

SCAN



UNACCOUNTABLE PRESS FLUBBED THE STORY ON JAPANESE BUSINESS

News reporting and analysis is one of the most fashion-driven, pack-mentality occupations that exists today. Think back over the last decade's reporting on the Japanese economy for example.

Yes, we know: You're thinking that there *hasn't been any* media coverage to speak of on Japan in the last couple years. And there's a reason for that: Japan's miraculous, lifetime employment, MITI-planned, industrial-policy driven, government/industry cooperating, unlike-foolish-us-they-don't-worry-about-the-short-term-bottom-line, they're-eating-America's-lunch economy is in the tank. We're talking in tatters.

Which is striking. Because until Japan's collapse (that is to say, non-stop for most of the 1980s and early 1990s), the American press couldn't produce stories fast enough describing how the Japanese juggernaut was going to roll over one U.S. manufacturer after another, embarrass our technologists, steal the world financial mantle from our banks and brokerages, buy up our best buildings and movie studios, and install sushi bars in the Alamo.

These reports always quoted reverently from a small choir of policy clairvoyants that included Chalmers Johnson, James Fallows, Pat Choate, Ezra Vogel, Kenneth Curtis, John Judis, Robert Kuttner, Michael Borrus, and Clyde Prestowitz. These geniuses were overflowing with admiration for the Japanese model—and positively *dying* to have us chuck our stupid Reaganesque/Adam Smithian alternative and adopt Japanese-style government management of the economy instead. If

TAE could afford the computer time, we'd do a Nexis search to count how many different news stories appeared during the media feeding frenzy of the '80s and early '90s in which these "experts" were given a soapbox. We're sure the total would be many, many thousands of articles. *And yet almost all of the factual claims and future predictions of these press stars turned out to be not only wrong, but completely backwards.* (Your editor can supply references.)

Some unreported truths on Japan and the U.S.:

- Japan isn't an economic juggernaut, it's a fragile, rickety steamer with some wondrous export-oriented components connected to a whole bunch of outdated parts that keep it leaking and listing.
- Japan's many dramatic economic successes weren't engineered by government planners. They happened *in spite of* government planning stupidity.
- Japan's ludicrous overpayments for American golf courses, skyscrapers, and movie lots weren't threats to our national patrimony. They were losing deals that helped compensate us for Pearl Harbor.

- Japan's banks and brokerages aren't the strongest in the developed world. They are literally the weakest, according to the latest Moody rating of financial institutions needing rescues.

- America shouldn't abandon its free-wheeling variety of capitalism. It should thank God that our economy is too decentralized and chaotic for foolish "experts" and politicians to manipulate. The latest Swiss rankings of international competitiveness have the U.S. rated first (again), and Japan in ninth place.

SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

Feminist groups recently convinced Congress to place statues of three famous early feminists—Anthony, Stanton, and Woodhull—in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda.

The Catholic Alliance now circulates samples of all three women's views on abortion:

"The rights of children as individuals begin while yet they remain the fetus."

—Victoria Woodhull

"When we consider that women are treated as property, it is degrading to women that we should treat our children as property to be disposed of as we see fit."

—Elizabeth Cady Stanton

"No matter what the motive...the woman is awfully guilty who commits the deed. It will burden her conscience in life, it will burden her soul in death, but oh, thrice guilty is he who...drove her to the desperation which impelled her to her crime."

—Susan B. Anthony

After having been so badly wrong on subjects they loudly staked their entire reputations on, we can't understand why any Americans today would take the men listed above seriously as economic and political analysts. Yet lots of pressies still do. James Fallows was recently appointed editor of *U.S. News*. (Like the rest of his gang who couldn't predict straight, he has dropped the Japan issue like a hot potato.) May we suggest you not stake too much on those famous college ratings in the future?

MENTAL ILLNESS IN YOUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is coming home to roost. On April 29, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) issued new guidelines that extend the definition of "disability" more explicitly to include mental illnesses, psychological disorders, and emotional imbalances. Employers who now release or decline to hire persons with such conditions can be liable for huge penalties.

The new guidelines have employers very nervous. As a recent advisory from

the National Federation of Independent Business complained: "The guidelines state that 'Expert testimony about substantial limitation is not necessarily required. Credible testimony from the individual with a disability and his/her family members, friends, or coworkers may suffice.' ...How is an employer to know what to do if an employees' spouse calls the office and says 'John is going through post-traumatic stress and needs a leave of absence.' If John does not come to work for a month, he is protected by the ADA because his wife gave 'credible testimony.'"

Lest you think it unreasonable of employers to worry over mental illness becoming a protected job category, consider the case of the Washington, D.C. man whose foot was mangled in a subway escalator. It turned out the station manager, who had been diagnosed as schizophrenic and was taking Lithium and Thorazine, relayed vague instructions to a homeless man on how to find the emergency shut-off button on the escalator, instead of walking 10 feet to use his own switch. A federal jury ordered the transportation authority to pay \$800,000 in damages. Under the EEOC's new mental illness regulations, though, an employer who was reluctant to let a schizophrenic serve as a supervisor might be opening himself up to an equally big fine for violating the ADA.

Even before this latest opening of the lawsuit gates, the experience of employers with the ADA has not been happy. In just the first four years of the ADA's existence, 60,000 charges were filed with the federal government. Only one in ten was judged to have validity (though many more had to be defended

with expensive legal counsel). An analysis of ADA complaints conducted by attorney Mark Parenti found that "employees most often sue their employers over 'invisible' disabilities which are not readily apparent"—like back injuries or mental conditions—and that a majority of the charges are filed after an employee is discharged.

An indication of just how absurdly the ADA functions is the fact that United Parcel Service is being currently sued by the EEOC for refusing to hire one-eyed truck drivers. "Don't assume that people with one eye cannot drive," says EEOC lawyer Bill Tamayo. Meanwhile, as James Bovard points out in the *Wall Street Journal*, other regulations from the National Transportation Safety Board expressly prohibit one-eyed drivers of trucks weighing more than 10,000 pounds.

For business owners it's "damned if you do, damned if you don't." But don't even think about blaming some mentally ill EEOC employee.

NO HANDS ON THE TILLER

Washington newspapers recently reported that one attendee at the Clinton administration's famous White House kaffeeklatsches was Dr. George Tiller of Wichita, Kansas—one of the biggest abortionists in America. Tiller conducts 2,000 surgeries a year, making \$500,000 annually in the process (according to ex-employee Luthra Tivis). He specializes in terminations of babies in their seventh, eighth, and ninth months, with "a very high percentage" of these cases involving perfectly healthy children according to Tivis. Tiller, who was hosted

by President Clinton at the White House on June 17, 1996, contributed \$25,000 to the Democratic National Committee and maxed out at \$1,000 to the Clinton-Gore Primary Committee.

A MEMORABLE MESS

The stone boys have finally gotten around to raising a shrine to Franklin D. Roosevelt, but they needn't have bothered: The city of Washington, in all its bloat and pomp, is already testament to his "greatness."

Gobbling up seven-and-a-half acres along the once-beautiful Tidal Basin (12 times the size of Jefferson's commemoration) the FDR memorial consists of four rooms, one for each Rooseveltian term. This very design speaks to FDR's power-lust. "Two times is enough for any man," declared Republicans and anti-FDR Democrats in 1940, when this ambitious pol rejected the two-term tradition established by George Washington and took a lifetime sublet on 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The memorial's rooms are decorated with FDR quotations. Problem is, FDR did not write his own speeches—so, unlike Jefferson or Lincoln, there is no reason to etch his utterances in marble for posterity. The words themselves range from the banal to the mendacious, producing what even liberal dowager Mary McGrory called "aching political correctness." For example, the man who built enough dams to hold back a small ocean is quoted saying: "The throwing out of balance of the resources of nature throws out of balance also the lives of men."

From façade to restroom, this memorial glorifies not so much FDR as the Big Brother Knows Best sensibility he bequeathed us. Accompanying sculptures depict weary Americans awaiting deliverance by Father Franklin. A waterfall pays tribute to the Tennessee Valley Authority. Eleanor Roosevelt's visage floats in front of the United Nations seal.

These acres were better left to the squirrels and sparrows. For in post-FDR Washington, the old epitaph never rang truer: If you seek his monument, just look around.



UNCOMFORTABLE ON CASUAL DAY

Careful what you wear on Friday: In more than two-thirds of companies nationwide, it's office "Casual Day." So get out those khakis and woe to the shlub who wears a three-piece suit.

What's wrong with Casual Day? For starters, it's misnamed: Telling everyone that they should wear Dockers instead of dress slacks isn't casual. It's an alternative dress code every bit as restrictive as the traditional one. If companies were truly casual they would let employees come to work in loin cloths and sandals. You might greet your boss with "Yo, dude, dig those sandals."

Don't count on that. What we get instead is people coming to work dressed for the company picnic, and the temporary evaporation of corporate attire that signifies self-respect and high aspiration. Ironically, more and more offices have jumped on the casual bandwagon just as schools nationwide are returning to dress codes and uniforms that went out with the '60s.

Poor kids: They're told proper dress is a prerequisite for workplace success. Then they arrive at their first job to find everyone dressed like suburban barbecuers.

Pseudo-informality is touted as a boon to employees, but corporate dress consultant John Molloy says the policy is far less popular than its proponents presume. An officially sanctioned day for relaxed dressing can be mighty stressful, says Molloy, because workers don't know quite what to wear. It doesn't work to drag out your sweats; an entire new set of office outfits must be purchased.

Rules vary from company to company. Ludi-

crously, many provide elaborate lists of casual *dos* and *don'ts* (jeans are usually a no-no; khakis are kosher), and helpful tips on just how to conform to the casual dress code so you fit in with the herd of independent dressers. "Pants worn just long enough to create a slight break in front, and clean, polished shoes with socks make for a casual but professional look," explains the Levi Strauss "Guide to Casual Businesswear."

That Casual Days have spawned extensive rules shouldn't surprise anyone. The practice is just another example of the futility of trying to do away with standards. People are never happy in an environment where they have no idea what is expected of them; so rules grow up organically. And people who publicly flout social norms in the name of non-conformance invariably put even more restrictive codes in their place.

And so Casual Day usually requires people to flout rules exactly as their fellow non-conformists do. When a Houston insurance company tried Casual Day several years back, employees went overboard, sporting tank-tops and T-shirts that hung to their knees. Finding that things were getting a little too informal, the company ditched Casual Day altogether. More businesses should go that route and save casual days for days off.

—Evan Gahr is a New York City writer.

TIMES RESCUES POST

Both Washington newspapers recently pictured the arrival of U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Pete Peterson on their front pages. The conservative *Washington Times*' caption read, "Peterson is greeted in Hanoi by Mai Van On, who captured Sen. John McCain during the Vietnam War." The liberal *Washington Post*'s caption read, "Peterson is greeted in Hanoi by Mai Van On, who rescued Sen. John McCain."

Rescued? The next day, the *Times* offered the *Post* this handy guide: "U.S. forces rescued downed pilot Scott O'Grady in Bosnia; then they brought him

home. North Vietnamese forces captured John McCain; then they locked him up for six years."

Incidentally, a recent issue of the trade magazine published by the American Society of Newspaper Editors carried an article titled "The Myth of the Liberal Slant," which argued that "There is no convincing evidence that journalists infect their stories—intentionally or otherwise—with their own political prejudices.... While a few studies suggest such a link, most are the handiwork of right-leaning groups and critics whose research methods can't withstand scrutiny."

The same issue of the newspaper editors' magazine carried results from a new survey—conducted by the ASNE itself—of 1,037 journalists working at 61 different U.S. newspapers. This study showed that in 1996, 15 percent of all reporters labeled themselves "conservative/Republican," while 61 percent called themselves "liberal/Democrat." An earlier poll showed that 89 percent of Washington journalists voted for Bill Clinton in 1992.

What a *relief* to know that the serious imbalance seen in these numbers—and in the side-by-side captions of our Washington papers, and in so much else in today's media—doesn't withstand scrutiny.

MORE NIHILISM FROM IRRESPONSIBLE CORPORATIONS

If you liked the companies who brought America *Geraldo!*, the movie *Crash*, and rock idol Marilyn Manson, you're going to love this.

Benetton, the European clothing maker that has long used ugly, shocking, and anti-social advertising (replete with images of criminals, disease, nudity) to market its products, has apparently found a fresh set of taboos to exploit. The newest edition of its infomercial magazine *Colors* features graphic pictures of road kill, grossly misshapen creatures like a five-legged cow and a "Chernobyl pig," and feces of various animals.

We can hardly wait for their special issue on people deformed by twisted advertising.



© Tribune Media Services, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted with permission.



RODHAM-CLINTON vs. ASHCROFT-HUTCHISON

Suppose you're a parent who wants to take two hours off of work for your child. You want to work 38 hours this week and 42 hours the next to balance things out. Salaried workers and federal employees have the right to do that, but if you're paid by the hour, a 1938 New Deal law makes such a move illegal.

The only solution to this problem the Clinton administration will support is unpaid "family leave." Hourly workers who supply documentation to their company's human resources office that their child is in trouble can take off the hours, in limited quantities, but only by forfeiting pay.

Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.) and Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Tex.) have a better alternative. They have introduced a measure, known as the Family Friendly Workplace Act, that would give hourly workers and employers the power to create more flexible schedules. An employee could work less than 40 hours one week and more than 40 another without triggering mandatory overtime pay, so long as the worker *averages* no more than 40 hours on the job over a two-week period. In addition, the bill would allow hourly workers to choose between getting either time-and-a-half overtime pay or one-and-a-half hours of compensatory time off for every extra hour worked when they work beyond the 40-hour average.

Recently, the Independent Women's Forum (IWF) held a seminar on Capitol Hill examining the benefits of the Ashcroft-Hutchison bill. "Today's federal employment laws reflect the working conditions of the 1930s," said IWF executive director Barbara Ledeen. "It is time to bring these Depression-era, bread-line labor policies into the '90s."

American Enterprise Institute economist Diana Furchtgott-Roth testified that by giving workers and employees more choices, the Ashcroft-Hutchison measure would stimulate economic growth. "History has shown that, when workers are given choices, these choices are used fruitfully," Furchtgott-Roth testified. "Giving workers a choice of more time or more pay would only have beneficial effects."

The seminar also featured workers and employers discussing how more freedom in deciding the hours they would work would benefit them. Libby Murray, human resources director at a northern Virginia hospital, observed that President Clinton's unpaid family leave law forces her to ask parents to supply a great deal of intimate information before an absence can be approved. The administration's newest proposals "would require me to ask even more. It should not be any of my business to learn that an employee qualifies [for leave] under the Clinton plan because his or her child is failing in school."

Cathy Ritter, president of an engineering firm located in Timonium, Maryland, testified that current labor law prohibits her from granting leave to an employee to take part of a day off. Under present regulations, paid leave has to be granted in whole days. A worker who wants to leave three hours early to watch his son's softball tournament must either take the whole day off or come to work very early.

Ritter argued that she and her employees were better able to decide how their time should be spent than Labor Department regulators. "I have no desire to force upon my employees a schedule or monetary compensation that they would truly rather trade for time off," Ritter said. "Having an office full of disgruntled employees does nothing for my firm's productivity."

NEXT LET'S PASS A LAW AGAINST SALESMEN GOING BALD

Now that President Clinton has announced that he wants to expand the Family Leave Act, I'd like to propose a "Businessowner's Leave Act." Under this plan, if your business is normally slow during the summer months, you could shut down completely, and lay off your employees without pay. Come September, you'd re-open, and all your employees would be required to return to work.

This would also apply if you or your spouse wanted to take six months off to have a baby, renovate, bring a pet to medical treatments, or relocate your business. You could thus take care of these compelling life demands, confident in the knowledge that all your employees will be back bright and early on re-opening day. If, by chance, an employee doesn't show up, perhaps having found a better employer in the interim, not to worry. One call to the Labor Department, and sooner than you can say, "Serf's up," the wayward worker will be picked-up, shackled, and returned to you the rightful employer.

Sure it sounds a bit like indentured servitude, but it's not much different from the way businessowners are now required to train temporary employees, only to have to fire them when the original workers return from family leave.

The benefits of second-class citizenship, enjoyed by businessmen since the 1930s, should be available to everyone. The Businessowner's Leave Act would restore much-needed balance by giving employees an equal opportunity to experience the joys of mandatory sacrifice.

Phase Two of this legislation will address the other major problem faced by businessowners who take a leave of absence: It will require all your customers to return upon re-opening or face prosecution.

It's time we gave businessowners relief from the relentless demands of the marketplace, freeing this exploited class to take care of their personal and family needs. Remember, freedom is slavery.

—*Philip Barry is a radio talk show host on New York City's WKDM.*

INTOLERABLE MOTHERS

Working Mother magazine claims to be the "voice of America's career-committed mothers." Unfortunately, the publication has for years supported working mothers by portraying at-home mothers as ignorant and foolish and their children as unfortunates deprived of sparkling socialization opportunities and glamorous employed-mother role models.

For example, in "Why It Pays to Keep Working," the lead story in a recent issue, Leslie Alderman provides a fear-mongering diatribe on the dangers to a woman's economic and psychological health if she quits her job, or even cuts back her hours, in order to care for her children. The article was a response to a national movement for "voluntary simplicity"—a trend denounced by *WM* editor-in-chief Judsen Culbreth in one of her regular appearances on NBC's "Today Show" timed to the release of the Alderman article.

WM's editors simply can't accept that anything other than a patriarchal plot could induce millions of mothers to reorder their work lives to make more room for their families. Yet in fact this trend is being driven by working women themselves. Despite media whitewashing and cultural pressure on women to conform to the careerist norm, polls repeatedly show that the majority of mothers, regardless of socioeconomic, political,

and other factors, prefer to care for their own children. Whether they arrange flexible work options, or quit altogether for a period of time, growing numbers of today's mothers are rejecting the notion that a full-time job, especially away from home, is the answer to their dreams and to their families' needs.

The self-appointed mavens of working motherhood are blind to this groundswell, however. In their new book *She Works, He Works*, Rosalind Barnett and Caryl Rivers declare that "Ozzie and Harriet are dead"—so any notion that it's a serious and reasonable choice for modern mothers to forego employment must be expunged from public dialogue. An entire cottage industry promotes this same viewpoint.

Hellooo. Someone forgot to tell today's seven million married at-home mothers (as counted by the U.S. Department of Labor) that they are "dead." After decades of social ostracization, at-home mothers are re-entering the cultural mainstream. This is intolerable for those who see homemakers as unhealthy role models for young women, and full-time mothering a pathetic fantasy for overburdened employed mothers. They try to purge from the media any message that being at home is an affordable, or even worthwhile, endeavor.

Just as troubling as media stereotyping of at-home mothers is the unwillingness of those who have the power to confront it to do so. The corporations whose advertising dollars pay for these maga-

GET "BIG BUSINESS" TO PAY FOR IT

Public Citizen is the "progressive" organization founded by Ralph Nader to crusade for the disenfranchised and disempowered, to smite the mighty and haughty, and to make sure that high costs aren't allowed to slow down the race for "social justice." So guess whose office is inaccessible to the handicapped? Right: Public Citizen's, reports the *Washington Post*.

Uhhh, they looked into wheelchair access a few years ago, but found it would be (imagine this) "prohibitively expensive."

zines and TV broadcasts are so careful never to appear critical of employed mothers in their messages that they often seem to avoid any positive images of at-home mothers. Let's not risk inflaming any guilt in working mothers who purchase our wares or are on our payroll, they seem to calculate, forgetting that at-home mothers also purchase products and have spouses on payrolls.

President and Mrs. Clinton recently staged a White House Conference and other events on the importance of infant and early childhood learning. One can only wonder if the administration has given any thought to proposals that would support parents, economically and culturally, to be the primary nurturers of their children. Rest assured that if, by some remarkable feat, such proposals do surface, Judsen Culbreth and her coterie will do their best to stamp them out.

—*Heidi L. Brennan is director of Mothers at Home, based in Vienna, Virginia.*

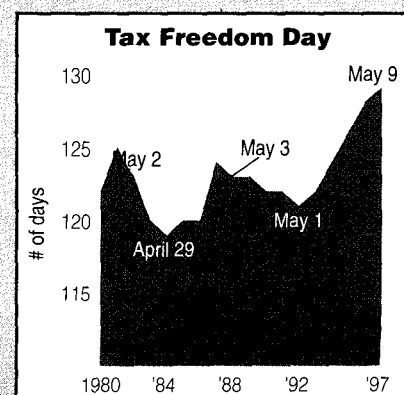
MAYDAY

Every year, the Tax Foundation calculates "Tax Freedom Day"—the date when an average American will have finally earned enough to pay his federal, state, and local taxes for the year.

1997 brought an ignominious peak: Every penny earned by the average citizen up until May 9

went to taxes. For the record, that compares to a

Tax Freedom Day of May 1 when George Bush left office, and a recent best of April 29 during the Reagan era.



ROUGH JUSTICE

At a Gay Studies Conference, Jane Gallop, a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, announced that "graduate students are my sexual preference," and shortly thereafter kissed one of hers in public. A year and a half later that student, along with one other, formally accused her of sexual harassment. Gallop suddenly found herself caught between two phases of campus radicalism—between the '60s' celebration of flaunting one's sexuality and the '90s' puritanical sex codes that seek to de-eroticize the classroom completely.

In a new book entitled *Feminist Accused of Sexual Harassment*, published by Duke University Press with lurid, tabloid-style publicity (see their ad nearby), Gallop recounts how she suffered through today's academic equivalent of a Salem witch trial. The title of her work points to the irony of her situation: Having championed all the causes of the '60s, especially feminism, she eventually fell victim to their ideological consequences. It is difficult to judge right and wrong in her case, because her book gives such a sketchy account of the episode and one strongly suspects that it is biased in her favor. But whatever the merits of the case (and Gallop evidently was more or less acquitted by university authorities), one cannot help noting a certain rough justice in her fate.

Gallop writes bitterly of one accuser: "Well-versed in anti-harassment rhetoric, one of the students states in her complaint against me: 'It is at the level of the institutionally enforced power differential that I wish to locate my harassment charges.'" Well, where did this student learn such language if not from professors like Gallop? (Indeed, who but English professors teach this kind of clotted prose?). The '60s radicals who became today's left-wing professors railed incessantly against "institutionally enforced power differentials." Now that they hold power in academic institutions, they should not act so indignant when the weapons they forged are turned against them.

One can sympathize with Gallop's attempt to highlight problems in the new campus sex codes. "I hope that my



Actual Duke University Press ad.

example can expose the limitations of loose analogies and impede the rampant expansion of the concept of sexual harassment," she writes, and feminist nemesis Camille Paglia could not have put it better. But there is something laughable about a contemporary professor of literature inveighing against loose analogies. Gallop's own characterization of the early days of women's liberation is that "our breasts were political." Now *there* is a loose analogy. And if this is the kind of mushy thinking Gallop fosters among her students, is it any wonder they proved incapable of making the sort of intellectual distinctions she insists should have been applied in her case?

Gallop complains that in the charges against her "little distinction was made between sexual harassment (the criminal charge) and authoritarianism (a complaint about teaching style). In the eyes of the students gathered together to resist me and faculty oppression, they were virtually the same crime, the crime of having power over them." Once again, one must ask, "Who taught these students that having power over someone is a crime?"

Gallop would like to believe she is simply the victim of a misapplication of legitimate principles she still endorses. The real villain in her story, though, is a style of thinking she helped create. And one in which she herself indulges to this day.

—Paul Cantor is professor of English at the University of Virginia.

HARD-WORKING CHURCHES

Allen-Edmonds Shoe Company had a problem. A labor shortage at its Port Washington, Wisconsin factory forced the company to recruit employees from inner-city Milwaukee. When moving employees from Milwaukee to the job site became impractical, the company decided to move the job site to the employees and set up a new factory in Milwaukee.

Recruiting more employees for its expanding operations, the company came up with a novel approach. Rather than turning to public agencies, company president John Stollenwerk contacted pastors at several neighborhood churches. The strong work ethic and family orientation of the employees recruited from these Catholic, largely Hispanic, parishes fit the company's needs like the finely tooled shoes it produces.

When asked why he had not gone to the local federal and state job-training programs to find employees, Stollenwerk replied, "It just never occurred to us." After all, government training programs can (sometimes) impart specific skills to their participants, but they cannot provide the habits of punctuality, hard work, and commitment to family that are crucial to becoming a successful, productive citizen. People either come to the programs with those habits and commitments, or they leave the programs without them.

Similarly, while Allen-Edmonds can teach an employee how to make a good shoe, it can't make that employee a good worker. For this, employers like John Stollenwerk are dependent upon families, community groups, and churches, where people learn the habits on which our economy, and more generally our society, rely. No War on Poverty, no growing economy can save distressed areas in which families are broken, churches sit empty, and neighborhoods are shattered by drugs, apathy, and violence. Unless businesspeople and other Americans help to maintain and restore the fundamental institutions in which individual virtue is built up, no amount of money or government effort will be enough to keep hope and prosperity alive in America.

—Senators Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.) and Dan Coats (R-Ind.) are members of the Renewal Alliance, a bipartisan effort to revive urban life.

GO WITH THE FLOW

Remember when AT&T announced early in 1996 that it was downsizing by 40,000 workers? That decision landed the company on the covers of *Fortune* and *Newsweek* under the banner headline "Corporate Killers."

Well, a year has passed, and guess what? It turns out that AT&T has almost the same number of employees now as it did when those force reductions were unveiled. What happened? Simple: the company's fast-growing Internet, local, wireless, and customer-service operations (precisely the areas AT&T wanted to concentrate on when it spun off its non-telecom divisions) have hired employees as fast as other departments have shrunk.

A great many of the new jobs went to people released from some other position within AT&T. The company spends about \$1 billion a year to educate or train employees for new positions within its walls, and has between 1,500 and 3,000 workers in classrooms on any given day. So no corporate killings. No blood-stained office cubicles. Just a re-configured, much more efficient company newly focused on what it does best.

This same process of redeployment, recovery, and resurgence regularly takes place even when an employer shuts down altogether. This is why Americans need to be careful about resisting economic shifts and commercial realignments. Fighting change and preserving existing operations that are not efficient can actually harm a local economy and workforce over the long run.

Some brilliant reporting on Rochester, New York, published in the *Washington Post* illustrates this. Reporter Malcolm Gladwell recounts how when General Dynamics closed a local plant in the 1970s, laying off 1,800 workers, the local congressman called it "the most severe blow to Rochester since before World War II."



But that's not how things worked out. Instead, the engineers, machinists, and managers let go by GD started setting up little businesses of their own. Gladwell picks up the story: "Within 15 years, some 17 separate companies in Rochester had sprung from the ashes of General Dynamics, collectively employing three times as many workers as had been laid off..."

"Other employees went to work for Xerox...or IBM divisions in the area, or

joined smaller start-up companies, helping to fuel a high-tech manufacturing boom that is one of the main reasons this city of 231,000 ranked last year as one of the top exporting areas in the country, sending some \$13.2 billion in goods overseas.

"Today...it is not difficult to find refugees from the old General Dynamics who think that 'the most severe blow to Rochester since before World War II' was actually a blessing in disguise.... 'The problem is that people don't see the big picture,' said Roger Bettin, an ex-GD engineer who is one of the co-founders of R.F. Communications. 'They hear about downsizing and they think that's it. They don't see the big picture. Jobs are being created all the time.'"

David Birch, president of a Cambridge, Massachusetts, economic research firm called Cognetics, Inc., has discovered this same pattern in other cities. He examined what happened when Boeing laid off 17,000 workers in the Seattle area in the early 1970s, for instance, and found that 600 to 700 new companies could trace their origins to those firings. His studies of big cutbacks by computer-maker NCR in Dayton, Ohio, document the same phenomenon. "This is a hard concept for people to grasp," Birch notes, "because at the moment the layoffs occur, everyone says ohmigod the sky is falling. They don't have any idea what the future might be. It's very frightening. But in the long run, it may be for the good."

THE SENATOR MISSES THE FACT THING

At a May 21 hearing, Senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) attacked General Ronald Fogleman, Air Force Chief of Staff, regarding the case of pilot Kelly Flinn.

SEN. HARKIN: How many attorneys do you have...running around trying to find out how many people are committing adultery?

GEN. FOGLEMAN: Senator...I would really like to see people not comment so much on it until they have all the facts.... This is not an issue of adultery. This is an issue about an officer who was entrusted to fly nuclear weapons, who disobeyed an order, who lied....

SEN. HARKIN: Isn't lying and disobeying orders also punishable under the [Universal Code of Military Justice]?

GEN. FOGLEMAN: Yes.

SEN. HARKIN: Then why wasn't she charged with that?

GEN. FOGLEMAN: She is.

SEN. HARKIN: I thought she was just charged with adultery...she's charged with lying and disobeying an order?

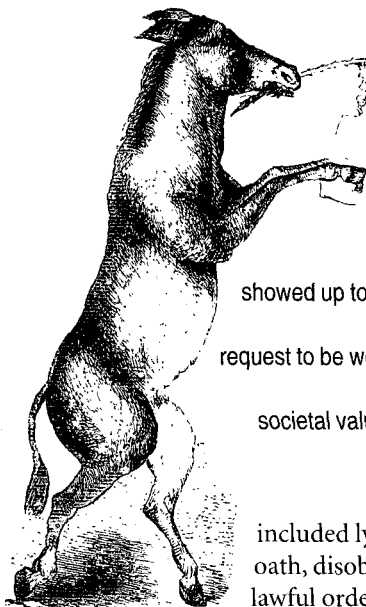
GEN. FOGLEMAN: Yes, sir. It's a fact thing, sir, it's a fact thing.

FLINN-FLAMMED

The case of Air Force First Lieutenant Kelly Flinn sent Washington pundits and pols into a collective dither. Waxing indignant over the "double standard" of Flinn having to face a court-martial, while innumerable male officers supposedly engage in dalliances yet receive nothing but the ol' wink-and-nod, they rushed to the microphones without checking the facts. Official figures soon showed that 60 out of the 67 members of the Air Force prosecuted for adultery in 1996 were men.

And adultery was only one of the charges against Flinn. The others

BOLDLY DRAWING A LINE TO PROTECT MARRIAGE



When Boulder, Colorado county clerk Clela Rorex was unable to find any law explicitly prohibiting same-sex "marriage," she agreed to marry Dave Zamora and Ave McCord. Five more homosexual couples quickly

showed up to be wed. That moved an angry cowboy to visit the office with a request to be wed to his fiancée, an 8-year-old mare. Boldly defending basic societal values, Rorex refused. The horse, she noted, was underage.

included lying under oath, disobeying a lawful order, fraternization (contact between officers and enlisted persons that is forbidden because of its deleterious effects on military discipline), and conduct unbecoming an officer. Flinn and her handlers skillfully manipulated public views of her case by downplaying these broader infractions. In a made-to-order interview with Morley Safer she even managed a few tears (an endearing quality for a bomber pilot).

The media weren't the only ones played "like trout" (to use Camille Paglia's words). Several members of Congress bought Flinn's story, including Senate Republican Leader Trent Lott. But then his only time in uniform was as a college cheerleader, standing on the sidelines while the neanderthals on the field broke each other's ribs. The Air Force, not wanting to bite the hand that feeds them, came perilously close to surrendering.

Senator Lott, once considered a conservative leader, saw his position deteriorate when, the next day, the Air Force produced a letter from the wife of Lt. Flinn's boyfriend, herself an enlisted service member, which confirmed the Air Force's case. Then in a hearing on Capitol Hill, Air Force Chief of Staff General Ronald Fogleman set the dithering senators straight on a subject where their ignorance was nothing less than negligent

(see his exchange with Senator Tom Harkin, nearby). With the tide beginning to turn, Flinn's lawyers sued for peace, and the Air Force agreed to a "general discharge under honorable conditions." Not a bad deal for someone otherwise facing the brig.

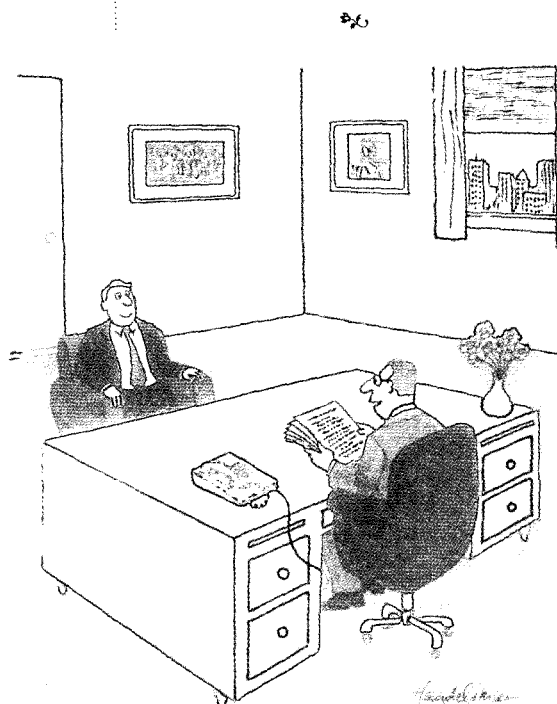
A liberal CNN commentator awarded Lott his "political play of the week." Others in the media were less sympathetic to Flinn. Quoting her statement that leaving the Air Force causes her "relentless tears," the *Washington Post* opined that "maybe the book and movie offers, and the job offers from commercial airlines, will help stanch that relentless flow." Meanwhile, *The New Republic* bemoaned the beginning of yet another episode in the military soap opera: An Air Force Academy classmate of Flinn faces a court-martial for her affair with a senior officer that resulted in a child born out of wedlock, disobeyed orders, absence without leave, and unbecoming conduct (in her case, sending "graphic, profanity-filled letters boasting about sex" to the wife of her paramour).

Lott, assured by political footman Dick Morris that he "did exactly the right thing," was a hero to feminists for

two or three days. Flinn will probably be hired as a pilot by Virgin Air, have her discharge upgraded from general to honorable, pose for *Playboy*, and make a run for Congress financed by speaking fees and TV-movie royalties. Her counsel could become the legal affairs commentator for Jerry Springer. The losers are the military judicial process, and conservatives stupefied by the buffoonery of their leadership.

In the long run, the most serious damage will be to the military's ability to perform the functions we expect of it. While you read this, all around the world young men and women are living, working, and occasionally dying in a job that demands a different set of rules from comfortable civilian life. These rules, which may seem rigid and inscrutable to me-generation reporters and politicians, are designed to keep those military men and women alive and help them complete their mission. A military without rules against fraternization, lying, and disobedience will collapse in the face of an opponent with those rules in place.

—William Buckley is a fighter pilot and combat veteran.



"Very nice résumé.
Leave a sample of your DNA with my secretary."

Indicators

WOMEN RATE HOME LIFE & WORK

A March 1997 survey for the Pew Research Center found that six out of ten American women think today's mothers are doing a worse job at parenting than previous generations of mothers did. The main culprit, according to the female public: too many women giving precedence to work over family life. Only 29 percent of U.S. women now say that families "in which both the father and mother work full-time" do a good job of parenting. That's no better than the rating given to single parents:

Women Who Say "Most" Such Families "Do A Good Job As Parents"

Father works full-time and mother stays home	66%
Father works full-time and mother works part-time	54
Father and mother work full-time	29
Single mothers	28

Source: Pew Research Center, May 1997.

Public unease over the decline of attentive mothering and fathering is rippling to the surface in many places. "Lies Parents Tell Themselves About Why They Work," blazed a headline in *U.S. News* recently. In *Newsweek* it was "The Myth of Quality Time: How We're Cheating Our Kids."

A new book by sociologist Arlie Hochschild entitled *The Time Bind* asserts that many contemporary parents are actually choosing to overwork to avoid the responsibilities of family

life. Her argument has ignited a new debate on the possibility that, as a recent *Wall Street Journal* article put it, some of today's working parents are "uncaring narcissists who neglect their kids for the ego high they get from work." As liberal writer and working-mother Sue Sheltenbarger concedes, "The work-family debate has long been too biased toward enabling people with families to get to work and stay there. It's time for the pendulum to swing the other way."

HOME LIFE & WORK II

On the occasion of the Ms. Foundation's annual "Take Our Daughters to Work Day" this year, newspaper columnist Suzanne Fields made an interesting suggestion: "Why not a 'Stay-at-Home with Our Daughters Day' instead?"

Voters seem to agree. When they were asked, in a survey conducted for the Independent Women's Forum after the '96 election, what their own ideal work/home solution would be, the dual full-time worker household was only a third as popular as the household with one spouse at home. At-home businesses and part-time jobs were also more popular than double full-time earning. (See chart following.)

A solid majority of the public also said they would give up some pay or seniority in exchange for more personal time. And two-thirds said they were willing to accept the risks of starting their own business in return for the flexibility and independence it would offer.

Voters Who Say This Would Be "My Ideal Balance Between Work and Family"

One parent working full time, the other at home with children	36 %
Running my own business from home	21
A part-time job	17
Both parents working full time, with child care inside or outside our home	13

Source: Independent Women's Forum, November 1996.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE RECENT U.S. ECONOMY

Popular wisdom, endlessly repeated in the press and political debates, holds that American incomes have stagnated over the last two decades, halting upward mobility. In a recent study, University of California economist Richard McKenzie finds this cliché to be wholly false.

Our faulty Consumer Price Index—which the national Boskin Commission last year said should be overhauled—has badly overstated inflation for years. In the process it has obscured steady growth in American incomes. By applying the findings of the Boskin Commission scholars to 20 years' worth of national economic statistics, McKenzie finds that today's standard reference data are badly misleading:

Economic Progress 1977-1995

	official figure	true figure corrected for CPI overstatement
Hourly earnings of average worker	-13 %	+13 %
Earnings plus fringe benefits of average worker	+3	+33
Median family income	+1	+31

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, February 1997.