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Ronald Kaufman Folder 3: Willie Horton

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEVIN MOLEY

FROM: Ronald C. Kaufman *RCU*
Deputy Assistant to
the President for Political
Affairs

REGARDING: ATTACHED INFORMATION

Could you call me about the attached
information when you get a moment? Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AUG 13 1991

August 12, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR ✓RON KAUFMAN
JIM PINKERTON

FROM: CHARLES E.M. KOLB *CEM*

SUBJECT: HHS-Sponsored Conference and Willie Horton

My friend Lon Anderson, Vice President at the Beer Institute, sent along the attached information about an HHS-OSAP conference which was funded by the Federal government and where one of the speakers found it appropriate, somehow, to spend some time on Willie Horton. I have shared this information with Connie Horner at HHS.

Attachment



BEER INSTITUTE

August 8, 1991

The Honorable Charles Kolb
Deputy Assistant to the President
For Domestic Policy
Office of Economic and Domestic Policy
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Charlie:

What a great lunch. It was really enjoyable being able to sit down with you and visit, especially at the Old Ebbitt.

As you had requested, I am attaching a firsthand account of the part of the HHS-OSAP conference featuring Kathleen Jamieson's Administration-bashing Willie Horton comments. I agree with your sentiment that the Democrats have enough forums with which to practice their Administration bashing without having our own conferences feature such people as Jamieson and Michael Pertschuk. I am also attaching the conference agenda noting their roles.

The account is supplied by Eric Shepard, a reporter for Alcohol Insights, a trade publication. I thought a reporter's comments might have more validity than the recollections of someone from our industry. I am also enclosing the newsletter that includes his reporting on the activities at this conference. I think you will readily agree that much of the activity goes far beyond any stated Administration policy. But then, it was being orchestrated by liberal Democrats.

Obviously, I very much appreciate your help. There are many anti-alcohol efforts underway at HHS and those leading the march are such zealots that they clearly don't mind whom they offer center stage to, as long as the message is anti-alcohol.

Your Friend,

Lon Anderson
Vice President,
Public Affairs

Attachments

P.S. Have a great time in France

Alcohol Issues INSIGHTS

51 VIRGINIA AVE. WEST NYACK, N.Y. 10994
(914) 358-7751

August 5, 1991

Mr. Lon Anderson
The Beer Institute
125 Eye St, NW
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Lon,

As we discussed Friday, this is what I recall of Kathleen Jamieson's speech at OSAP's "Mixed Messages Conference," Philadelphia July 17, 1991

Jamieson welcomed audience to conference, Philadelphia and the Annenberg school. She devoted most of her talk to how George Bush used the Willie Horton story in 88 campaign to create a certain type of message. She noted, for example, that Horton's first name William was changed to Willie, though everyone who knew him called him William. Although the actual ad with Horton was used very little, Horton was featured in many Bush speeches and, in these speeches, Bush made Willie Horton, a black man, the personification of crime in America. This, as I recall, Jamieson labeled as a racist act. Jamieson made other points. I don't remember them at this time.

Sincerely,


Eric Shepard

Preliminary Agenda

Office for Substance Abuse Prevention 1991 Issue Forum

July 17-19, 1991
Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA

Topic: A Response to Society's Mixed Messages:
Environmental Strategies to Reduce Alcohol,
Tobacco, and Other Drug (ATOD) Problems

Moderator: Michael Pertschuk, J.D.
Advocacy Institute

Wednesday, July 17, 1991

6:00 - 7:30pm

REGISTRATION, WELCOME BY HOSTS, AND
RECEPTION

"Welcome"
Kathleen Jamieson, Ph.D., Dean
Annenberg School for Communication

Elaine M. Johnson, Ph.D.
Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

"The History of Youth and Drugs: Society's
Mixed Messages"

Stephen E. Gardner, D.S.W.
High Risk Youth Branch
Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

"A Media Analysis"*
Kathleen Jamieson, Ph.D., Dean
Annenberg School for Communication

Dinner on your own.

Thursday, July 18, 1991

8:00 - 8:30am

REGISTRATION/CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST

8:30 - 8:45

Welcome/Purpose of Issue Forum
Elaine M. Johnson, Ph.D.
Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

*all are working titles
8:45 - 9:00am

Scope of Day One
Robert W. Denniston
Division of Communications Programs
Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

9:00 - 9:45

"What are Mixed Messages and why are they a concern for public health?"

The National Perspective (15 min)
Reed Tuckson, M.D. (invited)
March of Dimes

The Public Health Perspective (15 min)
Lawrence Wallack, Dr.P.H., M.S.
School of Public Health
University of California - Berkeley

The Communications Perspective (15 min)
George Gerbner, Ph.D.
Annenberg School for Communication

9:45 - 10:30

Open Discussion

10:30 - 10:45

BREAK

10:45 - 11:25

"How are Mixed Messages targeted, received and processed by youth?"

How Youth Process and Internalize Messages (20 min)
Jane S. Brown, Ph.D.
School of Journalism, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Targeting of Special Populations (20 min)
Charyn Sutton (Invited)
Philadelphia, PA

11:25 - 12:15

Open Discussion

12:15 - 1:15

Lunch on your own

1:15 - 1:45

"What can be done about Mixed Messages?"

Environmental Policies: National and Community-Based Strategies and Applications (20 min)

Robert Robinson, Dr. P.H.
Fox Chase Cancer Center
Cheltenham, PA

[This paper sets the conceptual framework and the agenda for the workgroups.]

1:45 - 2:45pm	Open Discussion
2:45 - 3:15	BREAK (meeting of workgroup leaders)
3:15 - 5:30	Workgroups meet
	Dinner on your own.

Friday, July 19, 1991

7:45 - 8:15	CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
8:15 - 8:30	Scope of Day 2 Stephen E. Gardner, D.S.W. High Risk Youth Branch Office for Substance Abuse Prevention
8:30 - 10:00	Workgroups meet
10:00 - 10:15	BREAK
10:15 - 12:00	Workgroups resume
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch on your own
1:00 - 3:00	Presentation of strategies by workgroups
3:00 - 3:15	BREAK
3:15 - 4:45	Synthesis of Recommendations Presenter: Michael Pertschuk
4:45 - 5:00	Wrap-up and Next Steps Robert W. Denniston and Stephen E. Gardner Office for Substance Abuse Prevention

Behind Closed Doors: OSAP Rounds Up Activists to Advance Control Policy

It was a classic case of foregone conclusions. The US government's Office of Substance Abuse Prevention's Issue Forum on "mixed messages" to "recommend strategies for minimizing such messages and reducing their consequences" contained little real debate and force-fed the entire control of availability platform. Though the conference concerned "society's ambiguity about drugs, conveyed both directly and indirectly through the mass media, social policy and public attitudes," alcohol received by far the most attention. Virtually no one from the alcohol beverage industry, ad agencies or the media--those directly responsible for creating, sponsoring and airing so-called "mixed messages"--was invited to debate or recommend policy. Similarly, law enforcement and state regulatory agencies had just one representative each, and OSAP included neither among its original invitees. Instead, dozens of public health activists who support severe restrictions on alcohol marketing and promotion were invited to make speeches and policy recommendations on taxes, ad bans, etc.

The industry was given a token, last-minute presence, but no formal role in the sessions. OSAP randomly split the group of about 100 into seven "workgroups" to develop policy recommendations. The sheer number of control advocates dictated that the recommendations would all favor restriction. And they did. The few attendees associated with the industry either chose not to participate (to avoid allowing OSAP to claim a balanced attendance, which it did anyway) or to blast the one-sided nature of the conference (see below). OSAP did not hold a press conference--indeed, the press was not invited to attend--but it will publish the recommendations in a monograph, develop an "action plan" and incorporate some of them into future OSAP programs. Like the 1988 Surgeon General's Workshop, this issue forum was set up to legitimize and further a federal tilt toward restrictive legislation while excluding industry participation and public debate.

OSAP Going "Far Beyond" its Mandate; How Far Will It Go?

In her opening speech, OSAP's deputy director Vivian Smith explicitly stated that the agency is going beyond its original mandate to coordinate federal abuse prevention programs. "We are moving with deliberate speed in carrying out our mandate and to provide national leadership which expands far beyond the implementation of our statutory mandated demonstration programs and related activities." While it's not clear exactly what Smith was referring to, this forum for wide-ranging policy recommendations indicated the direction of "far beyond," as did her statement that OSAP's focus has shifted from aiming prevention at individuals to aiming it at the "environment," a common theme at the meeting.

How far will OSAP go? AII asked Bob Denniston, OSAP's communication director, if the agency advocates a no-drinking environment. We pointed to the OSAP monograph "Youth and Drugs: Society's Mixed Messages," which contained this alarming

statement: "One of the main points of this volume is that an essential ingredient for success is the creation of an environment in which substance use, regardless of the form it takes, is defined clearly and consistently as unacceptable." (The author did not use the word youth anywhere in this "epilogue." To the contrary, every statement implied he was writing about society in general.) Denniston pointed to a disclaimer in the front of volume which said that the statements "do not necessarily reflect the opinions, official policy or the position of OSAP." He also reiterated OSAP's official position: it is against any drinking by youth, pregnant women, those operating motor vehicles or heavy machinery, people on medications which might interact with alcohol, those in recovery, or "drinking to intoxication." "We are not neo-prohibitionists," he told AII at the meeting. But by publishing the monograph and building the conference around it, OSAP communicated at least tacit endorsement of this and the other extreme views in the monograph. Denniston also claimed the industry had "every opportunity" to participate in the open discussions "but chose not to participate." He noted that representatives of LBIC and AWARE were invited and other people associated with the industry were present. AII counted 4 others, 1 of whom refused to even attend the open sessions.

Before the meeting, OSAP told AII it hadn't arranged for press coverage, then said we could cover the open meetings but not the workshops because OSAP wanted the discussions to be "freewheeling." An hour later OSAP said the "real reason" we could not attend the workshops was shortage of space. AII attended the open sessions and a workshop. Vivian Smith assured AII that the taxpayer-sponsored OSAP could not hold a meeting and bar the press. No other press attended.

The Workshop Recommendations: An Overview and Some Specifics

Moderator Michael Pertschuk (a leading anti-tobacco figure from the Advocacy Institute) summed up the basic thrust of the forum in his "synthesis of recommendations" when he described a consensus to "work to restrict access and availability of alcohol and tobacco just as the nation is committed to restricting access and availability of other drugs, both directly through limits on outlets, such as vending machines for cigarettes and gas stations for beer, and indirectly but powerfully through frequent and substantial excise tax increases." Meanwhile, here's a partial list of the workshop recommendations, specific to alcohol, in no special order:

Banning all alcohol beverage advertising and promotion.

Increasing, indexing, equalizing, earmarking alcohol beverage excise taxes.

Restrictions on access to alcohol (number and kinds of outlets).

Banning billboard advertising of alcohol products.

Make alcohol packaging more distinctive to separate it from other products.

Make alcohol warning labels more prominent and place them on all advertising.

Increase focus and efforts of alcohol problems among "special populations."

Encourage other industries to replace the financial support for community

projects and events now sponsored by the alcohol and tobacco industries.

Encourage the media not to glamorize alcohol use, and to provide equal time for "health" messages.

Expand efforts by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America to include alcohol and tobacco "in proportion to the damage they cause."

Decrease the concentration of alcohol outlets in urban poor communities.

Increase the capacity and ability of local communities to control all aspects of this issue.....And many more.

Some Attendees Blast Lack of Balance; "An Overwhelming Absence of Diversity"

While OSAP's Bob Denniston claimed that the forum presented a wide range of "belief systems," some attendees disagreed. Monita Fontaine, director of the Licensed Beverage Information Council (LBIC), was one of two individuals associated with the industry formally invited to the forum. (LBIC is a 12-year-old

organization through which industry associations fund research, education and alcohol abuse prevention programs; it is not an advocate.) After the leader of her workshop delivered its recommendations, Fontaine spoke up before the group: "Quite frankly, there was consensus and it was apparent, there was no discussion.... You failed to note that somebody said nothing and that was me. And I dissent across the board with the whole fabric of this failure to represent adequately all the interests that must be affected by some of these resolutions." The leader acknowledged that Fontaine had not participated in the discussions. Fontaine later expanded on her remarks to AII: "The workshop had no balance. There was no discord. There was no discussion about the potential consequences of any recommendation. There was an overwhelming absence of diversity. The group was intellectually homogenous, intolerant and dismissive of any information that failed to reinforce its point of view. What they really wanted to do was get rid of what they called a 'culture of consumerism' whether it involved alcohol, tobacco, McDonalds, whatever and replace it with 'real values' which they would define, because the public could not make those decisions. With Vivian Smith and Steve Gardner (two OSAP high-ups) in the room, the group said the strongest 'mixed message' of them all and probably the worst is what LBIC is doing, by allowing the industry to participate in the public health arena. It is confusing the public and must be stopped. The group voted unanimously to disallow any alcohol beverage industry participation on anything in the public health arena." Meanwhile, Fontaine points out that LBIC has a recent letter from the Department of Health and Human Services (which oversees OSAP) in which the office of Secretary Louis Sullivan states supports for LBIC's efforts.

Patricia Schneider, executive director of the American Wine Alliance for Research and Education (AWARE) also dissented at the meeting, stating that in 15 years of participating in alcohol policy sessions "I've never seen such unbalanced coverage of the issues.... I am asking that the AWARE organization not be associated with the workshop." Schneider later told AII: "I also strongly dissented with the process and reported recommendations from my workshop. The recommendations misrepresented the discussion and statements of the participants. In the group attention was paid to light and moderate drinking; the report blurred these distinctions and made no mention of that discussion. And there was a steamroller effect. In the rush to judgment, any attempt at balanced presentation or to represent diverse points of view was deliberately stampered and ignored. Both the industry and the public health field practice policies of exclusion; the consumer is done a disservice."

Jeff Becker of the Beer Institute said: "The sad truth of the matter is that this document (OSAP's monograph) will be looked upon like policy, much like the Surgeon General's workshop, although there will inevitably be disclaimers." Rick Gulden, who monitored the workshop for the National Beer Wholesalers Association, said: "What I particularly resent was their efforts to use me and NBWA to give the appearance of balance when no balance in fact existed." NBWA has sent a letter to OSAP director Elaine Johnson demanding that NBWA not be listed as a participant and plans on voicing further objections "to let them know this fight is by no means over," according to Gulden.

A SADD Story, Or You Never Know Who Your Friends Are

A representative from SADD (Students Against Driving Drunk), an organization that owes its existence and much of its good work to industry funding (which it no longer accepts) showed how much relationships can change. He said: "We have a chance to sort of scoop the market. The Century Council is forming right now and it sounds very much like what the cigarette people did, to say 'let's get out of trouble.'....and the alcohol industry is going to do a bunch of nice things. If we come up with some real strong recommendations here and then ram it down their throats...maybe they'll adopt a program more like the health program we're interested in." This same gentleman later acknowledged in conversa-

tion that originally the only funding SADD could get was from the industry, adding "we don't forget our friends." This hypocrisy shows just how much politics has overtaken the alcohol policy debate. SADD also distributed an information sheet with the line that "It must be clear amongst all SADD members that there is no such thing as illegal responsible use," and pointed out that SADD's "Contract for Life" has been changed from "encouraging" a no-use policy to "requiring" a no-use policy. Also, SADD refuses to endorse safe ride or designated driver programs for youth since they "can be enabling in that they presuppose teens will drink." The old SADD owed part of its effectiveness to its credibility with youth, in large measure earned by its acknowledgement that adolescents were going to drink anyway. In those days its overriding objective was to save lives, not create an unrealistic goal of requiring "no use."

Liability Still a Threat, Progress at WHO, US Agencies, Unity: NCSLA Topics

Talks covered a wide-range of alcohol issues at the annual meeting of National Conference of State Liquor Administrators in June. Here are a few highlights: The counsel for DISCUS said that in June 1988, the industry was fighting 12 liability cases. Now there are 27 cases, despite big victories in Washington state, Texas and Pennsylvania. "The issue is here to stay," she stressed, adding that "each case and any new ones will be defended vigorously and completely." While no industry members were invited to participate in OSAP's 'mixed message' workshop (see above), Licensed Beverage Information Council (LBIC) director Monita Fontaine said that "the Department of HHS has asked LBIC to coordinate a series of meetings to occur on a regular basis between the office of the Secretary of HHS and representatives of the office of the Surgeon General, OSAP and NIAAA." The first topic will be underage drinking and all representatives of the industry have been invited." A spokesman for an international group of distillers and vintners said he has had meetings with the head of WHO (the World Health Organization, a leading advocate for control of availability measures) in Geneva and the head of its European office in Copenhagen. He was "agreeably surprised by the responses," especially with the Danish director of European WHO, who "quite categorically stated that as far as he is concerned he never wanted to see a 'Scandinavian experiment' being used in Europe," because he'd witnessed what the "lager louts" had done to Copenhagen, referring to the men who come by boat into the city (escaping restrictive alcohol policies in Sweden), overdrink and tear it up.

Washington Commissioner on Ad Ban Decision: Found No Link Between Ads and Abuse

Speaking to a conference of state liquor administrators, the head of the Washington State Liquor Board said the decision not to restrict alcohol ads (in January 1991) was based on the conclusion that "there is no direct link between present alcohol advertising and underage alcohol abuse." Paula O'Connor told fellow commissioners too that the original legal opinion from the board's counsel was that, if adopted, the restrictions would have run afoul of the 1st Amendment and the Commerce Clause of US Constitution. When the Washington Medical Association filed suit, the commission held a full-scale investigation and "sorted out public pressure from good legislation." The commission avoided the easy way of adopting the rules, which in essence "would have banned almost all kinds of alcohol advertising" and left it to the courts. The Board even defied a threat by state legislature that if the Board didn't adopt the ban, it would pass a bill. The bill subsequently went nowhere. O'Connor also praised the alcohol beverage industry: "This is the first time that I ever saw all three segments of the industry combine in a unified fashion and it was extremely powerful. What the hearing was really aimed at was beer commercials, but the wine people were there, the spirits people were there and everybody talked the same message." Liquor administrators need to show leadership on alcohol issues, she advised, and stressed: "Don't get swayed into doing the easy thing. Do the right thing."

Best Wishes, *ERIC*



Ron Kaufman

Jeff Vogt

JEFF —

TALK TO ME ABOUT

THIS WHEN YOU HAVE

THE CHANCE —

THANKS

[Signature]

Memorandum

To : Ron Kaufman
Fr : Grover Norquist
Dt : August 8, 1991
Re : THE BARNES, Cliff & Angie

=====

During the '88 campaign, Cliff Barnes did a lot of work on his own, of his own initiative, making sure the world knew what Willie Horton did to him and to his wife, Angie.

To date, he has never been contacted by the White House to express the President's concern for the suffering he and Angie underwent.

1) Can we get him tickets to the Presidential Box @ The Kennedy Center?

2) Can we get him an appointment to a "Citizens Commission on Crime" or some such body that looks at Crime and its impact on victims.

Here is the Barnes' address and telephone numbers:

Cliff & Angie Barnes
105 Quailwood Parkway
La Plata, MD 20646
301\934-3437 (H)
301\702-0017 (W)