

SCAN

WELFARE SHOWDOWN IN THE SENATE

Decades of so-called "welfare reform," complains Missouri Senator John Ashcroft, have tinkered "at the margins" of a "bankrupt" system. Yet even after the watershed election of 1994, many Republicans still succumb to the tinkering temptation: witness the timid "welfare reform" proposals put forward by the Senate's Republican leadership.

Ashcroft and his colleagues Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.) and Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) have recently introduced a much bolder reform bill whose provisions include:

- Expanding from one to nine the number of federal welfare programs transformed into block grants to the states.
- Terminating those federal agencies, programs, regulations, and workers whose failed efforts will be replaced by state and local action.
- Creating stringent work requirements for welfare recipients.
- Using tax credits and other means to aid poor couples who marry, parents who adopt, and persons who volunteer with charities.
- Prohibiting welfare to new legal immigrants for their first five years.
- Prohibiting Supplemental Security Income benefits to persons "disabled" by alcohol or drug abuse.
- Above all, prohibiting direct cash benefits to mothers who are minors or who refuse to establish their children's paternity, and prohibiting extra benefits for additional children borne by women while they are on welfare. These measures attempt to reduce illegitimacy, the source of many of today's worst underclass pathologies.

"The true measure of our reforms," says Ashcroft, "will never be in dollars saved, in bureaucrats cut, in programs re-

duced, but in our ability to move people from hopeless governmental dependence to hopeful economic independence."

As we go to press, the bill has 24 cosponsors and the strong support of William Bennett, the Family Research Council, the Traditional Values Coalition, the Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, and others. Its fate at the hands of Senate "moderates," however, is uncertain.

OUR MONOTONE UNIVERSITIES

Universities have worked assiduously to racially diversify their faculties in the past few decades. Unfortunately, academia's notion of diversity has completely ignored diversity in the intellectual realm: conservative professors are an almost-extinct species on many campuses today.

It's not news that universities are dominated by left-wing ideologues, but empirical evidence to corroborate this reality has generally been lacking. My recent analysis of the political affiliation of faculties at two elite universities gets some of the relevant facts on the table.

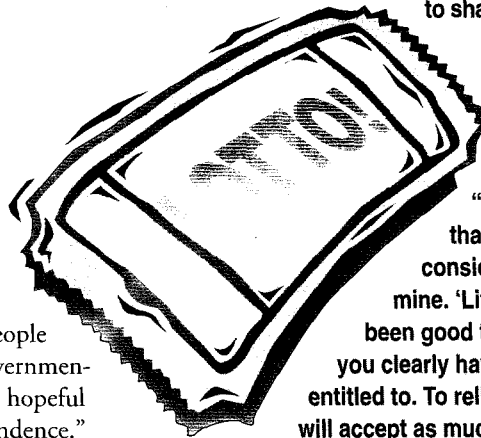
By checking public voter registration records, a colleague and I were able to determine that Cornell University's history department has 28 registered Democrats but no registered Republicans. Democrats outpolling Republicans 35 to 1 in the English department. In the Women's Studies and Africana Studies departments there were a combined 38 Democrats and no Republicans. (See table on page 8.)

Over 2,000 miles away a similar political imbalance exists at Stanford University. The English department, for instance, has 33 registered Democrats and only 2 regis-

SHARE AND SHARE ALIKE

"Those who have prospered and profited from life's lottery have a moral obligation to share their good fortune."

—remarks by House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) in support of tax reform



"Congressman, I note that your annual income is considerably higher than mine. 'Life's lottery' sure has been good to you! By your lights, you clearly have more than you are entitled to. To relieve your conscience, I will accept as much of your annual 'good fortune' as you are ashamed to keep. A stamped, pre-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience."

—Letter to Congressman Gephardt from Mr. B. E. Hughes, concerned citizen

tered Republicans. In the history department, Democrats outnumber Republicans 22–2. Investigation into the faculties at other top-notch schools yield similarly lopsided results.

The paucity of Republican professors presents this question: Is there discrimination against conservatives at our nation's top universities? For years, liberals have argued that the underrepresentation of minority professors is *ipso facto* proof of racism, and they have implemented affirmative action programs to reach the goal of proportional representation. Since Republicans represent over a third of the electorate, and an even higher proportion of the college-educated population, perhaps universities should recruit intellectually conservative professors with the same zeal they display for balancing flesh tones.

Political lopsidedness does not bode well for the educational process. While today's students are taught by professors of diverse skin colors, they are not exposed to a diversity of ideas. What are the chances that students in a women's studies course will read, along with the usual litany of feminist works by Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Naomi Wolf, books by critics of modern feminism like Christina Hoff Sommers and George

Gilder? Even in traditional departments such as history, many students are exposed only to leftist interpretations of

American history. Sadly, the university, once dubbed the free marketplace of ideas, has been transformed into a gray

one-party state where only one set of views thrive.

—*Kenneth Lee is a student at Cornell.*

Political Party Affiliations of Professors

Department	CORNELL UNIVERSITY			STANFORD UNIVERSITY		
	Democrat	Republican	Independent/ Other	Democrat	Republican	Independent/ Other
History	29	0	0	22	2	0
Government/Poli. Sci.	16	1	4	26	4	1
English	35	1	2	31	2	1
African-American Studies	5	0	1	12	0	0
Women's Studies	33	0	3	5	0	0
Economics	10	3	5	21	7	0
Psychology	25	1	1	20	0	1
Anthropology	11	1	3	15	1	2
Sociology	7	0	2	11	1	1
TOTAL	171	7	21	163	17	6

Sources: Tompkins County Board of Elections and Santa Clara County Registrar of Voters.

ALTERNATIVE TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

For years, government assumed that the best way to aid minority contractors was by quotas, set-asides, and other forms of reverse discrimination. But now the Supreme Court has declared many of these programs unconstitutional.

An Austin, Texas non-profit called the National Council of Contractors Association (NCCA) may offer a healthier alternative for aiding minority business aspirants, one that involves no affirmative action crutches or coercion. The NCCA, which began its operations in 1993, provides small minority firms with expert advice about how to win contracts, with donated accounting services, and, most critically, with help obtaining bonding. Small businesses can't get construction work without completion bonds that guarantee clients their projects will be finished even if a firm defaults on its contract. But given the tight market in the bond business, most companies won't issue these bonds to unproven contractors.

In league with the NCCA, however, the Standard Group, a large bond broker, has begun offering special bonding help. Stacy Taylor, the Standard Group CEO, explains that he decided to help minority businesses not just for altruistic reasons, but because the idea made good business sense, since these new companies might be long-term customers once

they became established enterprises.

"We're in the business of creating independent business people," Taylor says. The accountants who offer reduced fee services through the NCCA also hope that struggling small businesses will remember their help once they become more successful.

Though there are no racial or gender restrictions in NCCA aid, most of the businesses it helps are minority- or women-owned enterprises. Between January 1994 and May 1995, NCCA helped 83 firms win 171 contracts. The Standard Group issued bonds worth \$31.5 million and didn't have a default on any of them. (Only one of NCCA's clients had previously been able to obtain a bond.) Because these small businesses won contracts by underbidding larger competitors, the city of Austin saved over \$1 million in public works expenses, and thus recouped the initial cost of a grant it gave to help launch the NCCA.

The NCCA hopes to become a national organization and use its Austin experience to aid minority businesses in other cities.

TELECOMMUTING GETS REAL

Judging by its Washington office you'd think the massive Lexis/Nexis computer information network was downsizing:

they've sliced their office space by nearly one-half just this year. But the company is not struggling through a painful restructuring, it's instituting a new program that enables its sales force to work from home.

"Our field salespeople spend most of their time out of the office anyway," remarks spokesperson Judi Schultz. "So it just made sense for them to work out of their homes" in between customer visits. Lexis/Nexis has replaced traditional office space with smaller "business centers" that house administrative staff, training and meeting rooms, and cubicles where workers can set up temporary shop as needed.

Lexis/Nexis supplies each home worker with a laptop computer, an office printer/fax machine, two telephone lines, software, and a furniture allowance. Although these purchases are costly, Deb McKenzie, the project manager, notes that savings from forgone office space rapidly overtake equipment expenditures. The company also anticipates higher productivity from its workers.

"People love it," says McKenzie. "They don't have to worry about being downtown at night, they can flexibly attend to personal errands, and they can work relatively uninterrupted. It requires self-discipline and self-automation," she admits, "but we find our staff adjusting well."

TAKE TWO ON SISTER SOULJAH

Earlier this year a full house at Yale University heard rap musician Sister Souljah explain the Afrocentric philosophy in her new book, *No Disrespect*: "In American society, I means I, but in African philosophy, I means we, and the African philosophy of life is to achieve balance and harmony." This from the same mistress of harmony, balance, and good feelings who tangled with candidate Bill Clinton in 1992 over her suggestion that perhaps black men ought not be murdering other black men, but rather white men instead.

TEAMWORK IS GREAT—TOO BAD IT'S ILLEGAL

Under our Depression-era labor laws, a "high performance workplace" with intense labor-management collaboration is illegal in a nonunion company. Even though more than 88 percent of American workers don't belong to a union, a company with a nonunion workforce has only two options under the law in dealing with its employees—dictate work rules and conditions of work without any employee input, or turn the operations of the business over completely to the employees. If employers' actions fall anywhere in between these two extremes—commonly known as cooperation—they risk violating section 8(a)(2) of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.

Over 30,000 workplaces rely on "employee involvement" today, and most progressive employers don't even realize they could be breaking the law. Companies like Polaroid, Donnelly, and EFCO, however, are now in legal proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for the sin of having twenty-first-century employee relations.

Goaded on by unions having difficulty organizing facilities with high employee involvement, the NLRB has been aggressively pursuing such companies. If a company is found in violation, the board orders their employee involvement program dismantled, leaving the employer with no option but to return to a dictatorial style of labor-management relations.

Recognizing the need to modernize a 60-year-old statute, Rep. Steve Gunderson

(R-Wisc.) and Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kans.) have introduced the Teamwork for Employees and Managers Act to legalize employee involvement in nonunion settings. Teams of employees and employers would be free to discuss important issues of mutual concern.

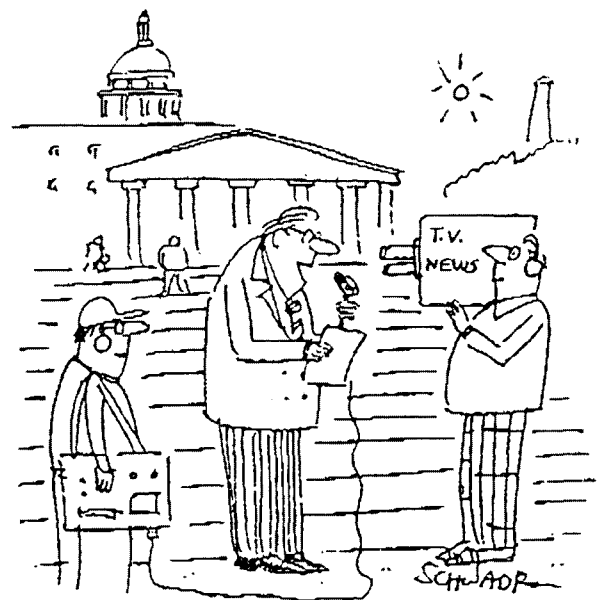
Although business strongly supports the TEAM Act, the Clinton administration has vocally opposed it. Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who once lauded the concept of employee involvement as a tool to boost productivity, profits, and worker satisfaction, now takes his cues from unions who fear worker-management cooperation would reduce their role, and says he now opposes the concept. Vice President Al Gore announced at the AFL-CIO's annual meeting that President Clinton would veto the TEAM Act. Yet the Democratic Leadership Council—a group of centrist Democrats once chaired by Governor Clinton—recently complained that the administration's pandering to organized labor endangers "sensible labor-law reforms that would allow a more participatory workplace."

Despite the resistance of labor unions and their supporters, a workplace cooperation act along the lines of TEAM is likely to pass the House this fall.

THE 'DEINDUSTRIALIZATION' HOOPLA

In this issue devoted to work, the problems we don't have to worry over are at least as significant as those that we do. One of the most remarkable "non-problems" in the American economy today is the health of American industry. Economic journalist Robert Samuelson summarizes the story this way in a *Washington Post* article: "Dial back your time machine about a decade. You'll find plenty of newspaper and TV stories warning of 'deindustrialization.' American manufacturers (it was said) were being pulverized. The Japanese were overwhelming our automakers, repeating their triumph in steel. Computer-chip makers were rapidly losing ground. Americans had forgotten how to make things. It was only a matter of time before U.S. manufacturing sank into oblivion and we became a nation of 'hamburger flippers.'"

"None of these dire predictions came true.... Yet the story of the comeback of U.S. manufacturing is still untold and ill-appreciated.... In 1994 the United States produced more cars than Japan for the first time since 1979. U.S. companies account for half of global shipments of fiber optic cable.... Between 1980 and 1994, U.S. manufacturing output rose more than 50 percent. In the past three years, it has increased 15 percent. It is



"In a compromise move to cut the budget, Congress and the president agreed to move the decimal one point to the left."

now twice as high as in 1970 and five times as high as in 1950.

"In 1991 the United States regained its position as the world's largest exporter. In 1993 the U.S. share of global exports was 12.8 percent, compared with Germany's 10.5 percent and Japan's 9.9 percent. The American computer-chip industry is again the world's leader. General Motors and Ford are still the first and second largest auto companies. American companies still dominate in aerospace, computer software, and entertainment; they are strong in paper, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals, among others.

"Industrial productivity (efficiency) has increased at its fastest rate in decades.... Since 1980 the man-hours needed to produce a ton of steel fell from about 10 to 4. Quality is also increasing. In one survey, two-thirds of respondents felt product quality had improved in the past five years."

Samuelson concludes his column with a cautionary: "If government had decided to revive manufacturing in the mid-1980s, we'd still be arguing over who should be helped and why." As it turns out, he writes, "the best policy was to insist that companies and workers help themselves."

THE MINIMAL LOGIC OF A MINIMUM WAGE HIKE

In his January State of the Union address, President Clinton called for raising the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15. This increase was necessary, he argued, to ensure every American "a living wage": "you can't make a living on \$4.25 an hour."

It's easy to sympathize with the image of household heads struggling to provide for their family on a minimum-wage job. But the president is wrong to assume his proposal would benefit such people.

The irony of the minimum wage is that it harms many of the people it's supposed to help. By raising the price of their labor, a minimum-wage hike lowers the number of low-skilled workers employed. In the past, social reformers judged this job loss acceptable, since the increased wages flowed predominantly to poor families. But that latter outcome is no longer the case.

Over time, the proportion of minimum-wage workers with household in-

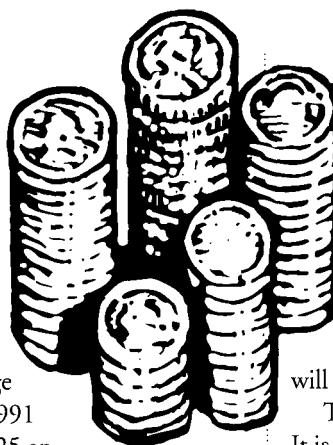
comes below the poverty line has fallen dramatically, and now numbers only one in five. A recent study we conducted with Andrew J. Glenn found that when the minimum wage was increased in 1991 from \$3.35 to \$4.25 an

hour, it cost employers \$4.5 billion, but only 28 percent of that rise went to families with incomes below 150 percent of the poverty line. Blacks received 17 percent of the wage hike, and female-headed households 24 percent. Fully 38 percent of the increase went to minimum-wage workers in families whose incomes were at least three times the poverty line.

Nor only were most families who gained from this minimum-wage hike not poor, but only a small minority of the working poor gained. Most working poor, you see, already earned more than \$4.25 per hour. The poverty of this group stemmed mostly from their low hours of work or from the large size of their family, not from low wage rates.

Raising the minimum wage would do little to assist the working poor. Protecting the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) from budget cuts, however, might help. The EITC was established in 1975 as a way to return some of the Social Security taxes withheld from the wages of low-income workers with children. Rather than a typical governmental scheme to redistribute income from taxpayers to non-workers via benefit checks, the EITC is a way to let the working poor keep more of their own money. Between 1989 and 1992, EITC rules were substantially liberalized, reducing poor people's taxes by more than \$4 billion.

Our research shows that 59 percent of EITC benefits go to poor or near-poor households. Blacks and female-headed households receive a much larger share of the benefits conferred by the EITC than they did from those of the minimum-wage increase in 1991. And only 4 percent of EITC benefits go to families with incomes over 300 percent of the poverty line. Al-



though the *total* dollar benefits from the EITC are smaller, the poor received 30 percent more dollars from it than from the 1991 increase in the minimum wage. In addition, almost all of the working poor—not merely those earning below \$4.25—were helped by the EITC. We estimate that 72 percent of the increases in the EITC scheduled through 1996 will flow to poor or near-poor families.

The EITC does have serious problems. It is a tool of government income redistribution by way of the tax code, a controversial undertaking to begin with. And it can encourage workers near its upper income cutoffs to reduce their work effort in order to retain eligibility. In its current form it also appears to be a favorite instrument of tax cheaters.

But the greatest obstacles to fixing the EITC and using it as a tax-rebate mechanism that "makes work pay" is the unwillingness of some members of Congress to face the real costs of their income-transfer policies. For even though a minimum-wage increase is clearly inferior to the EITC as a means of putting money into the pockets of low-income persons, the costs of a minimum-wage jump are borne by private employers and their customers, and are thus out of sight, while the EITC shows up in the federal budget. The real value of a minimum-wage hike to a member of Congress who favors income redistribution is that it allows him to obscure the cost of his policies.

But that doesn't change the economic reality: The minimum wage is not an effective way to aid the working poor.

—Richard V. Burkhauser and Kenneth A. Couch are Syracuse University economists.

A PERFECTLY LEGAL PROCEDURE

She still has recurring nightmares—flashbacks, like a soldier back from Vietnam: "I see the baby, its hands and legs moving. Then the scissors jab, and the body goes limp. It haunts me."

Despite what you might think, Brenda Schafer, a 38-year-old registered nurse from Franklin, Ohio, is not a witness to a gruesome crime. She is an eyewitness to a perfectly legal procedure going on across America under the cover of

abstract, pious words that all sensible people believe in—words like, “a doctor-patient relationship” and “a woman’s right to choose.”

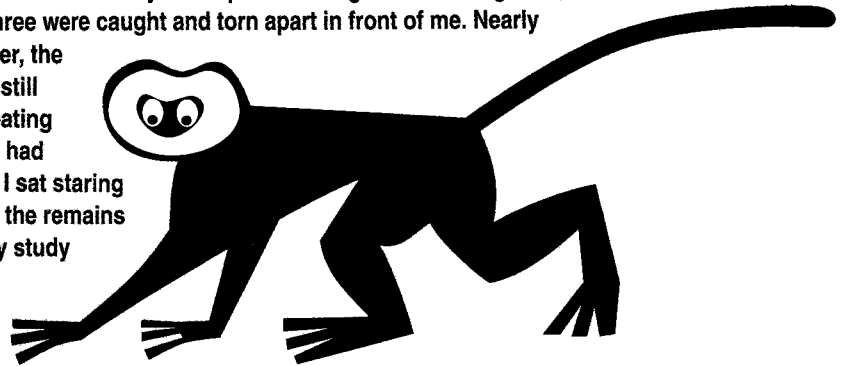
The procedure is called a partial-birth abortion, and perhaps 500 to 4,000 of them are carried out every year. According to Brenda, it is impossible to exaggerate the procedure’s horrors. Here is what she saw the day the temp agency assigned her to Dr. Martin Haskell’s Dayton, Ohio abortion clinic: “The whole baby was delivered, except for its head. I could see the hands and legs moving. Have you ever seen a baby fling out its arms when it is startled? That’s what it looked like. I saw Dr. Haskell insert a pair of scissors, then the baby flinched. He inserted a high-power suction catheter [to remove the brain tissue], and the baby went limp. I almost threw up all over the floor.” The baby was not defective and, at a gestational age of 26-and-a-half weeks, was well past the 23 to 24 weeks doctors consider the point of viability; most premature infants born at that age do pretty well.

There were six partial-birth abortions that day in that clinic alone. Brenda assisted in three of them. One mother sought an abortion because her baby had Down’s syndrome; the other two carried babies with no defects. One mother was a 17-year-old unwed woman. The other, whose partial-birth abortion is described above, was a married 40-year-old with a grown son who apparently decided, rather late, that she didn’t want a change-of-life baby.

While the larger issue of abortion is of course enormously controversial, we know that practices like partial-birth abortions, abortion for sex selection, and late-term abortion are strongly opposed by large majorities of Americans. Aiming to bring some peace to the abortion wars by at least eliminating these most offensive procedures, the House Committee on the Judiciary recently approved a bill to ban partial-birth abortions. Abortion-rights advocates, however, have made it clear they will accept no limitations of abortion on demand, at any time or for any reason. NOW president Patricia Ireland has denounced the House bill, while Barbara Bradford of the National Abortion Federation sent out talking points for

THE CIRCLE OF DEATH

A Berkeley anthropologist has discovered that nature’s “circle of life” can be a somewhat harsher mechanism than the children’s cartoons suggest. While he was observing a group of red colobus monkeys he had been following for some time, a party of 33 chimpanzees arrived. They proceeded to act like wildlife. The professor notes: “The result was devastating from the monkeys’ viewpoint. During the hour-long hunt, seven were killed; three were caught and torn apart in front of me. Nearly four hours later, the hunters were still sharing and eating the meat they had caught, while I sat staring in disbelief at the remains of many of my study subjects.”



abortion defenders that urged: don’t apologize, it’s a legal procedure.

Brenda says she once believed in the noble-sounding slogans of the pro-choice movement: “I have four teenage daughters. I told them if they got pregnant, I’d make them have an abortion.” Like many Americans, she was fiercely committed to abortion rights in the abstract; it was the reality she literally couldn’t stomach.

When it was over, the mother who underwent a partial-birth abortion that day insisted on seeing the results. So Brenda and the other nurses cleaned it up, wrapped it in a blanket, and put the corpse of a little baby in her arms. Face-to-face with what she had done, the woman began crying inconsolably, repeatedly pleading, “God forgive me.”

—*Maggie Gallagher is a nationally syndicated columnist for Universal Press Syndicate.*

THE STATES REFORM HEALTH CARE

Medical savings accounts are an idea that has gone extremely rapidly from think-tank pie in the sky to practical reality. Recently, Virginia, Idaho, and West Virginia enacted laws encouraging consumers to establish medical savings accounts. Earlier in the year, Utah did likewise, and Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, and Mississippi passed bills in 1994. Missouri passed the first legislation creating med-

ical savings accounts in 1993.

State officials enacting the accounts describe them as a way to give consumers more choice and authority in their health-care decision-making, and as a way to harness free-market powers to improve efficiency and reduce medical costs, without government controls.

Typically, the new state laws allow individuals who so desire to purchase a high-deductible health insurance policy and then put their savings from lower premium costs in a tax-deferred savings account to

THE GIFT OF LIFE

Kenzaburo Oe is a Nobel Prize-winning author whose son Hikari was born severely deformed. Japanese doctors recommended to the father that the boy be allowed to die. But having seen the bravery of atomic-bomb survivors at Hiroshima, Mr. Oe decided he could not refuse his son a chance at life.

Today, Hikari is 31 years old and a composer of classical music. His two CD recordings have sold more than 300,000 copies. Mr. Oe, an agnostic, is quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* with this reaction: “Sometimes I am afraid of the possibility that there is a God who gave him to me.”

accumulate over time. All principal contributed to the account by employee or employer, plus any interest earned, is exempt from state tax. Consumers can make withdrawals at any time for medical treatment or preventive care. A number of trial experiments show that medical savings accounts make consumers much more cautious about running off to the doctor for trivial reasons, but also likelier to purchase useful preventive and elective care that would have been forgone, because regular insurance might not cover it.

With 10 states having enacted laws, and bills pending in 26 other states, it would seem to be only a matter of time until Medical Savings Accounts get serious consideration at the national level.

BALLOT TEST OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

This fall, residents of the state of Washington will have a chance to vote on Initiative 164, the most serious political expression of the U.S. property rights movement to emerge yet. Officially known as the Private Property Regulatory Fairness Act, it's the same proposal that passed through the state senate in April with support from legislators of both parties before foundering on Seattle-based opposition. It would require the state to identify the economic impact of new land-use regulations, to choose the least burdensome rules to accomplish its land-use objectives, and to compensate landowners for lost property.

The prospects for the measure look reasonably good. In April, the Seattle polling firm of Elway Research released a poll showing 69 percent of state residents favored prohibiting "regulation of private property unless an agency first publishes a statement that analyzes the economic impact and identifies benefits for public health and safety that will result from the regulation." When asked if every government agency should have to "consider alternatives and choose the action that accomplishes its goals with the 'least possible impact' on private property," 82 percent said yes. Seventy-five percent said they would favor requiring "a government agency to pay a landowner for any drop in property value resulting from regulations unless the regulation is needed to prevent a public nuisance." Overall, 44 percent of the public

said back in March that they were inclined to vote for the initiative, 25 were against it, and 31 percent were undecided.

—*Jim Christie is a Seattle writer, formerly with the Independent Institute.*

MISSING: JAPANESE RESPONSIBILITY

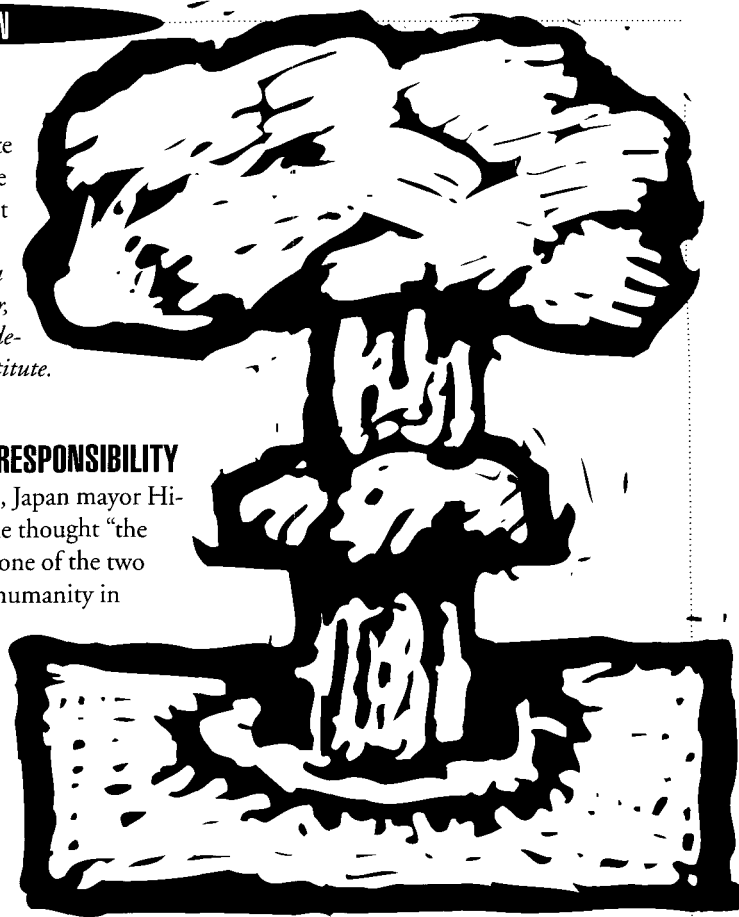
Not long ago, Nagasaki, Japan mayor Hitoshi Motoshima said he thought "the atomic bombings were one of the two greatest crimes against humanity in the twentieth century, along with the Holocaust." To which columnist Don Feder responds: "Strange, I don't recall European Jewry: (1) conquering several countries at the outset of World War II, (2) enslaving and murdering their inhabitants, or (3) bombing a German naval installation as its declaration of war...."

"Germany has admitted its culpability for the crimes of Nazism, paid over 3.9 billion deutsche Marks to Hitler's victims, and does its best to suppress neo-Nazi organizations. Japan will show the same responsibility and remorse when hot sake freezes over."

Meanwhile, 4.5 million Japanese have signed a petition against a resolution admitting war guilt that is pending before Japan's parliament.

POLICING SHOULD BE LOCAL

Our Constitution does not provide a general police power to the federal government, as the Supreme Court recently reaffirmed in the case *U.S. v. Lopez*. Nevertheless, over 60 years of expansive interpretation of federal authority have left us in a situation where national agents, increasingly armed, now exert police powers over citizens on many fronts. More and more, however, especially in the West, interventions by federal officers from organizations like the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management are being challenged by lo-



cal residents who are outraged at how little respect U.S. agents show for their concerns or way of life.

In an attempt to "prevent misadventure resulting from a lack of cooperation or communication" between federal and state law enforcement officials, Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-Idaho) has introduced a bill that would require nearly all federal officials to obtain permission from a county's chief law enforcement official before making any arrest, search, or seizure in that jurisdiction.

Chenoweth's bill does not address the real source of the problem—whether a particular matter is the federal government's business to begin with. But reining in the federal government to its enumerated powers is not a project for a single bill, or for Congress alone, and Rep. Chenoweth's concern is rightly with preserving lives and public peace.

The original Constitutional decision to leave police powers to the states rests on a clear principle: those who enforce the laws most intimately affecting the people's welfare and impinging most closely upon their morals and way of life should live among and be directly accountable to the

subjects of those laws. The wisdom of that judgment is vividly illustrated by differences in the way the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) and local law enforcement handled alleged violations of the law by David Koresh.

A few years before the BATF's disastrous raid in Waco, Koresh was involved in a gun fight over the leadership of the Davidians. Officers from the sheriff's department appeared while the battle was still being fought and arrested Koresh and several others. Although armed, Koresh surrendered and made no effort to resist. Charged with attempted murder, he was later acquitted.

Koresh also permitted a social worker to enter Mount Carmel to investigate allegations of child abuse. Despite this history of cooperation with authorities, and despite the fact that Koresh had, prior to the raid, invited the BATF to come and check his firearms (a fact finally admitted by the BATF in the recent congressional hearings on Waco), the BATF appears never to have seriously considered a non-confrontational execution of their search warrant.

Because the BATF agents did not live in Waco or answer to its citizens, they were not concerned with what the locals would think about a warrant being served on one outlaw via a military assault on a compound filled with women and children. Freed from the constraints of community, the BATF appeared at Waco in full battle regalia, prepared for war as if upon alien and enemy territory, never fearing the judgment of neighbors who knew them.

There is no greater spur to misconduct than anonymity. There are few greater brakes on misconduct than the desire to preserve a good name. When law enforcement is removed from the community level, not only is political accountability lost but also the more powerful and everyday accountability that comes of having to look friends and fellow citizens in the eye.

Federal police actions run amok—as in Waco and in the siege of Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge—are the inevitable result of transferring police power from state and local jurisdictions to Washington. So long as we demand solutions on drugs, firearms, wetlands, endangered species, and, increasingly, violent crime, from federal agencies and agents—rather than

from authorities closer to the people—we can expect more of the same.

—Jeffrey Snyder is a New York attorney and publisher of *Arms, Law and Society*.

IMPOLITICS IN AMERICA

Congressional Quarterly has recently supplied political junkies with their biennial fix, *Politics in America 1996*, the directory of the 104th Congress. This hefty almanac rests on the desks of every lobbyist and congressional staffer in Washington, for one never knows when its mini-biographies of the Men and Women Who So Selflessly Serve might come in handy. (We know one young Washington blade who used it to read up on the home congressional districts of potential dates—a real conversation starter.)

Thumbing through it on a rainy day one is amused by its streaks of open tentatiousness. Take its many signals on the issue of firearms confiscation. *Politics in America* tells us that Arkansas Democrat Blanche Lambert Lincoln opposed the Brady Bill because she has “many rural constituents wary of change.” (Why not, “protective of the Second Amendment”?) Peter Fonda look-alike Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.) sometimes has to “appease his constituents” by voting against gun control. Senator Bob Kerrey (D-Nebr.) exhibited “quiet political courage” in supporting the assault-weapons ban against the wishes of his (no doubt change-wary) Nebraska constituents. A question for C.Q.: Would an urban liberal like Charles Schumer have demonstrated “quiet courage” if he had opposed weapons bans?

The profiles are generally admiring, if not fawning, unless the subject is under indictment or has shown maverick tendencies. The prickly but stoutly parsimonious Wisconsin Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner is “officious,” “pompous,” and “rude,” though he does possess one redeeming feature: he’s “not an absolutist on gun rights.” The underwhelming Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.) is an “eloquent spokeswoman” and “something of a voice for the concerns of many modern American women”; her nemesis Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) speaks in “tirades.” And so it goes.

New members of Congress, take

heed: if you want to get a good notice in *Politics in America*, try not to be “rigidly anti-government” (as Minnesota Senator Rod Grams is). And please, please, don’t appease the change-resistant morons back home.

NATIONAL DEBT CRUNCH LOOMS

The “Debt Limit Coalition,” a bipartisan group of more than 150 members of Congress, means to block any further expansion of the U.S. debt ceiling unless a plan is already in place to balance the federal budget by the year 2002 or sooner. Without expanded borrowing authority—the administration would like the limit hiked from its current \$4.9 trillion to \$5.5 trillion—the federal government will run out of money in October. Led by Michigan Republican Nick Smith, Debt Limit Coalition members say they are willing to see the government endure a prolonged cash flow crunch this fall if that is the only way to guarantee an end to federal deficit spending by 2002, and they have already introduced legislation establishing priorities for an orderly temporary shutdown of some government functions should a debt showdown lead to that. The White House seems to be taking the threat seriously.

ROB v. BOB

When senator and presidential candidate Bob Dole criticized Hollywood in June for its negative influence on violence and morality in America, filmmaker Rob Reiner responded hotly on NBC’s *Meet the Press*. Now it turns out that even long before the senator from Kansas stuck his neck out, Reiner had an attack on Dole and other conservatives in the offing.

A few weeks ago I sat through an advance screening with Reiner of his next film. It’s called *An American President*, and it stars Michael Douglas as an incumbent liberal president with a character problem—a character problem unfairly manufactured, that is, by a villainous Republican challenger named Robert Rumson who happens to be a senator from Kansas.

Douglas’s character, Andrew Shepherd, is a Clinton/Dukakis clone with a spunky 12-year-old daughter. (No, she’s

not named Amy or Chelsea.) But Shepherd is extra clean and sympathy-inspiring: he's a widower.

This poor, brave, fatherly, good man decides that getting a watered-down crime bill passed is the best thing he can do before the next election. But his young aide Louis, played by Michael J. Fox (see George Stephanopoulos), wants Shepherd to try for a tough gun control law or environmental bill instead. The president, who always checks with his pollsters before making decisions, says no.

An environmental lobby group—wanting auto emissions reduced by 20 percent instead of the 10 percent the White House is offering—hires high-powered female lobbyist Sydney (often referred to by three names), played by Annette Bening. Lobbyist and president dance together at a state dinner, have another date, and have sex.

Republican challenger Rumson is delighted, because where he lacked anything substantive to attack the president on before, now he can use the "character issue." The challenger is shown slashing the president in front of a Christian Coalition audience and on CNN-style public affairs programs. The subtle senator suggests that the three-named-woman is a flag-burner and a whore.

In some political dealing, the president trades votes on the environmental bill for support on his crime bill, effectively selling out Sydney. But near the end of the film, with his popularity plummeting to 41 percent in the polls, President Shepherd rises up in righteous indignation and takes on the mean old Republican conservatives. In a speech before the White House press corps, he defends his woman and says he will debate Rumson on real character issues anytime and anywhere. The president proclaims proudly that he is a card-carrying member of the ACLU and wants to know why anyone who believes in the Bill of Rights isn't. In the next sentence he tells people he's going to sponsor a tougher crime bill even if it means going door to door to confiscate guns himself. At the end of the film Andrew and Sydney are reunited.

Sure was mean of Bob Dole to launch

an unprovoked attack on Hollywood, wasn't it?

—David Geisler is a Southern California writer who covers Hollywood.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST TIME WARNER

The crusade against Time Warner's support of violent and misogynistic rap music picked up steam as two prominent Democratic officials came on board. Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.) held a press conference to announce he would be appearing with William Bennett and C. DeLores Tucker in radio ads critical of the company's "overly violent and hypersexed entertainment"—or "garbage," for short, as Lieberman puts it. The group has also sent a second letter to Time Warner's board of directors.

But perhaps even more consequential than these public criticisms may be the ac-

tions of Democrat H. Carl McCall, the comptroller of the State of New York. Mr. McCall, who is black, controls the state's employee pension system, which owns 3.6 million shares of Time Warner. He has publicly criticized the company and put them on notice that if they don't take serious steps to correct their cultural pollution problem, he will "take further action." (For further evidence of public disgust with the American entertainment industry, see the poll data on page 106.)

HOLLYWOOD GETS ONE RIGHT

When word spread around the Apollo fraternity that Ron Howard was going to make a movie about Apollo 13, old hands were pessimistic. Hollywood had done the space program before and had never gotten it right. But Jerry Bostick, a Mission Control specialist during Apollo, had been hired as a technical consultant, and his

TIME WARNER HYPOCRISY REPORT 1995

"The soul of this enterprise...resides in...thousands of individual acts of conscience," says Time Warner CEO Gerald Levin. A slick "Time Warner Social Responsibility Report 1995" put out recently by the company projects a sterling image. But the company's actual behavior is much less lustrous—as the comparisons below, assembled by Empower America, demonstrate.

THEY SAY

"We contribute to...fund[s] for children of officers killed in the line of duty."
[Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]

"With the help of Warner Music Group... recording artist Tori Amos cofounded the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network.... RAINN helps 115,000 survivors of sexual abuse annually."

[Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]

"Today's children need the coping skills to avoid drugs, guns, and violence.... HBO and Warner Music...teamed up to create a series of seven public-service announcements aimed at deglamorizing guns and violence."

[Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]

THEY SELL

"It's a 1-8-7 [California penal code for murder] on a muthaf***in' cop...so what the f*** does a nigger like you gotta say?"

[Snoop Doggy Dogg]

"Look at the ass on that b****.... All you ladies are 'hos.... B**** you know you've been f***ed by many.... Freaky b**** with plenty of ass.... Bend over backwards and make me shout."

[2 Live Crew]

"I'll slaughter your mother. So open up the door to the slaughterhouse, so I can kill a little more. Ya muthaf****er.... All we want to do is murder, murder, murder, kill, kill, kill."

[Masta Ace Incorporated]



phone calls were full of wonder. Ron Howard and Tom Hanks were honest-to-God space buffs. This movie was going to get it right.

And so it did—as right as any movie is ever going to in portraying an event where much of the drama cannot be captured visually. When you read that the Apollo people approve of *Apollo 13*, it is not just flackery. They really do. So do my wife and I, who spent the better part of five years hanging out with Apollo people in the course of writing a book about the program. But I will still treasure the details that the movie couldn't communicate.

In the movie, the launch is shown on large television screens at the front of Mission Control. In reality, one of the weirdest aspects of being a flight controller was that you did not see the launch (which would have been distracting). While the rest of the world listened to the roaring engines and saw flames billow around the launch tower, all that a flight controller could observe was an uninflected voice at the Cape saying "liftoff"—whereupon some of the numbers on the screen of his console began to change.

And that's another thing: in the movie, the consoles have graphic displays. The real controllers for Apollo 13 had only columns of white numbers—hundreds of them—radiating on a black screen, undifferentiated by font or boldface or any other kind of user-friendly formatting. When a problem arose, there were no warning buzzers, no flashing alerts, nothing at all except a number that showed a value that the flight controller knew from memory ought to be something else.

In the movie, Mission Control in crisis is a place where the flight controllers stand in knots, arguing with each other with passionate voices and anguished expressions. During the real thing, an outsider watching in would have had a hard time noticing that anything unusual was

happening. The action took place over electronic voice loops that linked all the flight controllers to each other and to their back rooms. Fear and anguish were most definitely part of Mission Control that night, but they are detectable on the tapes of the voice loops only in fleeting hesitations and inflections.

In the movie, flight director Gene Kranz is rightly portrayed as an indomitable force, brusque and tough as nails. He was all that—which makes his actual behavior during the first hour of the crisis the more fascinating. As the crisis built, Kranz's voice over the voice loops became increasingly casual, even gentle, as he moved from one controller's problems to another's. I never heard Kranz sound that way in the tapes of any mission before or after Apollo 13.

I especially regretted one omission and one flat-out misrepresentation.

The omission was flight director Glynn Lunney's performance. Without slighting Kranz's role, the world should remember that it was Glynn Lunney, barely visible in the movie, who took over the flight director's console 69 minutes after the explosion. It was he who for the 10 hours of his team's shift orchestrated a masterpiece of improvisation that moved the astronauts safely to the lunar module while sidestepping a dozen potential catastrophes that could have doomed them.

The misrepresentation involves Grumman Corporation, which designed and built the lunar module. Grumman is personified by a fat engineer who keeps trying to dodge responsibility. In reality, Grumman had been perhaps the finest of all the Apollo contractors, and during the days of Apollo 13 its engineers worked to exhaustion in support of the rescue.

But these are nitpicks. Hats off to Ron Howard, who pulled off something that no one else has done in the last quarter-century: getting large numbers of Americans to appreciate the splendor of the Apollo pro-

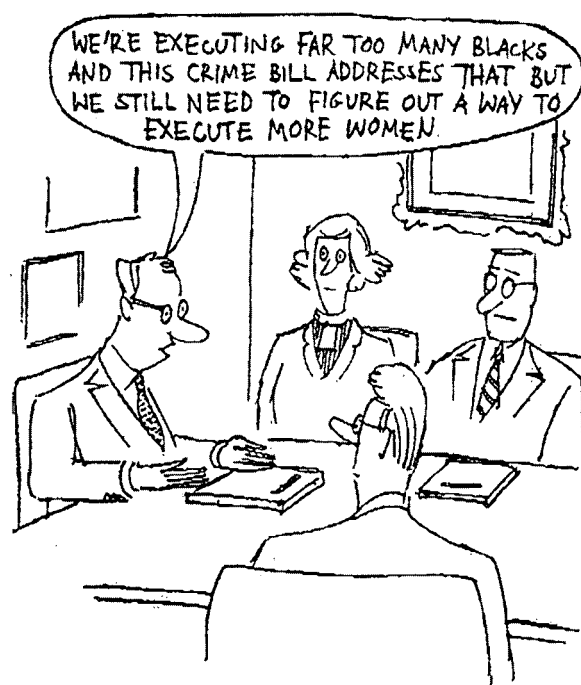
gram, the one achievement of this century that we can be sure will still be part of the history books a thousand years from now.

—*Charles Murray is an AEI Fellow whose books include Losing Ground, The Bell Curve, and, with Catherine Cox, Apollo.*



GET YOURS NOW

An opportunistic Detroit printing company called Omnigraphics had the brilliant idea to publish a whole book devoted to the subject of how to get money from one of today's 1,370 federal domestic assistance programs. "These programs represent more than \$835 billion worth of federal assistance now available to a wide range of users," notes the sales release for the book. "Appealing to a wide range of users," it continues, "*Government Assistance Almanac 1995-96* covers grants, loans, insurance, personal payments and benefits, subsidies, fellowships, scholarships, traineeships," and more. The book is 880 pages long.



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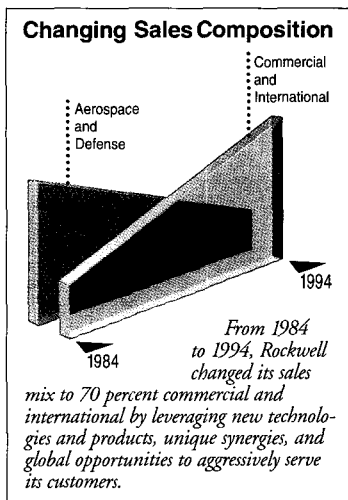
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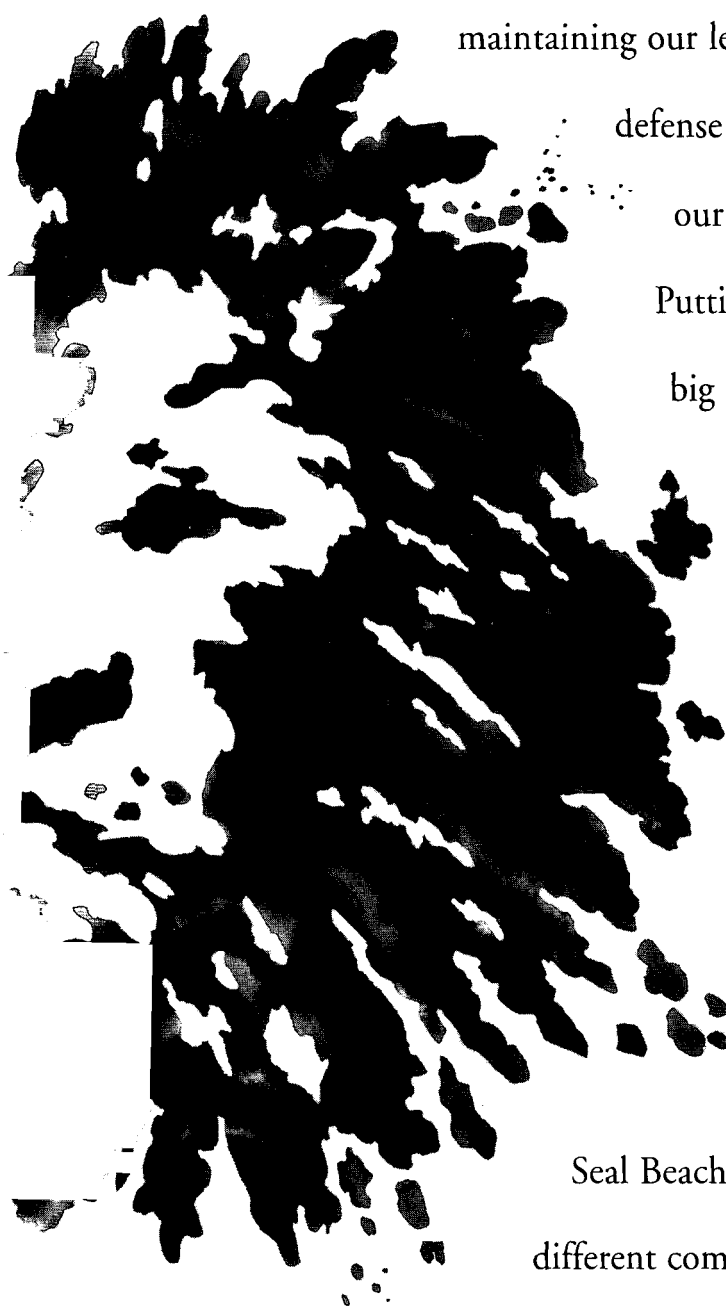
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BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Indicators

DATA ROUNDUP ON WORK

■ **Work Works** A report on *The Black Population in the U.S.* released earlier this year by the Census Bureau showed that a troubling 27 percent of all African American families are officially poor. But among black families whose householder works full-time all year, only 6 percent are poor.

■ **Momma, Don't Let Your Daughters Grow Up to Be Lawyers** Nationwide, fully 40 percent of all associates at law firms are now women. This female talent is coming into the profession at a time when it is falling sharply in public esteem, however. Polls show that 75 percent of the public wouldn't want their children to become lawyers.

■ **Home Work Assignments** According to Labor Department data, approximately 20 million people conducted work at home in May of 1991. Of these, 7.4 million were people who worked *only* at home. Three-quarters of those folks are self-employed, which may not surprise you. But would you have guessed that most of the work-only-at-home individuals are men (57 percent)?

■ **The Job Whirl** The extraordinary easy-in/easy-out fluidity of the American labor market is illustrated by data from the National Longitudinal Survey. After interviewing a sample of young American men and women every year since 1979, the survey finds that between his 18th birthday and the time he reaches his thirties, the typical person in this country holds eight different paying jobs, totaling nine years of work experience.

■ **Jobs for Everyone and Anyone** The fluidity of the American labor market also shows up in unemployment statistics. Ninety percent of all U.S. workers who become jobless find a new position in less than six months. Only 63 percent of unemployed persons in Japan can say the same thing, and in the nations of the European Union just 33 to 43 percent of the jobless (varying by country) get rehired within six months. Fully 40 to 50 percent of out-of-work Europeans (again, varying by country) have been jobless for more than a whole year.

■ **Does Government Owe You an Income?** One reason European unemployment is much longer-lasting than in the United States is because employers are more heavily regulated, and government benefits for the out-of-work are fatter. These differences reflect important differences in public attitudes toward work, earnings and income. Asked whether it is "government's responsibility to reduce income differences" between workers, only 39 percent of the Americans say yes, versus 80 percent of Italians, 53 percent of Swedes, and 66 percent of Germans. Asked whether government should guarantee people a minimum annual income, about two-thirds of all Italians, Germans, and British insist yes, compared to just 34 percent of Americans.

■ **Advanced Technology Makes Workers Richer, Not Poorer** A factor that has helped keep the American labor force busy and flexible is the rapid application of new technology to jobsites. It's obvious that this helps companies expand

production and reduce costs, but it is often claimed by skeptics that new technology hurts workers—by replacing them, turning them into passive button-pushers, and eliminating high-paying skilled-craft jobs. Research from the Department of Commerce, however, demonstrates that introducing advanced technology to the workplace actually benefits workers in the form of higher wages. "Drawing on a data base of over 10,000 U.S. manufacturing plants, researchers found that technology-intensive plants pay significantly higher production-worker wages than plants that adopt few or no advanced technologies. The average hourly wages paid by plants...ranged from \$8.63 at plants using no advanced technologies to \$11.84 at plants using six or more such technologies," summarized the government report.

■ **Those Dangerous Rest Homes** Job hazards don't always come where you might expect. One of the sectors with the very highest worker injury rates is the nursing home industry (lifting patients is the main hazard). With injury and illness incidence of 17 cases per 100 employees per year, nursing home work is more hazardous than logging (14 cases), construction (12), and coal mining (10).

■ **Self-Employment and Ethnicity** The rate of self-employment varies dramatically according to ethnic and racial background. Only 3 percent of Laotian men and 4 percent of black men were self-employed in 1990. This compares to nearly 30 percent of all men from Korea or Israel. There are also big differences between the sexes—across a variety of ethnic groups, women run about half as many businesses as men. The overall self-employment rates for men and women in the United States were 11 percent and 6 percent respectively.

■ **Fast-Lane Status** Technological gadgets have become the ID badges of competitive professionals today, yet it seems some people are more interested in appearing productive than in actually being so. A manufacturer of phony cellular car phone antennas—which can instantly lend the look of a power worker's carriage to any humble vehicle—has reportedly sold more than 200,000 of the fakes.