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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-30-99

STANLEY I. GREENSPAN, M.D.
7201 GLENBROOK ROAD
BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20814
(301) 657-2348

Handwritten:
Donnie guy
We need to get this guy
involved →

Handwritten:
BR

Handwritten:
Copied
& chaveste
Reed
Podesta
Berkhardt
(for reply)

May 20, 1999

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

I thought you might like a prepublication copy of my new book, *Building Healthy Minds*. It will be out in late September and brings our most recent insights into the growth of the mind and brain together with the tried and true wisdom of our parents and grandparents.

Also, in relationship to your recent comments on the needs of our teenagers and families, I thought you might like to see a recent piece I did for National Public Radio on the Colorado tragedy that explores how the teenagers involved are different from other youth who are aggressive or delinquent.

I would be happy to discuss these issues in greater detail. With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Stanley I. Greenspan

Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.
Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Behavioral Sciences, and Pediatrics,
George Washington University Medical School
Chairman
Interdisciplinary Council on Developmental and Learning Disorders

Handwritten:
We will send to
Berkhardt after you
have seen -

Handwritten initials:
OK 10

Handwritten:
C.

The Colorado School Shooting: The Ignored Warning Signs

(An abbreviated version of this article was read on National Public Radio – *All Things Considered* – 4/99)

By Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.

As information about the Colorado school shootings slowly emerges, we still don't have answers to the two most important questions—are there unmistakable warning signs that could help us prevent such tragedies and are they rare occurrences or indications of larger societal troubles? But, the answers may be clearer than many may think. To recognize the warning signs and prevent these violent outbreaks, however, we will need to look beyond the familiar suspects.

The warning signs for mass destructive behavior are often different from those for individual acts of violence or recurrent delinquency. The most important ones are not what's often suggested—a history of mental illness, impulse control problems, antisocial behavior, the Internet, TV, music, or the experimentation or rebellion of adolescence. Instead, they tend to involve three subtle, but distinct and alarming personality changes: a “turning” toward extreme preoccupations and/or actions focusing on violence and destruction in a child who is not familiar with acting out his rage, grandiose beliefs and plans, and irrational thinking fueling the preoccupations and plans.

Some children quietly focus on violent thoughts for many years before a worrisome escalation requires our immediate help. Others go through a more abrupt change. The many physical, social, and psychological changes of adolescence can play varying roles in bringing on these especially worrisome personality changes. Importantly, these changes are usually advertised and require a rapid response. Preliminary descriptions raise the possibility that the Colorado teenagers were in the middle of such personality changes, with growing irrational preoccupations with violence and death and grandiose plans which included destroying the

whole school and a city. When illogical, violent thoughts grow rapidly without the civilizing and reality-grounding influence of a caring adult or group of peers who can pull such preoccupied youngsters back in, monstrous behavior becomes possible.

In contrast to a teenager who carries out mass murder, a child who has a history of frequent antisocial behavior, fighting, and hurting others has considerable experience with anger. Incidents of very aggressive behavior and run-ins with teachers or the law may date back to childhood. Typically, he may attack one or two people if they get in his way. The teenager who plans mass murder may not have a childhood history of frequent violent behavior. In this sense, he is less familiar with his rage. His experience with the typical use of pretend play to explore aggression in childhood may be limited. He may have episodic outbursts, but otherwise behave nicely. As a teenager, such a child may also be very sensitive, especially to rejection or slights and may show both his sensitivity and growing anger, whereas the child with a long history of frequent aggressive behavior often tends to be less overtly sensitive (more "thick skinned"). Preliminary press reports suggest that many viewed the Colorado teenagers as "nice kids" and that their preoccupation and beginning antisocial behavior grew in the last year or two, illustrated by their Internet interests and one of them openly showing his feelings on his website and making threats to a peer.

While we can't and shouldn't speculate about the families of the Colorado teenagers, there are other more general warning signs that we need to attend to. These are better known and include the lack of satisfying, nurturing relationships with peers, parents, and educators, and instead, being teased, harassed and feeling estranged or outside the group. Often, we mistakenly assume that families who appear to be functioning well on the surface are engaging in and available for the types of relationships their children require. Families sometimes make the same assumption. We all need to look beneath the surface. It's also worrisome when kids can't fully

experience and reason about the feelings and concerns that children their age typically struggle with—from anger, frustration, and disappointment to competition, caring, and excitement. If they are unable to reason about their feelings, children tend to make a feeling larger than life (somebody is unkind, and a teenager quickly assumes “they are out to harm me.”). When distorted feelings are coupled with an inability to read ordinary social signals and lack of ongoing feedback from peers or adults, feelings of failure, frustration, and being an outcast tend to grow.

The warnings become more immediate as a preoccupation with selected ideas grows—especially when the ideas are about guns, violence, suicide, or death, coupled with the exclusion of typical concerns about friendships, music, social activities, school work, or sports. The warnings become an emergency when kids have or are building weapons.

Many youths may show one of these warning signs. We need to be especially alert to children who are showing a number of them. Does knowing these warning signs mean we can predict violent or self-destructive acts? Sometimes. But to help even sometimes, we need to have people who care enough to notice the warning signs and do something about them. They need to be in all the right places—the police station when a teenager is brought in for even a minor infraction; our schools; our community centers; other places where kids hang out; and, most importantly, at home.

Knowing kids and being in the right places requires caring, well-functioning families, supportive communities with collaboration between education, criminal justice, mental health, and social services, and a society that places children, families, and communities first. Instead of knowing our kids better, however, we are farming out the care of our kids to others at earlier and earlier ages. In schools, test performance is more important than learning relationships. Mental health services for children, counseling for criminal justice system offenders, and social supports

in schools are all on the decline. More and more, kids are being treated for emotional problems without sufficient psychological or social support. Most of us are busier than ever and interests in material things are out-competing caring for others. Not surprisingly, the United States has among the highest rates of the industrialized nations of youth violence and destructive behavior, including self-destructive behavior.

 In the face of these violent outbreaks, you have to wonder why we still tend to deny the obvious. The discussions in the media are largely about teenage cliques, new gun laws, legal culpability of parents, and music, TV and Internet violence. They are not about the deep ailments in families, communities, and society, of which these aggressive explosions are perhaps only the beginning symptoms.

How far we have to go in changing our attitudes is indicated by some of the reactions to the Colorado shootings. For an seven-year-old little boy who was being bullied by his friends and who made an empty physical threat back, the impersonal use of fear, rather than compassion coupled with firm guidance, was only too apparent. The scared little boy was immediately isolated from his peers in the classroom and put into another room alone with a somewhat large, untrained male aide who immediately threatened the little boy with going to jail if he "opened his mouth." By the next day, the little boy was suspended from school with no support or counseling for either the child or his parents. Understandably, the whole country feels more anxious and vulnerable, but the question is do we respond to our collective anxiety with tactics that intimidate, humiliate, induce fear and further isolation or do we attend to society's deeper problems, which unfortunately, are illustrated in this horrifying school response to a scared seven-year-old little boy.

It's not so complicated. What civilizes human beings is ongoing, nurturing, and guiding relationships at all levels, in families, schools, and communities. Protecting human life and

controlling aggression are not outgrowths of formal education in the traditional sense, but of relationships that teach the value of human life. Societies depend on a balance between the competitive edge used to produce economic growth and the capacity to care for others—to nurture our kids, ourselves, and our communities. In fact, we require warm, nurturing families to produce emotionally and intellectually competent adults who can make an economy work and rear the next generation successfully.

As more and more children have access to weapons (and, on the international front, more and more groups have access to advanced military technology), we are learning our lessons the hard way. The old methods, where individuals and groups could be contained by fear while being deprived of the basic sustaining experiences of life, no longer hold. Whether it's the inner city, a suburban Colorado community, or another country or group, the lessons of recent outbreaks of violence should be clear. The relationships that make individuals, families, communities, and nations fully humane are on the decline.

Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Behavioral Sciences, and Pediatrics

George Washington University Medical School

Author of *The Growth of the Mind and the Endangered Origins of Intelligence*

Phone - 301-657-8745

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 6-30-99
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1999

MR. ~~PRESIDENT~~:

I understand you wanted
the option of making these
calls over the weekend.

Sean Maloney 

copied
Benger
NSC WW Desk
Podesta



Sandy
As you can see I didn't
make most of them
Thank you call re. Kosovo
How about a letter of
thanks calling for their help in
our mission with meeting taking?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-30-99

99 JUN 4 PM9:18

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 4, 1999

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS

TO:

✓ Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) - OK
(617) 725-0322
(Scheduled to appear on *Meet the Press*)

✓ Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE) - *Worried about W - go back*
(302) 575-1441
(Scheduled to appear on *Face the Nation.*)

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-CT)
(203) 397-9170

Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI)
(313) 259-2539

Sen. Mary L. Landrieu (D-LA)
(504) 822-7854

Sen. John W. Warner (R-VA)
(703) 836-0321

Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-NE)
(402) 388-9633

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-IN)
(317) 251-2899

✓ Rep. David Bonior (D-MI) - *encourage KLA Movement really worried about conflict within - must be opening to self-determination*
(810) 465-5842

Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)
(203) 823-8212
(203) 889-6241

Rep. John P. Murtha (D-PA)
(814) 536-4611

Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)
(203) 865-3892

Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-NY)
(914) 343-4615
(914) 856-6149

Rep. Amo Houghton (R-NY)
(607) 936-4402

Rep. Peter King (R-NY)
(516) 783-5742

DATE: As soon as possible.

RECOMMENDED BY: Larry Stein *LS*

PURPOSE: To discuss the current situation in Kosovo.

BACKGROUND: In close consultation and with approval from NSC Adviser Sandy Berger we are recommending that you call the above Senators to discuss the current situation in Kosovo. These calls provide an opportunity to say "thank you" and to ask for continued support. Talking Points are attached.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: June 4, 1999

ACTION: _____

POINTS FOR CONGRESSIONAL CALLS

- **Wanted to talk to you about developments in Belgrade, where it is possible that NATO's air campaign has at last convinced Milosevic to meet our demands.**
- **As you know, the Yugoslav government agreed to a document presented by Ahtisaari and Chernomyrdin. The document was developed with Deputy Secretary Talbott and embodies all of NATO's conditions.**
 - **Specifically, it requires that all Serb forces be withdrawn. A small number can return under international supervision for largely symbolic purposes.**
 - **It also accepts deployment of an international security presence with substantial participation under unified command and control. Ahtisaari made clear this means "NATO at the core."**
- **This is a hopeful development, but we must be cautious. As we know from experience, Milosevic is a master of sidestepping agreements.**
 - **It will be very important that his security forces rapidly conclude a military-technical agreement with NATO's military authorities, specifying the details of withdrawal and KFOR's deployment. I expect that generals from NATO and the Serb military will meet tomorrow.**
 - **Then we also must see clear indications that a full withdrawal of Serb forces has begun.**
- **In the meantime, we will sustain our air strikes. And even when Javier Solana judges they can be suspended because we see demonstrable evidence he is complying, he will need to be ready to resume them if Milosevic backslides.**
- **We also need to step up our preparations for KFOR. We must be in a position to activate the force and deploy it into Kosovo at the beginning of next week if compliance clearly begins.**
 - **On Wednesday, I decided that the US would commit around 7000 forces to peacekeeping in KFOR and today we are beginning to move some closer to the region.**



Windfall: 'Giving Birth to "Boy A"' has sold nearly half a million copies since April

News - Feb - BC

JAPAN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.30.99

Begetting a Best Seller

The true story of a teen killer—written by his parents

BY HIDEKO TAKAYAMA

RAISING A CHILD LIKE BOY A IS every parent's worst nightmare. In 1997 the Japanese 14-year-old crushed a girl's skull with a hammer, killing her. Two months later, he decapitated a younger boy and displayed his head outside a junior high school in Kobe. As police investigated, he taunted them in a letter to the local newspaper, signed with a fake name. "Only when I am killing, am I at peace and free of hatred," he wrote. When the killer was finally captured a few weeks later, his parents could not accept his guilt, much less fathom the motives for his grisly crimes. But they got an insight into the depths of his fury when they visited him in his juvenile-detention home, where he glowered at them. "He screamed, 'Go back, you pigs,'" recalled his mother. "I will never forget the loathing on his face."

Now his parents are seeking to turn their heartache into a windfall. In their provocative new book, "Giving Birth to 'Boy A,'" they attempt to explain how an ordinary salaryman and his wife came to raise the most notorious teenage killer in Japanese history. (The title was chosen to protect the offender's family, in accordance with Japanese law; the authors are listed only as "The Parents of Boy A.") Launched in April by the prestigious publisher Bungeishunju, the book has sold nearly half a million copies and has dominated best-seller lists all over the country. It has also triggered a Japanese version of the "do we really know our kids?" hysteria that has swept America

since 15 people died in April at Colorado's Columbine High School. The authors have received about 400 letters, mostly from women readers "in their late 30s or early 40s," says publisher Takashi Fujisawa, who "wanted to know why the murders happened, what his family background was like and details of the parent-child relationship."

When Boy A's case broke two years ago, it shattered the myth of Japan as a nation of well-adjusted, nonviolent kids. His killing spree focused attention on an alarming upsurge in youth crime. Most disturbing for a country with the lowest crime rate of any industrialized nation: a huge spike in violent juvenile crime, including rape, assault and murder (chart). The bulk of those crimes were committed by "normal" kids from "average" families with no prior behavioral problems. Experts blame Japan's rigorous test-based education system for a growing sense of alienation among many young Japanese. The rise of two-income households where both parents work has left more children unsupervised and isolated. "Japanese children have changed so drastically during the last decade," says Ryoichi Kawakami, a veteran junior-

high-school teacher. "They cannot relate well to other people. We really don't know them anymore."

In "Giving Birth," Boy A's parents combine accounts of their eldest son's childhood with descriptions of the period following his arrest. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the family is how utterly unremarkable it is: Dad works too hard as a salaryman, Mom is loving but overbearing. Boy A is a quiet, sensitive boy who once begged his mother not to crush cockroaches in the kitchen. But apparently he acted quite differently at school, remarking that human lives were no different from those of cockroaches and creating bizarre monsters out of clay. "I didn't know my own son until the incident," Boy A's mother writes. "I am so ashamed of myself, but I honestly didn't know."

Many critics find that hard to believe. Some reviews of the book have portrayed its authors as tuned-out parents who missed blatant warning signs. At one point Mom laments the lack of obvious antisocial behavior in her son "like dying hair, body piercing or joining a motorcycle gang." But she admits she failed to register his penchant for shoplifting thermometers, from which he extracted mercury to poison cats. Until police raided their home, the book claims, Dad didn't realize that Boy A's room had a passage to the attic, where he hid the second victim's severed head. Police also found a sake jar full of cat tongues in

his room. "My impression [of the mother] was that she tried to look away," says Yoko Kurahashi, a 46-year-old writer and mother. "She saw him the way she wanted him to be."

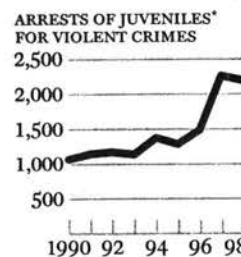
The book is full of apologies. Boy A's parents say they decided to publish their account in response to the widespread demand for more knowledge of their son and his childhood. They plan to use all royalties to pay off damages to the families of their son's victims. But for the father of Jun Hase, the 11-year-old Boy A beheaded, no amount of money will ever be enough. "[My son] Jun's soul won't be saved with this book," he wrote in the Weekly Shincho in May. "It contains nothing but excuses and evasions full of 'We didn't know' and 'We didn't notice.'" But thanks largely to the book, most Japanese parents have their eyes open now.



No excuse: A victim

Bad Seeds

More and more teens are committing crimes like assault, rape and murder in Japan.



EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTSTHE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-30-99

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2101

June 17, 1999

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I'm writing to express my strong support for Mark L. Schneider to be the next Director of the Peace Corps. Mark Gearan has done an outstanding job as Director, and his departure is a significant loss. But I'm confident that Mark Schneider will continue the tradition of superb Directors in your Administration.

Mark is a former Peace Corps volunteer in El Salvador and has served your Administration with great distinction since 1993 as Assistant Administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean at USAID. Mark is highly regarded inside and outside the Administration for his knowledge of Latin America and for his skill and judgment in performing these important responsibilities. Both the First Lady and Mack McLarty have praised his work publicly and privately, and I believe that Sandy Berger and Jim Steinberg would give him the same high endorsement.

Mark also has a wide range of international policy experience beyond Latin America, having served as the principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights during the Carter Administration.

I've known Mark personally for nearly thirty years, ever since he served on my Senate staff in the early 1970s as a foreign policy adviser and legislative assistant. I have the greatest respect for his character, competence, creativity, knowledge, persistence, and energy. He's truly one of a kind.

To me, Mark personifies the best traditions of the Peace Corp. He'd be an excellent fit and serve you brilliantly for the remainder of the Administration, and I urge you to give him the highest consideration for Director.

copied
Podesta
Nash

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy

Podesta / Nash
M1
Whole good
will to get
somewhere
then move
PK

Guar/Lead Pgt BR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-30-99

GERMANY'S ECONOMY

The sick man of the euro

FRANKFURT

The biggest economy in the euro area, Germany's, is in a bad way. And its ills are a main cause of the euro's own weakness

THE social-market economy devised in Germany after the second world war, with its careful blend of market capitalism, strong labour protection and a generous welfare state, served the country well for several decades. But it is now coming under pressure as never before. As economic growth stalls yet again, the country is being branded the sick man (or even the Japan) of Europe. This is inevitably casting a cloud over Europe's single currency, the euro, for Germany accounts for a full third of the euro countries' output. When Germany sneezes, its neighbours feel a chill—and nervous markets are likely to sell the euro. Thus the biggest economic problem for Europe today is how to revive the German economy.

The numbers certainly tell a bleak story. German GDP shrank by 0.2% in the fourth quarter of 1998, against growth of 0.5% for the rest of the euro area. The figures for the first quarter of this year, which will be published next week, are not expected to provide much cheer. A few forecasters—albeit in the minority—think that the economy may have shrunk for a second quarter in a row, which would put Germany technically in recession. Any growth that is recorded is sure to be small. The government has scaled down its forecast of GDP growth for this year to 1.5%. Even that may be optimistic; several private-sector economists' forecasts go as low as 1%.

Next year may bring better news, as exports at last pick up again, helped by the weaker euro. But few expect a stellar performance. Rather, Germany seems likely to persist with more of the sub-par growth that has characterised its economy in recent years. On average, indeed, German growth has lagged that of the rest of the euro-11 countries by almost one percentage point a year since 1995.

German consumers have remained surprisingly resilient amid this overall gloom.

Not so its companies. They are still reeling from a showdown over tax with the pugnacious former finance minister, Oskar Lafontaine. The latest survey of business conditions shows that businessmen are at their gloomiest since mid-1996 about the current business climate, although there are signs that they expect things to improve slightly later this year. The red-green coalition government led by Gerhard Schröder since last



October has "encouraged the suspicions of a corporate sector predisposed to fear the worst," says Alison Cottrell, chief international economist at PaineWebber in London. The dark picture painted by Hans Eichel, Mr Lafontaine's replacement, to justify fiscal belt-tightening has further unsettled industrial bosses. And a lack of corporate confidence has been one of the main factors that

has kept unemployment so high.

Mr Schröder came to power with job creation at the top of his agenda, but the new government has so far noticeably failed to get people back to work. Unemployment remains stubbornly high at 4m, or 10.7% of the workforce, seasonally adjusted. This may be lower than in, say, France, but it is nevertheless embarrassing in a country that still likes to think of itself as an economic powerhouse. So is the fact that new jobs are not being created anywhere near as fast as in other, comparable countries.

Germany can hardly claim that its malaise is a rich-world commonplace. The American economy is still booming, for now. Closer to home, Italy may be in a pretty bad state, but France and several smaller European countries are growing quite comfortably. In the early 1990s, France struggled while the Germans enjoyed a short-lived

post-unification boom. Since 1997 the opposite has been true.

Some of the blame for this can be laid at the door of a tight macro-economic policy. For much of the 1990s, the Bundesbank kept interest rates high in response to pressures from German unification and from an expansion in the budget deficit. In the run-up to the euro's launch, German monetary policy was constrained by the need for most European countries to converge on a single euro-wide interest rate; and fiscal policy has been kept in check by the need to comply with the single-currency countries' "growth and stability pact". These constraints still bind: left to itself, Germany might respond to its latest bout of weakness with lower interest rates and a bigger budget deficit, but it no longer has these options.

Germany's weakness has, indeed, come at an especially awkward time for the euro. The new currency's almost uninterrupted slide against the dollar since its introduction in January owes much to gloom over the German economy. The country's exporters may

be breathing a sigh of relief after repeated bouts of D-mark appreciation in the 1990s, but central bankers are not amused. This week, Otmar Issing, the European Central Bank's chief economist, who was formerly in the same position at the German Bundesbank, pinned much of the blame for the sagging euro on German policymakers, who have failed to tackle their overly generous

GERMANY'S ECONOMY

welfare net. The ECB's president, Wim Duisenberg, has said that Germany's problems are not cyclical but the result of too little basic reform to social security, the labour market and so on. Mr Duisenberg also said this week that he was inclined to "play down" the short-term fall in the euro.

Shocks and spanners

Some argue that Germany's ugly recent statistics can be blamed as much on a series of one-off shocks as on the economy's structural faults. Once these have passed, the optimists go on to argue, growth should start to take off again.

The first and biggest shock was the unification of East and West Germany in 1990. This was always going to hit the much bigger and richer western part of the country hard, especially after the less productive easterners won over-generous wage rises. Much of the early, tax-driven investment in the east went, in effect, down a black hole. The pain continues. The level of subsidy to the east, which accounts for roughly 5% of overall German GDP, has barely fallen since 1990. The re-joining of Germany led to a series of mini-booms and busts, exacerbated by further wage rises at the first hint of recovery and a sharp appreciation of the D-mark, which stung exporters.

A second spanner in the works was the economic crisis in emerging markets. Germany sends more of its GDP abroad than any other big European country (around 30%), with roughly a quarter of that going to emerging economies—and so has suffered more than most. The collapse of Asian markets hit basic producer goods especially hard; along with capital goods, these make up as much as four-fifths of Germany's exports. Many German exports, such as chemicals and aluminium, were already suffering from global overcapacity before the crisis hit Thailand in mid-1997. The meltdown in Russia, formerly another big export market, has not helped either. It is striking how far Germany's share of world exports has fallen since the early 1990s.

Nor did last year's interest-rate convergence in the run-up to monetary union do much to bolster Germany. As interest rates in other euro-area countries fell towards German levels, their economies received a boost that has increased the gap between their performance and Germany's. The slowdown in Britain, which is one of Germany's biggest export markets, has made mat-

ters worse as well.

Yet much as these temporary problems may have hurt the German economy, they are not the root cause of its ills. Nor would it be fair to lay the blame entirely on macro-economic mistakes in the 1990s. In the longer run, the main factors tugging down German (and indeed European) economic performance do indeed remain structural and microeconomic: a byzantine and inefficient tax

system, a bloated welfare system and excessive labour costs.

The tax issue has already come to the fore in Germany in the recent showdown between business and government. Mr Lafontaine infuriated company bosses by threatening to close some DM7 billion-worth (\$3.7 billion) of tax loopholes, without shaving much off corporate tax rates, which run as high as 60%. Some of the biggest insurers and utilities

even threatened to move their headquarters abroad unless the government made firm promises to lower their tax bills.

Businessmen have been equally incensed by the government's treatment of fringe workers. Low-paid, part-time jobs (so-called "DM630 jobs") have long been exempt from tax and social-security contributions. Many economists think that the government's plans to end this exemption, drawn up by the labour minister, Walter Riester, will destroy many of the 6m such jobs, just when the government should be encouraging workplace flexibility. The German Chamber of Commerce reckons that over 500,000 jobs

may be at risk. Some service industries, such as cleaning and catering, fear losing up to a fifth of their workers.

Yet another planned reform, to raise the levy on small consultancies and their clients, is equally controversial. Businessmen complain that it will discourage the formation of innovative new companies. Such is the opposition to these measures—from employers, workers and some regional governments—that they may yet have to be scrapped or amended.

The appointment of the business-friendly Mr Eichel has calmed some corporate nerves, not least because he has pledged to cut corporate taxes. But the fear lingers that the ruling Social Democrats remain bent on redistributing income at the expense of big business, which explains the continued sag in corporate confidence. This fear is hitting investment. "What we have is uncer-

tainty. We are investing less in our German sites until we are sure which way things are going," says Franz Nawratil, chairman of Hewlett-Packard's European operations.

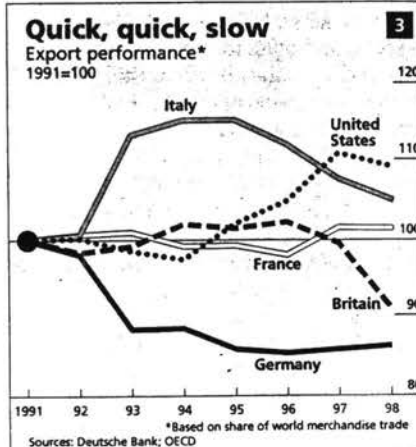
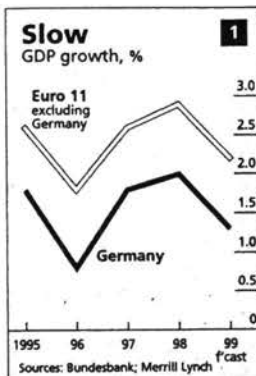
Hire and fire

Another big reason not to invest is the cost of hiring and firing workers. Holger Schmieding, senior European economist at Merrill Lynch, thinks that Germany has got itself caught in a vicious circle. The welfare state is largely financed by payroll taxes, half of which are paid by employers and half by individual workers. As welfare costs have swollen, non-wage labour costs have shot up too, from 36% of gross wages in 1990 to a painful 42% last year. This encourages companies to shed workers, reducing payments into the welfare system while ratcheting up the benefits that must flow out.

Mr Schmieding thinks that Germany's high costs relative to what it produces help to explain why unemployment has risen from cycle to cycle since the 1960s. German workers may be productive, but not enough to justify costs that are running at 50% above levels in any other G7 country. Getting rid of workers is costly too. Severance pay is typically a month's salary per year worked, plus generous retirement pay-offs for older workers. "The jobs market doesn't really deserve to be called a market," says one disgruntled company manager.

This has not, however, stopped many German companies from shedding workers by the thousand, at home and abroad, as they restructure in response to globalisation. This has created an irony: corporate Germany has gone from strength to strength even as the economy, beleaguered by high costs and rigidities, has faltered. Companies such as DaimlerChrysler and Hoechst have set the pace of change in their industries. Even sleeping giants such as Siemens are shaking themselves up.

Why has such industrial success not fed through to the economy at large? One answer is the way in which German firms have learnt to deal with their country's rigidities: by shifting operations abroad. Last year they



invested some DM150 billion in other countries (by contrast, Germany attracted a mere DM35 billion in foreign direct investment). Many big companies now make more than half their profits abroad. But smaller firms that make up the backbone of Germany's famous *Mittelstand* have also been packing up and moving abroad, especially into lower-cost and more flexible countries to Germany's east. Some 20,000 such firms have invested in Central and Eastern Europe, largely to escape steep wage bills at home.

Thomas Mayer, an economist with Goldman Sachs, thinks that euro-area countries, and Germany in particular, are now stuck in what he calls a "restructuring trap". Since Germany's last recession, in 1993, its companies have greatly increased their return on capital as they have shed unproductive workers and subsidiaries or moved to low-cost locations. The same thing happened a few years ago in America (and before that, in Britain). In both these countries, slimmed-down companies soon started to create new jobs. In Germany, however, firms have been reluctant to rehire because of the soaring non-wage costs of labour. "The framework is not there to encourage the replacement of jobs lost in restructuring," Mr Mayer says. "It is only the enduring strength of the export sector that has stopped things getting really bad."

Mr Mayer thinks that the eastern part of Germany, where economic growth is even lower than in the west, is in a different kind of trap. Political compromises have prevented the kind of creative destruction that might have led to robust growth. Instead, the east has become a "colony of pensioners", consuming with the help of subsidies but not producing enough that others want. Large parts of the eastern economy have become so addicted to subsidies that he fears they may become a German version of Italy's poor south, the *Mezzogiorno*, whose economy depends on handouts from Rome and Brussels, and has been plagued by low growth.

In search of flexibility

To be sure, there are some rays of hope. The strength of opposition to the DM630-job changes shows how important part-time work has become to many Germans, often supplementing full-time work. "It has shown that there was more flexibility than many people realised," says Ulrich Beckmann, an economist with Deutsche Bank.

Red tape is slowly being unravelled too. Yet Germany is still smothered in regulations that crimp markets. Many prices are still regulated, and consumers remain "protected" in bizarre ways: shops can be fined for discounting or making three-for-the-price-of-two offers if these are deemed to send con-

fusing signals to consumers.

But other constraints are being lifted. Shopping hours are getting longer. In the eastern state of Saxony, for instance, high-street stores will soon be allowed to open on Sunday afternoons. Banks may soon be able to open on Saturdays. Progress will come only gradually, however. "We got 90 minutes extra shopping after a decade's debate, or nine minutes a year. Call it the German way," sighs Ulrich Ramm, chief economist at Commerzbank.

There are also signs of new flexibility in the one-size-fits-all system of collective bargaining. The concept of *Mitbestimmung*—or seeking consensus between managers and workers—remains a powerful force, and worker representatives still have half the seats on firms' supervisory boards. But the number of wage deals being negotiated at company level, rather than regionally or nationally, has doubled since the early 1990s. Around 10% of the western workforce has wriggled out of old-style collective-bargain-



ing arrangements; in the east the figure is over 50%. This has allowed many companies to adjust to their own market conditions.

Mr Beckmann argues that Germany's unions became more accommodating after seeing how hefty pay increases cut short economic recovery in 1995. They accepted three years of scant pay rises that have helped to reverse a previous rise in unit labour costs. The question now is whether they can maintain the restraint that economists reckon Germany needs to stay competitive.

The omens are bad. IG Metall, the largest union, recently won its 3m members a pay rise of roughly 3.5%, way above inflation, after its boss had called for "an end to modesty". Commerzbank forecasts a 2.5% rise in unit labour costs this year and a smaller rise in 2000. The only silver lining is that the wage deals will boost flagging demand in the short term: real consumer spending should grow by 3% this year. Retailers are starting to emerge from the hole in which they have spent most of the past few years.

In any case, none of this cheer will last long unless Mr Schröder's government enacts some radical structural reforms. Slashing the top rates for corporate and income tax

could bring substantial benefits at little cost. Germans would spend less time seeking tax shelters or ploughing money into tax-driven investments that make little sense—whether east German property or Asian shipping.

Many economists also argue that the state could actually make money out of a cut in capital-gains tax, as the current high rates discourage banks from selling industrial stakes they want to unload. The main barrier is politics: this government, like the last one, worries that such reforms will be unpopular if they are widely perceived as a handout for the rich at the expense of the average citizen.

The other big challenge for the government is to defuse Germany's welfare time-bomb. That will necessitate cutting benefits and encouraging private provision for pensions and healthcare, as the workforce declines and the number of pensioners grows. This is the only way to bring down payroll taxes for good—and thus to reduce the tax on jobs—without running an ever widening budget deficit.

The government could also do the economy a favour by speeding up privatisation and further deregulating the underdeveloped services sector. The federal government has been slow to fulfil its sell-off pledges, while most of the regional states have clung to their banks and utilities—one reason that more than half of all German spending is done by the public sector. Putting state-owned companies on the block would bring extra money to cash-strapped budgets as well as improving efficiency. Deregulating services

would have a similar effect. Professional services, such as legal and tax advice, are still highly cartelised: for instance, tax advisers agree a common price list through their guild, and may not undercut one another.

Unfortunately, progress in most of these areas is likely to be agonisingly slow—indeed, it could even go into reverse. The Schröder government has already backtracked on the efforts to cut pension entitlements that were made by its predecessor. Its Alliance for Jobs, a roundtable involving ministers, employers and unionists, has achieved little. Its health-care reforms have become bogged down by battles with various interest groups.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that market-friendly politicians, including one or two in the government, now complain of Germany being a *blockierte Gesellschaft* (blocked society). Unblocking it will take determination. Without that, Germany is unlikely soon to shed its title as the sick man of Europe. Germans must find it more galling since it was coined in the last century by the Russian tsar, Nicholas I, to describe Ottoman Turkey—a once dynamic polity that failed.

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Bergen
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ATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 19-20, 1999

EDITORIALS/OPINION

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-20-99

Sandy Thun
Then Friedman wrote Nader
all 3, up 2.3 ✓ Bc

NATO's Victory Will Spur an Asian Arms Buildup

LOS ANGELES — The military victory can be as problematic as military defeat.

Whenever nations resort to brute force, unexpected prices must be paid. While President Bill Clinton's administration may be savoring NATO's triumph over the loathsome Slobodan Milosevic, other parts of the world are taking note not of a human-rights monster getting his comeuppance but of superior technology getting its way.

They note that once again America, backed by cruise missiles and a behind-the-scenes nuclear arsenal, got what it wanted in Kosovo without losing a single pilot's life. China, especially, watched in awe and trepidation as once again Western technology did to recalcitrant Yugoslavia what it had done to truculent Iraq in 1991.

The NATO campaign was also well observed by India and Pakistan, both of which shocked the world this year with their nuclear tests, and by North Korea. There, the leaders of the world's last Stalinist state surprised Japan last summer with a test missile that skied over some of its cities. This week, it lost two gunboats in a clash with the South Korean navy in the Yellow Sea.

Quiet, if wholly supportive, notice was taken in Taiwan, too, which wants U.S. anti-missile technology on its territory, and in Japan, which wants at

By Tom Plate

least that as well. Maybe in Indonesia the military elite was too busy monitoring the nation's first serious democratic elections in decades to care much. But once the dust settles over that populous land, it, too, will draw the same conclusion: It is impossible to succeed in this world — to be taken seriously as a major player — without becoming a technological power.

Gone are the days of Mao's simple, romantic, rifle-toting peasant army. Gone, too, is the moral force of an unarmed Gandhi. What is imperative now is that nations have the best military technology, whether by research and development, import or sheer theft.

Paul Bracken, professor at Yale and author of "Fire in the East," a new book on Asia's embrace of modern military technology, said recently in an interview: "The success of the U.S.-led multinational coalition in Kosovo will reinforce the spread of missiles and weapons of mass destruction in Asia. The reason is that Asian nations do not want to become like Kosovo, targets of Western attack without any deterrent whatsoever."

Indeed, had Beijing blocked the UN authorization sanctioning NATO's entry into Kosovo, probably more

Asian nations would have quietly cheered than publicly condemned.

Memories of Western aggression linger long in Asia. "The forcible opening of Asia by the West ushered in five centuries of arrogant colonial rule, piracy, slave trading, and plunder on a scale previously unknown in history," Mr. Bracken writes in his book. Rising Asian nationalism will yield fearsome new military capabilities as globalization provides new profits and technology imports for once moribund or cloistered economies.

"Following the pattern that dates back at least to the Mongols," Mr. Bracken writes, "many Asian nations are now expanding the reach of their armed forces."

Their motive is not just to protect each from the other, but also to neutralize the power of the only superpower, the United States.

"The ballistic missiles and atomic, chemical and biological weapons coming to Asia are all disruptive technologies," Mr. Bracken writes. "They can nullify Western advantages in conventional weapons. They restrict Western access to Asia. They trump the Western technological lead."

The West is blind to what is happening. It deludes itself into believing that Asian nations are so backward that they cannot usefully absorb, much less

deploy, the technology they have imported, developed or stolen.

"U.S. foreign policy is increasingly Eurocentric," Mr. Bracken said. Thus, Washington celebrates its pointed expansion of NATO, which the Russians, the Chinese and many others in Asia regard as a long-term threat to their own internal control.

And when Asia suffers a financial crisis, Washington relies on Western-dominated institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the Group of Seven industrialized nations to solve the problem. The United States, Mr. Bracken said, "is using European models and Western clubs because that is what Washington understands. It's like a high school clique, where like-minded students hang out with each other and try to run the whole school."

It will not work, over the long run anyway. Asia will rearm, madly and rapidly.

This is why NATO's success in Kosovo will prove a much better deal for the people of Kosovo, who get to return to their homeland under UN protection, than to the people of Asia, who get to bear the burden of a new regional arms buildup. When diplomacy fails, the world often suffers, despite superficial military success.

Los Angeles Times

Calling Milosevic's Bluff in a Round of Poker Diplomacy

By David Spanier

LONDON — The Russian move to seize the airport at Pristina was like the sudden advance of a pawn at chess. It was swift, it came as a surprise, it was planned. Though the pawn in itself may not be significant, its strategic value is clear. As usual in diplomacy, the Kosovo crisis shows how the American instinct is to play poker while the Russians rely on chess.

It may be noted, first of all, that President Slobodan Milosevic is not a good poker player. Mr. Milosevic was a player who kept on winning small pots. Over a period of eight years, during which he bluffed the international community, he looked like a winner and convinced himself he was a winner.

But this succession of small wins evidently undermined Mr. Milosevic's judgment. He failed to understand that his main opponent, the United States, had far more chips than he did. It was a no-limit game. Eventually, he was going to be busted. A prudent player would have hung on to the small gains he had made and then folded, or managed to end the game in a favorable position, while he was still ahead. This simple concept was

too difficult for Mr. Milosevic to grasp.

Diplomacy has much in common with poker. Each side knows its own cards and has a shrewd idea of the opponent's cards. Each is trying to "read" the other. Neither side knows exactly how the hand will be played.

The United States plays poker well. The Americans like to go in, make a quick hit and win the coup, without a long involvement. The Russians take a more strategic view of foreign policy, making small moves on the board to secure a long-term objective. They prefer a slow, reflective kind of game that, like chess, may quite often result in a draw. The Americans do not like draws. They like to win fast, stressing the typically Western qualities of daring, courage and bluff. When the United States gets involved in a chess-like situation, as in Vietnam, it tends to get outplayed, and to lose.

No doubt Moscow understands its present weakness. Nevertheless, the Russians are playing a weak hand strongly. They are in Kosovo and they

have made their point that they will stay. Their move at Pristina airport was an opening move in a game that may perhaps go on for years.

Kosovo differs from other international crises in that it combines poker and chess. The bombing campaign was very poker-like. The Americans had all the cards and ran virtually no risk. The resolution of the conflict in Kosovo presages a different kind of game, requiring a different mind-set.

Of course, in the deadly serious business of war, analogies with games are only very rough and ready. At one level, the nuclear standoff of the Cold War can be seen as a worldwide poker game based on the super-bluff that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union would risk destroying itself (losing all its chips) in a nuclear confrontation. The West won because the cost merely of staying in this game was too heavy for the other side to bear.

Small wars, such as Desert Storm in Iraq, point up the analogy with poker more starkly. Saddam Hussein is an example of a small-time player who got so carried away by his success in

the region (his local game) that he upped the stakes with a huge bet — the invasion of Kuwait.

He certainly talked a good game. But the moment it became apparent that he was up against much stronger opposition than he had reckoned with, he folded. He left a lot of chips on the table, in the form of losses in men and matériel. But he survived to play the game again.

The Iraqi leader is a master of the losing play, of hanging in there as long as possible and then backing down at the last moment. Mr. Milosevic, by contrast, is a bad gambler who has destroyed himself.

With the bombing campaign over, the struggle is now entering a much more chess-like period, whose duration cannot be foreseen. It will involve patience and planning and commitment. Will the United States sustain this approach? One should not bet the farm against the Russians securing at least an honorable draw.

The writer, a journalist in London who is the author of several books on gambling, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Work on the Larger Canvas to Reconstitute Yugoslavia

WASHINGTON — If President Bill Clinton, having won the war in Kosovo, is to win the peace, then he needs to think a lot bigger than he has thought so far about a diplomatic settlement. It was necessary — to put out raging fires — for him to take an emergency single-country approach as he did earlier in Bosnia and now in Kosovo. But to make these diplomatic achievements last and to settle down the whole Balkan region, he must move carefully to a larger stage.

The problem is not just how to fix a broken Bosnia or Kosovo. It is how to organize all the fractious and conflict-

prone southern Slavs. Understanding this prime requirement, Woodrow Wilson after World War I lumped them together as best he could in a new Yugoslavia. Understanding this requirement even more deeply, the Communist leader Josip Broz Tito after World War II extended the effort in his sometimes murderous, otherwise manipulative fashion.

Yugoslavia can never be put back together on any past design. But the rationale for reconstitution remains valid: to serve the inextricably interwoven community, security

and economic needs of all the southern Slavs.

The Dayton accords on Bosnia may have demanded too much too soon by way of ethnic cooperation in the name of opposing ethnic cleansing. The Kosovo peace plan merely papers over the explosive difference between affirming Serbian sovereignty and dangling Kosovo independence. These are improvised and unstable arrangements that need a firmer base.

William Hyland, former aide to Henry Kissinger, has urged the European powers to create a security system to satisfy con-

tending nationalist forces (IHT, April 1). He would do it at the sort of summit meeting the Great Powers convened in Berlin in 1878 to redraw the map of the Balkans. This admittedly imperfect initiative "avoided the threat of major war and provided for several decades of peace," though it ended badly.

Mr. Kissinger himself sees the Kosovo peace plan as caught between irreconcilable offers of Kosovo independence and continued Serbian sovereignty. In the current issue of Newsweek, he argues: "It would be far wiser to cut the Gordian knot and concede Kosovo independence as part of an overall Balkan settlement — perhaps including self-determination for each of the three ethnic groups of Bosnia. In such an arrangement, the borders of Kosovo and its neighbors should be guaranteed by NATO or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe."

Dan Morgan of The Washington Post suggests in an opinion article that Serbian nationalism "dissipates in a political environment in which Serbs feel secure." He writes, "How to recreate such a climate after Serbs have done so much to threaten the security of others is the next challenge for the international community."

He concludes that the model of the old Yugoslavia "provides a structure for the integration of economic and se-

curity interests that could heal wounds and contain Serbia's demons, if men of goodwill in Belgrade and Zagreb decide to make it work."

All this is not to minimize the role American diplomacy played in putting out those fires in Bosnia and — even more a work in progress — in Kosovo. Lives have been saved, and valuable time has been earned to work on the larger canvas.

There the priority must be to enable peaceful and equitable change in areas of Balkan public life known more for generating violence. I refer in particular to the vexing question of whether to encourage or discourage the redrawing of national borders on ethnic lines.

All possible answers promise trouble. The best answer is: Redrawing borders is unacceptable except when other compensations are available for the losers. A post-Milosevic Serbia might yield Kosovo but gain Bosnian Serbia. That is the sort of trade-off available on the larger field.

A big international conference might bargain out the interests of Serbs and Kosovar Albanians, with the results guaranteed by the full swath of interested nations. Mr. Clinton does not actually need another diplomatic project. The reasons for considering it anyway have to do with building peace in a still troubled region and showing American leadership.

The Washington Post.

India and Pakistan Won't Go to War

By Gerald Segal

LONDON — Listen to the high-flown rhetoric from Indian and Pakistani leaders or read the hyperbolic warnings of commentators and you would think that the two countries are on the brink of war in Kashmir. But a wider look at the India-Pakistan relationship gives a different perspective.

The hype about the risks of war has some obvious sources. Foremost is the clear effort by powerful elements in the Pakistani political and military system to undermine Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Ever since his election, and especially since the Lahore Declaration was signed in February by Mr. Sharif and his Indian counterpart, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, extremist elements in Pakistan have looked for a way to undermine détente and the prime minister. Western intelligence sources admit that their former friends in Pakistan have provoked and sustained the clashes around the Kargil sector of Indian Kashmir.

The exaggerated worries also owe a great deal to fears in the wider world about the effects of India and Pakistan having formally declared their nuclear capabilities in May 1998. This, the first crisis in a nuclear environment, was expected to escalate rapidly to a nuclear confrontation.

Having worked everyone up into a high state of worry, it was not long before everyone had their pet project for international mediation. Nothing has happened, in large part because foreign leaders understand that no external mediation will make a difference. The United

States, Britain and other Western governments have gone out of their way to minimize the conflict, especially with real risks in Kosovo on their mind. Unlike following the nuclear tests last year, Western leaders have made no grandiose proposals for a settlement.

Neither, as Asian governments will demonstrate at the Association of South East Asian Nations forum on security next month, will there be a serious effort by other Asians for mediation. Perhaps the most ludicrous idea in the diplomatic ether is that Beijing has a mediatory role to play — never mind that China is a party to the Kashmir conflict (having been ceded territory by Pakistan) or that it provided the essentials for Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

Standing back from today's hysteria, one can see more clearly a strategic reality set by India's dismemberment of Pakistan in the 1971 war. From then on, Pakistan ceased to be a life-threatening problem for India, and Pakistan knew that it had no full-scale military option against India. Kashmir could have its skirmishes — sometimes, as this year, on a larger scale than before — but both sides understood the need to contain the risks.

The nuclearization of South Asia has reinforced this calm conclusion. Much against the grain of conventional thinking, in some circumstances nuclear deterrence can help reduce the risks of all-out war.

The current India-Pakistan tension will take its by now familiar course. India will increase its military capability in the region and, in a slog through the mountains, reduce the insurgents to a smaller threat. The threat will not go away, and there will be tensions again this time next year, as there have been for decades.

Fundamental change in the relationship will not come through external mediation or military triumph. Much like the equally long-lasting and complex Arab-Israeli conflicts, an improvement in relations only comes with more basic domestic change.

So long as Pakistan has a weak government beset by military hard-liners and the likes of Benazir Bhutto seeking demagogic political advantage, Mr. Sharif will be in no position to stop the increased support for the insurgents, let alone to make peace.

India also has a weak government as it awaits a general election this autumn. As in the case of a democratic Israel, optimists might hold out hope that a democratic India will gradually grow confident enough in its position and committed enough to economic reform that it will want to make peace. But without an Anwar Sadat or a King Hussein in Pakistan, we will be waiting for some time for peace.

The writer, director of studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1899: Balkan War

NEW YORK — The "Press" points out that war has been raging for three days between Turkey and Serbia on the latter's Albanian frontier without attracting especial European attention, and says: "Until the greatest of the great Powers have got rid of some vast undertaking the Eastern question is likely to remain in indefinite postponement."

1924: Violent Youth

NEW YORK — Expert criminologist are nonplussed by the rapid spread of crime among what may be termed the children of the country. The unbelievable murder of the Franks boy in Chicago by two youths of nineteen years has served merely as a climax to a long record of crimes by boys, and girls too for that matter, which has been piling up in every large

city during the past five or six years. The police are at a loss to know just what has set the youth of the country afire but that it is flaming there is no doubt.

1949: Poor Evolution

MOSCOW — Professor S.D. Antipin has been preaching a theory that man has degenerated since he stood up on his hind legs and parted ways with the animal kingdom. According to his theory, man has steadily declined since he raised himself and assumed the vertical position. The lecturer thought the vertical position is as senseless as a locomotive riding on its hind wheels. Because of man's position he said his internal organs were piled one on top of another like stories of a building. He was particularly displeased with the evolution of women's lips. In contrast to the thin lips of the monkey, he observed that the human being has fleshy lips.

CAMP DAVID 6/29/99

Sunny

M. Kantor says if
we can't get Moon at
who should look at
3rd person - says Brazil,
rest of L.A. would support
Chilean foreign minister
funeral -

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Bergen
Podiatry

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-30-99

STANLEY I. GREENSPAN, M.D.

7201 GLENBROOK ROAD

BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20814

(301) 657-2348

David
Blue Eye
Don't say
We need to get this guy
involved ->
BR

May 20, 1999

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

I thought you might like a prepublication copy of my new book, *Building Healthy Minds*. It will be out in late September and brings our most recent insights into the growth of the mind and brain together with the tried and true wisdom of our parents and grandparents.

Also, in relationship to your recent comments on the needs of our teenagers and families, I thought you might like to see a recent piece I did for National Public Radio on the Colorado tragedy that explores how the teenagers involved are different from other youth who are aggressive or delinquent.

I would be happy to discuss these issues in greater detail. With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.

Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Behavioral Sciences, and Pediatrics,

George Washington University Medical School

Chairman

Interdisciplinary Council on Developmental and Learning Disorders

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& forwarded
Reed
Podesta
Bushardt
(for reply)

The Colorado School Shooting: The Ignored Warning Signs

(An abbreviated version of this article was read on National Public Radio – *All Things Considered* – 4/99)

By Stanley I. Greenspan, M.D.

As information about the Colorado school shootings slowly emerges, we still don't have answers to the two most important questions—are there unmistakable warning signs that could help us prevent such tragedies and are they rare occurrences or indications of larger societal troubles? But, the answers may be clearer than many may think. To recognize the warning signs and prevent these violent outbreaks, however, we will need to look beyond the familiar suspects.

The warning signs for mass destructive behavior are often different from those for individual acts of violence or recurrent delinquency. The most important ones are not what's often suggested—a history of mental illness, impulse control problems, antisocial behavior, the Internet, TV, music, or the experimentation or rebellion of adolescence. Instead, they tend to involve three subtle, but distinct and alarming personality changes: a “turning” toward extreme preoccupations and/or actions focusing on violence and destruction in a child who is not familiar with acting out his rage, grandiose beliefs and plans, and irrational thinking fueling the preoccupations and plans.

Some children quietly focus on violent thoughts for many years before a worrisome escalation requires our immediate help. Others go through a more abrupt change. The many physical, social, and psychological changes of adolescence can play varying roles in bringing on these especially worrisome personality changes. Importantly, these changes are usually advertised and require a rapid response. Preliminary descriptions raise the possibility that the Colorado teenagers were in the middle of such personality changes, with growing irrational preoccupations with violence and death and grandiose plans which included destroying the

whole school and a city. When illogical, violent thoughts grow rapidly without the civilizing and reality-grounding influence of a caring adult or group of peers who can pull such preoccupied youngsters back in, monstrous behavior becomes possible.

In contrast to a teenager who carries out mass murder, a child who has a history of frequent antisocial behavior, fighting, and hurting others has considerable experience with anger. Incidents of very aggressive behavior and run-ins with teachers or the law may date back to childhood. Typically, he may attack one or two people if they get in his way. The teenager who plans mass murder may not have a childhood history of frequent violent behavior. In this sense, he is less familiar with his rage. His experience with the typical use of pretend play to explore aggression in childhood may be limited. He may have episodic outbursts, but otherwise behave nicely. As a teenager, such a child may also be very sensitive, especially to rejection or slights and may show both his sensitivity and growing anger, whereas the child with a long history of frequent aggressive behavior often tends to be less overtly sensitive (more "thick skinned"). Preliminary press reports suggest that many viewed the Colorado teenagers as "nice kids" and that their preoccupation and beginning antisocial behavior grew in the last year or two, illustrated by their Internet interests and one of them openly showing his feelings on his website and making threats to a peer.

While we can't and shouldn't speculate about the families of the Colorado teenagers, there are other more general warning signs that we need to attend to. These are better known and include the lack of satisfying, nurturing relationships with peers, parents, and educators, and instead, being teased, harassed and feeling estranged or outside the group. Often, we mistakenly assume that families who appear to be functioning well on the surface are engaging in and available for the types of relationships their children require. Families sometimes make the same assumption. We all need to look beneath the surface. It's also worrisome when kids can't fully

experience and reason about the feelings and concerns that children their age typically struggle with—from anger, frustration, and disappointment to competition, caring, and excitement. If they are unable to reason about their feelings, children tend to make a feeling larger than life (somebody is unkind, and a teenager quickly assumes “they are out to harm me.”). When distorted feelings are coupled with an inability to read ordinary social signals and lack of ongoing feedback from peers or adults, feelings of failure, frustration, and being an outcast tend to grow.

The warnings become more immediate as a preoccupation with selected ideas grows—especially when the ideas are about guns, violence, suicide, or death, coupled with the exclusion of typical concerns about friendships, music, social activities, school work, or sports. The warnings become an emergency when kids have or are building weapons.

Many youths may show one of these warning signs. We need to be especially alert to children who are showing a number of them. Does knowing these warning signs mean we can predict violent or self-destructive acts? Sometimes. But to help even sometimes, we need to have people who care enough to notice the warning signs and do something about them. They need to be in all the right places—the police station when a teenager is brought in for even a minor infraction; our schools; our community centers; other places where kids hang out; and, most importantly, at home.

Knowing kids and being in the right places requires caring, well-functioning families, supportive communities with collaboration between education, criminal justice, mental health, and social services, and a society that places children, families, and communities first. Instead of knowing our kids better, however, we are farming out the care of our kids to others at earlier and earlier ages. In schools, test performance is more important than learning relationships. Mental health services for children, counseling for criminal justice system offenders, and social supports

in schools are all on the decline. More and more, kids are being treated for emotional problems without sufficient psychological or social support. Most of us are busier than ever and interests in material things are out-competing caring for others. Not surprisingly, the United States has among the highest rates of the industrialized nations of youth violence and destructive behavior, including self-destructive behavior.

X In the face of these violent outbreaks, you have to wonder why we still tend to deny the obvious. The discussions in the media are largely about teenage cliques, new gun laws, legal culpability of parents, and music, TV and Internet violence. They are not about the deep ailments in families, communities, and society, of which these aggressive explosions are perhaps only the beginning symptoms.

How far we have to go in changing our attitudes is indicated by some of the reactions to the Colorado shootings. For an seven-year-old little boy who was being bullied by his friends and who made an empty physical threat back, the impersonal use of fear, rather than compassion coupled with firm guidance, was only too apparent. The scared little boy was immediately isolated from his peers in the classroom and put into another room alone with a somewhat large, untrained male aide who immediately threatened the little boy with going to jail if he "opened his mouth." By the next day, the little boy was suspended from school with no support or counseling for either the child or his parents. Understandably, the whole country feels more anxious and vulnerable, but the question is do we respond to our collective anxiety with tactics that intimidate, humiliate, induce fear and further isolation or do we attend to society's deeper problems, which unfortunately, are illustrated in this horrifying school response to a scared seven-year-old little boy.

It's not so complicated. What civilizes human beings is ongoing, nurturing, and guiding relationships at all levels, in families, schools, and communities. Protecting human life and

controlling aggression are not outgrowths of formal education in the traditional sense, but of relationships that teach the value of human life. Societies depend on a balance between the competitive edge used to produce economic growth and the capacity to care for others—to nurture our kids, ourselves, and our communities. In fact, we require warm, nurturing families to produce emotionally and intellectually competent adults who can make an economy work and rear the next generation successfully.

As more and more children have access to weapons (and, on the international front, more and more groups have access to advanced military technology), we are learning our lessons the hard way. The old methods, where individuals and groups could be contained by fear while being deprived of the basic sustaining experiences of life, no longer hold. Whether it's the inner city, a suburban Colorado community, or another country or group, the lessons of recent outbreaks of violence should be clear. The relationships that make individuals, families, communities, and nations fully humane are on the decline.

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PUBLIC LIVES

Deal-Making Adds the Spice to a Cajun Senator's Career

By ROBIN TONER

WASHINGTON

SENATOR JOHN BREAUX of Louisiana smells some action, some movement, maybe, down the road, the possibility of a deal. This makes Mr. Breaux a happy man, because he loves making deals.

It still rankles Mr. Breaux, 55, the Democrat who was chairman of the bipartisan commission on Medicare, that he was unable to deliver a deal on restructuring the 34-year-old health insurance program for the elderly. His commission disbanded in March, under fire from President Clinton and utterly polarized over a proposal that Mr. Breaux thought was a workable compromise.

But now the game is on again. "I love it," Mr. Breaux declares, sprawled in a Senate office that is a shrine to guydom: tennis trophies, stuffed birds shot by the Senator back home, fishing paintings, Mardi Gras posters, portraits of the four children and two grandchildren. Mr. Breaux says he is pushing forward with his Medicare proposal in the Senate; the Senate Finance Committee is trying to move on the issue, and at this moment on this Friday morning, two White House aides are outside Mr. Breaux's office, waiting to brief him on Mr. Clinton's soon-to-be-unveiled Medicare plan.

If he cannot be ambassador to France — more on that later — what better challenge than trying to find a lasting remedy for a big, expensive, endangered program with a powerful constituency?

Mr. Breaux is good at capturing the nervous Congressional dance around Medicare. "In even years we cut the program; in odd years we put the money back in," he says. "We cut, last year, \$113 billion out of the program, and this year, we'll put money back in because everybody's hollering. Next year we'll cut it again, then the year after, we'll put the money back. That's the SOS approach — same old same old — and it's not doable anymore."

Still, he seems an unlikely player in the Medicare debate, which tends to have its own wonky priesthood steeped in the arcane liturgy of managed competition, risk selection and provider reimbursement rates. This is, after all, a man who takes his identity as a Louisian-

ian very seriously. He includes favorite recipes on his official Senate Web site (for example, Cajun Deep Fried Turkey) and never misses a Mardi Gras, which he celebrates lavishly both here and in New Orleans.

He first went to Congress as an aide to Representative Edwin W. Edwards, one of the more flamboyant politicians ever produced in America, and declares that, "Being dull would be, to me, just the ultimate sin." He notes that he regularly performs on a stage with a washboard during Mardi Gras. "Nobody in Louisiana is going to get upset," he says, "they've seen hundreds of pictures of me up on the stage playing the washboard, or running around with an umbrella." Mr. Breaux's most famous utterance probably came in 1981, when he declared that his vote was not for sale, "but it is available for rent."

And yet Mr. Breaux takes his politics seriously. He was elected to the House at 28, succeeding Mr. Edwards, and after 14 years there, he moved to the Senate in 1986, where he landed a seat on the Finance Committee, ground zero for most big tax and health care issues. In many ways a classic Southern Democrat, always hunting for the middle, he was a longtime believer in the Democratic Leadership Council, eventually served as its chairman and still preaches its "third way" centrist dogma of "opportunity, responsibility and community."

The New York Times

MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1999

He argues that Medicare is a creaky program with an outdated benefit package — notably lacking coverage for prescription drugs — and an excessively bureaucratic structure. He would replace it with a competitive system that would offer the elderly an array of choices, from different managed-care plans to the traditional fee-for-service option that is the norm today; the Government would give beneficiaries a fixed amount of money to pay for the plans.

The proposal is anathema to many liberals, and Mr. Clinton assailed it on several grounds, contending its drug benefit was too scanty and it lacked sufficient safeguards for the traditional Medicare program.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Breaux go way back, but Mr. Breaux insists he has no hard feelings over Mr. Clinton's rough critique. "Didn't bother me in the least," Mr. Breaux says. "Everybody running around saying, 'My God, he threw you out to sea without a boat and a paddle.' Didn't even faze me. He was responding to a large constituency in the Democratic Party that was very strongly opposed to the recommendation of change."

AND now, of course, change is in the air. Mr. Breaux says he thinks the Clinton plan will be "a positive good start." The two had talked about it briefly by phone the night before. For his part, Mr. Breaux says he will begin the hunt for the center. And what if there is no center in this brutally polarized Congress? "Everything has a center," he says with a smile.

It can be fun to be a wonk, Mr. Breaux says. "Clinton obviously is a wonk, the ultimate wonk, but God he has fun being a wonk," the Senator said. "He got in trouble he's had so much fun being a wonk." His press secretary loudly cleared her throat.

There is, of course, another dream job for this Cajun, whose father spoke French before he spoke English: Ambassador to France. That moment has probably passed, he acknowledges. "I asked Clinton one time, 'Do you think I could handle France?'" Mr. Breaux says slyly. "He said, 'The question is whether France could handle you.'"

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The Washington Times

MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1999

COLOMBIA

NYSE chief meets with rebel leader

Says Wall Street backs peace effort

By Frank Bajak
ASSOCIATED PRESS

BOGOTA, Colombia — The chairman of the New York Stock Exchange explained markets to a senior leftist guerrilla commander over the weekend in Colombia's steamy southern savannah — and invited him to Wall Street for a firsthand look.

Richard Grasso met for 1½ hours on Saturday with Raul Reyes of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, in the remote hamlet of La Machaca.

Mr. Grasso told reporters afterward that the surprise meeting, his first with a rebel chief, was intended to demonstrate to FARC leaders the support of the world financial community for Colombia's fledgling peace process.

Stressing that his talks with a group on the State Department's terrorist list were strictly private, Mr. Grasso said he hoped his visit



Grasso

"will mark the beginning of a new relationship between the FARC and the United States."

He said he invited Mr. Reyes to visit Wall Street to see for himself how the markets work and also ex-

plained how Colombia would benefit from the increased global investment it could expect if nearly four decades of civil conflict can be ended.

"We talked about economic opportunity and how developed and developing markets around the world were broadening the participation of ownership, the democratization of capitalism," Mr. Grasso said.

Critics of the FARC's peasant-based leadership say it is out of touch with the modern world and needs to better grasp how the international economy works as it prepares for formal peace talks, set to begin July 7.

Mr. Grasso was invited to the unusual meeting, in a rebel-controlled area demilitarized by the government in November, by President Andres Pastrana.

Mr. Pastrana has been vigorously seeking international support for a peace initiative that has been the hallmark of his 10-month-old presidency but has yet to show significant progress.

The FARC was formed 35 years ago by communist guerrillas and

controls some 40 percent of the Colombian countryside. Although ostensibly Marxist, its ideologists say they don't oppose foreign investment or free-market mechanisms as long as social justice is guaranteed.

Mr. Grasso's meeting comes three weeks after Rep. Bill Delahunt, Massachusetts Democrat, met with Mr. Reyes at the same location in a similarly unpublicized session.

The FARC is on the State Department's list of international terrorist groups, and the Clinton administration broke off all contacts with the rebel band after a FARC column murdered three Americans who were in Colombia helping out an indigenous group.

Republicans in the U.S. Congress vehemently oppose contacts with FARC, which earns tens of millions of dollars annually by taxing the drug trade in this country, which supplies most of the world's cocaine.

Besides the narcotics connection, many Colombians and others skeptical of FARC intentions point to its continued belligerency.

Mitch McConnell

Why That McConnell Fellow Is So Adamant

In a recent conversation with columnist David Broder, former President Gerald R. Ford professed to be perplexed at my determination to defeat efforts in Congress to pile on more campaign finance regulations ("I don't understand why that fellow [McConnell] ... is so adamant") [op-ed, June 16].

Reading the Supreme Court's 1976 decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, which eviscerated the campaign finance "reforms" that President Ford signed into law in 1974, would foster an understanding of my stance and an appreciation of the First Amendment freedom at the heart of this debate.

To make sense of the campaign finance issue one must first recognize that "soft money," "issue advocacy," "independent expenditures," "express advocacy," "PACs," "bundling" and all the other terms of art in the debate are

parlance as "hard" money (funds raised and spent to "expressly advocate" a federal candidate's election). None of these limits has ever been adjusted for inflation.

The truth is that the lower the contribution limits are, the more that the well-known (a famous name is a huge advantage), the well-off (the limits do not apply to your personal money, a la Ross Perot) and the well-organized (large contributor base) benefit. To reflect the Consumer Price Index increase since 1974, the individual contribution limit would have to be more than tripled, to \$3,300.

Moreover, since 1979, the television viewing audience to which campaigns must make their appeals has splintered, newspaper readership has declined, Internet use has been exploding. As a result, political campaigns and parties are paying exponentially more to reach voters.

With federal campaign contribution limits frozen in time, other avenues of speech—so-called soft money—have proliferated and been magnified in their importance. Soft money funds political speech that does not, by Supreme Court edict, fall under the federal government's regulatory purview because it does not "expressly" support or oppose a particular candidate.

Political speech that does not cross that court-established bright line is known as "issue advocacy" (paid for with soft money). Issue advocacy receives the strictest First Amendment protection and cannot be regulated by the government.

Soft money isn't sinister. Newspapers do "soft money" (meaning non-federally regulated) issue advocacy every day on their editorial pages (and frequently on the front page) and "express" advocacy every election through candidate endorsements. Were it not for a section of the Ford law that exempts media organizations from the definition of campaign "expenditure," every newspaper and broadcaster in America would have to retain an election lawyer to fend off federal campaign finance regulators. The vaunted McCain-Feingold bill also contains a special exemption—one could term it a loophole—for the media.

Because of the static contribution limits President Ford signed into law a quarter-century ago, candidates, groups and parties in 1999 have to work a lot harder to reach the American people. Regulation is the problem, not the answer.

The writer, a Republican senator from Kentucky, is chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee and of the Senate Rules Committee, which has jurisdiction over campaign finance.

Taking Exception

euphemisms for constitutionally protected political speech and association. It is a fact of life that it costs money to amplify one's voice in our nation of 270 million citizens. It stands to reason that government restrictions on your ability to pay to project your speech impinge on your freedom of speech.

In the *Buckley* decision, Justice Thurgood Marshall succinctly stated the First Amendment implications of campaign finance regulation: "One of the points on which all members of the court agree is that money is essential for effective communication in a political campaign." The court proceeded to strike down as unconstitutional violations of the First Amendment: (1) a cap on independent expenditures by private citizens and groups; (2) government regulation of issue advocacy, and; (3) mandatory candidate spending limits.

The major elements in the Ford law that the court left standing were contribution limits, public disclosure and the presidential system's taxpayer-funded voluntary spending limits. The presidential system has limited neither spending nor "special interests," while distorting the process and amounting to a fraud at taxpayers' expense. But the greatest harm has come from the Ford law's circa-1974 contribution limits, which are strangling campaigns and parties a quarter-century after their enactment.

In addition to the \$1,000 limit on individual gifts to a candidate and the \$5,000 limit on those by a political action committee (PAC), the Ford law imposed many other restrictions, including a \$5,000 limit on what can be given to a PAC, a \$20,000 maximum on contributions to a political party's federal account, a \$25,000 total limit on giving to candidates and the parties and a \$17,500 limit on what parties can contribute to Senate candidates. All of these are limits on what is known in campaign finance

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

AMERICAN OPINION

AN ANNUAL SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND VALUES

Focus on Family and Gun Control

Americans Decry Moral Decline

*A Discerning
Population
Isn't Looking
To Extremes*



People of diverse backgrounds
are finding few easy solutions for
key social, cultural issues

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SUNBURY, Pa.—Last Friday, as the cultural wars raged with vicious intensity on the House floor—House GOP Whip Tom DeLay even resurrected Charles Darwin—a group of Susquehanna Valley citizens, over coffee and juice, was just as intense on the issues but found far more nuances and complexities than the politicians.

Quoting Dickens, Joe Deteli, a middle-class business official, sees this as "the best of times and the worst of times," citing the good economy and a commitment to principles, offset by declining values and institutional failures. Susan Warner Mills, a consultant, sees a cultural crisis of sorts but rails against false choices and insists she isn't "going to get stuck in a pigeonhole that says I'm of a certain political persuasion."

These men and women, from reasonably diverse backgrounds and philosophies, see few easy solutions to most of the hot-button social and cultural issues. If there has been any change, it has been a post-Littleton revulsion with violence and guns.



*Most Turn to
Family, More
Than State,
For Answers*



A cross section in Maine,
in surprising harmony, calls
on parents to restore 'values'

By BERNARD WYSOCKI, JR.

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PORTLAND, Maine—On one side of the table is John DiBiase, 41 years old, a cultural conservative. He believes a mother's place is in the home. And he laments that on the hockey team he coaches, nine of the 12 boys have parents who are divorced.

Across from him is Donna Baker, a few years younger and the married mother of two teenagers. It is hard to imagine Ms. Baker playing sports with her children after work. She is a legal secretary in Portland, and she comes home exhausted every night at 7.

"The kids have been home since 3, they've made something to eat in the afternoon. One's gone here. One's gone there," Ms. Baker explains. "And to be honest with you, I cherish a few moments alone when I get home."

Given that Mr. DiBiase, Ms. Baker and 10 other adults were about to spend two hours together wrestling with the issue of family decline in America, the conference room here in this picturesque sea-coast city could well have become a battleground, in microcosm, over family values. But there was no battle, no rancor. There was very little disagreement among these 12 people about the American family, or about what should, and shouldn't, be done to

Robert Neubecker

of the hot-button social and cultural issues. If there has been any change, it has been a post-Littleton revulsion with violence and guns.

This mirrors the sentiment in a huge Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll completed last weekend suggesting that, unlike Washington, the country is fixated on neither the left nor the right, but is more discerning and even conflicted. For politicians, say Peter Hart and Robert Teeter, who conducted the survey, "the marching order is clear—successful social policy starts from what is acceptable to the middle, not the extremes."

By their calculation, more than half of the public falls into the middle category on social/cultural issues, while a quarter is on the left and slightly fewer on the right. One example: Two-thirds or more of Americans favor both school prayer, generally associated with conservatives, and a woman's right to choose on abortion, generally linked to liberals.

Politically, in a reversal of a decade ago, the social issues today help Democrats more than Republicans. The advantage increased recently as the politics of the middle coalesced on violence and gun control. "Littleton was an alarm that something had gone seriously wrong in our society," says David Iannelli, an associate of Mr. Teeter.

In general, gun control is strongly supported, out-ranking other social concerns in Americans' minds. Moreover, specific gun-control proposals command huge majorities, with the sole exception of banning the sale of all handguns, a move that still is opposed by most people.

Thus the specter of the House, six weeks after the Columbine High School massacre, killing any tougher gun-control measures may not sit well with the public. Unlike the situation in the past, this issue could actually resonate when voting time arrives.

The vast majority of Americans, according to The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll of 2,011 people, yearn for what they remember as a more moral time with less pressure on kids and families. Issues such as peer pressure on kids to do drugs and the high rate of divorce worry people much more than economic or career pressures. Yet at the same time people plainly are more tolerant of differences and diversity.

The danger of stereotyping people is evident when Peter Hart, using data from issues including gun control, abortion, gay rights, school prayer, violence in the media and school vouchers, breaks down Americans on the-

Please Turn To Page A15

Bringing Values to Politics

After the Clinton scandal, politicians talk morals, but few trust them. A10

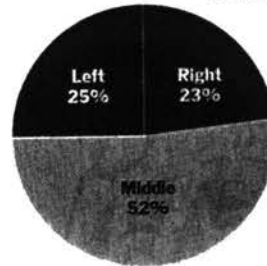
Paragons of Virtue?

Americans rate the moral standards and values of some leaders. A10



Americans on the Left, Right and in the Middle

The left totally or mainly agrees with the left position on four of the six issues below; the right totally or mainly agrees with the right position; the rest are in the middle



Most Likely To Be on the Left:

Post-graduate education	40%
Professional/manager	36
Earn \$100,000 or more	34
Democrats	32
College-educated women	32

Most Likely To Be in the Middle:

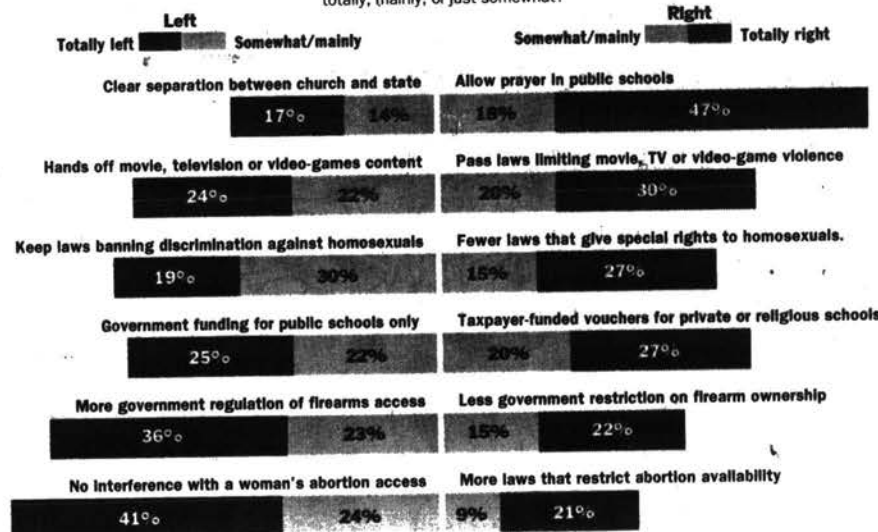
Moderates	58%
Suburbanites with children	58
Blue-collar worker	56
Non-college-educated meh	56
Non-Fundamentalist Protestants	56

Most Likely To Be on the Right:

Fundamentalist Protestants	38%
Republicans	35
Southerners	29
Earn under \$20,000	27
Non-college-educated women	27

Americans' Views on Selected Issues

Between these positions, which do you tend to side with more? How strongly do you side with that position—totally, mainly, or just somewhat?



But there was no battle, no rancor. There was very little disagreement among these 12 people about the American family—or about what should, and shouldn't, be done to address the very real problems of family decline.

The rough consensus, among this cross section of Maine adults in a discussion organized and moderated by pollster Peter D. Hart two weeks ago, went something like this: The decline of traditional family values is a huge, long-term problem. It's regrettable. But these are intensely personal issues, and are the personal responsibilities of parents and individuals. It's mostly our job, these focus-group participants say, to combat the problems of rampant divorce, single-parent households, latchkey children, the frantic pace of life in the U.S. and a popular culture that seems suffused with sex, violence and bad role models.

Breakdown of Routines

Just what, specifically, are they concerned about? One huge problem, they say, is that family routines have broken down. "It used to be, you came home from school, and an hour and a half later you all sat down and ate dinner. Then you watched one show on TV and did your homework," says Nancy Thompson, a middle-aged telephone operator. "You had a Sunday afternoon dinner. There's none of that today. It's all haphazard."

The consequences are serious: lack of involvement by parents in the lives of their children. It's a powerful sentiment here, around this table in Portland, and it resonates throughout the country. In a nationwide survey of 2,011 adults last week by Mr. Hart and Robert Teeter for The Wall Street Journal and NBC News, a whopping 83% of the respondents said that lack of involvement in their children's lives is a "very serious problem" facing the society.

Government in Supporting Role

Yet few people believe that institutions can take the part of America's parents, nannies or moral watchdogs. And while government might play some supporting role, the divisive political debates over abortion, gun control, gay rights and pornography don't really get to the heart of what concerns these Americans.

"Listening to these citizens, one realizes this is primarily a fight to preserve the family," Mr. Hart says. "The issues of violence, morals, religion and the media may play out on the political and home fronts. But sit in a room with these people and one realizes the family struggle."

Please Turn To Page A12

When It's Just Mom

The struggles of single mothers at a Baltimore family-support center. A12

Respect for Authority

Americans across the board are concerned about a lack of it. A15

Most Turn to Family, More Than to State, for Answers

Continued From Page A9

gles are so much more personal and important."

Indeed, when asked who can do the most to improve social values, the overwhelming answer is families; in the nationwide survey, 70% of Americans put families at the top of the list, far ahead of other institutions such as schools, churches and synagogues. As for the federal government, only 4% of those polled think it has the most potential to change things for the better.

"There is a role for government in some places. The general welfare, the big stuff," says David Sutton, a 48-year-old carpenter who is taking college courses. "But to address all these issues is a little bit like someone seeing dandelions on the lawn and rooting the things out, starting at ground level. They are just going to grow back."

Many of these ordinary Americans—in Maine and elsewhere—see the "family values" campaigns as opportunistic ploys by self-interested politicians. Moreover, the Maine residents tend to regard the legislative and political initiatives as unwanted intrusions into personal matters.

When everyone in the room was asked about abortion—by a show of hands—only one person among the 12 wanted government involved. In fact, those who spoke in favor of government's role spoke mostly in terms of government protecting individual liberty and rights, rather than restricting them. Ted Brownlee, a 50-year-old Portland stockbroker, notes that "in the '50s, we had segregation, and now we have a black middle class. I think that was pushed by government and would not have come naturally about." Similarly, today, Mr. Brownlee says, the government should be involved in protecting the rights of same-sex couples. "I would like to see the government proactively involved," he says, "but not in banning—in allowing."

Deteriorating Moral Values

Nevertheless, around the table here, there's still a strong sense that society's moral values have deteriorated over the decades. The Maine citizens can portray the decline in the vivid imagery of families in television programs. One after another they trace the programs that embodied the post-war era. It's a long slide from "Father Knows Best" to the dysfunctional cartoon family "The Simpsons," but that pretty much sums up the 40-year trajectory of the American family, according to this group.

The only other contender for this dubious award, as the embodiment of the 1990s family, is the downmarket sitcom "Married With Children." "The morals are just terrible. The parents are just like the kids," says a middle-aged woman, as heads nod around the table. "There are no morals. No holding back."

Across the country, it seems Americans see the same sorry trajectory of moral decline, and long for earlier and better times. In The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll,

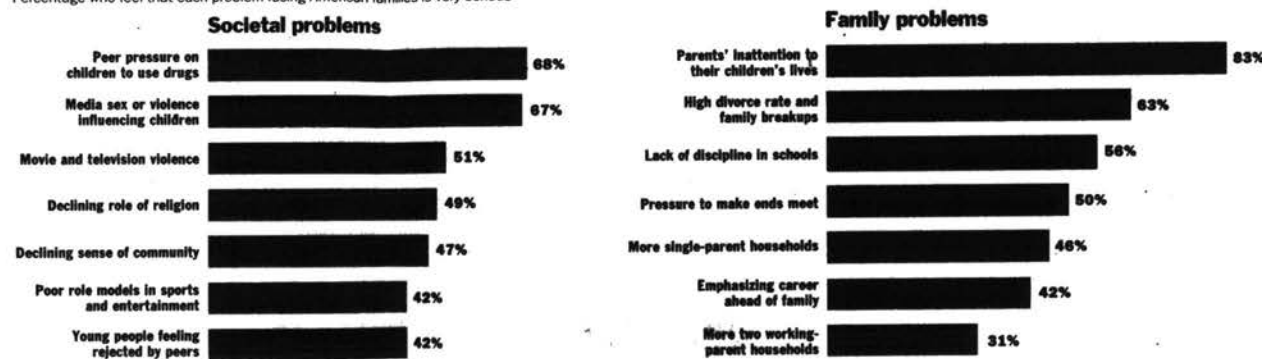
American Families: The Lives They Live...

Percentage in each group who say description applies to them

	ALL	GENDER		AGE				EDUCATION			RACE	
		MEN	WOMEN	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 AND OLDER	HIGH SCHOOL	SOME COLLEGE	COLLEGE GRADUATE	WHITE	AFRICAN AMERICAN
Two-working-parent household	23	22	23	30	39	8	1	21	25	23	22	31
Attend religious service at least weekly	39	34	44	29	39	45	55	36	43	42	39	47
Someone in household has tattoo	21	22	21	35	21	16	9	27	24	13	21	24
Watch shows like Jerry Springer or Jenny Jones	20	21	18	29	20	16	9	28	19	11	18	42

And the Problems They Face

Percentage who feel that each problem facing American families is very serious



some 67% of respondents said that social and moral values were higher when they were growing up than they are today. As a corollary, two-thirds believe that standards of acceptable and unacceptable behavior are lower today than in recent years.

Decline in Backyard

The national numbers suggest strongly that these Maine residents are pretty typical, rather than starchy northern New Englanders taking potshots at a distant, vice-ridden urban America. True, one recent transplant from Southern California, Shelly Smith, thinks that Portland's families are far more solid than the environment she left behind in Newport Beach. But many members of the group have deep roots in Maine, and when they speak of decline they see it as universal, and right in their backyards. Gangs prowling some streets of Portland.

Homeless families exist here, too. The truth is, Portland has become quite a diverse city, with rich, middle class and poor, and with all the blend of ethnicity found in much larger places. When Portland High School

awarded 225 diplomas earlier this month, the graduating class included students from 24 countries speaking 26 different languages.

The smaller towns of Maine remain more homogeneous, to be sure. But even in these places, the past few decades have brought striking changes in attitudes.

"The '60s and the antiwar movement brought a lack of respect for authority," says State Rep. Richard Thompson, who hails from rural Naples, Maine, and who is a divorce lawyer by profession. (He wasn't a member of the focus group in Portland, but he concurs with the sentiments.) "And we've handed these values [lack of respect] down to our children. Once that starts, it's hard to stop." Rep. Thompson says.

As co-chairman of the Maine legislature's judiciary committee, Mr. Thompson finds himself on the front lines of many hot-button social issues, especially late-term abortion and gay rights. A bill banning discrimination against homosexuals passed the legislature and was signed into law in 1997, but a grassroots campaign to overturn it at the polls won a narrow victory in 1998.

To some, this is evidence that social conservatives are on the rise in Maine. That's certainly the firm belief of Paul Volle, executive director of the Christian Coalition of Maine, a leader of the effort to overturn the gay-rights law.

Outrage Directed at Hollywood

If there is outrage among the citizenry, it's directed at Hollywood. As the conversation ebbed and flowed around the conference table, some of the most impassioned comments were broadsides against the sex and violence of popular entertainment.

Asked who gets the "black marks" in American culture, Phyllis Dorsay, a social worker in her 40s, says, "I'm just thinking of all the unrealistic television that kids watch. [Beverly Hills] 90210, where everybody drives BMWs and things. All that my kids are driving is a 15-year-old Oldsmobile. They watch those shows and everybody has money. Everybody has sex on the first date. Nobody gets pregnant."

Around the table, it was a proposal that government regulate violence and sex on TV and the movies that received the most support. Six of 12 people raised their hands. To those opposed, freedom of speech and individual rights trumped the concerns about violence on the screen. Five people voted for the government to play a role in toughening regulation of the Internet. Six favored firearms regulation.

What really bothers them is the deep-seated materialistic culture of the 1990s—a culture that worships \$100 Nike sneakers, a culture that is pervasive, persistent, which crowds out relaxed time with family, and which transcends anything that politicians can address.

"We need to make sacrifices for our children. We need to not take that second job for that Volvo, for the material goal out there," says Steve Hasson, a 66-year-old retired fire-department official. "The most precious gift we can give our children is our time, and to be involved, and to make a point of sitting down and having a meal together. Sacrificing that time you could be someplace else...actually act like a family."

AMERICAN OPINION

Americans: Who They Are ...

	LEFT	MIDDLE	RIGHT
● ALL ADULTS	25%	52%	23%
● PARTY			
Democrats	32	53	15
Independents	30	51	19
Republicans	13	52	35
● SEX			
Men	23	54	23
Women	27	51	22
● AGE			
18-34	30	53	17
35-49	26	52	22
50-64	24	47	29
65 and older	19	54	27
● RACE			
Whites	25	50	25
African Americans	25	61	14
Hispanics	29	55	16
● REGION			
Northeast	29	52	19
South	19	52	29
Midwest	28	54	21
West	31	50	19
● EDUCATION			
High school or less	20	53	27
Some college	22	54	24
College degree	31	52	17
Post-graduate degree	42	41	17
● OCCUPATION			
Professional/Manager	36	47	17
White Collar	26	55	19
Blue Collar	21	56	23
Home maker	19	45	36
Retired	21	52	27
● RELIGION			
All Protestant	21	53	26
Fundamentalist Protestant	14	48	38
Non-Fundamentalist Protestant	25	56	19
Catholic	27	53	20
Other religions	32	47	21
● MARITAL STATUS			
Married	21	52	27
Single	37	50	13
Separated/Divorced	34	47	19
Widowed	13	60	27
● HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN			
All with children	24	53	23
One-parent household	29	48	23

Issues Have Few Easy Solutions

Continued From Page A9

cial issues into three types: the middle, right and left.

The characteristics and views of those three groups are politically instructive. There are few differences in geography, though the heaviest concentration of cultural centrists is in the Midwest, with slightly fewer in the South and the least in the West. But there are a disproportionate number of non-college-educated, blue-collar workers in this pivotal group. And, interestingly, 61% of African-Americans fall in this category, compared with almost exactly half of whites.

Politically, those in the middle have a slight Democratic tilt. Yet, Mr. Hart notes, they also "show a strong willingness to transcend party labels and actually 'behave' Republican." Among this group, for example, Texas Gov. George W. Bush is preferred, by a 3-to-2 margin, over Vice President Al Gore in a hypothetical presidential matchup.

The dilemma for Republicans is that, like the Democrats of a generation ago, the party often is dominated on these issues by its ideological wing. That link clearly is something that Gov. Bush is trying to shake, with stands such as his rejection of any antiabortion litmus tests for judicial appointments. How successful he is in this endeavor may well determine whether hard-core social conservatives drive middle-grounders back to the Democrats.

Westerners tend to be on the cultural left more so than Americans in other parts of the country; similarly, younger people are more likely to be on the left side of the spectrum than their older counterparts. There is a clear class component: college graduates, professionals and those making more than \$100,000 a year are far more likely to be social liberals than lower-income, less-educated citizens.

Conversely, Southerners, residents of rural areas and older people are more likely to be on the social right. Expectedly, Republicans are more likely to be on the social right, while Democrats tend to identify more with the left.

Undeniably, however, the school shootings have put gun control on the front burner for a wide cross-section of Americans. By 59% to 37% Americans say the government doesn't do enough to regulate firearms. By overwhelming majorities, people support tougher background checks for gun purchases, mandatory safety triggers, more rigorous registration, holding parents or adults criminally responsible when children commit a crime with a gun and banning handgun purchases for anyone under the age of 21.

Women favor gun control more ardently but even among culturally conservative factions—Southerners and rural residents—opinions are more measured now on this matter. And, reflecting the furor over the high-school shootings, those with the most intense views on the subject now support more government regulation by better than a 3-to-2 margin. Previously the intensity factor resided with the pro-gun forces.

With some exceptions, the Susquehanna Valley residents reflect these feelings. The National Rifle Association's influence is



symposium on values a few months ago there was a broad agreement that cultural attitudes were decisive in determining a country's economic performance, a major reason that America does so well.

On religion, the University of Michigan world-wide surveys done earlier in this decade clearly demonstrate that this country is one of the more faith-oriented in the world. In The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll more than half of the respondents say religion is either the single most important thing in their lives or it plays a very important role. The most religious—the almost 40% that

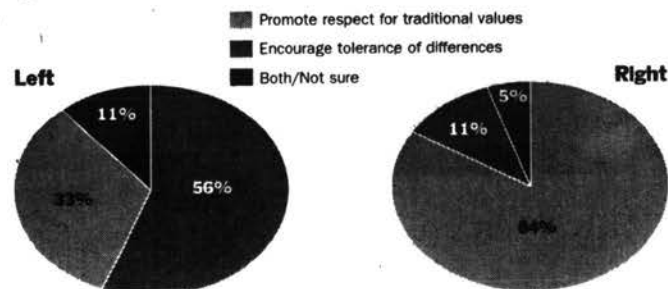
attend services at least once a week—tend to be more conservative and Republican than the less religious. They also vote more, earlier studies have shown.

The biggest topic for most Americans is the importance of family. Both in the poll and at the Susquehanna Valley session there isn't much clamor for government action. But Pat Mara, an assistant superintendent of schools in Lewisburg, Pa., offers one novel suggestion: "Government subsidies for front porches, so families have a place to sit and socially interact with one another and the social interactions of the neighborhood."

Two-parent household	23	53	24
Two working parents	25	54	21

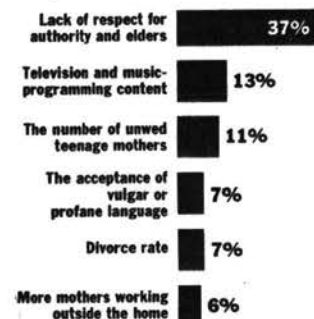
What's Important to Society...

Right and left have different opinions on what society's top goal should be:



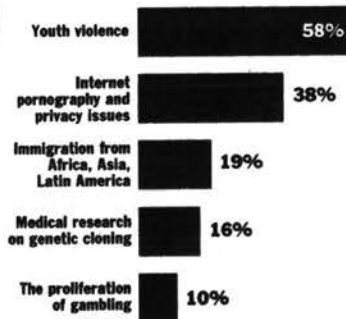
The Changes That Bother People Most...

Of changes that have taken place in society over the past fifteen to twenty years, which bothers you the most?



And Pressing Moral and Social Issues That Await

Of these future social and cultural issues, which one or two are the most important to you?



What They Want...

Percentage in favor of new laws on these social issues

	All adults	Left	Middle	Right
Funding religious groups dealing with poverty, addictions, domestic violence	76%	73%	78%	77%
Allowing religiously-based values and morals instruction in public schools	64%	35	70	83
Regulating sexually explicit Internet content	60%	49	61	68
Banning medical research on human cloning	47%	40	47	55
Restricting immigration from Africa, Asia, and Latin America	44%	34	48	48

National Rifle Association "takes some indefensible positions," says Steven Bilger, a financial planner. "When the framers of the constitution said 'right to bear arms' they never envisioned an AK47 where someone could go off the deep end and open up in a school."

The divide politically is that while people generally rank Republicans higher when asked which party better represents traditional American values, on the specific issues, the Democrats have an edge, starting with gun control.

That also is the case with abortion, where there is far more opposition to government interference than there is support for tougher restrictions. This is evident in recent moves by Republicans leaders, including George W. Bush, to play down their opposition to abortion.

Among the Sunbury breakfast group there is a decided abortion-rights tilt, though several say they are opposed to controversial procedures like so-called partial birth abortions. And it isn't a dominant concern for them. Don Dobson, a conservative chamber-of-commerce official who is moderately pro-choice, agrees with a colleague whom, he says, "I've known for seven years and never realized we thought the same on this issue."

Democrats also are preferred, by a wide margin, on gay rights. In the poll, a clear plurality believes that current laws are necessary to prohibit discrimination against homosexuals. "Attitudes on gay rights," notes Peter Hart, "divide along lines of socioeconomic status—professionals/managers, white-collar workers and college graduates take the pro-gay rights position, while blue-collar workers, retirees and non-college graduates take the other side." Democrats also score a smaller edge on the question of school vouchers, with the public evenly divided on that proposition.

Republicans have a small edge on school prayer; Americans, in The Wall Street Journal/NBC News survey, overwhelmingly believe the government should allow prayer in the school. Republicans also are preferred on the matter of violence in the media. Yet here, too, there is a close division on whether the government should get involved in regulating the content of movies, television and video games. In the Susquehanna Valley group, as the conversation continued, more opposition grew to government involvement, despite clear revulsion at the amount of violence in entertainment.

Likewise, Americans seem concerned about the pressures that two-income couples have on families but no clear answer emerges. In Sunbury, Nancy Neuman, a writer and lecturer, notes that, "when we talk about women working... working-class women have always had to work so the family could eat."

Work remains highly valued by Americans; in the poll, people believe by about a 3-to-2 margin that the work ethic is still strong as opposed to weak. At a high-level Harvard

Journal Links For the full text of the most recent Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, see The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition at <http://wsj.com>

Respect for Authority: A Recurrent Theme

Youth violence ranks as top cultural issue with most Americans

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

IF THERE IS A single moment when many Americans now feel standards started to slip, it came with the slogan "You can't trust anyone over 30."

When asked what changes over the past few decades most bother them, the lack of respect for authority and elders dominates their answers. Three in eight people cite this change—three times as many as point to the content of television and music programming, which ranks a distant second.

Moreover, the social and cultural concerns that Americans anticipate in the years ahead, according to The Wall Street Journal/NBC News survey this month, are a direct outgrowth of the things that trouble people today.

Ironically, the perceived lack of respect for authority and elders is somewhat more pronounced among younger Americans than among seniors. Of those 18 to 34 years old, 38% say this lack of respect is most worrisome, while 33% of those 65 and over feel that way.

People Mistrust Authority

"In today's gloom about the nation's moral fiber, there is a growing sense that something was lost when a generation chose to question authority and mistrust older people," says Thom Riehle, an associate of Peter Hart, who along with Robert Teeter conducted the poll. "This concern is reflected across all age groups and across the ideological divide." "Looking ahead," Mr. Riehle notes, "the shadow of Littleton and other recent school shootings darkens the public's view of the moral and social issue challenges of the future."

Thus, more than half of Americans believe that youth violence will be the most important cultural problem to face them in the future, and almost two in five cite pornography and privacy issues related to the Internet. Fewer than one in five worries about immigration from the developing nations or about genetic cloning; only one in 10 believes that the proliferation of gambling will be a major concern in the years ahead.

The concern over escalating youth violence is pervasive among all groups. Those most concerned are younger and middle-aged Americans, while seniors express slightly less concern. Politically, youth violence is a greater concern among liberals than among conservatives.

Those on the right, however, worry more

about pornography on the Internet. Almost half of all self-described conservative and fundamentalist Protestants cite this as a top worry in the years ahead.

This view is reflected in the political debate on Capitol Hill and in other political arenas. Conservatives, despite their professed disdain for government regulation or mandates, have pushed hard to crack down on Internet pornography, though the courts have struck down some restrictions.

Use of Filters

The Clinton-Gore administration and many mainstream Democrats don't cede this issue; of two-parent households with children—the soccer-mom community, in the political vernacular—43% of the public rates this as a top concern. But the Clinton-Gore approach has been toward filtering or giving parents the ability to filter out any undesirable material. When asked outright if they favor regulating sexually explicit material on the Internet even at the risk of restricting freedom of speech, the public opts for regulation by more than a 3-to-2 margin.

Although there's an anti-immigration strain in both political parties, it doesn't register much with the public. Slightly more people oppose changing the laws to crack down on immigration from Africa, Asia or Latin America than support such changes.

Likewise, for all the publicity about cloning, it doesn't rank as a major concern for most Americans; people divide right down the middle on whether it should be banned. African-Americans are somewhat more concerned than whites about such futuristic medical experimentation.

In addressing social concerns, Americans overwhelmingly favor giving federal funds to private organizations, including religious entities, that deal with social problems. But there is less support for religion-based instruction on values and morals in public schools.

Support for funding religious groups to deal with problems—embraced by politicians ranging from Vice President Al Gore and former Sen. Bill Bradley to Texas Gov. George W. Bush—is almost four times as great as the opposition. Even two-thirds of those who never attend religious services support such efforts. The hold of the church in the African-American community is evident here, with blacks backing this notion by 90% to 10%, or considerably more than even Protestant fundamentalists.

While a majority also supports religion-based instruction in public schools, this also produces more vehement opposition, especially among liberals and college-educated citizens. But such instruction draws strong support from white Southern conservatives, those who identify with the Christian Coalition, and African-Americans.