

The Reubin O'D.

Askew

INSTITUTE

Democracy and the Economy in Florida at a Time of National Crisis

*A Report on the 2002 Meeting of
The Reubin O'D. Askew Institute
On Politics and Society*

Comments of Governor Reubin O'D. Askew



The events of September 11th have posed an enormous challenge for this nation unlike anything we have seen since the Cold War and Pearl Harbor before that. We lost many fine human beings in the World Trade towers, the Pentagon, and on the planes that crashed into them and into the fields of Pennsylvania. We should never forget those who died or how these events changed our lives.

We also need to honor those who died by continuing to move this nation forward and by making sure that no additional Americans are sacrificed to terrorism. President Bush's leadership has been like a beacon to all of us, and his address to the nation following the events of 9/11 established the right tone of tolerance for and yet resilience against those who would threaten our nation and its citizens. This period that we face, however long, will require a steady commitment, patience, and fortitude by all of us. It will not be an easy time, but neither was the Cold War and this nation persevered and triumphed in the end.

Our meeting this year focuses on the fundamental importance of our democracy and economy during this age of terrorism. As Trade Ambassador under President Jimmy Carter, it was clear to me that this world was growing ever closer together. The terrorists might hope to stop this but they cannot and we must make sure that they do not. Much of this world is anxious to embrace democracy and capitalism. They recognize that both offer freedom and opportunity unparalleled in the history of this world.

We in Florida have an unusual opportunity to show that terrorism will not divert us from our commitment to democracy, capitalism, and diversity. As one of the most diverse states in this nation that has positioned itself to be a leader in this nation and also in the Caribbean and throughout Latin America, Florida has much to lose if we turn inward and reject those who look and act differently than the rest of us. Diversity has made this nation great and unique in the world, and diversity has been a central factor in Florida's history from the settlement of Native Americans, to the Spanish settlement, to the arrival of the British, to the more recent arrival of peoples from Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Colombia.

I thank you all for taking time to participate in this very important conference and for offering us and our fellow citizens guidance on how we ensure the vitality of our democracy and economy in this post-9/11 age.



*The Askew Institute is
an Affiliate of the
Florida Institute
of Government*

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Wendy Abberger
Kern Alexander
Jim Button
Jean Chalmers
David Colburn
Neil Crispo
Ron Cunningham
C. B. Daniel
Lance deHaven-Smith
Charles Frazier
Michael Gannon
Ann Henderson
Lynn Leverty
Ralph Lowenstein
Jon Mills
Charles Pattison
Mark Pritchett
Richard Scher
Stan Smith

STAFF

David Colburn, Executive Director
Lynn Leverty, Associate Director
Lynne Holt, Assistant Director
Cheryl Lautzenheiser, Special Assistant
Kim Pace, Special Assistant
Josh Botts, Student Assistant
Brian Dassler, Student Assistant
Jason Parker, Graduate Research Assistant


*For those of you who would
like additional information
about the Askew Institute,
you should contact:*

*Dr. David Colburn,
P.O. Box 113175,
University of Florida,
Gainesville, Florida 32611-
3175 or call 352-846-1998.*

*Information about the Askew
Institute and the 2003
meeting can also be obtained
at its web site:
www.clas.ufl.edu/askew*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 2** Comments Of Governor Reubin O'D. Askew
- 4** Keynote Address
By Mayor John Delaney
- 6** Crises That Have Faced Florida
From Statehood In 1845 To The Present
By Michael Gannon
- 10** Roundtable Discussions
With Manny Fernandez, Lucy Morgan and Senator Rod Smith,
- 12** Discussion Groups
- 14** Recommendations Of Askew Participants
From The 2002 Meeting
- 16** Democracy and the Economy in Florida
at a Time of National Crisis
Lynne Holt With Assistance From David Colburn and Lynn Leverty
- 20** A List Of Related Organizations In Florida
- 20** Announcement of the 2002 Meeting of the Askew Institute



Democracy and the Economy in Florida at a Time of National Crisis



The Askew Institute offers its appreciation to the following organizations
for their support of the annual meeting:

The University of Florida

The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Florida

The Florida Institute of Government

The LeRoy Collins Center for Public Policy

Leadership Florida

The Florida Humanities Council

The Reubin O'D. Askew School for Public Policy at Florida State University

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

BY MAYOR JOHN DELANEY

The topic this year, as you know, relates to the events of September 11 and the impact of those events on Florida's economy and Florida's democracy. Tonight I plan to review this topic from a different perspective. I would submit to you that there is no national crisis as the title of our topic suggests. There is no threat to democracy or to our democratic institutions because our institutions are simply too strong and enduring. Although the economy was impacted in the fall, the impact was modest, it was predictable, and it was temporary.

First, let us deal with the perceived crisis. Without a doubt, September 11 had a profound psychological effect on our country. Three thousand American lives were lost in a matter of hours, and I do not intend to minimize, in any way, that loss or its effects on those victims' families, friends, churches and synagogues, and workplaces.

President Bush began his state of the union address: "Our country is at war. Our economy is in recession. But the state of the union has never been better." I concur with that statement. Last fall I was in West Virginia on a hiking and white water rafting trip. Flags were draped over the porches of coal miners' houses in the hollows and valleys of backwoods West Virginia, and red, white, and blue cuffs were draped around chain link fences surrounding schools and libraries. In addition to flags and many other symbolic gestures, we have demonstrated our support through spiritual unity and generosity. Our churches are filled. Our charitable giving is up. Patriotism in our country has not been rivaled since World War II.

Our renewed patriotism has not descended, however, into a backlash against Arab-Americans. Jacksonville has an Arab-American population of approximately 30,000 to 40,000. After September 11, I began calling some Arab-American leaders in the city. They said in reality their business was up and they received pats on the back and hugs of support.

There have been great intrusions on civil liberties in time of crisis or war. Examples include the writs of *habeas corpus* suspended



JOHN
DELANEY

*I believe the
debate we need
for Florida
revolves around
the question:*

*can we create a government
structure that at all levels has a
conscience to look long term?*

by President Lincoln and the detention and internment of Japanese-Americans by President Roosevelt. In addition, Presidents Adams, Jefferson, and Madison passed an array of Alien and Sedition acts. During the reign of J. Edgar Hoover, there was wiretapping of black and Jewish civil rights activists, Martin Luther King, anybody with an Italian last name, and anyone associated with unions. Subsequently, the courts overturned laws that undermined civil liberties, the legislature and Congress repealed them, the press condemned them, academia attacked them, and there was a national outcry.

Our democracy and our democratic institutions are largely self-correcting. To paraphrase Alexis de Tocqueville, in the end, Americans always get it right. Although we should never forget challenges to our civil liberties, we should have absolute confidence that our democratic systems, our courts, our legislators, the press, academia and our feelings for and love of liberty will not pose a real threat to our American institutions. And I submit that the challenges to America and to Florida are the same now as they were before September 11 — racism, schools, the environment, taxes, our infrastructure, and the regulatory climate.

According to a loose translation from the Russian writer, Anton Chekhov: Any fool can handle a crisis; it's the day-to-day living that gets you. I believe that Florida's

challenge is the day-to-day living. It is not the perceived crisis. Therefore, I will redefine the topic with a sense of revisionism. In my view, the question is not: "Did September 11 have a negative impact on our economy or our democratic institutions?" Instead the question is: "Is Florida ready for its future?" Are its government structures and its economy ready for the future?

As citizens of the community, as citizens of the world, we have limited opportunities to shape our community and state for the rest of our lives, our children's lives and our grandchildren's lives. The decisions our city leaders make at crucial junctures have long-term ramifications.

I will cite three examples from Gainesville, Orlando, and my city of Jacksonville to illustrate this point.

- At the turn of the century, Lake City and Gainesville competed to be the site of the University of Florida. Because Gainesville offered free water, the University of Florida was located in Gainesville. Gainesville, by the actions of the city fathers at the turn of the last century, was forever shaped by the decision of the leaders of that city. And Lake City is still Lake City. Now it's a wonderful place to live and I don't mean to criticize it. But it could have been much different.
- Orlando was changed forever in the 1960s, when Walt Disney selected it as a site for Disneyland because land was cheap. Orlando had the finger on the fast forward button. Orlando grew. The farmers made money selling their land. The road builders made money. The contractors made money. The bankers made money. The lawyers made money. The accountants made money. Everyone made money in the city of Orlando. Now Mayor Glenda Hood is faced with major traffic jams. She is trying to find land to develop a light rail or a rapid transit system and



build a new interstate or an interstate loop. Over 30 years ago, Orlando knew this was going to happen. It would have cost a pittance then to make those investments. Residents of Orlando are paying a price that residents of all our communities pay because it is so difficult to think long term and look forward.

- In Jacksonville, a twenty-year old road connecting south of town to the beach already needs to be widened. That road will cost \$120 million, with one-third of the cost to be incurred in chiseling the overpasses and widening them from four to eight inches. If we had simply built those overpasses a bit wider for a few million more dollars, we could have realized tremendous savings today.



An expressway from the northern end of our beach to the downtown has been sketched out on the Jacksonville books since 1927. In that sketch, it runs through an area that was mined by a mineral company from the turn of the century up to the Depression. If at any time from sixty years ago to twenty years ago someone would have said to what was left of that mineral company, "Would you give us the right of way for an express way we want to build here," they would have said "here's the deed" because the surrounding land would have gone up in value. Now we're having to build that road. We're having to tear down homes and businesses because we didn't plan for it when we knew the road was going to be built.

My contention is that government does not think long term. It thinks through the next budget cycle or perhaps as long as the next election cycle. Now this contention does not include the great statesmen, especially Governor Askew who is here tonight. The mere fact they are here tells us that they want to think long term, and in more depth, about the state. I was just in

Tallahassee yesterday and met with a high-ranking state senator who said to me: "You know, I hate spending money on capital projects. You are out of office before you can cut the ribbon."

That is the prevailing sentiment because there is no political reward to spend money now for long-term benefits. When our communities and state grow, there is an upside. There is a growth dividend. However, the challenge is how we address the downsides of growth. The downsides are divided into roughly three categories. First, our infrastructure falls behind — the roads, the water, the sewers, and the schools. Second, the environment is negatively impacted — our water becomes polluted; our air becomes polluted; and our land is contaminated. Third, communities are always, always, left behind. Gainesville grew west, the east side was left behind. Jacksonville grew south and east, the north and west were left behind. Orlando grew north. Tampa grew everywhere. Miami grew east and west and is now trying to in-fill. And the question then becomes: how can we now deal with that growth pattern?

I believe the debate we need for Florida revolves around the question: can we create a government structure that at all levels has a conscience to look long term? The issue is not really about the services we need to provide because virtually every social service need that we study comes back to: "We need more money for that particular program." The issue is, I believe, a lack of confidence in government to deliver the service efficiently. It is difficult to go back to the people to ask for more money if they think that what you are doing is not done well. Government does good things but too often it doesn't do them very well.

The discussion at the national level may be: how do we build confidence in government institutions so that the public has faith that they will deliver those services? Since September 11, I don't believe there is any question that during crises our leaders are important. As Chekhov says about such crises, "Any fool can handle those." But perhaps more important is their ability to lead us through our day-to-day lives: how we drive our kids to school; if they have a soccer field to play in; if there's a policeman on the street to make sure they are safe. On those concluding observations, we should focus our debate.



CRISES THAT HAVE FACED FLORIDA FROM STATEHOOD IN 1845 TO THE PRESENT

By MICHAEL GANNON

The terrorist attacks of last September 11th have placed each of us in a crisis mode of thinking and acting. Though the actions of that date took place nearly a thousand miles away, we sense their proximity because they violated our sacred national space, and because they affronted our most precious personal values. Consequently, each of us has become more sensitively alert to the still-potent dangers that lurk within an open society.



At the same time, it may be healthy to recognize that our country and our state have passed through many other

grave crises and have emerged from them a more united and stronger people. Crises can strengthen us, as steel is tempered by fire. Some crises we have brought on ourselves, through pride and arrogance, or hate and venality. Some have been imposed on us by rank injustice. Some have simply happened as acts of nature or of God. But whatever their origins, these crises have made us better than we were before.

The Civil War

The war of 1861-65 was Florida's first great crisis since statehood. Altogether, during the four-year-long bloodletting, Florida sent 15,000 of her young men to



MICHAEL
GANNON

It may be healthy to recognize that our country and our state have passed through many other grave crises and have emerged from them a more united and stronger people. Crises can strengthen us, as steel is tempered by fire.

distant battlefields; 5,000 lost their lives to combat or disease. Only one major battle was fought in Florida itself, at Olustee near Lake City, on February 20, 1864. Although this action resulted in a Confederate victory, it was small compensation for the humiliating fact that, throughout the war, Union



United States Fleet off the harbor of Pensacola, 1861.

forces occupied all of Florida's major port cities. Jacksonville would be invaded four different times and suffer burnings at the hands of both federals and Confederates.

Racism and Segregation

The Civil War was closely followed by a second great crisis, one that affected our African American population solely, one

that lasted nearly a hundred years, one that saddens today's enlightened citizenry. For a brief period after the emancipation that Union victory brought them, Florida's former black slaves experienced both freedom and full citizenship. In their support the Congress passed a Civil Rights Act and the similar Fourteenth Amendment, which neutralized the so-called Black Codes of the Florida legislature. Those codes had represented an attempt of former slaveholders to reinstitute the slave system in fact if not in law. In 1868, nineteen blacks were elected to the legislature.

In 1877, federal troops were withdrawn from Florida, leaving the 49 percent black population without substantive support. Eager to put the African Americans back "in their place," the narrow white majority began whittling away at the newly won black rights, including that of suffrage. The theory of white supremacy permeated statutory, even constitutional, law. By 1887, a series of state Jim Crow laws resubjugated the former slaves to a status of social, if not complete legal and physical, bondage. By 1890, because of poll taxes and multiple ballot boxes, most blacks no longer voted.

The long racial crisis did not ease until the mid-1960s with congressional passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and of the



Martin Luther King in St. Augustine, Florida, 1964.

Voting Rights Act of 1965. Today, 37 years later, there is still need for change, as both black and white community leaders have recognized. But the crisis years, at least, were past.



Sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter in Tallahassee in 1960.

From Appomattox in 1865 to St. Augustine in 1964, the African-American crisis dominated, as it also explained the social and political environment of Florida. Of course, this crisis need never have occurred. However, from a reading of history one understands why it did.

Contagious Diseases

Throughout the territorial and early statehood years, contagious diseases struck large numbers of Florida citizens, particularly those who lived in port cities, such as Pensacola, Apalachicola, St. Joseph, Tampa, Key West, and Jacksonville. Yellow fever, typhoid, and influenza were three such diseases.

- **Yellow Fever.** In the most severe health crisis that faced Floridians after statehood, a yellow fever epidemic swept through Jacksonville in 1888. In that year, 5,000 citizens contracted the disease and more than 400 died from it. People fled the city in panic, by carriages and wagons, by train and steamer. By early September, Jacksonville's population was reduced from 20,000 to 14,000; all but 4,000 were black. Stores were deserted, businesses closed. The epidemic did not abate until the temperatures fell below freezing in November. In December, the refugees began returning to Jacksonville.
- **Influenza.** In 1918-1920, not just Florida but the entire country was caught in the grip of an influenza epidemic. In Florida, during those years, 607 deaths resulted from the "flu."

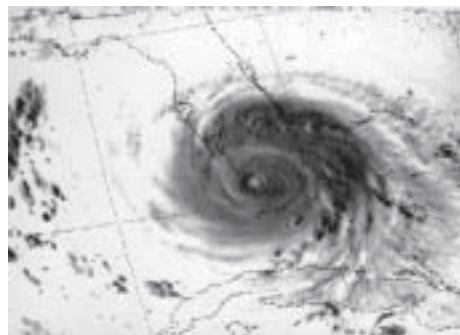


Nationally, there were 675,000 deaths, over five times the number of American fatal casualties in the First World War.

Weather

During the decades that followed, public health services made significant strides in urban sanitation, in vaccines, in medicines, and in preventive care. We found here, as elsewhere in the country, that infectious diseases could be controlled. However, to Floridians' continual dismay, one thing that could not be controlled was the weather.

- **Hard Freezes.** In the winter of 1894-95, most of Florida was damaged by a series of hard freezes. In late February orange groves in the north central counties were, as the saying went, killed to the ground. More freezes would come, including the billion-dollar "Christmas freeze" of 1983 that destroyed citrus groves above Orlando and the two-day freeze in January 1985 that hit as far south as Palm Beach and Naples. As a result of those events and the equally destructive freeze of Christmas Eve 1989, citrus production moved farther south on the peninsula. Citrus and Orange counties became misnomers.



Hurricane Andrew, 1992

- **Hurricanes.** In 1896, a hurricane swung in from the Gulf and completely destroyed Cedar Key. On the night of September 18, 1926, an Atlantic hurricane, with wind forces estimated to be between 130 and 150 miles per hour, unexpectedly slammed into Dade and Broward counties. Ninety-two coastal residents were killed, and another 300 persons drowned at Moore Haven, when





a Lake Okeechobee dike crumbled and flooded the town. Over 6,000 were injured and 18,000 made homeless. Other extensively damaging hurricanes hit portions of Florida in 1928, 1935, and, more recently, 1992 and 1995.

State Economy

During the first half of the 1920s, Floridians experienced a runaway land boom. In 1925, over 2.5 million people came to Florida, mainly to Dade County, looking for fifty feet in paradise. Miami, Coral Gables, Miami Beach, and other sites offered irresistible pleasure domes to northern “snowbirds,” who made downpayments on paper binders that in too many cases proved worthless. By 1926, the boom went bust and Florida entered the Great Depression three years ahead of the rest of the country. Florida property values dropped by a fourth as the Depression deepened. County and municipal bonds defaulted. Business people and farmers went bankrupt and two railroads, the Florida East Coast and Seaboard Air Line, sank into receivership. Florida was down and out.



Florida’s travail was softened by an unusually generous influx of federal dollars from New Deal programs — attributable to the friendship between Governor David

Sholtz (1933-1937) and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. When America entered the Second World War, Florida was on the mend. The state’s economy was more robust than economies of the other southern states because the paying tourists were back.

World War II

Yet, what history gives with one hand it takes away with the other. No sooner was the tourist industry revived than it collapsed, owing to wartime rationing of gas and tires as well as to military requisitions of trains and planes. In a flash Florida fell back into a depression mode. Every city hurt, especially those cities with tourism-dependent economies. Eventually, money began to pour into Florida through the establishment of military installations. These included 45 airfields, which dotted the Florida landscape from Pensacola to the Keys. The Army Air Forces alone occupied 70,000 hotel rooms on Miami Beach.



But diminished income was not the only wartime crisis affecting Floridians. From February through July 1942, German U-boats sank 24 American and Allied ships in Florida’s coastal waters, visibly bringing the war to the doorsteps of stunned beach-cottage residents. Four German saboteurs landed from a U-boat in June 1942 at Ponte Vedra Beach, from which agents of the FBI successfully tracked them.

All of those crises diminished and finally disappeared after V-J Day. The bases closed and the tourists returned. Not only tourists came but also servicemen and women who had trained in Florida and liked what they had seen. Armed with VA home loans, they became the vanguard of the population increase that Florida has experienced as a

continuous spiraling phenomenon from 1945 to the present.



Victory drive for the World War II effort, Tallahassee, 1941-42

The Johns Committee

From 1956 to 1965, the citizens of Florida experienced their own special form of McCarthyism. The practice involved the use of methods of investigation and accusation regarded by many as unjust, even when employed in the cause of seeking evidence of disloyalty or subversion. In Florida the agent of that practice was a committee of the state legislature named the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, often identified by its acronym FLIC. The committee was more popularly known in later years as the Johns Committee, after Charley E. Johns — the state senator from Starke and former acting governor in 1953 to 1955. Johns prodded the legislature into appointing the committee and into keeping it in place on a year-to-year basis for nine years. He served intermittently as its chair.

Johns was a staunch segregationist, not unlike most members of the legislature in the 1950s. The legislature passed an interposition resolution to prevent the implementation in Florida of the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case.

- **NAACP.** The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or NAACP, was chosen as the Johns Committee’s first target. The committee vigorously went after the NAACP membership lists allegedly to expose



communists. However, the black organization resisted, fearing both that individual members might be singled out for unjust accusation or reprisal, and that membership rolls would plunge.

Ultimately, Florida's Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Johns Committee, authorizing the Committee to obtain the names of NAACP members. Finally, in 1962, NAACP attorneys persuaded the U.S. Supreme Court to hear their case. The majority opinion, announced in 1963 (a reversal of an earlier position by the Court), confirmed the civil rights group's associational right to privacy as guaranteed by the Constitution. The Johns Committee was effectively blocked from further harassment of the NAACP as an alleged agent of a Communist conspiracy.

- **Harassment of Homosexuals.** Five years earlier, in 1958, when first frustrated in his attempts to rein in the NAACP, Charley Johns diversified. In August of that year he covertly sent his committee's chief investigator Remus J. Strickland to Gainesville to search for homosexuals on the University of Florida campus. Informants to Mr. Strickland and his staff gave parties to which suspected faculty members and students were invited and enticed to sexual activity or disclosure. (Mr. Strickland also conducted anti-homosexual investigations at Florida State University in Tallahassee and in various districts of the Florida public school system.)
- **Academic Freedom.** Mr. Strickland and his staff concentrated on professors' ideas at the fledgling University of South Florida in Tampa. The university's Staff, Faculty, and Advisors Handbook guaranteed the right of faculty members to teach their subjects with unhindered academic freedom. Nonetheless, the Johns Committee decided to go after certain books on assigned reading lists that it found salacious or distasteful, such as Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament* and John Steinbeck's *Grapes of*

Wrath. Several faculty members were ultimately dismissed or forced into resignation due to their choice of class readings.

- **End of the Johns Committee.** Mercifully, in 1965, the legislature pulled the plug on its tarnished Investigation Committee. Although the end of FLIC did not mean that external interference in professional faculty life ceased abruptly, the crisis years of formal legislative harassment of Florida's NAACP chapters and of Florida's university faculties were over.

Recent Florida Crises

In recent times one need only mention the names for us to remember other crises large and small: Florida East Coast Railway strike . . . Cross Florida Barge Canal . . . Mediterranean fruit-fly . . . Mariel boat lift . . . cocaine cowboys . . . murder capital of the world . . . Liberty City race riots . . . Challenger disaster . . . 58 hazardous waste sites . . . city commission corruptions . . . poisoned Everglades . . . citrus canker . . . Elian . . . post 9/11 tourist air travel collapse . . . \$330-million in state retirement funds lost in the Enron fiasco.

Not to mention: uncontrolled urban sprawl . . . overstretched infrastructures . . . traffic gridlocks . . . polluted atmospheres . . . declining supplies of fresh drinking water . . . and wretched ballots and voting machines.

You no doubt noticed that in this enumeration I did not list the resignation of Steve Spurrier.

And after my long recital of crises from statehood to the present, now mercifully ended, you may be asking, what, then, does it all mean? Answer: it means whatever you decide it means. And to that task I wish you Godspeed.



At lunch on Friday, Manny Fernandez, the Gartner Group, Lucy Morgan, St. Petersburg Times, and Senator Rod Smith, District 5, Alachua County, presented their assessments of the impact of the events of September 11 on Florida.

Manny Fernandez

Mr. Fernandez discussed the impact of September 11 from a business perspective. He observed that September 11 and its aftermath changed our lives and our grandchildren's lives. His remarks focused on three areas of change that have affected, and will continue to affect, Floridians — 1) security and privacy, 2) the economy, and 3) the role of education, particularly higher education. Each area links to significant technological transformations. Mr. Fernandez noted that since September 11, corporations' technology projects in their 2002-2003 budgets reflect major changes in priority.

- **Security and Privacy.** Corporations have been shifting their investment priorities to the purchase of security-related technologies, including software, data and physical security products. In addition, they have been engaging in new ways of doing business through increased investments in integration and collaboration software. Collaboration software can minimize travel and promote efficiency for corporations and their trading partners. Other corporate priorities include greater investments in

mobile and wireless communications products and services. A greater emphasis on security will have tremendous implications for privacy.

- **Economy.** September 11 exposed the lack of diversity in Florida's economy and we need to become very proactive in addressing that issue. Our economy needs to shift from a great dependence on the tourism sector to a more balanced array of industries. How do we accelerate the process toward economic balance?

- **Education.** Efforts to attract new businesses to Florida will depend on our state's education system. Therefore, education, particularly higher education, must become a state priority. Higher education must assume a different role than in the past and conditions must be favorable to retain post-secondary graduates with higher degrees. For example, the number one university from which Intel hires PhDs in engineering is the University of Florida. While this recruitment level is a tribute to the University of Florida, why did these graduates choose not to remain in Florida?

- **Next Economic Boom.** Technology will drive the next economic boom and will create an environment in which entrepreneurship can flourish in Florida. These entrepreneurial conditions will include venture capital financing and the capacity to create businesses quickly.

Mr. Fernandez concluded that technology, entrepreneurship, and education will propel us forward and that Florida will do just fine.

September 11 exposed the lack of diversity in Florida's economy and we need to become very proactive in addressing that issue. Our economy needs to shift from a great dependence on the tourism sector to a more balanced array of industries.

Lucy Morgan

Ms. Morgan noted that September 11 represents a "sea change" in our lives. This crisis has stripped us of a sense of security on American soil. Ms. Morgan outlined several momentous implications of the crisis.

- **Increased Demand for Serious News.** September 11 reinvigorated serious journalism in this country and a public demand for informed reporting. Journalism organizations that fare well today offer serious national, state, and international reports. Trivial stories are no longer of as great an interest to the public. Newspaper sales increased significantly after September 11.

- **Dramatic Change in Political Rhetoric.** September 11 has changed the nature of political rhetoric and may have elevated it. Although this change may be temporary, candidates for political office who run negative campaigns may look very tacky to the average citizen.

- **Public Records/Public Meetings.** Recent efforts to close records and meetings to the public following September 11 are troubling. Florida has a long tradition of ensuring access to public records and meetings.

- **Budgets.** There is an increasing tendency to include items in the budget in the name of terrorism. Ms. Morgan quipped: "I fully expect to see a new football stadium at the University of Florida built in the name of terrorism. If you can attach the word 'terrorism' to what you're doing, the likelihood will be that you will have political success in Tallahassee."

- **Rebirth of Patriotism.** In the aftermath of September 11, there was a rebirth of patriotism in the younger generation and a marked concern about the well-being of others, particularly family members. September 11 also brought Americans together in a way that has not occurred in past years.

- **Excessive Precaution.** September 11 also provoked illogical responses. For example, one cannot drink orange juice on U.S. Air flights in Florida. This does not

make much sense in a state known for its citrus production. Because orange juice can cause allergic reactions, it has been replaced by apple juice. So orange juice has become a casualty of terrorism.

• **Security.** While security measures are important, there has been a tendency toward over-reaction and the installation of duplicative security measures. For example, many highway patrol officers

September 11 reinvigorated serious journalism in this country and a public demand for informed reporting. Journalism organizations that fare well today offer serious national, state, and international reports.

have been reassigned to the State Capitol in Tallahassee. Metal detectors and an X-ray machine have been installed to check people and items entering the Capitol.

Ms. Morgan concluded that the world has markedly changed since September 11. We are still “feeling our way” in formulating a response to that crisis. People will eventually view September 11 much as the preceding generation viewed Pearl Harbor.

Senator Rod Smith

Senator Smith began his presentation by recognizing the risks people on the front line, such as fire fighters, took in response to September 11 and its aftermath. Senator Smith noted that history provides examples of over-reaction to circumstances, such as the Red Scare and various events during World War II. He cautioned that we must be careful not to over-react. His presentation outlined various legislative measures under consideration by the 2002 Legislature to promote greater security in Florida in light of the recent terrorist attacks.

Emergency Evacuation Planning. The First Amendment Foundation worked closely with Senator Smith and others in

drafting a bill on emergency evacuation planning. This bill would exempt sensitive information included in security-system plans (including emergency evacuations) from state public-record requirements. In the process of drafting the bill, legislators realized that the private sector needed to cooperate closely with the government in emergency evacuation planning.

Pharmaceuticals. Another security issue is public access to information about pharmaceutical caches that are maintained by public hospitals in response to terrorist acts. Such caches may include iodine, bacteria, and radioactive materials — of potential interest to terrorists. Senator Smith supported legislation which would provide that certification of the sufficiency of pharmaceutical materials and the security of the location of the depositories be included within the public record. However, the nature of the materials and the actual site of the depositories would be exempt from public-record requirements.

Material witness detention. A bill was co-sponsored by Senator Smith to authorize circuit judges to order detention of certain material witnesses for not more than 48 hours. After 48 hours, these witnesses would be entitled to a hearing before the circuit judge who issued the order. The bill did not progress because it appeared to conflict with the state’s long history of due process.

Budget. Agencies requested approximately \$10 million in state funds under the name of “terrorism” for initiatives that could be classified as ineffective. For example, funding was requested to conduct at inspection stations quick searches of truck cargo for contraband. But prospective

terrorists are likely to circumvent Florida inspection stations. Legislators must weigh funding requests made under the guise of terrorism in the context of other requests associated with pressing needs, such as health needs and education.

Racial/ethnic profiling. We need to be very cautious about racial and ethnic profiling and be careful not to over-react out of fear. Some of our worst decisions come when we react out of fear and not out of tolerance. Florida has great diversity. We encourage great diversity. An example of over-reaction may be a recently introduced bill that would place restrictions on people from other countries. People from those countries and their families may be in the United States because they do not agree with the policies of those countries.

Senator Smith concluded that President Bush inspired our country in the aftermath of September 11, and we need to make sure that we do not engage in the cheapest form of theatrics to undermine that spirit of inspiration. He stated: “I believe that leadership is at its best when inspiring people and at its worst when scaring people. I hope that as we look back 25 years from now, we will realize we made some productive decisions. If we act from inspiration we will have done so, but if we act under fear, we will not.”

Another security issue is public access to information about pharmaceutical caches that are maintained by public hospitals in response to terrorist acts.



Democracy and the Economy in Florida at a Time of National Crisis

Seven discussion groups explored the impact of September 11 on our nation and state. The groups generally agreed that these events could be used as a catalyst to bring us together in pursuit of common goals. The opportunity to shape such a response may only be transient. Nonetheless, the groups viewed the following changes in our collective behavior as promising: a greater interest in citizenship and patriotism, a more positive view of government, and a heightened awareness of other nations. Moreover, since September 11, we have engaged in a vigorous reassessment of our country's and state's economic bases and an increased analysis of the economy and our federal and state budget priorities.

"All citizens need a place — some kind of sand in their shoes— to feel secure."

Jean Chalmers

"There are so many issues to balance: information vs. disclosure; security vs. privacy. We must be vigilant in the choices we make."

Elizabeth Linsday

negative trade-offs between heightened security and our democratic freedoms, an adverse long-term impact on the state and national economies, and the potential for polarization among different groups within the United States.

While acknowledging those responses and concerns, each discussion group had its own approach to the topic. For example, each group considered the economic ramifications of September 11, but the focus was quite different. In several groups there was extensive discussion of Florida's tax structure, while in other groups the discussion of taxes was secondary to that of many other issues. In most groups, there was

"We need to think ahead and look back"

Bob Fernandez

While noting these constructive responses, the groups also noted the reverberating concerns that have emerged since September 11. We continue to have feelings of personal vulnerability. We fear possible

general consensus that Florida's tax structure needs to be modernized and our state leaders should build public consensus to that end.

The groups agreed that the events of September 11 underscored Florida's over-reliance on tourism as a source of revenue.

There also was consensus on the need to diversify the state's economy by promoting expansion of businesses and industries that were less reliant on

energy produced in other countries. Finally, several groups suggested that more emphasis be placed on "growing" our own small businesses rather than trying to attract large national corporations. Large corporations often want tax breaks and other incentives to relocate; in response to those demands, communities shift revenues away from other pressing local needs.

Concern about Florida's outdated infrastructure was expressed in several groups. The current highway system was not built to accommodate the number of people in Florida today; in some cities the local highways resemble parking lots more than a system to move people quickly from

"We have shallow roots, like cypress trees, but we need to create linkages with each other like the trees do."

Jill Canono

"September 11 revealed our ignorance about other cultures."

Jeff Dwyer

one place to another. Air service between Florida cities is limited. Even advances in, and a wider dissemination of, technology have not kept up with our growing population. Outdated infrastructure has a negative impact on the economy and presents barriers to community building.

The discussion groups also focused on education. Issues discussed ranged from the



need for better workforce development to the need for all Floridians to know more about their history. Discussions in a few groups also explored the general need to upgrade education

“Public servants, business and community leaders should promote the benefits of diversity and convey the value of inclusive citizenship.”

Shep Bryan

for everyone in our state. An essential component of economic development is an educated workforce with the requisite skills to meet the business needs of the 21st century. As several groups noted, many of our young workers do not have skills that they need. Florida continues to have a high drop out rate and many students who remain in school fail to take challenging courses.

Several groups observed that every Floridian needs opportunities to learn more about the history and culture of our state, our nation and other nations. In most other states, instruction in state history is required at both the elementary and secondary levels. By contrast, in Florida only a brief unit in state history is required at the elementary level. New Floridians often have little opportunity to learn about their adopted

“September 11 may well be the rebirth of patriotism. Our young people have not seen much need to be concerned about their country.”

Lucy Morgan

state. There was consensus that there be mandatory classes on our state’s history and culture, as well as increased opportunities for new residents to learn the same material.

Some of the group discussion addressed our American

insularity and how little we know about other nations — an observation made more acute by the events of September 11. Without that knowledge, we cannot understand the concerns of people around the world. As the group discussions noted, Florida is a major player in the international

economy and we interact daily with persons from other nations. Therefore, it is imperative that our educational system include more information about other nations, their cultures and their religions. Every high school student in Florida should be able to speak another language and additional language training should be encouraged in state colleges and universities.

Security issues were a major part of the discussion in most groups. There was general consensus that more stringent security measures were needed in airports and coordination and funding of intelligence and law enforcement agencies be increased. At the same time, the groups recognized that one could not ignore the trade-offs between heightened security and our traditional democratic freedoms. No one wanted to forfeit the freedoms that have made our nation strong and enduring.

The discussion groups decided that additional funding for security and intelligence programs should be cost effective.

Any new programs should have a sunset provision so that they must be reconsidered by Congress in two to three years.

Finally, there was extended discussion in several groups that the funding of important social, health and support programs for the disadvantaged could be jeopardized by the nation’s and state’s heightened interest in, and financial support of, security measures. For one group, continued support of health programs was critical to Florida’s future. Finally, many groups concluded that in this time of crisis our society should not be further polarized by leaving some of our members behind or not recognizing their important contributions to the common good.

“Florida has faced many crises in the past. What is important is that we move forward together.”

Mike Gannon

“Our cultural diversity is a treasure, not a problem.”

Jamail Jreisat



RECOMMENDATIONS FROM “DEMOCRACY AND THE ECONOMY IN



In developing their recommendations, Askew participants grouped their findings into two categories – general observations and recommendations. The observations underlay more specific recommendations.

Observations:

1. We must balance the need for security and protection of our democratic freedoms. The history of the United States reflects a balancing of competing interests. We should not forget that both security and freedom are essential to our way of life.
2. We should recognize the historical significance of September 11th and its continued significance for our nation and the world.
3. We should encourage our leaders to use this tragedy as a catalyst to pursue long-term objectives and goals. Such efforts should address both financial and societal considerations.
4. We must use the legacy of September 11th to sustain civic spirit and energy. And we should use this opportunity to create a new vision for our state and nation in this century.

Recommendations:

A. Economic Issues

1. Florida’s tax base needs to be strengthened, stabilized and broadened. Participants disagreed on particular reform measures. However, they did agree that such a reform was pressing. They noted that over-reliance on the state sales tax (approximately 70% of state general revenue income) does not provide for a reliable revenue stream and leaves the state vulnerable to downturns in the national economy, such as occurred with the decline in tourism after September 11. Moreover, they noted that the regressive nature of the sales and use tax often penalizes lower income Floridians.
2. We should explore the question of more regional coordination and cooperation and ways to improve both, including more control of their revenue and ways to pursue more regional initiatives.
3. Economic diversification and development needs to be promoted. We should invest more heavily in the health care industry, education, technology, and trade.
4. The tourism industry must be protected and strengthened because it is such an important part of Florida’s



Miami Beach Skyline

economy and a large part of its revenue base. Moreover, this sector is vital to the development of small and medium businesses that produce most of the jobs in our state.

5. Florida’s economy must become more energy independent and energy efficient.
6. The state’s physical, technological, and fiscal infrastructure must be improved. Given its rapid population growth, Florida is always playing “catch up.” We must ensure that our roads and other means of transportation are adequate to meet current needs; our educational system is among the best in the nation and the world; and our government expenditures are adequate to allow “students to obtain a high quality education” mandated by Article IX, Section 1, of the Constitution of the State of Florida to support those needs.

B. Globalization

7. We must foster an acceptance and understanding of the value of diversity. Florida’s diverse population has enabled the state to play a leadership role nationally and internationally. Our ethnic and racial diversity is also a hallmark of this nation, which has offered refuge and opportunity to people from throughout the world and who, in turn, have enriched this nation.
8. Academic courses and components of courses that focus on other cultures, languages, history and religions should be included in the curricula of our

THE ASKEW INSTITUTE ON FLORIDA AT A TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS"

public education and higher education systems. Florida graduates must be more aware and more knowledgeable of the world around them and should be expected to contribute politically and economically to its advancement.



Jacksonville Skyline

C. Florida at the Crossroads

9. Every child in grades K-12 should have a good understanding of Florida history and government. Information on Florida history and government should also be made available to adults who have recently moved to Florida. The absence of such knowledge hinders new citizens from being able to better relate to Florida as a state and their role in the state's advancement and its ability to address critical issues.
10. Whenever practical, public internships and volunteer services should be a part of every student's education and experience so that students learn more about other people and our society.

D. Security

11. An analysis of the costs and benefits of all security measures should be performed, whenever practical before they are undertaken. Reasonable security measures are important, but certain measures taken under the name of terrorism may be an overreaction, much too expensive, ineffective, and undermine other priorities.
12. All security measures undertaken in a time of national crisis should have sunset provisions so that their need can be reassessed periodically.
13. Funding for critical governmental and nongovernmental programs must be sustained during time of national crisis. These programs include health care, support for seniors and the disadvantaged, and education.



Tampa Skyline



New York City Skyline, prior to September 11, 2001

Democracy and the Economy in Florida at a Time of National Crisis

BY LYNNE HOLT

WITH ASSISTANCE FROM DAVID COLBURN AND LYNN LEVERTY

Introduction — Competing Interests

In an article promoting unity in the face of racial and cultural diversity in Florida, former Governor Reubin Askew and Lance deHaven-Smith noted:

One of the great achievements of modern representative government is that it has allowed both the instinct to compete and the desire for political equality to operate simultaneously, and indeed has created a marvelous tension between them, . . .

The growth of tolerance has produced enormous economic benefits by making it more likely that the talents of all people are developed and employed, while economic expansion has contributed to the growth of tolerance by reducing scarcity and helping assure that one group's success does not occur at another group's expense (p. xv).¹

The “synchronicity” between economic prosperity and tolerance may be more difficult to realize in times of national crisis. This is especially true if that crisis is a major economic downturn, like the Great Depression, or if it is simultaneous with a major economic downturn, like the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11th and the subsequent war against terrorism. In such cases, resources diminish and competition for those limited resources becomes ever more intense. Historically, those citizens who have experienced the greatest hardships at such times are those who have been most marginalized, in terms of political voice, economic well-being, and education. Moreover, tensions can arise along cultural and ethnic lines, particularly in a state with a population as diverse as Florida.

As Askew and deHaven-Smith noted in another section of their article, the democratic process usually involves balancing one right against another.² In a like manner, government policies, through appropriations, trade agreements, tax incentives and other subsidies, embargoes, and other mechanisms, both respond to and influence competing economic interests. There is a parallel between democracy and free market economics — both depend upon free choices among alternatives. In both, free choices may be constrained by societal needs and goals.

A hallmark of national crises is that the need for governments to balance conflicting rights and competing economic interests becomes particularly acute. There will always be “winners” and “losers,” but the stakes will be higher when there is a war or a significant economic downturn.

Back to the Basics

In times of national crisis, it is useful to go back to the basics. What in the end is our nation trying to protect? In the first instance, it is, of course, our lives. And most agree that when the nation is threatened, our society must first be protected.

However, many thoughtful people also would respond that we

aim to protect our democratic system. By that, they mean the protections for rights and freedoms provided by our federal system of government that are contained in the Bill of Rights and the thirteenth through fifteenth amendments.

Over many decades, court decisions have determined that state and local governments must abide by the same limits imposed on the national government with respect to protection of constitutional freedoms. These protections, among others, apply to the free exercise of one's religion, the freedom of speech and of the press, the right to peaceable assembly, the right not to be subject to unreasonable searches and seizures, and the right of the accused in criminal cases to a speedy and public trial.

Yet, as we noted above, democratic processes always involve the balancing of conflicting rights. At times, the constitutional protections we take for granted have been interpreted differently by policymakers and the courts. In times of war, the public clamors for tighter security measures. The national government has a responsibility to secure its boundaries, protect its military installations and other sites of vital national interest, and, of course, protect its citizens. Nonetheless, the imposition of heightened security measures raises interesting issues:

- National security measures may conflict with the protection of individual rights. As history shows, presidents and lawmakers in wartime have approved measures that limited personal freedoms in order to protect national security or order. The implications of those measures were not always evident at the time they were approved. A few examples include: Lincoln's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* during the Civil War; Congress' enactment of the Espionage Act in 1917, and the more draconian Sedition Act in 1918; and President Franklin Roosevelt's issuance of Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, that authorized the sequestration of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the west coast (70 percent of whom were U.S. citizens).
- The demand for security may conflict with another public demand made of government — that of accountability. Security measures are often shrouded in secrecy, and government secrecy conflicts with the public's demand for information. National examples include the development of the atomic bomb — the Manhattan project — during World War II, and the “secret” bombing of Cambodia in 1970. Florida places a premium on access to public information, as embodied in the state's Government-in-the-Sunshine law (Chapter 286 of the Florida Statutes). This law, first enacted in 1967, establishes a basic right of public access to most meetings of boards, commissions, and other governing bodies of state and local government agencies and authorities. Two state constitutional amendments adopted in 1990 and 1992 applied the application of the open government laws to the legislative branch and the judiciary. The issue here is how to balance accountability against the pressing need for personal and collective security.



Threats and Opportunities

How our policymakers balance competing rights and interests is central to debates about the essence of our democracy. This balancing act in the political arena also has implications for Florida's economy. Moreover, new opportunities can come from creative responses to threats to both the economy and our democratic freedoms.

If the vitality of our democracy is dependent on *collective* prosperity, can government policies help transform a crisis into an opportunity? History may provide some guidance.

During World War II, federal government policies helped create significant economic opportunities for our state. In the first years of the war, the tourism industry – at that time the source of 60 percent of Florida's revenues – collapsed. However, the federal government compensated for many of these losses by establishing several new military facilities during World War II. In 1940, before America entered the war, only eight installations existed in Florida. The state eventually housed on a temporary basis nearly 200 installations during the war years. Some of these installations were tiny, remote airfields but others were major bases that provided training and housing for tens of thousands of soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen.³ A total of 2,122,100 men and women migrated into the state for military training. The federal government fueled the state's economy with massive military expenditures and funding for the construction of modern transportation facilities to connect Florida's cities.⁴

Expanded economic opportunities portended improved conditions for African-Americans. A total of 51,467 African-Americans were inducted in Florida into the armed forces and served in segregated units. Various racial incidents involving African-American servicemen in Florida and elsewhere received national press coverage. The historic push toward greater equality in part resulted from soldiers' demands that they be treated with respect.⁵ National NAACP leaders called for a "Double V" campaign – victory against racism overseas and racism at home. The campaign to defeat Germany and Japan placed the United States and its state government in the very awkward position of simultaneously trying to mobilize the public behind the war effort and attempting to maintain segregation in the South. Federal officials found it harder to defend southern racial policies while condemning German racism.⁶ Advances occurred in other areas, as well. Thurgood Marshall, representing the NAACP and African-American teachers, won several court cases in Florida. In these

cases, the courts awarded African-American teachers salaries equal to their white counterparts. On April 3, 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the whites-only Democratic primary (based upon a Texas case — *Smith v. Allwright*).⁷

Unity from Crisis — What Can We Do?

What, if anything, can our state do to help ensure the "synchronicity" between economic prosperity and tolerance? As we have recently experienced, national crises can help unite us. How can we capitalize on this impulse toward unity? Four opportunities come to mind and might deserve further consideration. We can:

- **Educate our children and ourselves about the history and role of our government.** The recent terrorist attacks have convinced many people that government must defend its citizens' lives and property. Contemporary arguments on gun control and term limits frequently revert to the constitutional intent of our nation's founders. These arguments go the heart of government's role – is government the problem or the solution? What historic developments have contributed to Americans' deep-seated distrust in our government institutions? How can we overcome this distrust and view government as a necessary good and not a necessary evil?⁸ As competing interests will always be an attribute of our democratic process, how do we weigh such interests?

An example from the Civil War involving Florida illustrates how individual, state and national interests may conflict. The Impressment Act of 1863 allowed Confederate impressment officers to confiscate goods and commodities at below-market prices. The Act's intent was to meet military needs and clamp down on speculation. Sugar — an important commodity grown in Florida during the Civil War — also was subject to impressment. The most famous incident illustrating this conflict culminated in a Florida Supreme Court decision (*Yulee v. Canova*) in which the court reversed a lower court opinion. The Florida Supreme Court ordered the Confederate government to pay the sugar owners (David Levy Yulee and associates) a price closer to the market value of the commodity.⁹ There will always be "takings" issues and other questions of appropriate government and individual responses to issues of economic interest. What can we do to ensure that our children will be prepared to evaluate future threats to government and themselves? Will they have an adequate understanding of American history and politics to do so?



- **Re-evaluate our state's fiscal policies.** A national crisis may be an economic downturn or may be accompanied by an economic downturn. Economic downturns require our federal government to deploy strategies to close fiscal gaps. Likewise, states confront the same pressure, especially as all states, except Vermont, are required to balance their budgets each fiscal year. A state's fiscal policies (expenditure and tax policies) are the ultimate reflection of the priorities policymakers assign to interests competing for finite state resources.¹⁰

Why is the long-term fiscal stability of Florida so significant? As we know, Florida has a very diverse population: 65.4 percent white, not of Hispanic/Latino origin; 14.6 percent African-American or black; 16.8 percent Hispanic or Latino; 1.7 percent Asian, and 1.5 percent other races or origins.¹¹

The synchronicity of economic prosperity and tolerance can unite us. However, long-term fiscal instability will inevitably divide us.

- **Improve our security.** States and local governments are partners with the federal government in: protecting our airports and other facilities of national interest, as well as our energy supply systems; preparing for chemical and biological terrorist attacks; and providing proper medical support. Moreover, through their contributions to basic and applied scientific research, our universities in Florida and elsewhere also play a major role in improving national security.
- **Increase our understanding of different religions, cultures, and races.** Our respect for individuals comes from a better understanding of their religions, cultures, and languages. Moreover, so does our national security. In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, the quest for information about Islam soared. Again, universities have a role in expanding our knowledge – this time about the Islamic world. According to a recent article in the *New York Times*, a for-credit course to examine the events of September 11 filled the day it became available in Ithaca College in New York, which doubled the number of seats. Some 1,000 students, as well as several deans and faculty members, were turned away at the door of an overcrowded teach-in at New York University, on the historical and political dimensions of the crisis.¹²

Yet, we discovered that we are woefully unprepared to respond effectively to this most recent national crisis. First, language enrollment at universities has declined significantly over the past 40 years. In 1965, 16 percent of the undergraduates around the country were enrolled in foreign language courses. In 1998, the

figure was 8 percent. Second, in the past ten years, many schools of international relations have shifted from an emphasis on security courses to human rights, globalization, economic development, and health and environmental issues.¹³ Education is essential for promoting tolerance of others and long-term prosperity. It will broadly permit us to enjoy freedom and democratic values in the face of increased security needs.

Concluding Thoughts

National crises, while containing the seeds of divisiveness, can also cause us to put aside our differences and come together. Rallying the nation together occurred in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11 and has been strongly encouraged by President Bush.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., perhaps better than anyone, captured the fundamental reasons why we should resist racial and ethnic divisiveness in his sermon, "The Man Who Was a Fool":¹⁴

All men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be, and you can never be what you ought to be until I am what I ought to be.



Endnotes

¹ Reubin O'D. Askew and Lance deHaven-Smith, "E Pluribus Unum in a Multi-Racial, Multi-Cultural State," *Florida State University Law Review* 27, no. 2, (Winter 2000): xiii-xviii.

² Ibid, p. xviii.

³ David J. Coles, "Hell-By-The-Sea: Florida's Camp Gordon Johnston in World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 1, July 1994: 1-22.

⁴ David R. Colburn and Lance deHaven-Smith, *Government in the Sunshine State: Florida Since Statehood* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999), pp. 33-34.

⁵ See Coles on incidents involving African-American soldiers at Camp Gordon Johnston, pp. 19-20.

⁶ Colburn and deHaven-Smith., p. 35.

⁷ Gary R. Mormino, "World War II" in Michael Gannon (ed.), *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996). However, the Supreme Court's decision may have been more symbolic than real because of a lack of enforcement. See Richard K. Scher, *Politics in the New South*, 2nd ed. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 184.

⁸ See Garry Wills, *A Necessary Evil* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

⁹ Robert A. Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse* (Tuscaloosa: the University of Alabama Press, 1995), p. 78.

¹⁰ Kevin Carey, Liz McNichol, and Iris J. Lav. *State Responses to Tight Fiscal Conditions*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹ U.S. Census Bureau: State and County Quick Facts, 2000 Census.

¹² Eyal Press, "It's a Volatile, Complex World"

The New York Times, November 11, 2001, Education Life Supplement; Section 4A, p. 20.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr. (Ebenezer Baptist Church). "The Man Who Was a Fool," Sermon delivered to the Chicago Sunday Evening Club on January 29, 1961. In *The Pulpit* 32 (June 1961): 4-6.

A List Of Related Organizations In Florida

Early Childhood Initiative

Florida International University
University Park/DM 216A, Miami, Florida 33199
(305) 348-6823
David Lawrence, Jr., Director

Center for Florida's Children

P.O. Box 6646, Tallahassee, Florida 32314
(850) 222-7140
Jack Levine, President

Department of Children & Families

1317 Winewood Blvd., Bldg. 1, Room 202
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0700
(850) 487-1111
Judge Kathleen A. Kearney, Secretary

Enterprise Florida

390 N. Orange Avenue, Suite 1300
Orlando, Florida 32801
(407) 316-4600
John Anderson, President & CEO

Florida Chamber of Commerce

136 S. Bronough Street, P.O. Box 11309
Tallahassee, Florida 32302-3309
(850) 425-1200
Frank M. Ryll, Jr., President

Florida Institute of Government

Florida State University
325 John Knox Road, Bldg. 300, Ste. 301EC
Tallahassee, Florida 32303
(850) 487-1870
John Scott Dailey, Executive Director

Florida TaxWatch

106 N. Bronough Street, P.O. Box 10209
Tallahassee, Florida 32302
(850) 222-5052
Dominic M. Calabro, President & CEO

The Florida Council of 100

Suite 560 Bayport Plaza
6200 Courtney Campbell Causeway
Tampa, Florida 33607
(813) 289-9200
Charles T. Ohlinger III, Executive Director

Institute for Child Health Policy

University of Florida
P.O. Box 100296, Gainesville, Florida 32611
(352) 392-5904
Stephen A. Freedman, Director

The James Madison Institute

2017 Delta Boulevard, Suite 102, P.O. Box 13894
Tallahassee, Florida 32317
(850) 386-3131
J. Stanley Marshall, Founding Chairman

The Lawton Chiles Foundation

116 S. Monroe Street, Suite 200
Tallahassee, Florida 32302
(850) 222-3366
Rhea Chiles, Chairman

Leadership Florida

136 S. Bronough Street, P.O. Box 11309
Tallahassee, Florida 32302
(850) 425-1217
Wendy Abberger, Executive Director

The LeRoy Collins Center for Public Policy

Cawthon House, Florida State University
Martin Luther King Boulevard, P.O. Box 1658
Tallahassee, Florida 32302-1658
(850) 644-1441
Roderick N. Petrey, President & Executive Director

Project Governance

Rollins College, 1000 Holt Avenue, #2762
Winter Park, Florida 32789-4499
(407) 646-2608
Richard Foglesong, Director

JOIN US AT THE ASKEW INSTITUTE FOR 2003

Get your appointment books and mark the dates – February 13-15, 2003 – at the University of Florida's Hotel and Conference Center in Gainesville. Wendy Abberger of Leadership Florida will serve as the Convener of the meeting, and we will have approximately 200 Floridians from every walk of life involved.

The meeting will open on Thursday night with a dinner and an opening address from our keynote speaker, and it will end on Saturday morning with an open-ended discussion of your recommendations for the future. In between, you will shape the direction of the meeting through wide-ranging discussions in small discussion groups. The resulting recommendations will reflect your conversations with the discussion leaders and with other participants.

You can make your reservations now for the 2003 meeting by notifying us at our website – www.clas.ufl.edu/askew. The meeting is limited to the first 200 registrants, so make your reservation early! We look forward to seeing you in February 2003.

I am interested in attending the 2003 Meeting.

Please send me _____ additional copies of the report.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Mail to: The Reubin O'D. Askew Institute, University of Florida, P.O. Box 113175, Gainesville, Florida 32611



UNIVERSITY OF
FLORIDA

The Reubin O'D. Askew Institute
University of Florida
P.O. Box 113175
Gainesville, Florida 32611

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Gainesville
Florida
Permit No. 94