of social reforms. Medicare-for-all, forgiving college loan debts, and a more sweeping Green New Deal come to mind.

Such a leftward lurch will be seen by many as disaggregating.

It is in Biden's and the country's interest to have his administration do as much aggregating as it can. He has enjoyed uncommonly strong support from Democrats and reasonable support from independent voters.

There are at least some Republicans who will support Biden on infrastructure, voting rights, police reform, immigration reform, and even some aspects of a tax increase. But most Republicans will not want to see Biden succeed. Biden and his supporters will have to champion bipartisanship by staying close to the center rather than moving too far to the

left. That will be President Biden's biggest challenge and balancing act in the months to come.

We join with others who have enjoyed the relaxing atmosphere of presidential politics these past three months or so. President Biden has gone out of his way to keep his and other administration voices low and to minimize fractious and divisive statements. For those who spend their time keeping a close watch on American politics, it has been boring and a bit restorative.

Biden's talk to Congress was refreshingly low key. Expectations for him as a public speaker are not great. Yet he seemed to find his inner voice, as well as a better speech writer.

Former President Donald Trump was noisy. He was an activist celebrity who dominated the daily news, mainly with his frequent attacks on his many opponents on social media. Trump challenged widely accepted national policies, such as strong unqualified support for NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), world collaboration on climate change, and globalized international trade. It added up to a disturbing and repetitive America-first narrative.

Biden has accepted Trump's Afghanistan decision and has adopted some of his fearmongering about China. Biden also has supported some of Trump's "made in America" themes. Yet Biden has mostly reinstated the nation's internationalist visions.

Biden has been comparatively understated since the beginning of his campaign for the presidency. He is trying hard and at least partly succeeding at portraying himself as a moderate.

Once Biden had the Democratic nomination locked up, he offered himself as an experienced, plain speaking, and reliable alternative to Donald Trump, and not much more. But Biden's aggregating ways got him elected president, and they may serve him well in the coming months.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write regularly about Colorado and American politics.

President Joe Biden speaks in the East Room of the White House.

AP file photo.

Colorado Springs Gazette
May 12, 2021

LIZ CHENEY'S COLORADO COLLEGE EDUCATION LED TO GOP SHOWDOWN

By Bob Loevy

One of the rewards of teaching, from preschool through graduate school, is to have your former students succeed in life in a dramatic and well-publicized way. It is always a great feeling when a former pupil is elected mayor of the town or wins a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

These past two weeks have been big ones for this college professor. A former student of mine, Liz Cheney, Colorado College Class of 1988, was elected in 2016 to be Wyoming's one member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Now she is a major participant in one of the biggest national news stories playing in the press, on television, and on the internet. The United States public is gripped by the story of Liz Cheney voting to impeach her political party's former president, Donald Trump, for inciting the mob attack on the U.S. Capitol building on Jan. 6.

But she has gone further, repeatedly accusing Trump of lying to the American people in his claims that the 2020 presidential election was stolen from him by widespread voter fraud. Cheney has characterized Trump's voter fraud charges as the "Big Lie."

Liz Cheney arrived at Colorado College in the fall of 1984. Her family was already connected to the college through her mother, Lynne Cheney, who

graduated from the college in 1963. Lynne Cheney gained a measure of national notoriety as head of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the author of a major biography of President James Madison.

Liz Cheney's father was a well-known figure in the Republican Party at that time. He had served as Chief of Staff to Republican President Gerald Ford. Then he went back to his home state of Wyoming to run for that state's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

He was the representative from Wyoming the entire time that Liz, the oldest of his and Lynne Cheney's two daughters, was at Colorado College.

It did not take long for Liz's plans for her political future to become evident at Colorado College. She started taking political science courses, one of which was an introductory American Government course taught by me.

She nicely arranged for her father to spend an entire morning with my class discussing his many political experiences — at the White House and elsewhere — and elaborating on issues then facing the U.S. Congress. He concluded his visit with tips on how to get elected to political office, exhorting the students to "build your list" of names of political supporters and campaign contributors.

About this time, I had a conversation with Liz Cheney about her plans after graduating from college. She spoke quite matter-of-factly on the subject. "I'm watching the population growth in Wyoming," she said. "Some time in the future Wyoming should have enough residents to qualify for a second member of the U.S. House. That would be a good time for me to run, as that will be an open seat, and I will not have to challenge an incumbent, who would probably be a Republican."

You do not often hear talk like that from an undergraduate.

As it turned out, Wyoming's population did not merit a second member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Liz Cheney, however, was elected to the one seat.

Liz Cheney continued her political science studies at Colorado College. She wrote a senior thesis entitled "The Evolution of Presidential War Powers." It revealed her strong support for presidents who pursue a vigorous and involved U.S. foreign policy.

Following her 1988 graduation from Colorado College, Liz Cheney worked for the State Department in Washington, D.C., specializing on Middle Eastern affairs.

She earned a law degree from the University of Chicago. Along the way she married and gave birth to five children.

She had a wide background of governmental and legal experience when elected to the House of Representatives in 2016, the same year that Donald Trump was elected president.

She kept in touch with Colorado College. She participated in a major intellectual symposium at the college at the time of the 2008 presidential election. She has made many classroom visits to political science courses.

I recognize that the Liz Cheney vs. Donald Trump fracas has divided the Republican Party, and that polls show many Americans siding with the former president in his charges of widespread voter fraud in the 2020 presidential election.

I am impressed, however, that the U.S. Justice Department and an array of state and U.S. courts have denied or dismissed the many charges of voter fraud filed by Trump supporters. I therefore agree with Liz Cheney that even a president of the United States should be challenged and criticized strongly when he lies to the American people.

If a liberal arts college education does anything, it should inculcate in students the ability to discern the truth and then speak honestly about it. Liz Cheney has done both.

Bob Loevy taught political science at Colorado College from 1968 to 2014.

Representative Liz Cheney, Republican, Wyoming, the House Republican Conference Chair, speaks after a Republican strategy session in April.

The Associated Press

Colorado Springs Gazette
May 23, 2021

COLORADO LAW COULD REDRAW COUNTY COMMISSIONER ELECTION DISTRICTS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Voters in El Paso County (county seat Colorado Springs) are accustomed to being governed by five Republican county commissioners.

It has been that way for almost half a century. The last Democrat to serve as an El Paso County commissioner was Stan Johnson back in the early 1970s.

The reason for the Republican success has been gerrymandering. The five commissioners are elected from individual commissioner voting districts. The district lines have been regularly drawn so there is a majority of Republican or Republican leaning voters in each of the five districts.

Incumbent Republican county commissioners have had the power to redraw commissioner district lines after each decennial U.S. Census. Our Republican county commissioners have understandably yet debatably done the line drawing to favor the GOP.

Sometimes the Democrats get more than 40 percent of the two-party vote in El Paso County elections, but this Republican district line drawing has been politically engineered so Democrats do not get elected as county commissioner.

This may change in the near future.

Democratic Party majorities in both houses of the Colorado state legislature recently passed a bill designed to weaken the gerrymandering of El Paso County commissioner districts to favor Republicans. The bill applies to two other counties as well. Democratic Governor Jared Polis signed the bill into law. A prime sponsor of the bill was El Paso County State Senator Pete Lee, also a Democrat.

A major result of this anti-gerrymandering law could be the election of one and perhaps as many as two Democrats as El Paso county commissioners. The Republicans will likely keep majority control of the Board of County Commissioners, yet the GOP would no longer have the board all to itself.

The new county commissioner redistricting law, introduced as HB21-1047, is long and complex. It spells out all the details of how redistricting will be undertaken in El Paso County, Arapahoe and Weld counties. It sets up a county redistricting commission, somewhat similar to the redistricting commissions that are now redrawing state legislative districts and U.S. House of Representatives districts for the entire state of Colorado.

At least three proposed redistricting maps will be prepared by staff or an advisory committee. Those maps will be the subject of public hearings by the redistricting commission throughout the county. Citizens will be allowed to testify at the hearings about which maps should be approved and why.

Most importantly, this new state-enacted redistricting law requires the proposed maps to maximize the number of "competitive districts."

That means the proposed districts will be divided into three categories. The first category will be safe Democratic, where the vote in the district averages 55 percent or more Democratic and a Democrat will almost always win the

election. The second category will be safe Republican, where the vote in the district averages 55 percent or more Republican and a Republican will almost always win the election. The third category will be competitive districts. These will range from 45 percent Democratic to 55 percent Democratic and will be capable of electing either a Republican or a Democrat in the election.

Competitive districts are sometimes called swing districts, swing seats, or battleground districts. They can swing from one political party to the other from one election to another. They are prized by opponents of gerrymandering because a real choice is offered to the voters and there is real party competition between the Democrats and Republicans to win.

A safe Democratic county commissioner seat in El Paso County could be carved out of Manitou Springs, Old Colorado City, downtown, the Old North End, and adjacent areas. These sections of the county have been known to vote strongly Democratic.

A competitive seat might be constructed from southeast Colorado Springs plus Security and Widefield.

The remaining three county commissioner seats would be fashioned out of northern Colorado Springs, Monument, Palmer Lake, the Black Forest, Falcon, and the Eastern Plains portion of El Paso County. All three seats would clearly qualify as strong Republican.

Having one or two Democrats as El Paso county commissioners could change the atmosphere at county commissioner meetings. There could be more emphasis on social programs, such as public financing of affordable housing and more services for the homeless. A voice (or two) would be

raised in behalf of more efforts on climate change initiatives or preserving more open spaces and public parks.

There are a number of prohibitions in the new law on drawing up county commissioner districts. No district can be created specifically to aid an incumbent county commissioner in getting reelected. No district plan can be adopted to favor one political party over the other. No district plan can be proposed that denies a person their appropriate electoral influence because of race, national origin, or protected language.

This new law is going to change the process of county commissioner redistricting in El Paso County. Its chances for electing one or more Democratic county commissioners, and leading to fairer representation, are very good.

It may take a while. Redistricting efforts at every level are complicated. It is impossible to "take the politics out" of even the most well-intentioned redistricting process. In addition, the advantage of incumbency will help some of the incumbent Republicans get reelected. Stay tuned.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about national and Colorado political issues. Bob Loevy served on the 2011 Colorado state Reapportionment Commission. Read his short book, "Confessions of a Reapportionment Commissioner." Google "Bob Loevy Home Page."

Dane Cohn drops off his ballot for the Colorado Springs Municipal Election in April.

Colorado Springs Gazette
May 30, 2021

VOLUNTEER NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS, FEELING DISENFRANCHISED, JOIN TOGETHER

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

A new civic association has recently formed in Colorado Springs to represent our older and more established neighborhoods.

The goal of this new group is to give a stronger political voice to the homeowners in these older neighborhoods as they work to preserve both the traditional look and the quality of life in their part of the city.

Some of these neighborhoods surround downtown Colorado Springs and go back as far as the 1890s. Others were built in the 1920s and 1930s. Some are comparatively newer neighborhoods that were built after World War II.

Volunteer neighborhood associations involved include Bon Park/Bonnyville, Ivywild, Mesa Springs, Middle Shooks Run, Near North End, Old North End, Patty Jewett, and Pleasant Valley. Other volunteer neighborhood associations are being recruited.

The name of this new civic lobbying organization is Historic Neighborhoods Partnership. Members are busy with early organizational efforts such as securing a state charter, writing bylaws, arranging tax exemptions for donations, merging newsletter e-mail lists, and clarifying neighborhood boundaries.

Volunteer neighborhood associations in Colorado Springs have felt disenfranchised lately.

A national initiative to alter single-family and two-family zoning protections threatens to fill older areas with new apartments and apartment buildings. Short term rentals (Airbnb, Vrbo, etc.) are proliferating like rabbits next door to single-family and two-family homes. There are proposals to allow the building of high-rise apartments, some as high as seven stories, in or close to existing low-rise residential areas.

The result will be to increase the density of people and automobiles and thereby make older established neighborhoods less pleasant to live in.

As families move away from these higher density neighborhoods, the nearby public schools are likely to be weakened and lose students. That will change the neighborhood.

There is another reason our older and more established center city neighborhoods want a good way of getting their voices heard by City Council. Newer neighborhoods in Colorado Springs are organized as HOAs (homeowners associations). HOAs are legal bodies sanctioned by state law. They can make their own rules concerning single-family zoning, banning short term rentals and limiting high-rise buildings — and most do.

Newer neighborhoods thus have much less to fear from new densification laws that may crowd in more people and more vehicles. Older neighborhoods, however, have no such powers and must live by whatever zoning and building regulations are passed by City Council.

The neighborhoods forming Historic Neighborhoods Partnership vary considerably in the time they were built and their dominant architectural styles. The Near North End and the Old North End first developed in the late 1800s and have many large Victorian homes with distinctive decorations, such as bay windows and medieval-looking towers.

Ivywild, Mesa Springs, Middle Shooks Run, and Patty Jewett were mainly built in the first half of the 20th Century and have many bungalow style homes, which can be deceptively spacious inside. Bungalow homes have full-length covered front porches and lots of fancy woodwork, both inside the house and out. There also are occasional Spanish Mission style homes in these areas.

Then there are the post-World War II neighborhoods such as Bon Park/Bonnyville and Pleasant Valley. They mainly feature one-story ranch houses (no stairs to climb) and an occasional split-level home.

In addition to speaking up politically for older established neighborhoods, Historic Neighborhoods Partnership will encourage historic preservation activities within its participating neighborhood associations. That will include identifying, describing, and photographing historic homes.

There also will be help for neighborhoods to apply for and gain Historic Preservation Overlay Zoning. That is a city program that encourages preservation of older neighborhoods by guiding the way historic homes are enlarged or remodeled.

Neighborhood preservationists arguing with those who would densify our existing center cities is not just a Colorado Springs debate.

Cities across the country have to regularly make decisions about how to balance the location of high-rise commercial and apartment buildings — and the upstart Airbnb types — with the preservation of distinctive neighborhood communities.

This struggle goes on in some of our great cities from Boston to Seattle and from Charleston to Tucson. Charleston has its famous South of Broad neighborhood. Tucson has a wonderful Sam Hughes neighborhood just east of the University of Arizona.

Boston is a dense city yet has preserved the vitality of its Beacon Hill and North End neighborhoods, as well as its upscale Jamaica Plains and the gentrifying of South Boston. Seattle, also a dense city with plenty of high-rise construction, is similarly a city of splendid neighborhoods such as Seward Park, Ravenna, Green Lake, Fremont, and Magnolia.

Colorado Springs wrestles with questions of affordable housing, low income housing, Airbnb regulations, densification, and, at the same time, how to preserve the beauty and character of its older neighborhoods.

It is important to understand the virtues of what city planners call “infilling,” or what others might simply refer to as densification. It is more efficient for the city infrastructure to service dense sections of a city, and this can be good for city revenues and property tax collections.

A vital city needs commercial buildings and a wide range of choices for tourists and short-term visitors.

It is important that existing historic and traditional neighborhoods not be opposed to diversity or affordable housing opportunities. These values can sometimes be in conflict but need not be.

Neighborhood preservation and densification strategies can be pursued together, yet this will require savvy and clearheaded city and organizational leadership.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national political issues.

Victorian houses like this one were popular around downtown Colorado Springs and nearby neighborhoods around 1900. Gold mining profits from Cripple Creek and Victor helped pay for the large size and the decorative wooden trim.

From 1920 to 1940, large numbers of Craftsman bungalows were built in what are now the older areas of the city. They had nice front porches and roofs supported by large wooden brackets. These homes looked small from the street but went far back on the lot and were surprisingly roomy.

Spanish Mission style homes gave variety to Colorado Springs homebuilding from 1920 to 1940 near the downtown area. The exterior walls were covered with stucco, which had the appearance of the adobe walls of the original Spanish missions. Large arched windows also characterized this architectural style.

Three photographs – courtesy of Bob Loevy

Colorado Springs Gazette
June 20, 2021

DEMOCRATS AND LIBERTARIANS STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF COLORADO STATE FINANCES

By Bob Loevy

A view of the interior of the gold dome of the Colorado state Capitol in Denver.

Photo by SeanXu, istockphoto

As usual, the hefty Democratic majorities in the Colorado state legislature spent much of their time fighting against the libertarian spirit of Colorado voters rather than the opposition party Republicans.

That is a summary view of the 2021 session of the Colorado state senate and state house of representatives, which adjourned about two weeks ago. On the last day, with an air of fiscal desperation, the majority Democrats passed in both houses a two-year property tax cut designed to head off a November ballot measure that would cut property taxes permanently.

Really? The Democratic majority in the state Capitol in Denver is checking a libertarian-inspired property tax cut while the proposed tax cut, supported by lobby group Colorado Rising Action, is still gathering signatures for a ballot issue in an election five months away?

It is another reminder that Colorado Democrats, who won control of both houses of the Colorado legislature in November of 2018, get elected by promising to spend lots of state money solving social problems. Those big spending plans get checked, however, by harsh limits on revenue-raising placed in the Colorado constitution by the state's voters at the behest of those with a libertarian frame-of-mind.

The attempt to head off a future property tax decrease was not the only example in the 2021 session of the state legislature of the majority Democrats dancing to a libertarian-inspired tune. Democrats were congratulating themselves on the enactment of a $5.4 billion transportation bill with some of the money earmarked for repaving Colorado's woefully maintained highways and bridges.

In order to finance this transportation package, however, the Democrats had to conform to Proposition 117, a ballot proposal initiated by libertarian types that required a vote on all state fee increases that raised more than $100 million in the first five years. The voters adopted it less than a year ago in November of 2020.

With Proposition 117 rules clearly in mind, the Democratic legislature increased gasoline fees, delivery fees, and taxi-type ride fees, but had to simultaneously create government boards to see that income from each fee remained under $100 million in five years.

In essence, elected state legislators were forced to conform to rules and regulations put on the election ballot by libertarian-style thinkers who were not elected by anybody. Those libertarian-style thinkers do have a knack, however, for getting Colorado voters to adopt their ideas on tax limitation at the ballot box.

The libertarian grip on Colorado state finances began in 1992 when Douglas Bruce, a Colorado Springs resident originally from California, succeeded in getting TABOR adopted by state voters. This amendment to the Colorado state constitution was sold to the voters with the slogan, "A vote on all tax increases."

Barely mentioned in the election campaign was that the ballot issue not only required a vote on any proposed increase in state and local taxes but also put limits on the amounts of revenue that could be raised by state and local governments. TABOR was an acronym for "Taxpayers' Bill of Rights."

From the very beginning in the early 1990s, TABOR began reducing government revenues and putting major state programs such as K-12 education, public colleges and universities, and highways and bridges on starvation financial diets.

TABOR is mainly a problem when the Democrats, as now, control both houses of the state legislature and the governor's office. The Democratic Party in Colorado is reform oriented and likes to adopt big spending

education and welfare programs. It is the libertarian-inspired tax limitation in the state constitution, and not the Republicans, that frustrates the Democrats' spending hopes.

The Democrats found a way to work around TABOR revenue limitations by raising fees rather than taxes. Auto registration fees were raised to high numbers and charges to get into state parks and campgrounds were increased. Registration fees on even 22-year-old vehicles in Colorado can run as high as $75.

As noted, the libertarian-minded took care of the increasing fees by getting the voters to adopt Proposition 117, which mimics TABOR by requiring, "A vote on big fee increases."

It is embarrassing that our popularly elected state legislature, supposedly the very symbol of our democratic form of government, had to jump through all those Libertarian designed hoops to raise at least some money by increasing a few fees.

Also embarrassing is the nature of the fees. A mini-rise in gasoline fees, a fee for delivering products to your door, and a fee on taxicab-like rides (Uber and Lyft), all tailored to that $100 million five-year limit, does not appear to be a very good long-range way to solve the state's ever increasing highways and bridges problems.

Where can we find real leadership on solving Colorado's financial woes? Leading state elected officials, starting with the governor, should organize and lead statewide election drives to raise state taxes and fees to the amounts required to have a decent level of services in our state.

Elected leaders do not do that, however, because leading the drive for voting to raise taxes and fees would threaten the elected leaders' future prospects for being elected or reelected to public office.

Apparently the battle for control of Colorado state finances will go on raging between the Democratic Party in the legislature and the libertarian spirit scoring points at the ballot box. So far the Republicans have been bystanders in this great struggle, watching and commenting but not really participating.

Bob Loevy is a retired political scientist at Colorado College.

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BLOWS HIT SLAVERY, SEGREGATION IN JUNE

By Bob Loevy

Robert Loevy, professor emeritus of political science at Colorado College, worked as a U.S. Senate aide when the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964.

Christian Murdock, the Gazette file

The United States recently celebrated Juneteenth, the new national holiday in honor of the freeing of the slaves at the end of the Civil War.

Here is something I noticed. If you subtract one letter "e" from Juneteenth, you get Junetenth.

And June Tenth is the date that, in 1964, two-thirds of the United States Senate voted to cloture a Southern filibuster and speed to final passage the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That is the law that ended legal racial segregation in the United States.

Thus it is that Juneteenth (actually short for June Nineteenth) celebrates the end of slavery in 1865 – and June Tenth memorializes the end of racial segregation 99 years later in 1964.

Slavery and racial segregation are considered two of the major shortcomings of American democracy throughout its long history. The termination of each of them, one by Civil War and the other by Act of Congress, are doubtless two of the more important dates in the history of minority liberation in the United States.

Notice that June Tenth and Juneteenth are only nine days apart on the calendar. Why not also keep in mind June Tenth while celebrating Juneteenth? The similarity of the two words turns them into an easily remembered slogan: "Juneteenth 1865 – slavery ends; June Tenth 1964 – racial segregation ends."

June Tenth is the logical date to memorialize the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The new law was subjected to the longest filibuster in the history of the U.S. Senate. Southern senators talked endlessly against the proposed law in hopes of preserving the racial segregation of hotels, motels, bars, restaurants,

swimming pools, and ice rinks that characterized the American South at that time.

There was only one way to stop a Senate filibuster. Two-thirds of the senators (67 out of 100 senators) would have to vote for cloture, a motion to end the debate and force a final vote on the bill. It was clear that both Democrats and Republicans would have to join forces in the Senate to garner the 67 votes required.

It was well known that almost all civil rights bills had failed in the Senate in the past because of the great difficulty of getting a successful cloture vote.

The drone and drawl of the filibuster lasted for three months, from March through June of 1964. Senators debated constantly on the Senate floor for eight hours a day, six-days a week. At long last the cloture vote on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was scheduled for 10 A.M. on June 10, 1964.

The visitor galleries in the Senate chamber were packed full. Supporters overflowed into the hallways and then out to the Capitol grounds. There was an anticipatory atmosphere around the Capitol as lobbyists and congressional aides who had worked so hard on the proposed law wandered about and waited to get the word that the cloture vote had succeeded – or failed.

This cloture vote was considered so important that all three major television networks – ABC, CBS, and NBC – covered it live vote-by-vote. Out on the Capitol lawn, television reporter Roger Mudd posted each senator's vote on a large scoreboard as it was telephoned to him by a colleague in the press section inside the Senate chamber.

And then it was done. The debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was "clotured" by a vote of 71 to 29, four more votes than needed for the required two-thirds majority of 67. As expected, the Senate quickly gave final passage to the bill. It was immediately signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson.

And so it was that the cloture of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on June 10, 1964, was the key event in the law's enactment. The impact of the new law on minority rights in the United States was significant. The coalition of Democrats and Republicans that came together to cloture the Civil Rights Act of 1964 joined together again to successfully cloture Southern filibusters of both the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Housing Rights Act of 1968.

And the new law accomplished much more than ending racial segregation. It protected the minority rights of Americans without regard to race, religion, and national origin. It ended racial segregation in public facilities such as hospitals and city halls and in private employment.

Juneteenth celebrates the end of slavery and June Tenth memorializes the end of racial segregation. They are an amazing pair. It is quite a coincidence that their spellings are just one letter, the letter "e", different, and that their dates on the calendar are just nine days apart.

Retired Colorado College political scientist Bob Loevy worked as a U.S. Senate aide in 1964. Read his short novel on enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: Google "Bob Loevy home page", click 3.

Colorado Politics
June 30, 2021

COMPETITIVE SEATS SERVE US BEST

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The Colorado Congressional Redistricting Commission is off to a reasonable start in its task of redrawing the boundaries for Colorado's eight seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The commission's tentative congressional redistricting plan, revealed a little more than a week ago, provides for two safe Democratic seats (Districts 1, 2), two safe Republican seats (Districts 4, 5), and two competitive seats that could be won by either the Democrats or the Republicans (Districts 7, 8).

In addition, the plan creates one U.S. House seat that is somewhat Republican (3) and a second U.S. House seat somewhat Democratic (6). Either of those seats could be won by the other political party in a "big sweep" election.

For supporters of competitive seats, where either political party can win, that is a big improvement over the present districting, in effect from 2012 through 2020. Colorado currently has three safe Democratic seats (1, 2, 7), three safe Republican seats (3, 4, 5), and only one competitive seat (7).

Colorado's eighth seat in the U.S. House of Representatives is new this year, having been created because of rapid population growth in Colorado over the past decade.

These are, of course, initial recommendations from the Congressional Redistricting Commission, and they will be subject to public hearings throughout Colorado in July. The Commission will make its final decision on the redistricting of the state's eight congressional seats this fall.

Also keep in mind this recommended redistricting is based on estimated population figures. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, official U.S. Census population counts will not be available until this fall.

Gerrymandering is the drawing of congressional district lines in such a way that many voters from one political party are heavily concentrated in a district. A result is that congressional districts drawn in this particular way always vote for the candidate from that political party. Such gerrymandered districts are said to be either "Safe Democratic" or "Safe Republican."

Political scientists, civics teachers, and "good government" groups such as the League of Women Voters and Common Cause, disapprove of gerrymandering. The reason is gerrymandering removes from the voters in the district the power to change the political party that represents the district. The general election between the Democrats and the Republicans for the seat becomes meaningless because the same party, with its overwhelming numbers of voters, always wins.

Political scientists and civics teachers, like us, prefer a redistricting process to provide as many competitive districts (often called "swing" districts or "battleground" districts) as possible. The proposed new congressional redistricting took Colorado from one competitive seat (2012-2020) to two competitive seats and one near-competitive Democratic seat and one near competitive Republican seat. That's an improvement.

The state legislature's non-partisan professional staff served as the staff for the Congressional Redistricting Commission. They used the 2018 general election for Colorado attorney general to measure the extent to which a proposed congressional district is Democratic or Republican. Competitive seats were defined as ranging from 45 percent Democratic to 55 percent Democratic.

Here is a rundown on Colorado's eight new U.S. House of Representatives districts as proposed by the redistricting commission:

District 1 – Center-city Denver. This area votes so Democratic that creating a Safe Democratic seat is unavoidable. The political party split (from the 2018 attorney general election) is 78.7 percent Democratic to 21.3 percent Republican. Incumbent – Democrat Diana DeGette.

District 2 – Boulder and Larimer counties. This area also is Democratic, and thereby the seat becomes Safe Democratic. The breakdown is 63.7% Dem to 36.3% Rep. Incumbent – Democrat Joe Neguse.

District 3 – The entire Western Slope of Colorado plus some of the Eastern Slope mountain areas. The farms and ranches in this outdoorsy district are heavily Republican, but the ski resort counties are strongly Democratic. At 44.9% Dem to 55.1% Rep, it would not take very many extra Democratic votes to make this district possibly occasionally competitive. Somewhat Republican. Incumbent – Republican Lauren Boebert.

District 4 – Northeastern Weld County plus the Eastern Plains and Pueblo County and most of Southern Colorado. This spacious congressional district is mainly rural and Safe Republican. It is 38% Dem to 62% Rep. Incumbent – Republican Ken Buck.

District 5 – West and North El Paso County including all of Colorado Springs. This congressional district is the mirror twin of #1 in Denver, with Republicans (instead of Democrats) dominating at 39.4% Dem to 60.6% Rep. Safe Republican. Incumbent – Republican Doug Lamborn.

District 6 – Southeast Denver suburbs (Aurora). This is one of the most multi-racial parts of Colorado and has large numbers of Democrats and Republicans living in close proximity to one another. At 56.6 Dem to 43.4 Rep, it rates Somewhat Democratic. Incumbent – Democrat Jason Crow.

District 7 – West Denver suburbs (Jefferson County and part of Douglas County). This will be Colorado's most Competitive congressional district at 48.5 Dem to 51.5 Rep. Those numbers make it a toss-up. Incumbent – Democrat Ed Perlmutter.

District 8 – North Denver suburbs (part of Adams and part of Weld counties). This is Colorado's new seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. It is located in the fast-growing areas to the north of Denver. At 53.8 Dem to 46.2 Rep, it is Competitive. Democrats will have a slight edge yet Republicans will fight hard to elect the first occupant of Colorado District #8.

Colorado voters created the Congressional Redistricting Commission through an initiated ballot issue. The ballot measure required that the highest number possible of competitive districts be created by the Commission.

Political parties always attack redistricting plans and charge unfairness, but we think this competitive districts plan is excellent as proposed.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy were longtime political science professors on the faculty of Colorado College in Colorado Springs. They write about national and Colorado issues. Bob Loevy served on Colorado's state legislature redistricting committee following the 2010 U.S. Census. Read his book on his experience: Google "Bob Loevy home page", click on 2.

Colorado Springs Gazette
July 4, 2021

BIPARTISANSHIP IS HARD TO DO – YET POSSIBLE AND OFTEN DESIRABLE

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

President Joe Biden, with a bipartisan group of senators, speaks in June outside the White House in Washington. Biden invited members of the group of 21 Republican and Democratic senators to discuss the infrastructure plan.

The Associated Press

Bipartisanship involves temporizing one's political party loyalty and trying to find common ground, typically with moderate members of the other

political party. An effective bipartisan presidential approach involves subordinating one's role as a party leader to that of a role as a coalition leader.

Presidents who enjoy wide margins of party support in Congress are less likely to emphasize bipartisanship. But presidents like Dwight Eisenhower, who faced a Democratic Congress for most of his presidency, actively built ties with Democratic leaders like U.S, House Speaker Sam Rayburn and U.S. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson.

One of the limits of bipartisanship is that a president risks losing the hardcore ideological members of one's political party. Eisenhower worried a lot about that in the 1950s with right-wing Republicans. President Joe Biden faces this same challenge now with left-leaning Democrats.

Bipartisanship is hard to do in ordinary times. It is even harder to do when large blocs in both of our two main political parties have become less moderate — moving more rightward in the case of Republicans and more to the left in the Democratic Party. Also cable news programs have become so partisan, and fallacious conspiracy theories are being spread.

The country is politically divided. Approximately 30 percent of voting age Americans identify as Democrats, 25 percent as Republicans, and 40 percent now as politically independent.

But when pressed, 19 percent of these so-called independents describe themselves as leaning toward the Democrats, while 15 percent of so-called independents favor the Republican Party.

Put the party membership figures together with the "leaning" figures for independents and you get this: 40 percent of Americans are Republicans and Republican-leaning — 49 percent of Americans are Democrats and Democratic-leaning.

Because of our political geography and perhaps in part due to our gerrymandered U.S. House of Representative districts, the U.S. House and U.S. Senate are essentially 50 percent Democratic and 50 percent Republican at the present time. Political geography thus gives the Republicans a noticeable bonus over the electorate's public polling preferences for the two political parties (49 percent Democratic to 40 percent Republican).

Truly "independent" independents comprise about 11 percent of the U.S. population, yet the House and Senate, with the exception of two independent senators, are comprised only of Democrats and Republicans.

President Biden won the 2020 election by several million votes and polled a good margin in the Electoral College. Yet Republicans won more than a dozen seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and did better than Democrats in a majority of state legislative elections.

Biden did not win a mandate for many of the costly programs that he is now championing in Congress. He will have to fashion a new coalition around virtually every major piece of legislation he proposes if he is to achieve some respectable legislative accomplishments.

Biden enjoyed reasonable bipartisan support in his first several months. The Senate, for example, confirmed virtually all of his cabinet level nominations — many by sizable majorities. Only one Biden appointee had to be

withdrawn, and that was triggered by West Virginia Democratic Senator Joe Manchin's objections.

A major spending bill for basic science research garnered widespread bipartisan support in the Senate about a month ago. And, by and large, Republicans in Congress and in the states helped facilitate the nation's highly effective vaccination program.

A week ago a bipartisan group of U.S. senators, led by Ohio Republican Rob Portman and Arizona Democrat Krysten Sinema, came to the White House and won the support of President Biden for a proposed $1.2 trillion compromise infrastructure bill. This would be a landmark investment in upgrading roads, bridges, airports, broadband and water systems. The American public supports this program, and most of it can be financed without major tax increases.

Biden appeared in bipartisan glory, along with senators Joe Manchin, Susan Collins, Mitt Romney, and others, in a memorable photo op outside the West Wing of the White House. But he temporarily undermined this triumphal moment a couple of hours later when he said he would only sign the infrastructure bill if a far more expensive liberal counterpart, that included several climate change and "human infrastructure" measures, came to him at the same time.

That pleased liberals but infuriated Republican senators, who believed they had a deal with the Biden White House. Aides to Biden immediately got him to walk back his implied threat and the compromise seemed to be back on track.

The infrastructure compromise probably will not be passed in the House of Representatives and signed into law until later this summer. But when and if it is, it will be a good example of finding common ground and bipartisanship. That is especially true this year because of the razor thin margins in Congress and the still heated political drama resulting from the controversial 2020 presidential election and the January 6, 2021, insurrection at the U.S. Capitol.

Americans know we live in a complicated many-splendored yet many-splintered constitutional democracy. That democracy can still function and solve problems, however. Our airports, bridges, and water infrastructure are definitely problems we can all agree need to be addressed.

Congress is split between the two major political parties about as closely as it has ever been. There is virtually no chance for Biden's presidential initiatives to pass unless there are bipartisan compromises on matters such as voting rights, immigration, and fighting crime. The Democratic left will not be happy when much of what they hoped for gets watered down. But the practical reality is clear. There will be watered down and compromised measures or no legislation at all.

Most Americans are politically moderate and, in general elections, prefer candidates who can brag about at least occasional bipartisan votes in their voting record.

But nowadays more and more members of Congress, in our political party rigid election process, are elected in primary elections as much as if not more than in general elections. In Denver, we see a U.S. Representative elected in the Democratic primary. In El Paso County (Colorado Springs), we see the U.S. Representative elected in the Republican primary.

Partisan candidates in primary elections nowadays can be hurt if they take too much of a bipartisan approach and cannot defend their role as a standard-bearer, or "keeper of the flame" legislator, for partisan programs.

So one of the paradoxes of bipartisanship is that it can help you in certain states and in the general election, but it can be a disadvantage in other states and in many primary elections. All of this makes it harder for the president and Congress to fashion bipartisan coalitions.

Joe Biden claims he wants to be a bipartisan unifying leader, and he enjoys this reputation among a majority of Americans. But the leaders of Congress — Pelosi, Schumer, McConnell, and McCarthy — are all viewed as strong party leaders and do not enjoy a reputation for bipartisanship.

Here is the challenge for all of us. Bipartisanship does not mean being nice or weak. It means trying to find common ground to make progress on our common problems. Political parties are established to help us sort ourselves out politically, to provide different ways to rank our priorities, to encourage reasonable political debates, and offer voters a choice. But to get problems solved we need coalitions to come together and emphasize what we believe in common and make compromises toward that end.

That is what President Franklin Delano Roosevelt did in World War II when he made Republican Henry Stimson his Secretary of War and enlisted former Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie to help him diplomatically. That's what Democratic President Lyndon Johnson and Republican Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen did to get the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed.

And this is what Joe Biden, Joe Manchin, Krysten Sinema, Jon Tester, Mitt Romney, and many moderate Republicans may be able to do on several important matters in the next few months.

But expectations must be moderate.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write regularly on state and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
July 11, 2021

LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING IS REASONABLE WITH FEW CHANGES NEEDED

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The 2021 redistricting plan for the Colorado state legislature is off to a good start. The preliminary plan presented by the Legislative Redistricting Commission two weeks ago strikes a workable and pragmatic balance between the Democrats and the Republicans in the state House of Representatives and the state Senate.

We checked out the Commission plan with the voting results from the 2018 attorney general election in Colorado in which Democrat Phil Weiser defeated Republican George Brauchler. We adjusted our results for the fact that Democrat Weiser won the election.

In the state House of Representatives, when the legislative redistricting takes effect in the 2022 state elections, our figures indicate there would be 23 safe Democratic districts, 26 safe Republican districts, and 16 competitive districts. That is a good two-party balance, although slightly favoring the Republicans with 3 more safe Republican districts than safe Democratic districts.

The redistricting process begins by identifying safe Democratic districts and safe Republican districts.

By our definition, a safe Democratic district is one where the Democrats receive 55 percent or more of the two-party vote. In a safe Republican district, the Republicans win 55 percent plus of the two-party vote.

The key to a fair redistricting, in our view, is creating competitive districts. These are legislative districts in which voters are evenly balanced between the two major political parties. Such districts swing back and forth in elections, voting Democratic when the Democrats are popular and Republican when that party gains public favor.

Competitive districts are often referred to as "swing districts" or "battleground districts." We defined a competitive district as one in which the Democratic candidate received between 45 percent and 55 percent of the vote. If you are a loyal Republican, you can use 45 to 55 percent of the Republican vote. It produces the same results.

We would like to have seen a few more competitive districts for the state House of Representatives in the preliminary redistricting plan. As noted, those are the districts that swing back and forth between the Democrats and the Republicans and thereby determine which political party wins majority control of the state House of Representatives.

The state House in Colorado has 65 members, so 33 votes are required to make a majority and have party control of the chamber.

A possible alternative state House redistricting plan might be to turn 3 of the safe Republican House districts into competitive House districts.

That would produce a lineup in the House of 23 safe Democratic, 23 safe Republican, and 19 competitive districts.

We found much the same situation in the state Senate as in the state House. The Commission's state Senate proposal calls for 12 safe Democratic, 15 safe Republican, and 8 competitive districts.

Here again, we respectfully suggest moving 3 safe Republican districts over to competitive districts, thereby producing 12 safe Democratic, 12 safe Republican, and 11 competitive districts.

The state Senate in Colorado has only 35 members, so 18 votes are required to make a majority and have party control of the chamber.

The nonpartisan state legislative staff serves as staff for the Legislative Redistricting Commission. We acknowledge that it will not be an easy task for the staff to act on our recommendations as redistricting plans must be carefully and laboriously adjusted.

Leaders in both political parties will understandably lobby for as many safe seats favoring their party as possible. That is their job as they see it, so there will be partisan feuds and arguments.

However, there is much to be said for the preliminary state House and state Senate redistricting plans as the Commission presented them.

The Legislative Redistricting Commission was created by a state constitutional amendment adopted by the voters in November of 2018. The amendment was sold to state voters on the promise that it would end gerrymandering of legislative districts to favor one political party over the other.

The constitutional amendment emphasized that competitive districts shall be one of the tools used to achieve fair legislative districting in Colorado.

The Legislative Redistricting Commission is about to take the show on the road, holding public hearings on the state House and state Senate preliminary redistricting plans throughout Colorado. The final legislative redistricting plans will be officially adopted in the fall.

• *Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. Bob Loevy served on the 2011 Colorado legislative redistricting commission that strongly emphasized competitive districts in its work.*

Colorado Springs Gazette
July 18, 2021

KEEP CITY COUNCIL IN CHARGE OF NEIGHBORHOOD ZONING

By Tom Cronin & Bob Loevy

Mayor John Suthers speaks to the newly sworn-in Colorado Springs City Council members In April.

Christian Murdock, The Gazette

One of the charms of life and civic traditions in Colorado Springs has been that ordinary citizens can go down to City Hall and speak to City Council, in session, on issues that concern them, especially land use and zoning issues.

Citizens can make their arguments to protect their homes and neighborhoods from damaging rezoning in person, just before City Council votes on the land use or zoning issue.

It is established procedure that the city council member chairing the meeting will ask for public testimony from "those who support the measure" and then "those who oppose the measure." Over the years people from all walks of life in our community have been able to directly tell their elected representatives their needs and wishes concerning rezoning and zone variances.

There are no qualifications required when it comes to addressing City Council in Colorado Springs. You do not have to be the president of a bank, or the leader of a local labor union, or the head of a major interest group. The process here is impressively inclusive. Any person willing to sit and wait in the council chamber until their item comes up on the agenda can take their turn at the lectern and testify as to the facts and their feelings on a new zoning law, a new subdivision being built, or a zoning variance.

This tradition of citizens speaking at city council meetings comes to us from the New England town meeting, the ultimate form of direct democracy in which every resident of the town could not only speak on issues but also vote on them.

Typical of Western and Midwestern cities, Colorado Springs kept the citizen speaking part but left the voting exclusively to city council members.

It is discouraging to learn that RetoolCOS, a major rewriting of the zoning code in Colorado Springs by an out-of-town consultant, calls for all land use and zoning issues to be decided by the city planning commission rather than

City Council. In essence, zoning issues that currently are decided by citizen-elected city council members will be decided by a nine-member commission appointed by City Council.

Don Elliott, a spokesperson for Clarion, the planning consultants, said cutting the City Council out of planning and zoning decisions was what is done in big cities.

The Colorado Springs Planning Commission currently exists, but right now all of its land use and zoning decisions can be appealed to City Council. When many citizens turn out and tell City Council they do not want a particular zone change or zoning variance, the City Council will often reverse the Planning Commission and deny the zone change.

Keep in mind that zoning determines the character of the immediate environment in which we all live. Whether a neighborhood is single-family or multi-family is determined by zoning. Whether commercial activities should be allowed in single-family neighborhoods is a zoning issue. In our view, when such matters are so close to the daily lives and comfort of citizens, they should be decided by the elected City Council.

These concerns are real. Over the years we have witnessed City Council deny attempts to build hospital facilities, sidewalk cafes, military medals stores, doctors' offices, and apartments of all sorts in single-family zoned neighborhoods.

We believe cutting the City Council out of zoning matters flies in the face of the logic behind creating "district" city council members. Back in the 1950s, all nine city council members were elected at-large (citywide). In the 1960s

it was decided to have four city council members elected from individual districts and only five elected at-large.

The idea of district city council members, and their ability to represent smaller groups of citizens more directly, became so popular that we now have six district council members and only three at large.

The logic behind district council members was that individual citizens and neighborhoods would have one person on City Council to specifically represent their particular local interests in their particular part of town. Given the importance of zoning issues to neighborhoods, it seems logical to have district city council members participating in deciding zoning issues and not having those decisions made by un-elected appointees.

To put it another way, an appointed planning commission will not have the same interest in serving the needs of local citizens and neighborhoods on zoning issues that district city council members have.

The planning commissioners, who can come from anywhere in the city, will not be related to actual homes and neighborhoods the way that district City Council members are.

It is important to keep in mind the differences between all the city council members and planning commissioners. It has been our experience that local businesses recruit their high-ranking employees to volunteer to become members of the city Planning Commission. Businesses realize the importance of having influence on such an important governmental body.

City Council members, however, and particularly district City Council members, will be more interested in the needs and desires of the voters who elected them to office.

We recognize that the population is increasing in Colorado Springs. But, despite the population growth, our city continues to have much of the charm and lifestyle of a smaller city. In this case, we think that citizens being able to speak at City Council meetings on land use and zoning issues is a civic tradition and privilege that should be preserved.

City council members — let the people continue to be heard by you, their elected representatives, on land use and zoning matters.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write on Colorado and national issues. Bob Loevy served as a Colorado Springs city planning commissioner from 1972 to 1975. The city government wants to hear your opinion on this issue. E-mail them at RetoolCOS@coloradosprings.gov.

Not Used
July 20, 2021

KEEP CARPORTS OUT OF RESIDENTIAL FRONT YARDS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Colorado Springs City Council will soon vote on a proposal to allow modern-looking carports in the front yards of homes in older and well-established neighborhoods, including all of the historic neighborhoods that surround downtown.

Carports have been banned in front yards in Colorado Springs for as long as anyone can remember. They are viewed by many as unattractive and marring the look of the neighborhood to those driving down the street or walking along the sidewalks.

Front yards should be filled with children playing and beautiful landscaping, not four vertical posts and a flat roof covering an automobile or small truck. Carports are particularly out of place in front of older homes with big front porches, where the family sits outside in pleasant weather, folks swing on the porch swing, and socialize and relax.

The older the neighborhood, the more jarring the look of a modern carport in the front yard. Because they are such simple and functional structures, there is no opportunity to make them architecturally compatible to a neighborhood of homes. They often are made of only painted metal and clash sharply with the wood, brick, and stone that characterize most older neighborhoods.

Think about it. The features of an older home that determine its architectural character are high-pitched roofs, elaborate dormer windows, bay windows, big front porches, and even Victorian towers. Any of those architectural features would look ridiculous if applied to a carport in a misguided attempt to make it fit into an older neighborhood.

It could turn into a joke. How about a carport with a high-pitched roof and four Victorian towers at each of the four corners?

Following a contentious meeting this past June in which strong opposition was expressed toward carports in residential front yards, the city Planning Commission voted 4-3 to advance the carport-in-front-yards proposal to the Colorado Springs City Council. The hearing is tentatively scheduled for this Tuesday, July 27, 2021.

Allowing carports in front yards will create a number of problems. For almost all carports, no building permit will be required. Building permits are required at 200 square feet or more, but most carports will measure 180 square feet or less.

With no building permit required, there will be no controls over the building of carports. They will start popping up in front yards all over the city – over utility lines, too close to sidewalks, and perhaps too close to a neighbor's property.

Also, with no building permit required, anyone can build one, and there will be no officially required review of structural integrity. With no walls and a wide flat roof, carports become like a kite and, if not structurally sound, will fly up and away and down the street in high winds.

Also homemade carports built of wood will, after a number of years, rot out at ground level and start sagging and falling over. Any longtime homeowner with an untreated wood fence will know what we are talking about.

The proposal approved by only one vote by the Planning Commission acknowledges the unpopularity of carports in front yards in neighborhoods. It specifically allows new neighborhoods with Home Owners Associations (HOAs) to ban carports in front yards – which most of them do.

Is a proposed law fair when it allows new neighborhoods with HOAs to ban carports (for all the obvious reasons) but then turns around and forces carports (with all the obvious deficiencies) into the front yards of the city's older historic neighborhoods?

Actually, the time has come for City Council to give our older historic neighborhoods the same power to determine their neighborhood character that the legal Home Owners Associations (HOAs) in our newer neighborhoods already possess.

Now is the time for you to e-mail your City Council members and tell them what you think of allowing carports in the front yards of older neighborhoods in Colorado Springs. You can reach all nine City council members at once at: allcouncil@coloradosprings.gov

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national political issues.

Colorado Springs Gazette
July 25, 2021

POLICY JAM ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

By Tom Cronin & Bob Loevy

The U.S. Congress meets and votes in the Capitol building atop Capitol Hill, 16 blocks east of the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue in downtown Washington DC. Nowadays, those long blocks are hot, humid, and hard to travel.

Americans understandably turn to presidents and the Congress to help solve major public policy problems. We understandably salute those national leaders who successfully managed and ended wars or economic downturns.

But most public policy making — outside of confronting a crisis — is characterized by its slow and incremental nature. This is true at all levels of government – national, state, and local.

On how many issues can a president and Congress, at one time, provide leadership? Most experts would say a president can provide only some measure of responsible leadership on just a few issues in one four-year term.

Democrats have historically turned to the White House and to Congress, asking their presidents to respond more aggressively to problems than Republican presidents usually do. Democrat Woodrow Wilson fought World War I and unsuccessfully urged the U.S. to join the League of Nations. His successor, Republican Warren G. Harding, was famous for not doing very much.

Republican President Herbert Hoover took limited actions to end the Great Depression of the 1930s. He was followed by Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, who launched a series of government economic programs, called the New Deal, to mitigate the effects of the economic downturn.

Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower was famous for his political moderation and building interstate highways. A little later came along Democrat Lyndon Johnson, who got Congress to enact the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Medicare law to provide medical care for senior citizens, and poverty programs for American cities.

Republican Ronald Reagan liked to say that government is not the answer, it's the problem. But Americans of all persuasions now go with the Democrats and turn to their government for help in solving problems.

A long list of pro-government liberal interests is calling on President Biden and the Congress to provide more national leadership on climate change, voting rights, law-enforcement reform, gun regulation, infrastructure spending, tax reform, regulating monopolies, immigration reform, marijuana legalization, and various anti-hate initiatives.

At the same time, conservative interests are calling for more vigorous national leadership on border security, federal debt reduction initiatives, help for our loyalist friends in Afghanistan, banning "critical race theory" in schools, and for more law enforcement and crackdowns on crime.

In many cases activists claim their particular issue is a national crisis, even an "existential" crisis, to use the increasingly over-used adjective. But even this exceptionally wealthy and blessed nation can only respond to a few

major public-policy problems at a time. What can be done? What should be done? What should get priority?

Imagine yourself right now as a top advisor in the White House or in the office of a U.S. Senator. How would you answer these questions?

• Are we doing enough to respond to the Covid-19 challenge?

• How can we prevent the Afghanistan withdrawal from being a disaster?

• How can we improve the integrity and legitimacy of American elections?

• How do we reduce crime in America?

• What should we do about the "dreamers," young people brought into the country as small children who lack a path to citizenship?

• How much should we spend on human infrastructure programs?

• How do we encourage unity and tolerance among America's multi-racial and diverse regional constituencies?

• How can we jumpstart efforts to prevent a climate change disaster?

• What should we do about China, Cuba, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Russia, the Ukraine, etc.

• How do we encourage more accelerated technical innovations to benefit the U.S. economically?

• How do we respond to cyberattacks?

• Are we adequately preparing for the next pandemic?

• And which of these issues should be addressed first?

Poets and philosophers can meditate on difficult questions. But politicians have to act. They have to mediate and somehow reconcile different aspirations and contending values. They have to figure out how we can enact, afford, and manage programs that might respond to these urgent problems.

Halfway through Joe Biden's first year, there is a policy traffic jam on Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and Congress. Yet many of the most difficult issues require Congress to act together with the White House.

The Senate and House of Representatives have recently been on vacation back in their home states, and they are soon headed for an August recess. But Covid-19 and climate change have definitely not gone on vacation. The list of needed policy actions gets longer by the month — while political trafficking between the White House and Capitol Hill gets slower and more difficult.

Even as we experience a sense of relief and liberation from this horrible pandemic year, we are also worrying that we might have a system overload. Can our balance of power system — president vs. Congress — address all of these problems?

Congress was designed to act deliberately and slowly. Public opinion generally supports moderate, rather than bold, public policy initiatives. At

the same time, we always have high, and perhaps unrealistic, expectations for a new president. And that won't change.

Thinking of those 16 difficult blocks between the White House and the Congress suggests a new version of that old country-Western song, *Sixteen Tons*: "You walk 16 blocks, and what do you get? More frustration, and deeper in debt..."

Our policy problems have become increasingly national and global. And with this has come a nationalization and centralization that was never anticipated when our system was designed. Are we asking too much of government? (Sure.) Will our 18th century constitutional framework be able to improvise and adjust to new challenges? (Maybe.)

These are among the thorny yet important questions to ask about our governing system as it tries to respond to more challenges than it was designed to handle – at least in the short run.

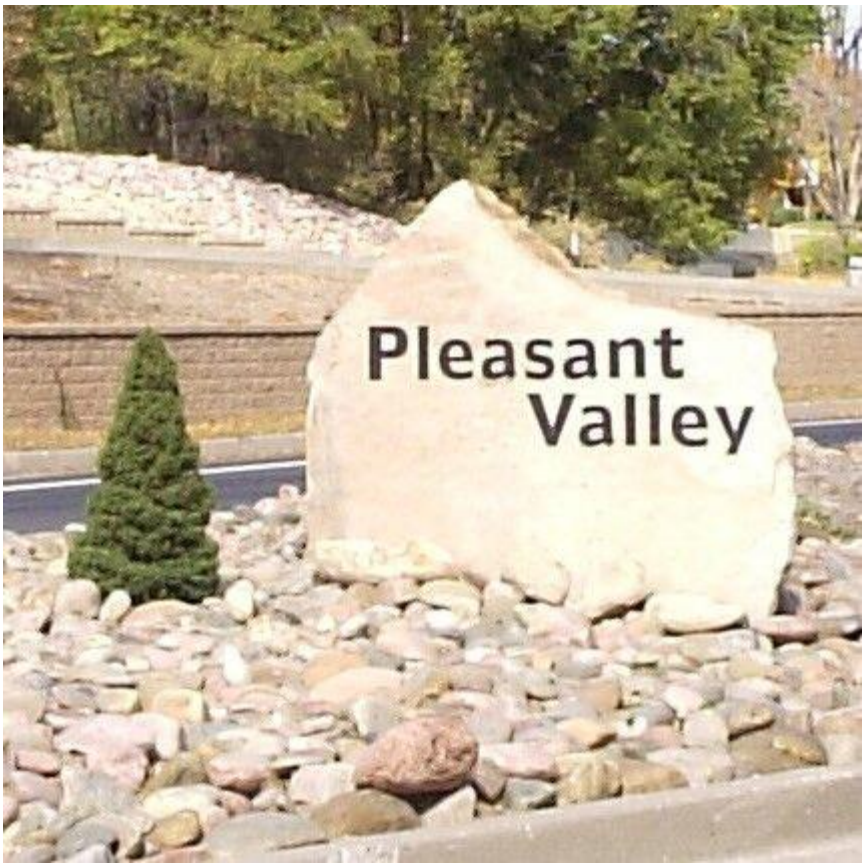
Meanwhile, hooray for those who are trying to get us through the policy jam, trying to reconcile competing values, and trying to make our creaky two-party Madisonian federalist system work. Giving up on politics is not an option. And if we can now regularly send people into outer space — we should be redoubling our efforts to solve our major challenges here on earth.

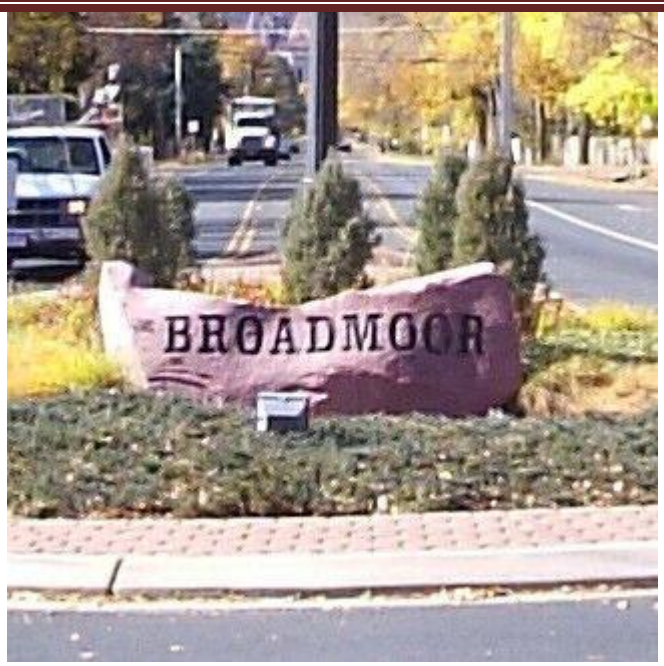
Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy regularly write about Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
August 1, 2021

NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS ADD TO QUALITY OF LIFE: HERE'S HOW

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy





Entryway signs such as these do an excellent job of giving identity to a neighborhood and making a gesture of welcome. They can be placed at the side of the street, in landscaped street medians or in traffic circles. Stone is a popular material for entryway signs because of its durability.

Photos by Bob Loevy

Neighborhood associations — those informal organizations that work to protect and improve our many Colorado Springs neighborhoods — do unappreciated work for the betterment of our city. You know them as the

Old North End Neighborhood, the Broadmoor Improvement Society, the Middle Shooks Run Neighborhood Association, etc.

Here is a look at how successful neighborhood associations in Colorado Springs are organized. It is followed by a list of the things successful neighborhood associations have accomplished to preserve their history and character.

Neighborhoods do not do all of the items suggested here. And some neighborhoods took years to get certain items done.

The trick is to choose carefully for your neighborhood. This is a list of opportunities — not requirements.

1. Recruit a board of directors. It should have a minimum of six members.

2. Elect officers. There should be a president (to serve as chief executive), a treasurer (to collect and disburse funds), a secretary (to keep records), and a person skilled at the internet to serve as newsletter editor.

3. Adopt a simple set of bylaws that state the rules under which the board of directors operates. Get non-profit status from the IRS so that contributions can be deducted from contributors' income tax. Set an appropriate annual contribution to be solicited voluntarily from neighborhood residents.

4. Establish the boundaries of your neighborhood. Make a map that shows the neighborhood's boundaries.

5. Identify the major streets entering the neighborhood and erect entryway signs. The signs can vary in size and number according to neighborhood association finances. Entryway signs can be acquired over a number of years as funds become available. More than anything else, entryway signs will give your neighborhood an identity in the larger community.

6. Adopt unique colors (black-on-white, red-on-blue, etc.) for street-name signs throughout the neighborhood. Put colorful neighborhood identification signs above the street-name signs. Get away from the standard white-on-green street-name signs found throughout our city. The city traffic department has helped neighborhoods do this.

7. Arrange for the colored street-name signs and the neighborhood identification signs to be installed by the city traffic department at traffic-signal intersections within the neighborhood.

8. Make a list of appropriate projects to initiate in your neighborhood. Fix up the local school grounds and playground. Close a street to get land for a small park. Build a gazebo in an existing park. Plant trees to landscape the local shopping center.

Mow the grass and clean up the trash on empty lots. Build sound barriers between noisy commercial activities and residential areas. Raise the funds to replace modern streetlights with historic-looking streetlights.

Secure a traffic-signal to protect neighborhood children walking to school. Plant trees in the grassy medians of major streets. Such projects have been accomplished by local neighborhood associations.

9. Write a history of the neighborhood illustrated with photographs. Add an essay on the architectural styles prevalent in the neighborhood, also with photographs. A number of Colorado Springs neighborhoods have published photograph-filled books on their history and architecture.

10. Become a National Register Historic District if most of the buildings in the neighborhood are more than 50-years old. History Colorado in Denver will help with this process. Also, if historically qualified, apply to the city government for historic overlay zoning that will set historical design standards for remodeling or new construction in the neighborhood.

11. Invent appropriate social and civic events for the neighborhood. There could be a September outdoor cocktail party, an annual meeting to discuss neighborhood issues, a neighborhood town hall hosting the mayor or the police chief or a City Council member, a bicycle parade for the Fourth of July, a costume parade at Halloween, a cookie exchange at the December holidays.

12. Study traffic patterns in the neighborhood and develop a traffic mitigation plan. Urge the city traffic department to paint bike lanes on neighborhood streets where appropriate. Consider traffic calming programs such as closing streets (into cul-de-sacs) or installing traffic circles (roundabouts) at minor intersections. Urge the city government to enforce noise ordinances to reduce vehicle noise in the neighborhood.

13. Oppose urban design changes or rezoning proposals that will harm the character of the neighborhood. Be wary of zone variances that attempt to slip multi-family and commercial uses into single-family neighborhoods.

14. Research, design, adopt, and begin to implement a neighborhood master plan. Look over the many programs and ideas presented here and choose the ones that will be most useful in your neighborhood. Weave them together into a series of projects that can be progressively completed over future years.

You can borrow ideas from neighborhoods that already have master plans, such as the Old North End and Ivywild. Neighborhood master plans can be found on the internet at coloradosprings.gov. The city government will provide help and counseling with your neighborhood's master plan process.

Neighborhood associations at their best transform the way residents feel about their homes and neighborhood. If the residents come to think of their homes as significant and special, they will take good care of their property.

If they come to think of their neighborhood as stable and supportive, they will want to work with their neighbors to improve it.

Colorado Springs lately has been showing up near the top of various lists of great cities to live in, work in, and retire in. Our neighborhood associations deserve credit for their contribution to our high quality of life.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write on national and Colorado politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
August 15, 2021

KEEP 'COMPETITIVE DISTRICTS' FOR 10 MORE YEARS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

El Paso County County Commissioner Carrie Geitner testifies this month at a meeting of the state's independent congressional redistricting commission at UCCS.

Photo by Jerilee Bennett, The Gazette

Ten years ago — in 2011 — both houses of the Colorado state legislature were redistricted by a state redistricting commission. Thanks to Mario Carrera, the chairman of that commission, the theme of the 2011 redistricting was "create lots of competitive districts."

Competitive districts can be won by either the Democratic or the Republican candidate for the state legislature. Competitive districts contrast with "safe Democratic" districts, which are always won by the Democratic candidate, and "safe Republican" districts, which are always won by the Republican.

The ages-old art of gerrymandering, which is drawing legislative district boundary lines to favor one political party over the other, is what creates "safe Democratic" and "safe Republican" districts.

The logic behind competitive districts is simple. If most of the legislative districts are competitive, and can be won by either political party, then party control of the state legislature will shift back and forth in response to how the public is voting.

With competitive districts, when Democrats are winning the votes, Democrats will be winning majority control of the state Senate and the state House of Representatives. When the Republicans are getting the most votes, however, the Republican Party will be gaining majority control of the state Senate and state House.

Here is the question. How did competitive seats as a redistricting theme work out in Colorado state legislative elections over the past decade from 2012 to 2020? Did party control of the two houses of the state legislature shift when the voting shifted?

Our answer, after studying the legislature over the past ten years, is that competitive districts worked well. The Democrats gained state legislators in election years that favored the Democrats. The Republicans gained when the voters favored their political party.

There is general agreement that the Colorado electorate shifted toward the Democrats throughout the decade of elections from 2012 to 2020. The Trump presidency was generally unpopular in Colorado at the end of the decade. The Colorado House of Representatives strongly showed this shift.

The Democrats gained four house seats over the ten years, going from 37 to 41 seats at the end.

Adding strength to this pro-Democratic voting shift throughout the decade was the vote-getting ability of Democratic gubernatorial candidate Jared Polis, who swept to a landslide victory in the 2018 general election.

Thirty-three seats are required to be the majority party in the 65-member Colorado House of Representatives, so the Democrats, always

with 34 seats or more, had majority control of the House for all the elections from 2012 to 2020. Thus the 2011 redistricting produced a House of Representatives that reflected the generally Democratic mood of the state electorate throughout the decade.

The Colorado state Senate is half the size of the House (35 members compared to 65). The Senate gain for the Democrats over the decade was only one seat, one-quarter of the four seats gained in the House. The state Senate elections reflected the decade long shift to the Democrats, although the Senate shift, as might be expected, was smaller than the House shift.

But the Republicans were not complete losers over the past decade of using competitive seats. Their year to shine was 2014, which was the sixth year of the Barack Obama presidency. Sixth-year elections almost always favor the party not in the White House, and in 2014 that was the Republicans. The GOP won three additional seats in the House in 2014, and two additional seats in the state Senate. At the same time, the Republicans were electing a U.S. Senator — Cory Gardner.

Colorado's incumbent governor, John Hickenlooper, was running for reelection in 2014. He won over his Republican opponent, Bob Beauprez, but by a much narrower margin than predicted. Hickenlooper's lackluster showing, in a narrow victory, was another sign that 2014 was a Republican year in Colorado.

Which means the competitive seats redistricting of 2011 worked. The year 2014 was a Republican year, and the Republicans made gains in both houses of the Colorado state legislature and made a race of it for the governorship.

That two-seat Republican gain in the state Senate in 2014 does not look too impressive until you realize that just those two seats shifted control of the state Senate from the Democrats to the Republicans (18 Republicans to 17 Democrats).

That gave the Republicans the incentive to stick together, vote as a bloc, and veto any Democratic Party hopes of enacting expensive social welfare and environmental programs.

It is one of the truths of Colorado legislative politics that the Democrats, as the more activist and big spending of the two major parties, have to win control of both houses of the state legislature to pass their programs. The Republicans, however, with their more passive and antigovernment ideals, need only control one house of the state legislature, even just by one vote, to deny the Democrats their liberal dreams.

Two years later, in the 2016 presidential election, Democrat Hillary Clinton carried Colorado over Republican Donald Trump, but not by an impressive margin. The Republicans succeeded in preserving their one-vote control of the state Senate (18 R to 17 D). The Republicans thus

had two more years of keeping a halter on the Democrats' exuberant legislative programs.

We conclude that competitive districts worked accurately and for both political parties during the decade of elections from 2012 through 2020. It was a generally Democratic decade, and the Democrats gained legislators steadily throughout the decade. The Republicans, however, had a big year in 2014 and an OK year in 2016, thus awarding them four years of control of the Colorado state Senate.

Because competitive seats worked well as the redistricting theme ten years ago, we think it should continue as the theme underlying the redistricting of the state legislature taking place right now.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
August 22, 2021

REMEMBERING GOVERNOR DICK LAMM

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

DICK LAMM

Dick Lamm was the most popular and most controversial governor in modern Colorado political history.

He was stubborn, outspoken, and also the most published governor in Colorado history. He loved to read, write and argue about public policy issues. He was blessed in having an attractive and vivacious spouse who shared his passion for policy and public life.

He passed away in late July, a week before he would have turned 86. Memorial services will be held to celebrate his life and service at 3:30 p.m. Aug. 31 at Wings Over the Rockies Museum, in Denver's Lowry neighborhood, 7711 E. Academy Blvd. The services will be streamed on Denver's CBS 4 television station.

We remember him as a very bright and dedicated person who loved politics and liked the give and take of trying to put political coalitions together. He espoused contrarian positions yet he seldom bore grudges or engaged in petty personal disputes. He had a special way of making his views known and being amicable with those who disagreed.

He was also willing to admit his mistakes — at least some of the time. He was noted, too, for mentoring large numbers of younger people to engage in political life. He did that even as he grew increasingly frustrated with what he considered to be a dysfunctional two-party system in America.

Richard Douglas Lamm began his public service career in Colorado by coming to Fort Carson in Colorado Springs 64 years ago, in 1957, as a young Army officer. He fell in love with Colorado and its mountains. He would in subsequent years climb nearly all our fourteeners (14,000-feet-high mountains), kayak in most of our rivers, and ski at most of our destination ski resorts. He was also a vigorous cross-country skier and runner.

His four-decade career in Colorado and national politics was remarkable. He was a representative in the state Legislature from south Denver during the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon presidencies. He began running for governor in 1974 when President Nixon was struggling with his Watergate scandal. Lamm served as governor while President Gerald Ford and President Jimmy Carter were in the White House and through three-quarters of the Ronald Reagan presidency.

Lamm served three terms (12 years) as Colorado governor. He ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination to be Colorado's U.S. senator in 1992. Then, in quite a political surprise, he ran for Ross Perot's Reform Party nomination for president in 1996. That effort was upended when Perot decided at the last moment to run for the Reform Party nomination.

For the record, Lamm won about 35% of the vote against Perot in the 1996 Reform Party presidential primary. Perot was subsequently defeated for president by Democrat Bill Clinton in the general election in the fall.

Lamm graduated with a degree in accounting from the University of Wisconsin. He later earned a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1962, he returned to Denver as an accountant and young lawyer. Like a lot of young lawyers, he got involved in various causes. He migrated to electoral politics before he was 30-years-old.

He loved being a state legislator and became well-known as a crusading advocate for abortion rights, women' rights, and "limits to growth" environmentalism.

Lamm was elected governor of Colorado in 1974 at 39. It was a good election year for Democrats, in Colorado and across the nation. Because of

the Watergate scandal, President Nixon had been forced to resign in August. Nixon's misbehavior weakened Republican candidates nationwide.

It was the same year Democrat Gary Hart won his first race for the U.S. Senate from Colorado and Tim Wirth won an upset victory to become a young member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the Boulder area.

Lamm had been a leader in the fight to prevent the 1976 Winter Olympics from being held in Colorado. He argued that most people did not want to use public finances to subsidize the always costly Olympics. He contended, too, that the construction and growth involved would turn Denver into another Los Angeles.

This made him popular with many people and controversial with many others. Lamm enjoyed being controversial and was an early and regular advocate for sustainability, population limits, and a less consumptive society. His views were similar to those of the Earth First Movement and inspirational environmentalists such as Edward Abbey and Aldo Leopold.

Lamm won his first gubernatorial election in 1974 with 53.2% of the vote in what was then considered a pretty Republican state. During most of his 12 years as governor, both houses of the Colorado state Legislature were firmly under the control of opposition party Republicans. Lamm regularly battled with the Republican state legislature on issues such as opposing oil shale development on Colorado's Western Slope.

He was an early advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which expanded rights for women. It was passed in Colorado and by Congress but failed to win the support of three-fourths of the state legislatures. He also made waves by supporting physician-assisted suicide,

long before that idea became widely supported. He further stirred the pot by arguing that we were wasting too much of our health funds on keeping older people alive for a few more months rather than investing more in preventive health care for younger people.

Despite supporting these causes, Lamm's electoral popularity went up rather than down. He won reelection as governor in 1978 with 58.7% of the vote. He won his third race for governor in 1982, now in the Ronald Reagan presidential era, by a remarkable 65.7%.

He was still popular in 1987 when he voluntarily exited the Colorado governorship. He had a good shot at winning a fourth term as governor if he had wanted to run.

Lamm liked being a teacher and a maverick. He did not mind upsetting Democrats by opposing immigration and supporting tighter controls at the U.S./Mexico border. He railed against the wasteful medical care system in the United States and worried about the rapidly rising costs of entitlement programs.

Lamm's political philosophy was a complicated blend of liberalism, populism, environmentalism, nationalism, and even libertarianism. His accounting background encouraged his frequently saying: "We are living on borrowed time and on borrowed money." He became more conservative on at least a few issues the longer he was in office, and even more of a curmudgeonly Cassandra in later years.

He was also a crusader for preserving the vulnerable American West from exploitive oil shale developments. Lamm gave increasingly dire warnings

about how large-scale U.S. energy projects would threaten the natural beauty of Colorado.

He loved talking about hard public choices: “Our streams must support fish and wildlife, agriculture and industry. It is going to require a good deal of creative planning to bring about balance and harmony.”

Critics accused Lamm of being unnecessarily gloomy, but he would reply he was just being a realist. He worried about a Colorado that might end up with 10 million people living in it (we are well on our way at 6). He worried that too many state and U.S. government programs were misguided.

He liked the slogan: “Beware of solutions which are appropriate to the past but disastrous to the future.”

Lamm loved talking with people of all political viewpoints about how Colorado could do a better job of planning and responding to its economic and environmental challenges.

We remember a maturing Lamm who yearned to stay active in political life yet found the two-party system inadequate for new challenges. He openly criticized his Democratic Party for being too influenced by trial lawyers and labor unions. He was distressed by the relentlessly pro-growth and right-wing moneyed interests that influenced the Republican Party. He regularly talked with us and other friends about the dysfunctional aspects of the political and economic systems in the United States.

Most books that Lamm wrote were about public policy challenges such as the health care system, population growth, immigration, and threats to the

environment. But his most revealing book was a novel titled "1988" cowritten with his longtime friend Arnie Grossman.

Their protagonist is a conservative Texas Democratic governor who decides to run for the U.S. presidency as an Independent. This governor has grown impatient with the special interests in the Democratic Party. He believes he could forge a middle, more moderate and sensible path between the major political parties.

One campaign issue was that he would upgrade border security (sound familiar?) and limit the flow of undocumented workers into the U.S.

Lamm and Grossman were writing in the mid-1980s. This novel, in a number of ways, presciently anticipated the maverick Ross Perot presidential campaigns of 1992 and 1996. It also foresaw elements in the campaigns of Republican Donald Trump for the U.S. presidency in 2016 and 2020. The novel also helps explain Lamm's falling out with the Colorado Democratic Party and joining Ross Perot's Reform Party in the 1990s.

Lamm liked his role as a catalyst and provocateur. He liked solving problems and getting Coloradans to think sensibly about the future. Many of those who disliked his policy choices nonetheless admired him for being honest, forthright, and "telling it like it is," at least from his viewpoint.

Lamm was gracious, engaging, and blessed with a good sense of humor. He loved Colorado, being in public life, and teaching. His was, as his family and so many friends have said, a memorable life memorably lived.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write regularly about Colorado and national politics.

Colorado Springs Gazette
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TWO TYPES OF NEIGHBORHOODS IN COLORADO SPRINGS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

This historic older home is in single-family zoning on N. Tejon Street north of Colorado College. This home is vulnerable to changes mandated by city government, such as allowing apartments in single-family zoned areas. If this home was in a newer neighborhood organized as an HOA, the HOA's own rules could keep the apartments out of the neighborhood.

Courtesy of Bob Loevy

You cannot comprehend neighborhood politics in Colorado Springs until you realize that our town has two distinctly different types of neighborhoods.

The first type is neighborhoods that have an HOA — a Home Owner's Association — that determines the design and development of the neighborhood and enforces appropriate rules and regulations. Neighborhoods organized as HOAs tend to be in the newer sections of the city, although some HOAs are decades old. In many instances, the HOA was created by the original developer and builder of the community.

The second type of neighborhood is the older well-established residential areas surrounding downtown Colorado Springs and a bit further out. Their look and character is determined and preserved mainly by city laws, such as zoning regulations and subdivision requirements. We call them "city-government-ruled" neighborhoods.

Let's start with residential neighborhoods that are organized as HOAs. They are found mainly on the outskirts but within the city limits of Colorado Springs. They principally exist in our city's newest residential areas, although some housing developments with HOAs have been around for years and are not all that far from our city center.

Neighborhoods with HOAs tend to be upscale economically. The HOA dominated part of our city is large and takes in a lot of territory and a lot of people. As of 2015, some typical HOAs in Colorado Springs were Peregrin, Villa de Mesa, Broadmoor Bluffs, Mid Palmer Park Boulevard, Village Seven, and Pulpit Rock Park.

There is great variety in HOA neighborhoods. Some are populous, have plenty of money, and are run efficiently. Others may be having trouble keeping the interest of their residents and maintaining the flower beds. But by and large, all HOA neighborhoods have an identity and are governed by a board of directors that looks out for the neighborhood's best interests.

If you buy a home in a neighborhood with an HOA, you have no choice but to be a member of the HOA. You will pay compulsory dues to support the various operations of the HOA, such as shoveling snow or maintaining the streetlights. In some cases, the services of the HOA could be really first rate and really expensive, such as a swimming pool, tennis courts, a children's playground, an exercise center, or miles of biker-hiker trails.

Most important, your home in an HOA will come with rules and covenants. These are regulations that set such things as lot sizes, front-yard setbacks, single-family requirements, and limits on commercial development. In some HOAs, rules and covenants can be unusually detailed and strictly enforced, such as what color to repaint your house, where on your lot you can park your car, and keeping your lawn mowed and the leaves raked.

A major benefit of buying a home in an HOA neighborhood is that the HOA board of directors will work to keep the neighborhood attractive to look at and with a high quality of life.

As previously noted, there is great variety in HOAs. But most have this in common. They are likely to have their own rules requiring single-family occupancy, forbidding front-yard carports, and outlawing a resident operating a noisy commercial woodworking shop in a three-car garage.

Residents of HOAs do not need to worry when the city government starts talking about legalizing apartments in single-family zones or allowing residents to build and operate mini-hotels (Airbnbs) in their backyards. Most HOAs have their own rules and regulations to see that those things do not happen in the neighborhood.

That brings us to the second type of neighborhood in Colorado Springs — the "city-government-ruled" neighborhoods. This second type is composed of our older neighborhoods mainly located in a large expanded circle around downtown. You know them as such places as the Mesa, Colorado Springs Country Club neighborhood, Mesa Springs, Patty Jewett, Middle Shooks Run, Divine Redeemer, Hillside, Ivywild, etc.

These more center-city neighborhoods get their appearance and character, not from an HOA document, but from zoning and subdivision laws enacted by the city government of Colorado Springs. In addition, dedicated residents voluntarily work to preserve and enhance the unique character of the neighborhood.

Some of these city-government-ruled neighborhoods are among the oldest in our community, such as the Near North End north of downtown or the Old North End north of Colorado College. Others, however, such as Pleasant Valley and Bonnyville, were built immediately after World War II and have a somewhat modern look to their housing.

The look and feel of these neighborhoods is mainly determined by zoning laws. The homes have survived, in some cases for more than a century, because of city enforcement of single-family and two-family zoning. The Old North End in particular has resisted apartment projects and commercial

intrusions by repeatedly and vehemently lobbying the Colorado Springs city government to strictly enforce single-family and two-family zoning.

For years zoning worked well as the principal tool for preserving our older well-established neighborhoods. In the past two years, however, the stability and historic preservation of these neighborhoods has been threatened by serious proposals to put apartments into single-family and two-family neighborhoods. There also have been actions to allow more commercial operations, such as Airbnbs, in what are primarily residential areas.

Is this fair? Colorado Springs has one group of neighborhoods, HOAs, which can enforce their own rules for preserving the neighborhood look and character. On the other hand, the city-government-ruled neighborhoods lack such powers to determine their own fates. Their future is at the mercy of city government.

We believe it is important that the city government does not use its zoning and regulatory power to adversely affect the historic and unique character of these older center-city neighborhoods. The first rule of governance, as in medicine, is to do no harm.

We do not see HOA neighborhoods and city-government-ruled neighborhoods competing with each other. They are simply two different ways the city government handles problems of neighborhood stability and historic preservation. Older more historic neighborhoods, however, gaze with envy at the greater powers HOAs have to preserve their character and quality of life.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national political issues.

Colorado Springs Gazette
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WHAT NEW CENSUS DATA TELLS US ABOUT COLORADO

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The 2020 U.S. Census population figures, delayed by Coronavirus, were posted last month. With the latest figures loaded into our personal computers, here are our further calculations on what the figures mean.

Denver and El Paso County. When it comes to population, the two top dogs in Colorado remain Denver and El Paso County. Keep in mind that two-thirds of the people in El Paso County live in the city of Colorado Springs. Denver and El Paso County were the only two counties in the state to add more than 100,000 persons each from 2010 to 2020. Denver added 115,364 and El Paso County expanded by 108,132.

We calculated each county's percentage of the total population of Colorado for 2020. Denver was 12.4 percent of Colorado and El Paso County was 12.7 percent. Those figures combine to 25.1 percent. That means one out of every four Coloradans live in either Denver or El Paso County.

We also calculated each county's percentage of the population growth in Colorado from 2010 to 2020. For the record, 744,518 folks arrived in the state (by birth or transit) in that decade. Denver's percentage of the state's newcomers was 15.5 percent and El Paso County's was 14.5 percent. Those

two figures add up to an even 30 percent, and that means almost one in three new Coloradans settled in Denver or El Paso County.

The Colorado economy is fortunate that the state's two major urban centers – Denver and El Paso County – are attracting new citizens and thus continuing to grow in population. There are many other places where the central cities are static or losing population and thus have gloomy future prospects.

Denver Metropolitan Area. The seven county Denver Metropolitan Area grew its population substantially from 2010 to 2020. There were 451,694 new arrivals in Denver Metro, which means it now contains 56 percent of the population of Colorado. More important, Denver Metro took in 60.7 percent of the state's incoming population from 2010 to 2020.

In many ways Colorado is the "city-state" of Denver. That's the idea that much of what happens of importance in Colorado occurs in the Denver Metropolitan Area, from being the location of the state' professional sports teams to Denver International Airport (DIA) to leading regional museums and other arts facilities. Denver Metro is population rich and growing and should continue to do so.

The Front Range. The U.S. population is grouping into long population corridors, such as Boston to Washington on the East Coast and Miami to Jacksonville on the Atlantic Coast of Florida. Colorado's population corridor is the Front Range, that more or less continuous city from Pueblo on the south through Colorado Springs and Denver to Fort Collins and Greeley at the north.

It parallels the north-south "front range" of the Rocky Mountains. Interstate-25 is its main highway.

A grand total of 705,877 persons, almost three-fourths of a million, moved into the Front Range of Colorado over the past decade. In 2010, 82.3 percent of Coloradans lived on the Front Range. By 2020 that figure had grown 1.7 points to 84 percent. More startling, 94.8 percent of the population growth in Colorado occurred on the Front Range in 2010-2020. By 2030 about 86 percent of Coloradans will live on the Front Range.

Why not? You get the benefits of living in a well-equipped and economically healthy population corridor with some of the best Rocky Mountain recreation areas just a short drive away.

Ski Counties. Coloradans are fascinated by the counties with major ski resorts high up in the Rocky Mountains. Places such as Aspen (Pitkin County) and Vail (Eagle County) have attracted some of the best educated and wealthiest people in the state. These counties are growing in population but with none of the robustness seen on the Front Range.

We note that the wealthier ski resorts attract many homeowners, probably numbering in the thousands, who have put up second or third homes in these areas but are not counted by the census as living at that location.

From 2010 to 2020 only 16,054 persons made the Ski Counties their new home. They held 4.3 percent of the state's population in 2010 but, despite the population numbers going up, the Ski Counties were only 4.0 percent of Colorado in 2020. They were outpaced by the rapid population

growth on the Front Range, a problem throughout all of the more rural parts of Colorado.

The Ski Counties attracted only 2.2 percent of Colorado newcomers during the past decade.

Western Slope minus the Ski Counties. There are ten counties west of the Continental Divide that have no ski areas, but they grew at about the same pace as the Ski Counties. The fastest growing county on the Western Slope was Mesa County, which contains the city of Grand Junction. Mesa County added 8,980 residents from 2010 to 2020.

Another growing county on the Western Slope was Garfield County, which has the city of Glenwood Springs with its popular hot springs pool. Garfield County grew by 5,296 persons over the past decade.

The Western Slope minus the Ski Counties attracted 2.3 percent of Colorado's newly arriving residents in the 2010-2020 time period.

Eastern Plains. East of the Rocky Mountains and the Front Range sit the Eastern Plains of Colorado. Thanks to a combination of dry farming, irrigation, and cattle ranching, this is one of the most productive agricultural regions of the state. The population was static from 2010 to 2020, with some counties gaining (Morgan County: plus 952) and other counties losing (Kit Carson County: minus 1,183).

The final figure for this large region, the eastern one-third of the state, was a gain of only 68 persons. The Eastern Plains were 3.2 percent of Colorado's population in 2010 but dropped to 2.8 percent in 2020.

Southern Colorado. The oldest city in Colorado, San Luis, is located in Southern Colorado. This historic region is famous for its Hispanic

population. The San Luis Valley is an important agricultural area in the region.

Southern Colorado lost population from 2010 to 2020 to the tune of 762 fewer citizens. It dropped from 1.4 percent of Colorado's population to 1.2 percent.

Eastern Mountains. We think of these as the somewhat unnoticed counties of Colorado. They have gorgeous mountain scenery, but because they are on the eastern side of the Continental Divide, they attract much less attention than the Western Slope. This Eastern Mountains region includes Custer County (county seat – Westcliff), Fremont County (Canon City), Chaffee County (Salida), Lake County (Leadville), Park County (Fairplay), Clear Creek County (Georgetown), Gilpin County (Central City), and Jackson County (Walden).

Only 6,202 people moved into the Eastern Mountains from 2010 to 2020. That was only .8 percent of all the newcomers to Colorado for 2010-2020. The region's percentage of the entire Colorado population dropped from 2.2 to 2.0 percent.

The 2020 Census confirmed that population growth in Colorado is strong but confined mainly to that narrow strip of highly populated land known as the Front Range. Elsewhere in the state, population growth is likely to be moderate or non-existent.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics.

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MORE OF WHAT THE NEW CENSUS DATA TELLS US ABOUT COLORADO

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Colorado is a state filled with well-educated residents who are able to turn their formal knowledge into solid incomes.

Where in Colorado will we find most of these high-education and high-income Coloradans? Two places. The Denver metropolitan area and the ski counties way up in the Rocky Mountains.

Better late than never, the 2020 U.S. Census figures, delayed by the coronavirus pandemic, affirm that Colorado remains the state with the second highest percentage of college and university bachelor's degrees (or higher) in the nation. Colorado's 40.9% is topped only by Massachusetts's 43.7%.

Maryland is in third place in the percentage of bachelor's degrees sweepstakes at 40.2%. New Jersey is fourth with 39.7%.

With 40.9% of its residents with bachelor's degrees, Colorado is 8.8 points higher than the figure for the United States of 32.1 percent.

Those college educations have turned into reasonably high salaries and solid investment earnings for many Coloradans. Our state ranked eleventh of the 50 states with a median household income of $72,331. Ten states that ranked higher than Colorado were either on the East Coast (Virginia, Maryland,

New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire) or on the West Coast region (California, Washington state, Alaska, and Hawaii).

Or look at it this way. In "inland" America, that great mass of states between the East Coast and the West Coast states, Colorado's median household income of $72,331 was the highest. We were higher than such populous mid-nation states as Ohio ($56,602), Michigan ($57,144), Illinois ($65,886), and even Texas ($61,874)). All of these states have larger and better-known public universities than Colorado.

At a median household income of $72, 331, Colorado household incomes were $9,488 higher than the United States median household income of $62,843.

It is interesting to note that El Paso County, including the city of Colorado Springs, has a median household income of $68,779. That is just below the Colorado figure of $72,331. At the same time, El Paso County has a bachelor's degree percentage of 38.5%. Here again, that is just below the Colorado figure of 40.9%."

But bachelor's degrees and high household incomes are not evenly distributed throughout Colorado. They are particularly concentrated in the Denver Metropolitan area and in counties containing nationally famous ski resorts.

The highest-ranking Colorado county for bachelor's degrees is Boulder County, at 62.1%. That makes sense because Boulder County is home to the state's flagship university. Boulder County also is in the Denver metropolitan Area.

But look which county is in second place in Colorado in terms of percentage of bachelor's degrees. It is Pitkin County, which contains the cities of Aspen and Snowmass and their various skiing facilities. In skiing-centered Pitkin County, 60.8% of the residents have a diploma from a college or university. Many of the tourist industry "help" in Pitkin County, however, have to live "down valley" in neighboring counties.

The top nine counties for bachelor's degrees in Colorado alternate between the ski counties and Denver metro. In third place is San Miguel County (county seat — Telluride) with the Telluride ski area at 59.4%.

In fourth place is Douglas County (county seat — Castle Rock) in Denver metro at 58%.

And so it goes. For fifth place, it is up into the Rocky Mountains for Gunnison County (county seat – Gunnison) with the Crested Butte ski area at 56.2% with bachelor's degrees. For sixth place, it is back down to Denver metro with Broomfield County (county seat — Broomfield) at 55.7%.

Next come two more ski counties. In seventh place is Summit County (county seat — Breckinridge) with Breckinridge and other assorted ski areas at 52.4%. In eighth place is Routt County (county seat — Steamboat Springs) with the Steamboat ski area at 49.8%.

Ninth highest in the percentage of bachelor's degrees rankings in Colorado is Denver, the center city of the Denver metropolitan area, at 49.4%. As a major urban center, Denver contains a variety of residents with wide and varying amounts of higher education. High levels of education on the part of some Denverites help to raise the Denver figure to a reasonably high level.

Completing the Denver metropolitan area are Jefferson County (county seat – Golden) at 45.2% and Arapahoe County (county seat – Littleton) at 42.8%. Another important ski county is Eagle County (county seat — Eagle) with the Vail ski area at 47.2%.

If you want to demonstrate that a college or university education results in a higher income, Colorado makes a good case. Of the ten Colorado counties with the highest percentage of bachelor's degrees, six ranked in the top ten for median household income.

Three of the six counties were in the Denver metropolitan area: Douglas County (Castle Rock) — $119,730; Broomfield County (Broomfield) — $96,416; and Boulder County (Boulder) — $83,019. The other three counties were Rocky Mountain ski counties: Summit County (Breckinridge) — $79,277; Pitkin County (Aspen) — $78,935; and Routt County (Steamboat) — $77,443.

Other counties in the top ten for income, but not in the top ten for bachelor's degrees, were Jefferson and Arapahoe from Denver metro and Eagle from ski country. Jefferson County (Golden) had a median household income of $82,986. Arapahoe County (Littleton) registered at $77,469. Eagle County registered at $84,790.

To get a view of how Denver metro and the ski counties compare to the remainder of Colorado, we listed the bachelor's degree percentages and median household income figures by Colorado regions, ranked by bachelor's degrees:

Denver Metro; 49%, $82,986.

Western Slope/Ski Resorts; 49%, $69,942.

Front Range; 44%, $73,016.

Front Range/Not Denver Metro (Larimer, Weld, El Paso, Teller, and Pueblo counties); 37.7%, $68,779.

Eastern Mountains; 32%, $54,536.

Western Slope/No Skiing; 26.7%, $53,289

Southern Colorado; 21.6%, $38,354.

Eastern Plains;19%, $48,304.

Because it is ranked #2 for percentage of bachelor's degrees and #11 for median household income (of 50 states), Colorado residents should be aware of their state's blessings. We have more trained brain power and more spending ability than most places in the United States. It is significant that our magnificent ski areas, in particular, are attracting well-educated and well-financed new residents.

What is often called the Colorado "paradox" should be mentioned. This refers to the reality that Colorado taxpayers invest much less than most other states in their public higher education system. Yet we wind up with the second highest percentage of college and university graduates. This happens probably because as many as one-third of these college-educated Coloradans are imported from other states and, in some cases, from other countries. We are still a state of immigrants.

Colorado is lucky in this regard, yet it is a poor excuse for underfunding our fine state institutions of higher learning.

The 2020 Census calls us to make more of what we already are in education and to share our comparatively high incomes throughout our state.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. To check census data for your county and others, go to Google, then type or say "2020 Census Quick Facts County Name County, Colorado."

Colorado Springs Gazette

September 19, 2021

WHERE ARE THE LOBBYISTS FOR "COMPETITIVE DISTRICTS?"

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Colorado redistricting commissioners, from left, Carlos Perez, Blanca O'Leary and Jolie Brawner, with more commissioners who joined remotely, discuss suggested changes to the preliminary draft maps with members from the public.

Evan Wyloge, The Gazette

When it comes to redistricting Colorado's state legislature and eight seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, we know the following:

The Democrats have hired lobbyists, paid political professionals, to work to shape the redistricting to favor the Democratic Party. The Democratic lobbyists are being paid with "dark money," contributed by unknown persons, who want the Democrats to dominate future state legislatures and future Colorado delegations to the U.S. House of Representatives.

We know, too, the Republican Party has hired its own lobbyists, paid political professionals, to endeavor to mold the redistricting to favor the Republican Party. Similar to the Democrats, the Republican lobbyists are being remunerated with "dark money," contributed by mystery donors, who want the Republicans to hold future sway over the state legislature and elect future Colorado members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Here's what is troubling. We have yet to hear any news about high-powered lobbyists, paid for by either unknown "dark money" or publicly revealed "light money," working for the adoption of "competitive districts" in Colorado. More "competitive districts" would help to end political party gerrymandering and put the state legislature and Colorado's eight U.S. Representatives under the control of voters in state general elections.

It is distressing. Whether intentional or not, the news about redistricting is focused lately on the two major political parties wrangling over who is filing appropriate lobbying documents and thereby being properly transparent.

We would prefer the focus was on creating a maximum number of "competitive districts" so that the voters, and not the political parties, are in

control of the partisan makeup of the state legislature and the Colorado delegation to the U.S. House.

The situation is emblematic of a larger problem in U.S. politics. Special interests, such as the two major political parties, are represented by paid professional lobbyists. The general electorate, however, which would profit from "competitive districts," appears to be represented only by unpaid volunteers.

We do not object to the political parties legally lobbying the two state redistricting commissions. Although political party spokespersons will rarely admit it publicly, the parties want more "safe seats" for their party. Those are legislative districts or congressional districts drawn with so many party members in them that the district always votes for that party, no matter how the overall vote is going statewide.

Above all, the political parties must keep an eye out to make certain the other political party does not, through the redistricting process, gain a marked advantage in "safe seats." That can give the other political party majority control of the state legislature or the state delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives, despite how voters are voting.

Hence both political parties need to have lobbyists watching to make certain the other political party does not gain an unfair advantage through biased redistricting.

The Democrats are lobbying for favorable redistricting through a non-profit group known as Fair Lines Colorado. The Republican lobby organization is named the Colorado Neighborhood Coalition.

Both Fair Lines Colorado, the Democratic lobby group, and the Colorado Neighborhood Coalition, the Republican lobby group, are registered as 501(c)(4) nonprofits and do not have to reveal the names of their contributors. That is what leads to the accusation they are controlled by "dark money."

Redistricting is the process by which voting districts are created for the Colorado state legislature and Colorado's eight-person delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives. The process is initiated every ten years following the development of new population figures by the U.S. Census.

In 2018 Colorado voters approved creating two separate commissions to draw the new voting maps — one commission for the two houses of the Colorado state legislature and the other for the state delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.

In our view, which favors the politics of moderation, the major task of both commissions, the state legislative commission and the congressional commission, is to reduce the number of safe Democratic and safe Republican districts and create as many "competitive districts," or "swing districts," as possible.

The important characteristic of "competitive districts" is that, from one election to the other, they swing back and forth between one political party or the other. This allows the voters, and not how the district lines are drawn, to decide the winner.

We hope the political hullaballoo over lobbying ethics charges will not distract the two redistricting commissions from keeping sharply focused on their main job. That job is creating as many "competitive districts" as

possible so that voters, not the political parties, control the outcome of Colorado legislative and congressional elections.

Bob Loevy and Tom Cronin write about Colorado and national issues. Bob Loevy served on the 2010 Colorado Redistricting Commission for the Colorado legislature.

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RURAL COUNTIES REVEAL INEQUALITY IN COLORADO

By Tom Cronin & Bob Loevy

R&R Market in San Luis is the oldest continuously operated business in Colorado. Southern Colorado is also the part of the state with counties that have the highest percentages of poverty in Colorado.

Photo by Colorado Preservation

Colorado is among the dozen wealthier states, according to U.S. Census indicators. But this masks the fact that our wealthy counties, about a dozen,

are concentrated in Denver's upscale suburbs and in Rocky Mountain resort communities, many on I-70 west of Denver.

A visitor to Boulder, Douglas, and Jefferson counties, or to Aspen, Vail, or Telluride, can come away dazzled by majestic homes, trophy ranches, Tesla electric automobiles, and fancy hotels and restaurants.

We all know about the Sun Belt and the Bible Belt. Well, there is a Wealth Belt, or wealth corridor, that runs through about 20 percent of Colorado. It is a rectangle with Aspen and Steamboat Springs at the western edge and Boulder, Broomfield, Cherry Hills Village, and Castle Rock on the eastern edge. Colorado's wealth is largely concentrated in this section of our state.

Yet our Eastern Plains counties, and especially our Southern Colorado counties, have thousands of households who endure hardship at finding and keeping good jobs. Other families in those two areas are suffering with below poverty level wages.

Let's look at Southern Colorado. It has a high mountain range, the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the east. It sports the beautiful scenery of a major mountain pass, La Veta Pass. It is home to a national park, Great Sand Dunes. It is one of the oldest and most historic parts of Colorado, with the state's first successful human settlement at San Luis.

Southern Colorado is also the part of the state with counties that have the highest percentages of poverty in Colorado. In a few cases the poverty levels rise above 20 percent. Economists and the U.S. Census differ a little about what defines living in poverty, yet the general agreement is that it refers to a family of four living on an income below around $28,000 a year.

Most but not all of these counties in Southern Colorado have Spanish names. Compared to the rest of Colorado, they have higher percentages of Hispanic

citizens. They are agricultural and experiencing little population growth. Some of the counties are declining slightly in population.

We find it depressing that in this very historic and interesting part of our state high rates of poverty are so prevalent.

Begin with Costilla (county seat – San Luis) County. It is located on Colorado's southern border with New Mexico in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Costilla is Spanish for "rib" and supposedly describes the rough-hewn appearance of the neighboring mountains. San Luis is the oldest city in Colorado. The percentage of people in poverty in Costilla County, according to the Census, is 24.6%, or almost one out of every four persons.

To put that figure in perspective, the poverty level for all of Colorado is 9.3%. For the United States it is 10.5%. In Denver 12.1% are in poverty. In El Paso County, the poverty rate is 8.8%, percent.

Another important county in Southern Colorado is Conejos (Antonito) County. It is home to a tourist attraction — the Cumbres and Toltec narrow-gauge steam railroad. The poverty level is 19.9%, almost one person in five.

Alamosa (Alamosa) County is the center of the agriculturally productive San Luis Valley. It contains the southern portion of Great Sand Dunes National Park. A public institution of higher learning, Adams State University, is located there. The poverty figure is 19.6% percent.

A few Colorado counties with high poverty rates are found outside Southern Colorado, but not at such generally high levels. On the Front Range of Colorado, the high population corridor stretching from Pueblo County through Colorado Springs and Denver to Greeley and Fort Collins, Pueblo County has a poverty percentage of 17.8. That's the highest on the Front

Range. As previously noted, Denver's poverty mark was 12.1%, less than two points above the U.S. poverty percentage of 10.5.

Off the Front Range, somewhat high poverty numbers were mainly associated with agricultural counties. On the Eastern Plains of Colorado along the Kansas border, Cheyenne (Cheyenne Wells) County registered a poverty level of 13.7%. Kiowa (Eads) County reported poverty at 13.5%.

It was the same story for agricultural counties on the Western Slope. Delta (Delta) County had a poverty reading of 15.1%. Montrose (Montrose) County clocked in on poverty at 13.2%.

There will always be a big divide between Colorado's prosperous counties and our poorer counties. This hasn't changed in recent decades. We doubt that government redistributive policies, such as food stamps and coronavirus stimulus checks and the recently expanded Child Tax Credit, will make a big difference. They do, however, make some difference.

Colorado political and business leaders can be proud of all the economic improvements being made in the Centennial State. Yet we have to remember that our state will be judged by how it treats and provides for the least advantaged. We must have both public and private organizations dedicated to encouraging equal economic opportunity, especially for young people seeking jobs and a living wage.

Is all well in a state which has counties that average four and five times the median household incomes of people who live just a few counties away. One in nine Coloradans are poor. It is no surprise many are children living with a single parent. First-rate educational opportunities offered throughout the state are the obvious first need. But much more will be needed.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national issues.

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NEAR NORTH END NEIGHBORHOOD THRIVES BETWEEN COLORADO COLLEGE AND DOWNTOWN

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

This classic Victorian-era home has all the decorative touches - big front porch, elaborate dormer window on the third floor, and so forth - associated with Victorian architectural style. It is on N. Nevada Avenue in the Near North End neighborhood between downtown and Colorado College. (Photo by Bob Loevy)

One of the most vital places in Colorado Springs is the area between Colorado College on the north and downtown Colorado Springs on the south. It is filled with a multitude of human activities, all happily jumbled together. There are homes, apartments, churches, museums, office buildings, banks, small restaurants, and stores.

The main north-south streets through this exciting area are NorthCascade Avenue, North Tejon Street, North Nevada Avenue, North Weber Street, and North Wahsatch Avenue. Important east-west streets include Monument, Williamette, St, Vrain, and Boulder streets. Businesses and stores are more likely to be found on the north-south streets. Private residences and apartments, and there are many, tend to cluster along the east-west streets.

The people who have their homes in this "not-quite-downtown" area call it the Near North End. Firmly planted south of Colorado College, they differentiate themselves from the Old North End, the almost all-residential neighborhood to the north of Colorado College. They have a homeowner's association, just like the folks in more conventional neighborhoods elsewhere in the city and out in the suburbs.

This is where modern office buildings and fashionable shops with neon signs share a city block with some of the most historic structures in Colorado Springs. A number of large mansions, dating to the Cripple Creek and Victor gold boom, line N. Cascade Avenue. Most have been broken up into individual apartments or offices, but with the historic exterior of the building remaining basically unchanged.

The Near North End has some of the oldest and most historic churches in Colorado Springs, such as the First Congregational Church at St. Vrain and N. Tejon, Grace Episcopal Church at Monument and Tejon, and First United

Methodist Church at Nevada Avenue and Boulder. But the Near North End also sports a pizza restaurant and a good "bed and breakfast" hotel in a former Victorian home.

Colorado Springs is unusual in that there are so many private homes close to the downtown center that continue to be used as single-family and two-family residences. Since this is one of the oldest parts of our town, the older houses date to the late 19th and early 20th century. Victorian-era homes and Craftsman-style bungalows, from around the 1920s, predominate.

The charm of a varied neighborhood such as the Near North End is that residents can walk from their homes to stores, museums, churches, and in some cases where they work. It is not a completely auto-free world, however. Grocery supermarkets and large department stores are two miles or more away, so a motor vehicle is required to access the basic commercial necessities of life.

Architecturally, the Near North End is an adventure in eclecticism — any and all architectural styles are present and getting along together. By and large the houses and some apartment buildings are classic Victorian-era buildings while the offices and stores are newer and display modern architectural styles. It is not unusual to find an old wooden and highly decorative Victorian home right next door to a newish modern store or office built out of brick or stone and showing plate glass windows to the street.

Strangely, this jumble of residential and commercial uses is up-to-date. Modern city planning calls for so-called flex zoning — intentionally mixing residential, office, and commercial land uses so that residents can walk to fill all their daily wants and have less need for an energy-wasting and air-polluting motor vehicle. Modern flex zoning comes with plan controls,

however, that guarantee the presence of grocery stores and department stores.

Still, without needing intentional planning or zoning, a form of flex zoning has developed organically in the Near North End. It could be called "flex zoning au natural." It is a monument to the idea that good things can result from letting people use and develop their property almost any way they please.

Obviously the Near North End is an area of our city in transition. Slowly but surely the old single-family and two-family residences are being converted into office buildings. At other spots historic homes are torn down and replaced with modern office buildings or stores. The slow but steady land-use drift of the Near North End is diminishing residential and increasing office and commercial.

Has the time come to governmentally interfere with the land use transition process in the Near North End? Should the city place this slow-changing neighborhood in a special zone — say a Neighborhood Character Zone — that will work to preserve a number of the major residences in the Near North End and prevent it from becoming all office buildings and commercial stores?

In the meantime, make it a point to enjoy this unique neighborhood of multiple uses that thrives between downtown Colorado Springs and Colorado College. Appreciate the unusual architectural look and variable life pursuits gathered together in the Near North End.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. Bob Loevy is a former member of the Colorado Springs City Planning Commission.

These brick row houses are typically found in East Coast cities such as New York and Baltimore — not in a western city such as Colorado Springs. But here they are on N. Tejon Street at E. Dale Street, another example of the wide variety of architectural styles found in the Near North End between Colorado College and downtown Colorado Springs.

Photo by Bob Loevy

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AFGHANISTAN LOST: HOW AND WHY

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Taliban fighters ride atop a Humvee on the way to detain Afghans involved in a street fight in Kabul, Afghanistan, last month. The Taliban are shifting from being warriors to an urban police force.

Associated Press photo

"Victory has a hundred fathers," said President John F. Kennedy after the failed invasion of Cuba's Bay of Pigs in 1961, "but failure is an orphan."

To his credit, Kennedy accepted the blame for that disastrous failure, though the CIA operation had been largely planned and designed during the Eisenhower administration.

The U.S. evacuation from Afghanistan and the return to power of the Taliban there have become orphans, both literally and figuratively. A complicated and extensive blame-game is well underway.

We now hear that more than $2 trillion should not have been wasted in Afghanistan. Was it worth it? Should we have been there for 20 years? People are asking: "What were we doing trying to impose democracy and capitalism on a harsh and deeply embedded theocracy?" Complicating matters is that Afghanistan is one of the world's poorest nations and happens to be the world's largest suppliers of heroin.

But back in the fall of 2001, 93 percent of Americans supported President George W. Bush and the Pentagon in the mission to rid Afghanistan of al-Qaeda, capture Osama bin Laden, and topple the Taliban government that had provided safe haven to those who attacked us on 9/11.

The U.S. and its coalition of allies enjoyed remarkable success in late 2001. The Taliban government was ousted and al-Qaeda leaders were captured or killed or fled to Pakistan.

But Taliban insurgents became as resistant as the Vietcong had been two generations earlier in Vietnam. The Taliban adopted a similar philosophy: "The U.S. may have the clocks, but we have the time."

As the clock ticked, over 20 years, we called our efforts against the Taliban by different names: counter-insurgency, nation-building, democratic constitutionalism, state-building, or winning the hearts and minds of a

distant, almost alien culture. Yet, as former president George W. Bush noted in his 2010 memoir Decision Points: "Our government was not prepared for nation-building."

Afghans speak many different languages and have markedly different religious traditions and different values and cultural traditions from our values of republicanism, equal opportunity, the rule of law and separation of church and state.

The U.S. may have its own political tribes and bosses, but the warlords and kleptocracy in Afghanistan are of a different magnitude.

Just as most South Vietnamese later acknowledged that the collapse of Vietnam was largely due to the corruption and distrust of their own government, so also many people suggest today that Afghanistan ultimately collapsed because the Afghan government lost the respect of the people.

Afghanistan is about the same size as Texas, with a population somewhat less than California's. We poured billions of dollars of military and humanitarian aid into the country. We built roads, schools, hospitals, and encouraged much greater educational and career opportunities for women. We "encouraged" the formation of a West-friendly government, with a new constitution, the democratic election of a president. and parliamentary elections that drew 7 million voters despite Taliban intimidation.

We had military bases all over the country. We had as many as 3,000 military outposts, more than 700,000 troops rotating through, and as many as 20,000 private contractors employed by the Defense and State Departments and the CIA. Toward the end of the war, we had more contractors in Afghanistan than military personnel. Over the 20 years of the war, contractors suffered twice the number of deaths (4,000) as U.S. military

(2,400). The overall death estimates for Afghan civilians and military on all sides may have been 200,000.

Public support in the U.S. for the war in Afghanistan – at least majority support – lasted for nearly 19 years. That was much longer than public support for the wars in Korea, Vietnam, or Iraq. Public opinion soured on Truman's Korean "police action under U.N. auspices" in just a year and a half. And it took about three years for a majority of Americans to say our military efforts in Vietnam and Iraq were a mistake.

In comparison then, the long-term support for our military and nation building efforts in Afghanistan are worth noting.

Al-Qaeda terrorists had killed thousands of U.S. citizens on 9/11. They invaded our mainland and outraged Americans more than anything since the War of 1812. Almost uniformly Americans felt we could not take that attack and not strike back. We had to act. We had to punish those who enabled the terrorists, and to protect ourselves against future attacks. Support for the war ran high.

Another reason for high public support for the war in Afghanistan may have been that this was our first war without conscription. America relied on some form of the draft in our Revolution, in the Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Korean War and in Vietnam. Conscription came to an end in 1973 when we moved to an all-volunteer military. Support for this war lasted longer because there was no draft.

It will take several years for historians and documentary filmmakers to sort out the multiple factors that explain the why and how of losing Afghanistan. There are already several useful books and films that document the bravery of our soldiers as well as the missteps of the different U.S. presidents.

A great source, enlightening and riveting, is The Afghanistan Papers: A Secret History of the War (2021) by Craig Whitlock and the Washington Post. Also informative and gripping are the battlefield reports in Sean Parnell's Outlaw Platoon: Heroes, Renegades, Infidels and the Brotherhood of War in Afghanistan (2013) and Major Rusty Bradley's Lions of Kandahar: The Story of a Fight Against All Odds (2011).

We recommend several films about the 20-year war in Afghanistan:

• Restrepo (2007) – a superb account of a U.S. military outpost that faces harsh military combat challenges.

• The Lone Survivor (2013) – based on a non-fiction biography of a failed U.S. military raid to capture a Taliban leader in a small town.

• Hornet's Nest (2014) – a documentary about fighting in southern Afghanistan that shows the devastation caused by IEDs.

• The Tillman Story (2010) – how the Army and Pentagon covered up the death of Army Ranger Pat Tillman, a star defensive back for the NFL Arizona Cardinals who volunteered for the military after 9/11. Tillman was killed by friendly fire from his own unit, rather than bravely fighting the Taliban as the Pentagon wanted us to believe. Tillman's mother, this movie makes clear, relentlessly investigated her son's tragic death and forced the Pentagon and the Secretary of Defense to admit the cover-up.

• War Machine (2017) is a Netflix film featuring Brad Pitt as charismatic 4-Star General Stanley McCrystal. Based loosely on a book about the general and his Afghanistan military leadership, the film captures some of the battlefield training and exercises, yet is also a satirical portrait of McCrystal and his consistent requests (along with those from other generals) for more

troops. McCrystal and his top aides are caught mocking President Barack Obama and his team, which forces Obama to relieve McCrystal of his command. Obama liked the general yet felt compelled to exercise civilian authority over the military in this publicly awkward case. It is a sad reality that Pat Tillman and Stanley McCrystal were two of the few media heroes of this war.

• Zero Dark Thirty (2017) is a suspenseful thriller that often seems like, yet is not, a documentary. Jessica Chastain gives an impressive performance as a dogged CIA operative determined to find leads to track down Osama bin Laden. She participates in some hard-to-watch torture scenes, which the movie implies did result in information that later led to bin Laden. Film director Kathryn Bigelow says she wishes these practices were not part of our history, but they are. She felt compelled to include this in her film. CIA officials denied her narrative. Some U.S. Senators, including John McCain, decried the movie's seeming intent on celebrating or justifying torture. Other critics fault this movie for suggesting that torture works and faulted the filmmakers for treating this material in such a non-judgmental way. Supporters of "enhanced interrogation" like former Vice President Richard Cheney liked the movie and applauded its themes. Meanwhile, the movie does provide a fascinating look at the CIA in operation. It also vividly retells the story of the remarkable Navy Seal mission to capture and kill bin Laden.

• Taxi to the Dark Side (2008) is a much more critical movie about the use and abuse of interrogation and torture practices in both Iraq and Afghanistan. It is more partisan and judgmental but perhaps a partial counterpoint to Zero Dark Thirty.

The big debate, likely to go on for some time, is how the 30,000 to 50,000 Taliban – whose main equipment often seemed to be motorbikes, cell phones and IEDs – defeated the U.S. and its International Coalition. Here are

just a few of the explanations we have recently heard, listed in no particular order:

• Our generals on the ground kept asking for more troops than any president would grant, yet presidents Bush, Obama, and Trump all approved troop surges at one time or another.

• The U.S. military and CIA effectively defeated the Taliban government in late 2001. However the military now say it was not trained effectively enough to do the nation-building that was assigned next.

• U.S. intelligence agencies too often underestimated the efficiency, effectiveness, and shrewdness of the Taliban, who built on Afghanistan's anti-foreigner sentiments and launched anti-US propaganda efforts. The Taliban exploited their cozy relationship with Pakistan and heroin farmers.

• The US kept hoping, in vain, that Pakistan would help us control the borders and stop providing a safe haven for the Taliban. In fact, despite our giving billions of aid funds to them, Pakistan never helped us much. They talked a good game but pragmatically viewed the Taliban as an ally in their struggles with India.

• Opium. The U.S. spent at least $10 billion trying to limit or suppress the heroin growing and trade. Profits and "taxes" from this industry were invaluable for the Taliban arsenals. In fact, it is worth speculating whether the Taliban could have enjoyed any success if that crop and trade didn't exist. Prohibition programs, as Americans know, almost always fail.

• Corruption. The U.S. backed Kabul government could not change traditional quid pro quo bribery practices. The infusion of vast new military, infrastructure, and humanitarian aid encouraged more scheming and

corruption. Much of the aid funds went to U.S. and Western corporations and contractors. History is likely to report that there was skimming and questionable deal-making as money and projects were rushed in emergency situations. Ultimately the distrust of the Kabul government eroded its functioning adequately.

• Afghan National Army (ANA). We poured billions into training and equipping this army. We kept being told they would soon be ready to defend their government without western coalition forces. But that was not to be. Now we hear that this army was poorly trained, poorly led, and poorly paid. Desertion, absenteeism, and corruption were widespread. We now hear of "Ghost Soldiers," as in Vietnam, who either didn't exist or showed up mainly for paydays. This has led some commentators to quip that, you may be able to rent an army for awhile, but you cannot buy one. Independent reports also assessed the Afghan National Police (ANP) as virtually worthless, poorly equipped, poorly trained, and riddled with drug abuse.

• Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). We had the military bases, the airfields, incredible air power, and state-of-the-art drones, but the Taliban had IEDs and suicide bombers. IEDs are relatively inexpensive, and they were regularly and ruthlessly used.

• War by Contractors. The U.S. and its allies heavily relied on private sector contractors. They did almost everything: cooks, guards, police training, road construction, intelligence gathering, and even fighting. Some were major U.S. national corporations, some were locals, and some were third-country nationals. It is not clear who coordinated all of them, thousands of them, and how the division of labor was allocated among the military, diplomats, and these private-sector quasi-mercenaries.

• Mission Confusion. In the first Persian Gulf War, the U.S. went in, did the job of getting Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, and went home. In Afghanistan, we went in, and the mission shifted and our goals of imposing democracy and western values complicated the job for the Pentagon and its colleagues. We soon learned lessons earlier learned by Alexander the Great, the British, and the Soviets — namely that Afghanistan is a geographically tough country to occupy and is inhabited by an ethnically and religiously tenacious people.

Trying to get the deeply religious Muslin theocracy to embrace constitutional democracy and 21st century western egalitarian values was, apparently, an aspiration too ambitious.

Meanwhile misdirected drones, false arrests, and torture tactics were all fuel for the Taliban propaganda machine to sway the hearts and minds of previously neutral Afghans.

Back in 2004, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld declared: "There is absolutely no way in the world that we can be militarily defeated in Afghanistan."

The Pentagon and the White House too often gave us misleading "happy talk" reassurance of what was happening in Afghanistan. We were regularly told that we were not there to occupy but to merely be a transition helper. But Americans began to wonder, and the outspoken Donald Trump, as early as 2012, called it "a complete waste."

Yet President Trump changed his tune once he got to the White House. In 2017 he agreed to send more troops, saying the Afghans needed "more time." He promised that, with more troops and a change of operations, he

would win the war once and for all. And when he could not do that, "the great negotiator" tried and failed to negotiate his way out it.

President Joe Biden approved an evacuation, which turned out to be unseemly and unpopular.

Most Americans now agree that it is good we have ended this war yet few Americans are optimistic about what is likely to happen there. There will remain many who think we should have had the patience we had in Germany and South Korea where we still have a significant military presence. Yet others will insist that our military efforts in Afghanistan were hardly in vain if they did indeed prevent further 9/11s from happening. Debates will and should continue.

There is a sports adage that comes to mind here: "Sometimes you win, and sometimes you learn." We are only now beginning to learn what happened in Afghanistan. We have much more to learn.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy regularly write on national and Colorado politics.

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OUR TAKE ON COLORADO BALLOT ISSUES TO BE DECIDED BY VOTERS ON NOV. 2

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Registered voters in Colorado have received or will soon receive their mail-in ballot for the upcoming November 2 general election. As required by law, ballot issues in odd-year elections such as 2021 can only refer to taxation and similar fiscal matters.

There are only three statewide issues on the ballot. All three were petitioned on to the ballot by voter signatures. In all three, interest groups raised the money to gather the required number of signatures to put the issue on the ballot. These interest groups are also spending money campaigning to get their pet proposals adopted by state voters on Election Day.

So far, much less money is being spent to oppose the three statewide issues. We always give greater scrutiny to citizen-initiated ballot issues than to those sent to the voters by our elected state legislators.

Amendment 78: Legislative Authority for Spending State Money. "Custodial" money is provided to the state for a particular purpose and does not have to be appropriated by the state legislature. Grants from the U.S. government, such as U.S. dollars for highway building and Coronavirus relief funds, are in this custodial category. This constitutional amendment will require that custodial money go into a "transparency fund" that will be controlled and spent by the state legislature.

Cronin: **No.** Loevy: **No.** We did not know there was a problem here. If this is a problem, why didn't the state legislature make the first move to take control of custodial money?

Our concern is this: Such finite details of state money spending do not belong in the state constitution. The Colorado Constitution is for setting up state government (governor, legislature, courts, etc.) and protecting basic rights (freedom of speech, freedom to assemble, freedom to lobby, etc.). The details of spending state moneys belong in state law, not the state constitution.

As a constitutional amendment, this will require 55 percent of the vote to be adopted.

Prediction: **No.** This amendment will appear too complicated, obscure, and unnecessary to most voters.

Proposition 119: Learning Enrichment and Academic Progress Program. This proposed law would provide state financial aid for private tutoring and other out-of-school enrichment programs. A new state agency will be created to administer the program. Parents, not the public schools, will pick the appropriate programs for their children. A portion of the public school lands income will be transferred to this program. Support will also come from a 5 percent increase in retail marijuana taxes. Priority will be given to students from low-income families and special-needs students.

Cronin: **Yes.** Loevy: **No.** This will take almost $138 million of public money and spend it on private educational programs supervised by a student's parents. The key words thus are "out-of-school." This proposal will appeal mainly to voters who are critical of public schools and would like to see more public money devoted to private education. On the other hand, many

people believe public money should be spent on public schools rather than on an unspecified array of private programs.

Is increasing the tax on legal recreational marijuana the right thing to do? Maybe, yet raising marijuana prices encourages the development of an illegal black market for marijuana in Colorado.

This proposed law will require a majority vote (50 percent plus one or more) to be adopted.

Prediction: **Tossup.** We think many parents will not see their school children needing private tutoring or other private out-of-school services. Yet several prominent former state political leaders, all with a pro-education record, support this measure as addressing important needs, especially for special-needs and minority youth. Backers include former governors Bill Ritter and Bill Owens as well as former Denver Mayor Federico Peña and former state Senator Michael Johnston.

Proposition 120: Property Tax Assessment Rate Reduction. Here we go again. It's another round in the on-going battle between the Libertarian minded, who like to lower taxes at the ballot box, and the Colorado Democrats, who create and raise taxes and fees at the state legislature.

As originally proposed, this law was going to cut property taxes for all residential and commercial property in Colorado. After this property tax cut was approved for signature gathering and could not be changed, Democratic Party majorities at the state legislature changed the existing law. If the proposal is adopted by the voters, the tax cuts will be limited to only multi-family housing and lodging properties.

Cronin: **No.** Loevy: **No**. Every November in recent years, another group comes up with a plan for cutting state taxes. Most are adopted, thereby forcing the state legislature, recently dominated by Democrats, to find other revenues in order to keep financing state government. The end result is an irrational hodge-podge of state taxes and fees, too many of which fall heavily on lower income citizens.

Prediction: **Yes.** Unfortunately, Colorado voters just cannot stop approving tax cuts.

El Paso County Ballot Issue 1-A: Retain funds that would otherwise be returned to taxpayers and use them for roads and parks.

Cronin: **Yes.** Loevy: **Yes**.

Prediction: **Yes.** Colorado voters tend to vote in favor of letting governments spend tax money that is already collected rather than getting the money back in their own pocket.

Colorado Springs Ballot Issue 2C: Increase city sales tax to support Trails, Open Space, and Parks.

Cronin: **Yes.** Loevy: **Yes.**

Prediction: **Yes**. Colorado Springs voters have generally supported tax increases for parks and open space.

Colorado Springs Ballot Issue 2D: Wildfire Mitigation. Tax money that would otherwise be returned to voters will be used to mitigate and prevent wildfires.

Cronin: **Yes.** Loevy: **Yes.**

Prediction: **Yes.** The destruction caused by the Waldo Canyon Fire in the Mountain Shadows neighborhood in Colorado Springs in 2012 should help 2D get adopted.

Colorado Springs School District 11 Ballot Issue 48: Borrow $350 million to build and repair school buildings. Some of the money will be used to purchase or repair charter school buildings.

Cronin: **Yes.** Loevy: **Yes.**

Prediction: **Tossup**. District 11 voters have been fussy in the past about borrowing money for schools.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national issues.

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THE CASE FOR COMPETITIVE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Independent Congressional Redistricting Commission attorney Frederick R. Yarger argues to the Colorado Supreme Court October 12, 2021, that the map adopted by the commission meets the state constitution's requirements.

Photo by Evan Wyloge, the gazette

It is now up to the Colorado Supreme Court as to whether we will have a number of "competitive districts" in Colorado's eight-member delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.

A redistricting plan sent to the state high court by the Colorado congressional redistricting committee provides for only one competitive district, a district where there might be serious competition between the Democratic and Republican parties as to which party will win the seat in the November general elections.

That one competitive seat is located north of Denver and extends up toward Greeley. It contains a large percentage of Hispanic voters.

Colorado, as a result of the 2020 U.S. Census, is entitled to eight members of the U.S. House. In addition to the one competitive seat, the congressional redistricting commission essentially recommended four "safe Democratic" seats and three "safe Republican" seats.

As advocates of constitutional republicanism as well as political scientists, we dislike safe Democratic and safe Republican seats. They are the ultimate form of gerrymandering, the drawing of district lines in such a way that one political party always wins the seat, no matter how the statewide electorate may be voting. They are called "safe" seats because, no matter what the political mood statewide, the seat is "safe" for that one favored political party.

We call on the Colorado Supreme Court, after reviewing the work of the congressional redistricting commission, to reject the commission plan and order the commission to create a revised plan with a minimum of four competitive seats. That will go a long way toward reducing gerrymandering in the Colorado delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives.

We admire the efforts of the congressional redistricting commission. Created by a vote of the people in 2018, the commission charted the course for ending gerrymandering in Colorado. They generated a number of congressional redistricting plans, they held public hearings throughout the state on those plans, and they chose one of those plans to send to the Colorado Supreme Court for final evaluation.

They did much of the congressional redistricting job as mandated by the voters. Along the way, however, we believe that the commission's work was the victim of manipulative lobbying by the Democratic and Republican parties.

There has been some coverage in the news media of how both political parties hired highly skilled, experienced, and expensive lobbyists to lobby the commission to create safe seats rather than competitive seats. These lobbyist's pay checks came from anonymous donors whose names and the dollar amounts given were purposely, but unjustifiably, withheld from the public, a technique known as "dark money."

The media have also reported how the political party lobbyists recruited average folks to speak at the commission's statewide public hearings and coached them on what to say. Speakers were encouraged to not reveal their political party biases or point out how their testimony would help their political party gain a safe seat.

In our view, the strategy of the two political parties, never admitted, was to guide the discussion at the statewide hearings to such topics as "not splitting my county between two districts" and "giving more voting power to minorities." These are important topics, for sure. The two political parties emphasized them because they did not want the commission discussing (1) gerrymandering and (2) creating competitive districts instead of safe districts.

One reason we know these political party techniques is that one of us served on the Colorado legislative redistricting commission in 2010. He saw firsthand that such hearings are often a marionette show, with the people testifying as marionettes and the political party consultants pulling the strings.

Why are we questioning those four safe Democratic and three safe Republican seats that the congressional redistricting commission sent to the Colorado Supreme Court for final approval?

Look at it this way. By creating seven safe seats out of eight, the commission abolished the general election for U.S. Representative for

seven/eighths of the voters in Colorado. If the same political party always wins the November general election every two years (even numbered years), the general election becomes meaningless. The real voting for U.S. Representative shifts to the party primary election, where only registered voters in the political party and unaffiliated voters can vote. People registered in the other political party are left out of the voting entirely.

There is a lot wrong with selecting members of the U.S House of Representatives in primaries. One problem is voter turnout. Whereas turnouts for general elections in November run at about 60 percent, the voter turnout in party primaries in August (in Colorado) is around 30 percent, half as much. That is a large number of people who lose their vote because they live in a safe (for one party or the other) district.

Another problem is that political party voters in primaries tend to be much less moderate or centrist than voters in the general election. That means Democratic primary voters tend to be liberal progressives and Republican primary voters gravitate toward right-leaning conservatism.

This results in polarization. Democrats elected to the House from safe Democratic seats are more liberal and Republicans elected from safe Republican seats are more conservative than their constituencies. The two sides have trouble getting along ideologically when they get to Capitol Hill in Washington.

Here is the saddest result of creating seven out of eight safe seats from Colorado in the U.S. House. Colorado voters will have little ability to affect national politics. No matter how the winds of national politics may blow — pro-Democratic or pro-Republican — it will have no effect on seven of Colorado's eight House seats. The same political party — four for the Democrats and three for the Republicans — will win those seven safe seats every time.

Only the voters in Colorado's one competitive district will have the ability to vote for one party or the other and have it impact the outcome of the election. Only the competitive district voters will be able to influence national politics and perhaps play a role in shifting control of the U.S House from one political party to the other.

Finally, when the voters were deciding on creating the congressional redistricting commission, they were not told it would create safe Democratic and Republican seats. They were told it would end gerrymandering and create competitive districts.

Colorado's Supreme Court justices. Please hear us. The advantages of competitive districts over safe Democratic seats and safe Republican seats are well known. Please send the 2021 congressional redistricting plan for Colorado back to the redistricting commission and charge them to create several competitive districts.

When it comes to competitive districts, you are "the court of last resort."

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. Bob Loevy served on the 2010 Colorado State Legislative Redistricting Commission.

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COLORADO SUPREME COURT SHOULD STOP GERRYMANDERING OF LEGISLATURE

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Independent Congressional Redistricting Commission attorney Frederick R. Yarger argues Monday before the Colorado Supreme Court in Denver that the maps adopted by the commission meet constitutional requirements.

Photo by Evan Wyloge, Denver Gazette

Colorado voters do not seem to be aware of what has happened to them. The Colorado state legislature redistricting committee has adopted redistricting plans that appear to guarantee Democratic Party majorities in both houses of the state legislature for the entire upcoming decade of the 2020s.

It will not matter if the state's voters start casting their ballots mainly for Republicans. The district lines have been drawn so that the Democrats will almost always have a majority in the Colorado state Senate and the state House of Representatives in Denver.

This process is called gerrymandering. It is the drawing of legislative district lines in such a way that one political party always wins the seat, no matter how the statewide electorate may be voting.

Ironically, when the state's voters adopted the current redistricting process in the 2018 general election, they were told the new process would end gerrymandering, not emphasize it.

The legislative redistricting plan has gone to the Colorado Supreme Court for final approval. The court is currently holding hearings on the fairness of the redistricting. Our hope is that the Supreme Court justices will reject the gerrymandered plans for the state Senate and state House and send them back to the commission with encouragement to create more "competitive districts."

A competitive district is one in which either political party, the Democratic or the Republican, can win the seat in the general election.

Competitive seats contrast with safe-Democratic seats, where only the Democratic candidate can be elected, or a safe-Republican seat, where the Republican is always the winner.

Look first at the state Senate. It is the upper house of the state legislature and Colorado's equivalent of the U.S. Senate in Washington. According to the professional staff working for the state legislature redistricting committee, under the new redistricting plan the 35 state Senate seats can be characterized this way:

• Safe-Democratic: 15

• Lean-Democratic: 3

• Safe-Republican: 9

• Competitive: 8

• Need for majority: 18

To have a majority in the state Senate, a party needs to win 18 or more seats. Note that the Democrats have 15 safe seats, only three seats short of

majority. All the Democrats need to do is win the 3 lean-Democratic seats and they are in control in the state Senate of Colorado.

But look at the daunting situation facing the Republicans. To gain a majority of 18 in the state Senate, they need to win the 9 safe-Republican seats, all 8 of the competitive seats, and 1 of the lean-Democratic seats.

There would have to be a huge surge of Republican votes in Colorado for that to happen.

The same Democratic bias in the redistricting occurred in the state House of Representatives, the lower house of the Colorado legislature:

• Safe-Democratic: 30

• Lean-Democratic: 6

• Safe-Republican: 19

• Lean-Republican: 1

• Competitive: 9

• Need for majority: 33

Just as in the state Senate, the redistricting of the state House will make it very easy for the Democratic Party to win the 33 seats needed to take control. With 30 safe-Democratic seats, only 3 out of 6 lean-Democratic seats are needed to create a Democratic majority.

Similar to the state Senate, however, the Republicans are at a disadvantage. To win the 33 seats to be in charge in the Colorado House, they will need to win 19 safe-Republican seats, 1 lean-Republican seat, all

9 competitive seats, and 3 lean-Democratic seats. A flood of Republican votes would have to surge across Colorado to produce such an outcome.

Any reasonable person looking at these numbers would come to the following conclusion. With this gerrymandered situation in effect, the Democrats will undoubtedly control both houses of the Colorado legislature for all the elections from 2022 to 2030. A change to this Democratic domination will not be possible until 2032, when a new, every ten-years, state legislative redistricting will take effect.

Note that the Democrats will have gerrymandered majorities rather than electoral majorities.

We acknowledge that the Democrats have been on a winning streak in Colorado over the last two decades. The number of GOP registered voters statewide is below both unaffiliated registrations and Democratic registrations. The Democrats currently occupy every major statewide elected

office. But we think the proposed legislative redistricting gives too large an advantage to the Democrats, despite their recent successes in Colorado elections.

The Colorado Republican Party did get something out of this gerrymandered state legislative redistricting plan. There will be 8 safe-Republican seats in the state Senate and 9 safe-Republican seats in the State House. No matter how unpopular the Republican Party might become over the decade of the 2020s, they will still have these gerrymandered pro-Republican "cannot-be-lost" seats in the state Capitol.

A probable result of this gerrymandering will be that the Democrats will become "entrenched" in power in the Colorado state legislature. With the redistricting almost guaranteeing that they cannot lose their majorities in both houses, they will be able to pursue narrow Democratic Party programs, mainly left-wing in character, without worrying about what the broader electorate thinks of these programs.

Ten years ago, in 2011, the redistricting system in use at that time produced 38 competitive seats, 14 in the state Senate and 24 in the state House. This time around the redistricting produced only 17 competitive seats, 8 in the state Senate and 9 in the state House.

Sad to say, Colorado appears to be going backward when it comes to getting rid of gerrymandering. There will be 21 fewer competitive districts in the state legislature in the 2020s than there were in the 2010s.

Hopefully the state Supreme Court will step in here near the end of the process and mandate the state legislative redistricting commission to create more competitive districts in the Colorado state legislature for the upcoming decade.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about state and national politics. Bob Loevy served on the 2011 Colorado redistricting commission for the state legislature.

Colorado Springs Gazette
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COLORADO SPRINGS A LEADER IN RACIALLY INTEGRATED HOUSING

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The Gold Hill Mesa neighborhood and the skyline of Colorado Springs.
Jerilee Bennett, The Gazette

A University of California-Berkeley study of racial segregation in housing in the United States found Colorado Springs to be one of the two most residentially racially integrated cities in the country.

The study of 113 cities found only two cities to rank as Integrated - Colorado Springs and Port St. Lucie, FL. All the other cities were listed as either Highly Segregated or Low-Medium Segregated.

The study also looked at residential racial segregation in 221 metropolitan areas in the United States. The Colorado Springs metro area (El Paso and Teller counties) also was rated Integrated, along with only four other metro areas – Chico, CA; Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL; Jacksonville, NC; and, again, Port St. Lucie, FL.

Jacksonville, NC, is a city near the Camp Lejeune U.S. Marine Corps base.

That Colorado Springs landed on both the city list and the metro area list was significant. It meant that minority home purchasers and renters, mainly African Americans and Hispanics, found it just as easy to find housing in rural and suburban areas of El Paso and Teller counties as in the city of Colorado Springs proper.

The study found one area of high residential racial segregation in Colorado Springs in the southeastern part of the city on both sides of Academy Boulevard. That area was counterbalanced, however, by large sections of integrated housing, mainly in the northeastern part of the city as well as in Security and Widefield.

The strong racial integration of housing in the Colorado Springs region stood in sharp contrast with the overall results of the Cal-Berkeley study. Residential racial segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas was found to have increased 23.6 percent from 2010 to 2020. The most residentially racially segregated sections of the nation were the East Coast (New York and Philadelphia), the upper Midwest (Chicago and Detroit), and the West Coast (mainly Los Angeles).

The South was found to have high housing segregation, yet surprisingly not to as great an extent as the East and West coasts and the upper Midwest. The two sections of the nation with the least residential racial segregation, but there was still plenty of it around, were the Rocky Mountain States and the Upper Plains States.

Ranking as one of the two most residentially racially integrated cities in the nation, of course, put Colorado Springs way out in front in the state of Colorado. The Denver metropolitan area was rated Highly Segregated, as were a number of more rural counties, particularly in southern Colorado. Most of the remainder of the state was graded Low-Medium Segregated where housing was concerned.

Given that the University of California at Berkeley study found housing segregation to be both widespread and increasing in the United States, Colorado Springs stood out as a desirable example of how to do residential racial integration correctly.

After Colorado Springs, Pueblo was the next most residentially integrated community in Colorado.

The Cal-Berkeley researchers made it clear that housing segregation in Colorado mainly affects Hispanic citizens. Significant African-American populations are only found in Colorado Springs and Denver metro. The state's million plus Hispanic citizens are widely spread throughout Colorado, however, and reside in segregated communities in both populous and non-populous cities.

The main methodology used by the researchers to measure the extent of housing segregation was called Divergence. It calculated the extent to which the proportions of minorities in a particular section of the city compared to the proportions for the entire city.

For instance, if a neighborhood was 17 percent Hispanic and the entire city was 17 percent Hispanic, that neighborhood was defined as Integrated. If the neighborhood numbers and the city numbers "diverged," that was taken as the measure of housing segregation. For this study, Colorado Springs was defined as 17 percent Hispanic and 5 percent African American.

The University of California-Berkeley researchers were fascinated that Colorado Springs was one of only two cities that qualified as Integrated, and that the Springs was the best-known of the two. The researchers mentioned Colorado Springs high-up in the written text of the study results. They also wrote a short section trying to explain why the city of Colorado

Springs had scored this notable achievement. Colorado Springs was one of only 18 cities covered by the study that merited special analysis.

The major reason cited for the integrated housing in Colorado Springs was the large number of military installations in or near the city – Fort Carson, the Air Force Academy, Peterson Field, NORAD (North American Air Defense Command), etc.

The study noted that the U.S. military had been racially integrated in 1948 by a presidential executive order. This had occurred just at the time that Colorado Springs was starting to grow rapidly in population, a post-World War II phenomenon in the city. With the military at least officially racially integrated, both those in military service and civilian employees at military bases faced greatly reduced racial discrimination when they went to buy or rent housing in Colorado Springs.

Ten years later, according to the Cal-Berkeley study, the enactment by Congress of the Housing Rights Act of 1968 outlawed discrimination in selling or renting housing, making it even easier for minorities to buy or rent housing anywhere in the city or the surrounding metro area.

The study noted that the military is one of the only sectors of employment in the United States in which "African-Americans and Hispanics aren't underrepresented, allowing for significant social contact between racial groups. And there is evidence of positive long-term outcomes of these interactions. White military veterans are more likely to live in diverse neighborhoods than their civilian counterparts. Together, the military employs 20 percent of Colorado Springs' workforce. Military benefits include paid housing allowances and mortgage loans without down payments, which circumvent significant barriers to home ownership."

The researchers were surprised that a high rate of residential racial integration had occurred in a city that is 83 percent zoned for single-family-only housing. Customarily single-family zoning lowers racial diversity and leads to more segregation, yet Colorado Springs was a clear exception to that phenomenon.

The Cal-Berkeley team were similarly surprised that a city with a strong Republican voting record could rank so high in terms of residential racial integration.

One point the researchers did not note is that Colorado Springs has had two minority mayors. Also the leaders of two of the city's major educational institutions – the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs (UCCS) and Colorado College – both have minority heritage.

Pike's Peak. Gorgeous Rocky Mountain scenery. Great skiing nearby. A sunny high-elevation climate. We now must add "residentially racially integrated" to the many wonders of Colorado Springs.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. To review the study, Google "Roots of Racial Residential Segregation."

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REVISITING TRIAL BY JURY, ITS FLAWS AND IMPERFECTIONS

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

The role of a jury in our criminal justice system is for a randomly selected temporarily gathered group of strangers (called peers) to reach a verdict of guilt or innocence.

Jury trials have a long history going back thousands of years. The heroic, if irritating, celebrated philosopher Socrates was convicted by an Athenian jury in 399 BCE. The verdict vote was around 280 to 220. He was accused of questioning conventional wisdom and encouraging contrarianism.

The scientist Galileo was censored and his work banned by a trial (not of his peers) before a group of Roman Catholic cardinals in 1633. The remarkable French military leader Joan of Arc was sentenced to burn at the stake in 1431 by a group of church leaders accusing her of heretical beliefs.

In the U.S. Declaration of Independence, American colonists accused British King George III "of depriving us in many cases of trial by jury." The U.S. Constitution, in Article III, stipulates that all trials shall be by jury. This is expanded on in our Bill of Rights, which is definitive about the right: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury…"

We have witnessed controversial jury trials here in Colorado and across the nation. We recently saw the conviction of a father, Mark Redwine, for killing his son in a brutal murder in the Durango area. The Kyle Rittenhouse case in Kenosha, Wisconsin, which raised questions about self-defense, is fresh in our minds. So is the fatal shooting of unarmed Ahmaud Arbery in Brunswick, Georgia.

People are still talking about the Scopes trial in Tennessee over the teaching of evolution in public schools. Debate continues to rage over the criminal and civil trials of O. J. Simpson. He was acquitted in the criminal trial but assessed a more than $30 million fine in the civil case. Did he or didn't he kill his ex-wife and her boyfriend in 1994?

A citizen's right to a trial by jury is considered by almost everyone as a fundamental constitutional principle in the American legal and political systems. Providing a defendant with an impartial trial by a jury of his peers is intended to give the accused an additional safeguard against a corrupt or overzealous prosecutor and also against an arrogant, biased, or eccentric judge.

The American jury system has changed considerably. The nation began with a jury system where service was embarrassingly restricted to white male property owners. Today jury service is the responsibility of all adult citizens. Nowadays more time and energy are spent trying to persuade people to serve on juries than is spent trying to exclude them.

While most people are willing to serve on juries, there are many others who present excuses (some legitimate) to evade this responsibility. The internet lists a dozen or more excuses that usually work to be dismissed from jury duty.

Reductions in the numbers of jury trials occur when lawyers work out a plea bargain settlement prior to the case going to trial. This is the practice in 90 percent or more of criminal cases at the state level. There is also a growing trend to shift cases out of the courtroom to mediation or binding arbitration.

Both federal and state courts have watered down the right to a jury trial. In lower courts, jury trials are often not required if the jail time is short or the fines are low. Then there is the problem of the high percentage of summoned jurors who simply fail to show up for jury service.

We often also fail to provide for "speedy" trials. This was notably the case in the past two years (2020-2021) when fear of catching Coronavirus caused many jury trials to be postponed indefinitely. Urgent murder cases have still been conducted with jury trials. Many accused persons have been set free on bond during this unusual period. Probably many cases that would ordinarily go to a jury trial have been settled by making extra efforts to gain plea bargains or use binding arbitration.

There apparently have been some attempts at conducting on-line jury trials over the internet, a practice akin to telemedicine. One can only imagine that, if the Coronavirus pandemic continues – or other pandemics descend on us – our judicial system will have to explore how new technologies can help guarantee speedy and impartial trial by jury.

Jurors nowadays are usually able to keep notebooks and in some jurisdictions ask questions, at least through the judge.

A low percentage of Americans are called to make themselves available for jury duty. An even smaller number are actually selected by the attorneys and the judge to serve on a jury and help render a verdict.

People rightly ask good questions about the jury system. Do too many people get excused from jury duty? How impartial are most jurors? Can we

agree on what is "beyond a reasonable doubt"? Are jury trials too costly and too time consuming?

Here are a few answers. Nobody expects every juror to be 100 percent impartial. But the hope is that twelve people, with proper instruction, can determine most of the facts in a case and reason and deliberate with their fellow jurors to arrive at a decision.

Most judges in America respect and trust the jury system as part of our checks and balances. Most people who have served on juries come away with positive feelings about the system. They add that they would like that option available to them if they ever found themselves accused of a crime.

Most adult Americans say jury service is one of our responsibilities as a citizen. But there are consistent concerns over how representative juries are. And there are issues of sexism and racism that are long standing challenges and require further reforms, training, and safeguards.

Can skilled lawyers or psychologists stack or rig a jury? There is a growing business of "fixers" or "analytics specialists" who try to forecast what type of jurors would be more favorable (or threatening) in a court case. These firms advertise on the internet and have been celebrated in television shows such as *Bull*. John Grisham has depicted and explored these jury specialists in a few of his novels.

Want to learn more about courtroom procedures and politics and watch lawyers perform before American juries? Here are a dozen Hollywood or television versions of real jury trials. They will help educate those of us who have often been called to be available for jury duty but have never been on a jury.

Not all of our selections are "bingeworthy," yet collectively they are recommended "must see" American films that heighten our understanding of the strengths and challenges in our "trial by jury" system.

1. **12 Angry Men.** This Sidney Lumet directed 1957 film classic is the most in-depth portrayal of an American jury ever made. Jury deliberations are private off-camera events. But in this film the writers and

directors are imagining what took place after the witnesses were questioned and the jury began debating and deciding on its verdict.

A young man has been accused of killing his father. All but one member of the all-male jury are initially inclined to judge the young man guilty. But Juror #8, who is wonderfully acted by Henry Fonda, has some doubts and politely asks for further discussion and further tentative votes. The heated discussions are intense.

One by one the other jurors come around and begin to understand the Fonda character's doubts about the young boy's guilt. Finally their collective "reasonable doubt" leads to a unanimous "not guilty" verdict.

This "must see" classic is Exhibit A of Hollywood-style civic entertainment and instruction concerning jury trials.

2. **To Kill a Mockingbird.** Based on the best-selling Pulitzer Prize winning 1960 novel by Harper Lee, this film contains what is probably the most-watched jury trial in America. Most teenagers read this novel in one of their high school English classes.

Gregory Peck won an Academy Award for his excellent performance as Atticus Finch, an Alabama attorney who is drafted to serve as a temporary public defender. His client, Tom Robinson, is a black sharecropper accused of raping a white woman. Finch does his best to convince the all-white twelve-man jury to acquit Robinson because there are reasonable doubts about his role in the rape.

The novel and the movie have some splendid characters and a great story to tell, but the main point is that the jury appears to be dominated by Ku Klux Klan sympathizers. Finch knows this and pleads with them to rise above any racial prejudices they may have. Finch loses his case, but not before reminding us of the higher aspirations of our jury trial system. He explains:

"There is one human institution that makes a pauper the equal of a Rockefeller, the stupid man the equal of an Einstein, the ignorant man the equal of a college president. That institution …is a court…. Our courts have

their faults, as does any institution, but in this country our courts are a great leveler, and in our courts all men are equal."

Finch knew well the American aspiration of equal justice under the law, but he realistically made this point. "The one place where a man ought to get a square deal is in a courtroom, be he any color of the rainbow, but people have a way of carrying their resentments right into the jury box."

3. **Inherit the Wind.** This captivating 1960 film is loosely based on the real-life Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925. A substitute high school science teacher, John T. Scopes, was arrested and accused of violating a recently enacted Tennessee law that made it illegal to teach Darwinian ideas of human evolution. Scopes was found guilty and fined $100, but the jury verdict was later overturned on a technicality.

This debate between creationist and evolutionist, or fundamentalism and scientific modernism, is still alive and flourishing in our day. The majesty of this film, directed by the talented Stanley Kramer, was that two celebrity lawyers, Clarence Darrow (Spencer Tracy) and William Jennings Bryan (Frederick March) put on a provocative, instructional, and entertaining show before a small-town jury.

This liberal message-sending movie presents the aggressive Clarence Darrow as more rational and persuasive than the populist lifelong Presbyterian William Jennings Bryan. Darrow was one of the foremost attorneys in the United States at the time. Bryan, on the other hand, had not tried a court case in decades.

As in real life, the movie makes clear that this was an ultra-dramatic as well as bazaar trial. Yet still today, what we teach in our classrooms, such as evolution or our racist history, generates heated political discourse in communities across the country.

4. **Gideon's Trumpet.** This is a made for TV 1980 movie based on the book by reporter Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*. The book provides an enormously instructive commentary and analysis of a local jury trial case that finds a local drifter guilty of breaking into a pool hall and stealing some money. The drifter was not represented by a lawyer.

The accused, Clarence Gideon, appealed his case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The judges ruled that Gideon, though indigent, had a constitutional right to a lawyer. The imprisoned Gideon was retried, this time with a lawyer, and acquitted and released.

This movie is more of a civics class than an entertainment thriller. Henry Fonda, as usual, gives a splendid performance as the drifter Clarence Gideon. John Houseman was the director of the film and played the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. We learn the right to a lawyer matters. We are educated as to how a decidedly poor man's case became a landmark Supreme Court decision guaranteeing every defendant the right to a lawyer.

5. **The Verdict**. Directed by the gifted Sidney Lumet and written by the celebrated playwright David Mamet, this 1982 legal drama is based on a 1980 novel. It is said to have been inspired by a similar malpractice suit that outraged people in the New England area.

A hospital accident has put a woman patient in a permanent coma. The victim's family sues the Catholic hospital and two prominent anesthesiologists. An elite and well-staffed law firm is hired to defend the church hospital, the physicians, and their insurance companies.

Actor Paul Newman gives one of the best performances of his storied career. He plays a once-promising attorney, Frank Galvin, whose career has reached close to rock bottom. He was let go by another top law firm and has become an alcoholic. An old friend and mentor gives him this case, which is likely to be plea bargained into a favorable settlement for the hospital and the doctors. Galvin is to represent the victim.

Galvin visits the comatose victim, who is barely alive on a ventilator. Attorney Galvin is so revolted by what happened that he dedicates himself to rejecting the plea bargain and suing for more money in a courtroom jury trial. This is a big gamble. The narrative becomes in part the redemption of Frank Galvin, who works to pull himself together and fight for a righteous verdict.

James Mason acts as the defense attorney for the hospital and doctors and gives a prizewinning performance. The presiding judge is partial to the

hospital/doctors. He is Exhibit A in what we worry about in getting a fair jury trial.

Both sides break some laws, yet in the end each side puts their best case forward. The jury hands down a surprisingly high and favorable settlement to the comatose woman and her family.

This is a bit of a David v. Goliath plot. Viewers learn a lot about how lawyers prepare their cases, the critical importance of evidence, the need for appropriate witnesses, and the power of forceful closing arguments. This may not be a great movie, and it is a movie with populist biases. Yet it is a fair movie, and it presents a major legal showdown in Boston.

6. **The Runaway Jury.** This 2003 film is adapted from legal storyteller John Grisham's seventh novel, published in 1996.

The movie is mainly filmed in New Orleans. The case involves a woman whose husband has been killed in a random shooting at his office. The wife takes Vicksburg Firearms to court on the grounds that manufacturing deadly firearms constitutes gross negligence.

Actor Gene Hackman stars in the film as Rankin Fitch, jury consultant for the firearms firm. He specializes in trying to stack juries. The movie details various legitimate, and a few unlawful, techniques developed by this jury "witch doctor."

A bizarre and hard to believe part of this story is the role of a young juror, who deliberately seeks a big bribe in return for swaying the jury. The movie takes you through jury selection and some of the jury's private deliberations.

The Hackman character and the bribe-seeking young juror are both out to make a big profit from weaknesses in the jury system. The film thus exaggerates, in our view, things that rarely go wrong with the jury system. We presume that Grisham is seeking both to entertain (which he does reasonably well) and to warn us about the occasional instances when jury fixes and jury bribes may occur.

The prosecutor, played by Dustin Hoffman, resists the efforts to fix and bribe the jury. In the end the widow is awarded $110 million in general damages from the gun manufacturer.

7. **The Fountainhead.** This is a 1949 black-and-white Warner Brothers film based on libertarian Ayn Rand's huge bestseller by the same name.

Her protagonist is architect Howard Roark, splendidly acted by Gary Cooper. He represents Rand's embodiment of the human spirit, creativity, and individualism. There is little gray area in this film. It is the story of the American struggle between *individualism* and *collectivism*. Rand's novel and the movie celebrate individualism in the libertarian tradition.

Roark is a nonconformist who rejects traditional architecture theories and rejects heeding popular opinion. He is many things – narcissistic, driven, a rogue, a loner, and a visionary. Critics on the left see him as authoritarian and pro-fascist.

Gary Cooper's film rendition of Roark is watered down compared to the Roark of the novel, mainly because of Cooper's somewhat laid-back acting style.

But, from our standpoint, the final scenes of this movie are worth noting. Roark is tried in court for demolishing one of his recent architectural projects. He has his reasons. He takes the floor at the jury trial to expound his philosophy and his Ayn Randism.

Not surprisingly, Roarkism, Randism, and rugged individualism all receive a not guilty verdict.

8. **The O. J. Simpson 1994-1995 Trial.** One of America's most celebrated professional football stars and professional football commentators was arrested in 1994 for allegedly killing his ex-wife and her boyfriend. It was an especially bloody and brutal crime, and there were no witnesses.

O. J. Simpson, an African American, was famously acquitted in the subsequent jury trial held in downtown Los Angeles. National television covered this trial live. There have been a handful of books, movies, and documentary films that have tried to interpret what happened. Most agree

that the presiding judge acted improperly and the prosecution made some serious mistakes.

Rodney King, a black man, was brutally treated by the Los Angeles Police Department about two years before the O. J. Simpson trial. The police involved were tried and found not guilty. This led to major rioting in Los Angeles and raised concerns over the fair treatment of African Americans by the L.A. police. Many observers concluded that the turmoil over the Rodney King case caused the prosecution in the O.J. Simpson trial to go easy on the defendant in order to not appear biased against minorities.

In 1996 CNN commentator Jeffrey Toobin wrote an award-winning book on the O.J. Simpson trial called *The Run of His Life: The People vs. O. J. Simpson*. This inspired an FX Television series called*: The People vs. O. J. Simpson: American Crime Story*. The series was controversial, just like the O. J. Simpson trial, but it received a 97 percent rating on Rotten Tomatoes and can be viewed on Netflix. Other shows were *O. J. Simpson: Trial of the Century* and *O. J.: Made in America*.

Although O. J. Simpson was found not guilty, he was later fined more than $30 million in a subsequent civil suit with those funds to be shared with O. J. Simpson's alleged victims' families. In a totally different case, O. J. Simpson was later jailed for a robbery in Las Vegas.

9. **The Trial of the Chicago Seven.** This is an Aaron Sorkin Netflix film (2020) that tries to recapture the anti-war "hippie" protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. It involves the subsequent arrest and jury trial of several of those arrested for disturbing the peace and inciting unlawful behavior.

This may not be a great movie but it captures, through a liberal Sorkin lens, some of the history of the 1968 presidential nominating convention and the famous trial of Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, and others that took place later.

It was a raucous and out-of-control trial. Judge Julius Hoffman (played wonderfully by Frank Langella) loses his temper and sometimes loses control of the trial. The defendants are often rowdy and disrespectful.

Eventually the jury either acquitted the accused or handed out light sentences, all of which were overturned on appeal.

All of the defendants and nearly all of their lawyers were cited for contempt of court. There were some follow-up trials before a different judge, but none of the defendants and attorneys were jailed or fined.

This was not a typical jury trial. It was in part a show trial, in part a political spectacle, and in part a reflection of a divided America at the height of the Vietnam War. Still, it is a better film than we expected. It is yet one more example of juries at work and the problems with which they have to contend.

10, 11, and 12. **Billy Budd**, **The Caine Mutiny**, and **A Few Good Men**. These last three movies are highly recommended. Each is a case of military judicial decision making.

Herman Melville, one of America's most noted novelists, drafted **Billy Budd** in the early 1890s prior to his death. The book was not published until 1924. It is considered one of the hot novellas in the American canon.

The 1962 movie version aptly captures this story of innocence, power, leadership, good and evil, and a "drumhead" military jury trial.

Sailor Billy Budd is falsely accused of mutiny. Unable to control his emotions over the charge, he strikes and accidentally kills a much disliked and malicious superior officer.

The ship captain orders a court martial. A three-person jury of senior officers rules it is a case of self-defense and not murder. The Captain overrules his jury and orders Billy Budd to be hanged.

The captain is conflicted. He understands that Billy Budd was one of his best sailors and did not intentionally kill the superior officer. On the other hand, the captain feels compelled by the English code that a murder at sea, especially in wartime, cannot go unpunished.

This movie is a must-see classic. It forces every viewer to grapple with the question of how to balance law and order and justice in a situation such as Billy Budd's.

The Caine Mutiny is adapted from Herman Wouk's novel of the same name. Humphrey Bogart stars as Captain Queeg, the strict by-the-book disciplinarian – yet sometimes unhinged – captain of the U.S.S. Caine, a minor Navy ship in World War II in the Pacific Ocean sector.

It is worth any effort to watch this film.

Queeg antagonizes and loses the confidence of his crew. They are at war and in the path of a deadly typhoon. Fearing Queeg's insistence on following orders, no matter what, will sink the ship and kill the crew, the second-in-command officer, also going by the book, replaces Queeg on the grounds of his mental instability.

The second-in-command alters the Caine's course and gets the ship and crew through the typhoon. When the ship gets back to port, however, the second-in-command is charged with mutiny on the high seas.

This triggers a trial, with several high-ranking Navy officers sitting as the jury. A clever defense attorney gets Captain Queeg to lose his cool while testifying and reveal to the court his weakened mental condition. The charges of mutiny against the second-in-command are dismissed.

But Wouk and the movie do not let the audience off easily. The ending suggests that Captain Queeg, who had an outstanding service record, deserved better treatment from the men under his command. After all, it was long-serving career officers like Captain Queeq that enabled the Navy to win World War II in the Pacific, particularly in the early going.

The second-in-command had good reasons for doing what he did. In the end, however, Queeg is presented as a man who served his country with great honor and courage.

A Few Good Men. This 1992 legal drama is based on an Aaron Sorkin 1989 play. It was a big box office hit, particularly because of stellar acting performances by Tom Cruise, Jack Nicholson, and Demi Moore.

The movie is about the military court martial of two young U.S. marines charged with murdering a fellow marine at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba.

Tom Cruise is cavalier and almost impudent as he plays the lead defense lawyer. He seems to grow up and mature as the film develops. He impulsively builds his case for acquittal. He is helped by Demi Moore, who plays a second defense lawyer.

Jack Nicholson, the marine base commander, temporarily steals the show with an impressive plea for respecting the importance of military loyalty and military discipline to U.S. national security.

Tom Cruise and Demi Moore win a mostly not guilty verdict for their clients, yet viewers are left with the realities of an imperfect military judicial court system and a number of troubling ambiguities this case raises.

In conclusion, *The Economist* magazine recently noted that not much "is sacred in American public life any more. The jury itself is one of the holdouts."

Let us hope so. Yet a realist has to appreciate that the trial by impartial juries in an impartial courtroom will always be an end goal aspiration. As these movies attest, we still have flaws and imperfections in our judicial system just as each of us have our flaws.

The U.S. Supreme Court and many states have encouraged great improvements in our trial-by-jury system. But we have more to do to educate ourselves about this fundamental right and work even harder to have the jury system earn the respect of everyone.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about national and Colorado politics.

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GROWING MINORITY POPULATION IN COLORADO SPRINGS MOVING INTO RACIALLY INTEGRATED HOUSING

By Bob Loevy

Many people have had trouble adjusting to the news that Colorado Springs is one of two most residentially racially integrated cities in the United States. That was the result of a major study by the University of California at Berkeley that measured the extent of racially segregated housing throughout the nation.

Colorado Springs and Port St. Lucie, Florida, were the only two cities to be labelled residentially "Integrated." The study found widespread racial segregation in housing in the U.S. that was concentrated on the East Coast, in the upper Midwest, and on the West Coast, particularly in Los Angeles.

Many observers have thought of Colorado Springs as having too few minority residents to qualify high on the chart of residential racial equality. Yet U.S. Census figures paint a different picture. In 2020 Colorado Springs was recorded as 6.5 percent African Americans and 17.6 percent Hispanics (of any race).

Those two minorities added together total 24.1 percent of the city's population. One out of every four residents of the Springs is now African American or Hispanic. The Cal-Berkeley study included any city in the nation that was 20 percent or more minority, so the Springs qualified by 4.1 points.

Many people are unaware of how steadily the percentage of Hispanic residents in Colorado Springs has grown over the past 30 years. According to the U.S. Census, in 1990 Hispanics were 8 percent of the population. By 2000 that figure had grown to 11.3 percent and by 2010 to 15.0 percent. At the 2020 level of 17.6 percent, Hispanic citizens are the most numerous

minority group in both Colorado Springs and the Colorado Springs metropolitan area.

The researchers at Cal-Berkeley attributed the level of residential racial integration in Colorado Springs to the presence of the U.S. military – Fort Carson, the Air Force Academy, the North American Air Defense Command, etc.

The Cal-Berkeley scholars argued that the military is one of the most racially integrated groups in U.S. Society. Furthermore, the military provides good jobs and access to Veterans Administration housing loans that enable military and retired military to afford to live in housing developments throughout the Pike's Peak region.

That is a good analysis, but here are some homegrown reasons for Colorado Springs being so residentially racially integrated:

Colorado was not a slavery state. Founded mainly by Northerners at the time of the Civil War (1860s), Colorado never had a significant African American population living on and farming the land as was the situation in the American South.

The egalitarian views of William Jackson Palmer, the founder of Colorado Springs. A Union general in the Civil War, Palmer fought to end slavery. After the war he donated money to support colleges and universities to educate the recently free slaves. He was a benefactor of Colorado College in Colorado Springs, which styled itself as "open to all races." Palmer wanted Colorado Springs to be a "best place to live in the West" rather than just another city.

Colorado was not a part of the Great Migration. From the 1920s through the 1960s, there was a northward migration of some 6 million African Americans from the rural South into major northern cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago. Racial segregation of housing in American cities was the operating rule during that period.

The result was the creation of large areas of segregated minority housing in East Coast and Midwest cities. Because the Great Migration

never reached Colorado Springs, the city was spared the highly segregated minority residential areas that characterize so many other U.S. cities.

The great growth of population in Colorado Springs coincided with the Civil Rights Movement. Prior to World War II, Colorado Springs was a small city with little population growth and small minority populations. The rapid expansion of the military in Colorado Springs during the war created the fast-growing city with housing developments springing up in all directions that continues to this day. This fast-growing and developing version of the city of Colorado Springs is only 75 years or so old.

All that rapid population expansion and housing construction came along with the Housing Rights Act of 1968. Minorities had the law on their side when they opted to buy housing wherever they could afford it throughout the growing Colorado Springs area.

The major conclusion is this. As the Hispanic population has grown in Colorado Springs over the past 30 years, these new minority residents have had little or no problem buying housing throughout the Colorado Springs metropolitan area – whether in the city or in unincorporated El Paso County.

Widespread housing integration has created the mistaken impression that Colorado Springs is an all-white community. Because African Americans and Hispanics are widely dispersed residentially throughout the metropolitan area, they are less evident to the casual observer. The situation is different in many other cities in the United States, where African Americans are living together in "ghettos" and Hispanics are concentrated in "barrios."

Racial and ethnic relations are not perfect in Colorado Springs in such areas as policing and the incidence of poverty and lack of affordable housing. But, according to the researchers at Cal-Berkeley, this city and metropolitan area have achieved one of the two highest levels of residential racial integration in the nation.

Bob Loevy is a retired professor of Political Science at Colorado College. To review the study, Google "Roots of Racial Residential Segregation."

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THE NEED FOR RACIALLY INTEGRATED HOUSING IN COLORADO

By Bob Loevy

The problem of racial segregation in housing has been an enduring one in the United States. Particularly in older metropolitan areas, there are large sections of cities populated with only African American citizens or Hispanic citizens. This residential form of racial segregation has proven highly resistant to reform and, in certain cities, is getting worse.

A recent study by the University of California at Berkeley looked at housing segregation in all 50 states, including Colorado. It found high levels of residential racial segregation in two places in Colorado. One was the Denver metropolitan area. The other was the rural agriculture counties of southern Colorado.

Denver Metro was found to be one of only two metropolitan areas in Colorado with a substantial number of African American citizens. Denver Metro is about 5% African American, as is the Colorado Springs metropolitan area. Throughout the remainder of Colorado, the Cal-Berkeley researchers did not find sufficient numbers of African American residents to be able to measure racial discrimination in housing.

Within the Denver metropolitan area, the most segregated section of African American housing was in northeast Denver extending outward

toward Commerce City. There also were large numbers of African Americans living in minority segregated areas of the city of Aurora, a major city within Denver Metro.

Incidentally, the Cal-Berkeley researchers were fascinated with Aurora. They devoted a special section of their report to praising Colorado's third largest city for its high percentages of minority Americans living successfully together in one community.

The study found a large segregated white area west of Denver in the general region around Conifer and Evergreen. On the other hand, well-integrated neighborhoods were in River North (RINO) in Denver and in Littleton, Lakewood, Wheat Ridge, and Arvada,

After measuring the high racial segregation areas of Denver Metro against the racially integrated areas, the Cal-Berkeley researchers ranked Denver the 79th most residentially racially segregated metropolitan area in the United States. On the rating scale of 221 metropolitan areas, one (1) was the most racially segregated and 221 was the most racially integrated.

That 79th ranking put Denver Metro toward the high end of the middle third of United States metropolitan areas where housing segregation is concerned. The highest cities on the list for residential racial segregation were mainly large cities on the East and West coasts and in the upper Midwest, such as New York City, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Outside the Denver and Colorado Springs metropolitan areas, housing segregation in Colorado mainly affects Hispanic citizens. That is particularly true in southern Colorado. High levels of housing segregation were found in five southern Colorado counties. In each case, high levels of residential racial segregation were accompanied by high percentages of Hispanic citizens.

The exact figures are Huerfano County, 31% Hispanic; Saguache County, 38% Hispanic; Rio Grande County, 40% Hispanic; Alamosa County, 47% Hispanic, and Costilla County, 57% Hispanic.

This is a unique situation. Theses five southern Colorado counties were among the first places to be successfully settled in Colorado. Hispanic settlers came up the Rio Grande River from New Mexico in the early 1850s and founded the first towns in Colorado, such as San Luis in Costilla County. These Hispanic communities have been there a long time and are proud of their founding role in the history of Colorado.

Four counties on the high prairies of the Eastern Plains of Colorado qualified as highly residentially segregated for Hispanics. They are Phillips County (county seat, Holyoke), Morgan County (Fort Morgan), Lincoln County (Hugo), and Otero County (La Junta).

Midway between highly residentially segregated and residentially integrated, the University of California at Berkeley researchers created a category labeled low-medium racially segregated. A number of rural counties in Colorado were in this low-medium category. In particular the skiing counties high in the Rocky Mountains qualified as low-medium segregated.

Skiing counties with low-medium housing segregation include Grand (Winter Park), Gunnison (Crested Butte), Pitkin (Aspen), Routt (Steamboat), and San Miguel (Telluride).

Other places in Colorado with low-medium housing segregation were Boulder County, the Fort Collins-Loveland area, Greeley, Parker, Durango, and Grand Junction.

Only two communities in Colorado were rated by the Cal-Berkeley researchers as residentially racially integrated. They were Pueblo County and the Colorado Springs metropolitan area.

What is the significance of these findings? The researchers at the University of California repeatedly made the point that minority children raised in racially segregated communities get poorer grades in school, are less likely to go to college, and make much less money throughout their working lives than minority children raised in racially integrated neighborhoods.

In Denver Metro, the solution to this problem could be to implement equal-opportunity home sales and home loans combined with affordable housing programs to create more racially integrated communities. In southern Colorado, direct aid for better schools and job training could be administered in historic Hispanic neighborhoods.

Bob Loevy is a retired professor of political science at Colorado College. To review the Cal-Berkeley study, google "Roots of Racial Residential Segregation."

Colorado Politics
December 19, 2021

TRIVIA: CAN YOU ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS ABOUT COLORADO AND ITS POLITICAL HISTORY

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Here are some of our favorite trivia questions about Colorado and its political history. Questions are below, with answers following at the bottom in *italics*:

1. What is the average elevation for all of Colorado?
A. 10,000 feet
B. 9,385 feet
C. 6,800 feet
D. 5,500 feet

2. What is the average yearly rainfall in Colorado?
A. 17 inches
B. 23 inches
C. 25 inches
D. 32 inches

3. What percent of Colorado is U.S. government owned land?
A. 25.2%
B. 35.9%
C. 42.1%
D. 44%

4. What is the number of ski resorts in Colorado?
A. 10
B. 14
C. 22
D. 32

5. Which Colorado governor was an active member of the Ku Klux Klan?
A. Clarence Morley
B. Edward Evans
C. Samuel Colfax
D. William Breckinridge

6. Which former Colorado governor spent five years in the U.S. Government penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas?
A. Clarence Morley
B. Edward Evans
C. Samuel Colfax
D. William Breckinridge

7. What national political party (not the Democrats or the Republicans) was founded in Colorado?
A. Whig Party
B. Libertarian Party
C. Constitution First Party
D. Constitutional Union Party

8. At its peak, how many Japanese-Americans lived in a World War II internment camp in Colorado (Camp Amache)?
A. 7,300
B. 10,332
C. 13,000
D. 28, 552

9. Name the three Colorado towns where Tom Cruise, Kevin Costner, and Ralph Lauren have getaway ranches?
A. Cruise, Kremmling; Costner, Vail; Lauren, Winter Park
B. Cruise, Glenwood Springs; Costner, Craig; Lauren, Salida
C. Cruise, Telluride; Costner, Aspen; Lauren, Ridgway
D. Cruise, Montrose; Costner, Creede; Lauren, San Luis

10. What American president liked to spend time in Colorado going fishing?
A. Teddy Roosevelt
B. Gerald Ford
C. Franklin D. Roosevelt
D. Dwight D. Eisenhower

11. How many counties are there in Colorado?
A. 63
B. 64
C. 65
D. 46

12. How many Colorado counties have Spanish names?
A. 8
B. 11
C. 12
D. 18

13. How many Colorado counties are named for American presidents?
A. 11
B. 9
C. 5
D. 3

14. What percentage of the Colorado population lives within 50 miles (either side) of the state's three interstate highways (I-25, I-70, and I-76)?
A. About 85%
B. About 95%
C. About 75%
D. About 65%

15. What is the name of Colorado's highest Rocky Mountain peak?
A. Mount Esther
B. Mount Princeton
C. Mount Elbert
D. Longs Peak

16. Where is the lowest point of elevation in Colorado?
A. Arkansas River at Kansas border
B. Arickaree River at Kansas border
C. Rio Grande River at New Mexico border
D. North Platte River at Wyoming border

17. What is the governor's annual salary in Colorado?
A. $90,000
B. $149,000
C. $180,000
D. $123,193

18. Can you name the six major headwater rivers that flow out of Colorado?
A. Arkansas, Rio Grande, Colorado, Yampa, North Platte, South Platte
B. Arkansas, Rio Grande, Colorado, Columbia, North Platte, South Platte
C. Arkansas, Missouri, Colorado, Columbia, North Platte, South Platte
D. Arickaree, Republican, Colorado, Yampa, North Platte, South Platte

19. What is the mandatory retirement age for Colorado justices and judges?
A. 65
B. 70
C. 72
D. 75

20. Which major political party has won the Colorado governorship the most over the past 50 years (1970-2018)?
A. Democratic
B. Republican

21. Which major political party (Democratic or Republican) has won Colorado in US presidential elections the most times in the past 50 years (1972-2020)?
A. Democratic
B. Republican

22. When was the last time the Broncos won the Super bowl?
A. 2018
B. 2016
C. 2014
D. 2012

23. Name the location of three major pedestrian (walking) malls in Colorado?
A. Mile High Mall (Denver), Pearl Street Mall (Boulder), Tejon Street Mall (Colorado Springs)
B. 16th Street Mall (Denver), Tejon Street Mall (Colorado Springs), Mill Street Mall (Aspen)
C. 16th Street Mall (Denver), Pearl Street Mall (Boulder), Mill Street Mall (Aspen).
D. 16th Street Mall (Denver), Buffalo Mall (Boulder), Skiers' Walk (Aspen)

24. What town is closest to the exact geographical center of the state of Colorado?
A. Leadville
B. Fairplay
C. Buena Vista
D. Tarryall

25. True or false? Colorado has the tallest sand dunes in the United States.
A. True
B. False

26. True or false? John Denver's hit song Rocky Mountain High is one of Colorado's official state songs.
A. True
B. False

27. What is the total number of state legislators (state Senate and State House combined) in Colorado?
A. 65
B. 100
C. 35
D. 75

28. According to the Colorado Constitution, what is the total number of days the legislature can be in session each year?
A. 250
B. 150
C. 120
D. 90

29. Who was the leader of the exploration group that discovered gold in Colorado and started the Pike's Peak Gold Rush?
A. William G. Russell
B. Molly Brown
C. John Evans
D. William Gilpin

30. What year was gold discovered in Colorado? Where was the discovery made in Colorado?
A. 1851 in San Luis
B. 1858 in Cripple Creek
C. 1858 at Dry Creek near Denver
D. 1891 at Cripple Creek

ANSWERS:

1 C; 2 A; 3 B; 4 D; 5 A; 6 A; 7 B; 8 A; 9 C; 10 D; 11 B;

12 D. Baca, Otero, Las Animas, Huerfano, Costilla, Alamosa, Conejos, Rio Grande, Saguache, Archuleta, San Juan, La Plata, Dolores, San Miguel, Mesa, Rio Blanco, Pueblo, El Paso.

13 C. Garfield, Jackson, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Washington counties; Adams County is named for Colorado Governor Alva Adams.

14 A; 15 C; 16 B; 17 D; 18 A; 19 C; 20 A; 21 B; 22 B; 23 C; 24 D; 25 A; 26 A; 27 B; 28 C; 29 A; 30 C

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy write about Colorado and national politics. Many of these issues or events are treated in Cronin and Loevy's Colorado Politics: Governing a Purple State.