



File
Charles Murray

IQ Matters

By Douglas J. Besharov

A controversial new book argues that low IQ is strongly associated with a host of social problems, from out-of-wedlock births and welfare dependency, to drug abuse and crime. Many of today's compensatory preschool and educational programs, the book notes, fail to raise IQs permanently or to make otherwise meaningful changes in young people's lives. But such programs hardly exhaust the list of possible interventions. Indeed, if IQ matters as much as it seems to, and if IQ is substantially affected by the environment or, as is more likely, is the result of a complex interaction between genes and the environment, then we are morally bound to keep plugging away until we find something that works to raise it.

It seemed like a simple enough project. Christmas was coming and the local mall had jobs for gift wrappers. What better way for mothers on welfare to earn a few extra dollars? So a local job training program decided to give a group of welfare mothers a quick course in gift-wrapping before sending them off to apply for a job. It wasn't that easy.

The first lesson was bows. The instructor asked the mothers to cut 10 pieces of ribbon, each five inches long. The mothers quickly became confused—they did not know how to measure off the ribbon for cutting. There would be no jobs at the mall that season, because the mothers lacked the basic cognitive skills to wrap packages.

This true story illustrates a harsh reality: Long-term welfare recipients have extremely low cognitive abilities, at least as measured by traditional IQ tests. This is true for all races—the women at the training center just happened to be white. Almost 60 percent of women on welfare for five or more years are in the bottom 20 percent of intelligence, according to Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, authors of the controversial new book, *The Bell Curve*.

Herrnstein and Murray air social science's dirty little secret: IQ matters. As they document, using data for whites, high IQ is increasingly associated with economic and social success—and low IQ with poverty and a host of social problems, including out-of-wedlock births, welfare dependency, and crime. This undeniable reality is stunningly ignored by just about every program designed to address such problems. No wonder they fail.

The Bell Curve's unflinching recognition of racial differences in IQ test scores has, of course, generated the greatest controversy. African Americans, as a group, consistently score 15 points below whites, 85 versus 100. According to the authors, "The average white person tests higher than about 84 percent of the population of blacks."

But, what, exactly, is IQ? And, how much of what we call IQ is attributable to inborn qualities and how much to environment and upbringing? This is, of course, the "nature" versus "nurture" argument, which has been with us since before there were IQ tests. Reflecting the current scholarly consensus, Herrnstein and Murray say that "cognitive

ability is substantially heritable, apparently no less than 40 percent and no more than 80 percent." For the purposes of their argument, they adopt a mid-range estimate of 60 percent heritability.

Especially in light of black-white differences in measured IQ, the issue of heritability is enormously significant. In response to charges that the book overstates the genetic component of IQ, Murray has recently written that it does not matter whether nature or nurture causes IQ differences, because, either way, IQ is so difficult to raise. As evidence, Murray cites the failure of compensatory preschool and educational programs to raise IQs and to make meaningful changes in young people's lives. No clear-eyed reader of the research literature could deny these disappointing results.

What We Can Do

But such programs hardly exhaust the possible interventions. Many linkages may exist between an individual's environment and his or her subsequently measured IQ, and these offer opportunities for intervention. Here are a few possibilities:

- *What if IQ is affected by the mother's behavior during pregnancy?* In recent years, science has documented the importance of the fetal environment to later development. The message we try to give every pregnant woman is: "Eat well, don't smoke cigarettes, don't drink alcohol and, most importantly, don't use illegal drugs like crack cocaine." Prenatal exposure to cocaine results in newborns with smaller head circumferences, a sign of compromised brain development.

All of these harmful behaviors are far more widespread among disadvantaged mothers. But they seem to afflict some racial minorities even more than economic statistics would suggest. In a recent survey, for example, Hispanic women were almost twice as likely to use cocaine while pregnant than were white women; African-American women were 11 times more likely to use cocaine.

- *What if the first years of life are crucial?* In the first months of life, the number of synapses in the human brain increases twentyfold, from 50 trillion to 1,000 trillion. The absence of intellectual stimulation during this period is now believed to

impose a permanent limit on the number of synapses and, therefore, on intellectual potential. This phenomenon was demonstrated in a famous experiment in which the eyes of newborn kittens were covered for varying lengths of time. The longer their eyes were covered, the greater the permanent deficit in sight, not because their eyes were damaged, but because there were just fewer synapses in the areas of the brain responsible for processing visual images. As Jerry M. Wiener, chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at George Washington University Hospital and president of the American Psychiatric Association, explains: "What we call IQ is really the unfolding of innate abilities in response to environmental stimuli." Even smiling at a newborn may make a difference.

Again, it is disadvantaged families that are least likely to provide such cognitive cues. Numerous studies, for example, have described "lower-class child-rearing styles" as more angry and punitive, more humiliating, and less verbally interactive than middle-class child-rearing—and have correlated these differences to cognitive outcomes.

These developmentally stunting child-rearing styles tend to disappear as families become more middle-class, but, as Felton Earls, director of the Human Development and Criminal Behavior Program at Harvard University, explains, it can take two or three generations for the shift to occur. With so many African Americans only recently in the middle class, it should not be surprising that such behaviors have tended to linger on in what researchers consider middle-class households.

- *What if preschool interventions could make a real change in a child's learning environment?* The Abecedarian preschool project in Chapel Hill, N. C., seems to have raised IQ scores by 16 points at the end of three years. Unlike Head Start, the Abecedarian project totally immersed children in a comprehensive developmental program that began within three months of birth—and provided nearly full-time care until they reached school age. Unfortunately, as the children got older—and they spent progressively less time under the influence of program staff—the gap between the experimental and control groups narrowed, to 7.6 IQ points at age 5, and 4.6 points at age 15.

"Other preschool projects have also made improvements of 10 or more IQ points," notes Ron Haskins, who was the coordinator of the Abecedarian preschool project in the late 1970s, and is now the chief welfare specialist for House Republicans. "In all these projects, however, the initial IQ gains for the children in the program compared to those in the control group also shrank over time."

So, we seem to be able to make early improvements in IQ; we just don't know how to make them stick. Some argue that this is the infamous "fade-out effect," with the children in the control group catching up with those in the program. It is just as possible, however, that other environmental factors, like neighborhood, had a supervening effect on the children in the program.

Can Better Schools Narrow the Gap?

What if good schools raise scores? Forget about cultural bias in IQ tests. There is a bigger measurement problem. Most tests assess acquired knowledge as well as abstract thinking and problem solving, and that, of course, is where schools come in. A poor school environment, where discipline rather than learning is the first priority, could systematically depress test results. After all, if education does not matter, why are we so concerned about the quality of the schools where we send our children?

A change in the way schools teach could also narrow the black-white gap, according to Chester Finn, the founding partner and director of government relations for the Edison Project. "Conventional schools assume that all children learn one grade level a year, so they give both slow learners and quick learners the same 180 days of education. What if schools gave slow learners more time to learn? Would they do better? We cannot know until we try."

- *What if neighborhoods dampen the desire of children to perform well?* Young people are particularly sensitive to environmental influences. Sadly, many disadvantaged communities discourage intellectual achievement. In African-American communities, some good students are ostracized for "acting white." That's one reason why so many of the parents who can do so move away from

dysfunctional neighborhoods, and why so many of the parents who cannot leave do all they can to shield their children from neighborhood influences. Linda Burton, now a professor in human development at Pennsylvania State University, describes how she and her sisters were locked in their apartment after school to protect them from what was happening outside—and how the practice continues to this day in many inner-city neighborhoods.

- *What if a child's entire neighborhood environment is improved dramatically?* We have a tantalizing suggestion from Chicago, where, as the result of the settlement of a housing discrimination lawsuit, *Gautreaux v. the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Chicago Housing Authority*, individual black families from housing projects could choose to participate in a program in which they would, by random assignment, be moved to either suburban white middle-class neighborhoods or to middle-class black ones within the city. Ninety-five percent of the black children who grew up in the suburbs graduated from high school and 54 percent went on to college, compared to 80 percent and 21 percent, respectively, of those who remained in the city.

- *What if racial differences in IQ are the result of over 200 years of slavery and more than 100 more years of discrimination and oppression?* Since the 1950s, of course, black Americans have made major economic progress. Earnings for black men, for example, are now about 75 percent of those for white men, and the gap continues to close. But the figures for household wealth paint a much more dismal picture and show how far behind whites blacks still are: According to the Census Bureau, in 1988, the median net worth of white households was *10 times* that of black and Hispanic ones, about \$43,000 compared to about \$4,000 and about \$5,500, respectively.

But household wealth is not just money. It is a form of stored human capital that has been built up over generations. It is what Roger Wilkins, the Robinson professor of history and American culture at George Mason University, describes as "the accumulated ease in dealing with the wider society." These stark disparities give a sense of the remaining gap in human capital between the races. Might not this legacy take

many generations to erase? If so, perhaps carefully targeted education and affirmative action programs could succeed in giving this generation a jump start toward equality—thus permitting the next generation to reach its potential.

Herrnstein and Murray are right in saying that there is no proven way to raise IQs on a consistent basis. Indeed, doing something about the environmental aspects of low cognitive ability may be more difficult than any of us suppose and raises troubling questions about parental behaviors and the performance of public institutions. But just asking these questions demonstrates why

identifying the origins of IQ differences is so important.

If IQ matters as much as it seems to, and if IQ is substantially affected by the environment or, as is more likely, is the result of a complex interaction between genes and environment, then we are morally bound to keep plugging away until we find something that works to raise it.

[from the *Washington Post*, October 23, 1994]

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1994 - # 42



When Should the Tanks Roll?

By Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

Authorizing the use of force in the internal affairs of member states is an increasingly common response of the United Nations Security Council to the human rights abuses of repressive governments. The time has come to ask: Do we really want to do this?

The most striking and least discussed aspect of U.N. practices in this era is the increased number and kinds of situations in which the United Nations Security Council authorizes the use of force: Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Mozambique, Liberia, Angola, and most recently, Haiti.

Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait posed a classic problem: a clear-cut case of cross-border aggression in which the armies of one state crossed international borders to invade another state. This is precisely the kind of international aggression the U.N. Charter anticipates and provides for. But Desert Storm was the last instance of international action which clearly fit the charter's prescription. Other decisions authorizing force have required stretching, bending, and improvising the rules.

The Bush administration stretched the charter when the Security Council interpreted Iraq's massive human rights violations against the Kurds as a threat to international peace and security. Traditionally, the brutal treatment of the Kurds would have been viewed as a strictly internal matter—involving only Iraqis and their own government.

This was the first instance ever in which the Security Council authorized use of force in strictly internal affairs of a member state, but it has been by no means the last. This

increasing use of force in the internal affairs of member states is an important departure from theory and precedent that deserves more discussion than it has had. Do we want to do this?

As traditionally interpreted, the U.N. Charter requires all nations to refrain in their international relations from the use and threat of use of force except in self-defense or collective self-defense, understood to include action to remove a direct threat to international security—as by the Bush administration in Panama. No one had previously viewed the charter as authorizing use of force against a regime because of its internal organization or practices, or because it denied or violated the rights of citizens, including the rights of self-determination, self-government, civil, political, economic, or human rights.

Now, however, those clear principles of avoiding force and intervention have given way to the view that force is legitimate as long as it is authorized by the Security Council—whether or not the purposes for which it is authorized are consistent with the charter.

The result is a dramatic expansion in the circumstances in which force may be invoked by the strong states against weak states. (Military cost and the veto of the Security Council's five permanent members protect strong states against collective action.)

One of the preferred myths of this violent century is that war poses the greatest threat of all to the life and well-being of people everywhere. But as B.J. Rummel demonstrates in his stunning new book, "Death By Government," many times more people have died at the hands of their own government than have died in war.

"In total," Rummel writes, "during the first eighty-eight years of this century, almost 170 million men, women, and children have been shot, beaten, tortured, knifed, burned, starved, frozen, crushed, or worked to death, buried alive, drowned, hung, bombed, or killed in any of the myriad ways governments have inflicted death on unarmed, helpless citizens and foreigners."

Rummel's new book, the fourth in a series on mass murder by governments, catalogues the mega-murderers—those who have killed more than a million—and seeks patterns in mass murder. The patterns are not difficult to discern. Dictatorships murder their subjects. Totalitarian dictatorships are most murderous of all. Democracies do not murder their citizens.

"Power kills; absolute power kills absolutely," "the more power a government has the more it can act arbitrarily according to its whims and desires of the elite; the more it will make war on others and murder its foreign and domestic subjects," and vice versa.

Since massive human rights violations occur and wars originate inside repressive governments, that is where the international community wants to be to deal with them.

"Loose constructionists" of the U.N. Charter believe the existence of such problems justifies expanding U.N. jurisdictions to deal with them. If international force is necessary to stop human rights abuses in Haiti then, they say, use it. But what about human rights abuses in China?

Use of force there is unthinkable. China would block action with its veto and, if necessary, with military force. The expansion of international force and jurisdiction into the internal affairs of states applies only to major powers; to Russia, not to the associated nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States; to the United States, not to Haiti; to the developed states, not the undeveloped. We seem to be slipping into practices which enhance only the power of the strongest and increase the use of force in the settlement of disputes. Is this what we want to do? Someone had better think through this question—and soon.

[from the *Washington Post*, October 17, 1994]

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1994 - # 43



Let Markets Drive Down Auto Emissions

By Robert W. Hahn

Despite the fact that no one knows in advance which pollution control technologies will work in the least costly way, government cannot resist selecting specific pollution controls for vehicles and passing the costs on to consumers. Replacing government mandates with market incentives would save billions of dollars, unleash innovation, and lead to more rapid environmental progress.

Is there an electric car in your future? Any day now, the Environmental Protection Agency will rule on a proposed vehicle mandate for 12 Eastern states. California has already decreed that by 1998 at least 2 percent of all vehicles sold in that state will have to be electric-powered. (This requirement increases to 10 percent in 2003.) New York and Massachusetts are expected to follow California's lead.

Domestic auto makers see such mandates—which include not only electric cars but also a certain percentage of low-emitting vehicles—as an attempt by overzealous regulators to cut into their profits by forcing the sales of cars that could easily cost an additional \$10,000 per vehicle. Most environmental groups see them as a way of cleaning the air of our cities. But many economists see the same mandate as a lose-lose policy that will hurt consumers and the environment.

Business and environmental groups may reach some sort of compromise—but even a compromise will risk repeating the single biggest environmental policy failure in the past 20 years: the tendency to impose mandates instead of providing incentives for the private sector to improve the environment.

The problem generally is that no one—including federal and state regulators—is in a position to know which pollution-control

technologies will work in the least costly way. Yet government cannot resist the temptation to select specific pollution standards for vehicles. Meanwhile, the costs of regulation are often hidden from the consumer.

I estimate that consumers will pay between \$8 billion and \$22 billion more for pollution control with the vehicle mandates in California and the Northeast than they would if less expensive pollution-control technologies were used. Cost savings could be achieved by using a market-based approach to regulation, like the one used to address the acid-rain problem.

Under a market-based approach, government sets the upper limit on emissions, but leaves it up to business managers to decide how best to meet the requirement. In the case of acid rain, utilities were given a limited number of credits, called allowances, which could be either traded or used when the utility emitted a pound of pollution. Surprisingly, the prices for allowances now are less than 50 percent of what was forecast, suggesting that the market has yielded cost savings and innovations that no one foresaw at the time the regulations were passed. This strategy improved environmental quality by limiting emissions. It also provided business with an economic incentive to find better and cheaper environmental

solutions, which will result in more rapid environmental progress.

A market-based approach can solve the smog problem in our nation's cities, too. First, the EPA must choose an emission limit for new vehicles that both the car companies and the environmentalists will find acceptable. (This may require an educated guess, given the unwillingness of interested parties to reveal their bottom line.) Second, the agency must assign the emission-reduction responsibilities to the car companies, allowing them the flexibility to reduce emissions in the least costly way.

This can be done by assigning credits to car companies based on the emissions expected from the sale of cleaner cars. The market would then encourage companies to develop cost-effective environmental technology. The manufacturers might also choose to change the mix of cars they offer, weighting their new sales more toward low-emission vehicles than now. Whether electric cars are part of the mix, and in what number, would be something each company would decide for itself.

Similarly, if they deemed it economically feasible, car companies could buy credits from other emission sources, like power plants, which would in turn pollute less. Under such a system, the aggregate level of smog-producing pollutants in the air would never exceed the EPA-determined amount, but the proportion coming from one source or another would be "mandated" by economic necessity and relative technological efficiency, not by the government.

A market solution would also allow for regional solutions, thus avoiding the one-size-fits-all inefficiencies that vex so much environmental

regulation. For example, reducing nitrogen oxides, a key component in smog, is much more important in the Northeast than in Los Angeles. A market can take this into account by assigning different economic weights to different pollutants, depending on the area. Thus, a device to reduce nitrogen-oxide emissions would be worth more in the Northeast than in Los Angeles—economically and environmentally—and would justify a higher investment.

Ideally, the market for reducing pollution will involve the consumer more than it does now. Mandates have a way of imposing requirements heavy-handedly on car and fuel producers. As technology grows more sophisticated, it will be possible to measure the actual emissions from a particular car. It would then be both logical and fair for drivers to pay directly for the cost of the pollution they produce.

In any case, the answer right now is to replace the mandate with a market that would save billions of dollars and unleash technological innovation that would lead to more rapid environmental progress. If the EPA does not see the light immediately, then President Clinton should. For here is an opportunity to promote economic growth while helping the environment and reinventing government at the same time. Who could turn down such a win-win-win opportunity?

[from the *Wall Street Journal*, October 17, 1994]

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Charles
Murray

David S. Broder

What Went Down

...ly everything?

Charles Murray likes nothing better than to toss sociological stink bombs and then proclaim, with all his cherubic innocence: I had no *idea* it would smell like that!

The innocence this time precedes official release of the newest stink bomb (written with the late Richard Herrnstein): "The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life."

Murray and his co-author, who died last month, set out to examine a trend you might not have noticed as anything new and socially provocative: the isolation of the brightest Americans—and the dumbest—from the rest of the society. What is happening, "The Bell Curve" argues, is that more and more important jobs require more and more brains, that the possessors of these brains tend to marry among themselves and that (braininess being heritable) the smart get smarter and more firmly in control. On the other end from this "cognitive elite," the dumb also marry among themselves. *Voilà!* The underclass.

Murray, who has been explaining himself in interviews (and also in a byline piece—excerpted from the book—that took most of the editorial

Charles Murray recycles some discredited ideas on intelligence.

page in Monday's Wall Street Journal), seems not to notice that he has embraced largely discredited views regarding the heritability, measurability and immutability of intelligence, or that he may be confusing brains with social advantage. And of course he had no *idea* his conclusion would sound racist.

The simple notion that both the poor and the well-off are members of what, to a significant degree, are self-perpetuating groups isn't much of a stink bomb. The olfactory offense is the contention that this self-perpetuation is IQ-based. Maybe there was a time early in the century when the intelligent were "scattered almost indistinguishably" among the rest of us, say Murray and Herrnstein in their Journal piece. No more. "In the job market today, as in the university, *IQ is the critical determining factor* [as] intelligence has become increasingly valuable to employers and workplaces, and salaries have become increasingly stratified by cognitive ability" (emphasis added).

They then cite as evidence the widening wage gap between the average manufacturing employee and the average engineer. But how much of the gap is explained by the supposed superior cognition of the engineer? Might not the relative scarcity of engineers play some part? The superior education of the engineer? The decreasing influence of labor unions on wage structures? What led them to believe that "IQ is the critical determining factor"?

In fact it's not clear that they did believe it. Two paragraphs after their assertion, they posit an "X factor" to account for the residual wage difference not explained by education, experience, gender and so on. And what might this X factor be?

"It could be rooted in diligence, ambition or sociability. Conclusive evidence is hard to come by, but we believe that it includes cognitive ability."

Well that's quite a long (and common-sense) distance from IQ as the "critical determining factor." Even high-IQ authors can get confused.

Of course diligence and ambition matter, and, of course, the predisposition to these traits is greatly influenced by family. It's a darn sight easier to be diligent and ambitious when you grow up with the evidence that diligence pays off. Sociability can be an important personal characteristic, but it can also, like "collegiality" and other such descriptors, be a matter of "fitting in." Do race and class and sex have nothing to do with whether one is deemed to "fit in" at the top levels of power, influence and income?

The increasing bifurcation of the society may, as Murray and Herrnstein assert, be a fact. My problem is with their judgment that IQ is its principal driving force. Their charts and social-science jargon cannot obscure what experience teaches: the ordinarily intelligent sons and daughters of the well-off do better at those things the authors use as markers for success (income and position, for instance) than the bright children of the very poor. The "crucial determining factor" in my view is opportunity, a term that embraces access, family resources and influence, non-family relationships, social environment and, still to too great a degree, sex, class and race.

Murray knows that. Why is he at such pains to deny the widely accepted view that intelligence is more or less randomly distributed and to insist that IQ accounts for both wealth and poverty? Why doesn't he acknowledge what he surely must know: that members of Mensa (the high-IQ society) are no more likely than people of fairly ordinary brainpower to rise to the top ranks of leadership, professional distinction or income?

Murray is very smart but also something of an intellectual daredevil. Maybe he wanted to prove that he is clever enough to get away with something that cost another smart guy, the late William Shockley, his credibility. Maybe he wanted to rationalize conservative indifference.

Or maybe he's just a balding 51-year-old kid who loves to throw stink bombs.

As Congress lurched toward adjournment last week, killing off almost every bill that stood between members and the airline ticket counters, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) felt impelled to take the floor for a speech on "the economic costs of insomnia." They are, you will not be surprised to learn, higher than you would ever imagine.

The topic that really needed to be addressed, however, was the economic, political and, yes, the moral costs of the spectacle Congress made of itself. Consider what was lost: Delaying the GATT legislation places in jeopardy a tariff-lowering international trade agreement that would create hundreds of thousands of new jobs and give consumers everywhere what has been called "the biggest tax cut in the history of the world."

The telecommunications bill would have updated 60-year-old law, increased competition and speeded public access to the "information superhighway." The Superfund bill would have resolved myriad legal liability disputes while hastening the cleanup of toxic wastes. The clean water bill would have aided communities in meeting the costs of environmental improvements. The housing bill would have spurred that industry and aided the inner cities.

On the reform front, the mandates bill would have curbed Washington's tendency to stick hard-pressed states and cities with the cost of new programs. Lobbying reform and campaign finance legislation would have directly attacked practices that feed public cynicism about special-interest government.

All this was abandoned in the final adjournment crunch. Except for GATT, which Congress has promised to consider in a post-election lame-duck session, every one of these bills must start over in January on its tortuous trip through the legislative maze. The same will be true of mining and grazing legislation and, of course, health care and welfare reform—all of which were sidetracked earlier.

Democrats and Republicans left Washington pointing accusatory fingers at each other. "Obstructionism," the Democrats shouted at the GOP. "You ran it all—House, Senate and White House," the Republicans replied. "You have no one to blame but yourselves."

Less partisan analysis suggests that there is blame enough to go around. Some of the delaying tactics on Capitol Hill can be traced to individual Democrats. Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) used the rules to force a delay on GATT, hoping that postponement will kill it. Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.) did the same thing to strangle the mandates bill.

Sometimes both parties had their fingerprints on the dagger. A Republican filibuster threat was the proximate cause of the death of campaign finance reform. But House Democrats were at least as guilty. For 11 months they resisted the obvious compromise with the Senate on the limits on political action committee (PAC) contributions set in the separate bills the House and Senate passed last year. The House Democrats' delay was designed to—and did—let the Senate Republican naysayers kill off the

measure, thus protecting incumbent fund-raising advantages for at least one more election cycle.

But on most of the bills that died at the end of the session, the Republicans were the executioners. By the middle of this year, they decided they had Clinton on the ropes and they pounded him. The slowdown game began with the crime bill, which effectively consumed the time that health care would otherwise have been debated on the House and Senate floor. With the help of the talk shows, the Republicans became professional consensus-killers, and Congress was stymied.

Still, if Republicans sprang the trapdoor that sent almost everything after the crime bill down to defeat, it was the Democrats who placed the legislative noose around their own necks. Their fundamental misjudgment goes back to the transition period after the 1992 election, when Clinton accepted the advice of Democratic congressional leaders that he could and should plan to pass his domestic program essentially with Democratic votes.

Clinton had won a shaky 43 percent plurality victory, while his party lost strength in Congress. From 1977 through 1980, Jimmy Carter had had a horrendous time with a Congress nominally controlled by Democrats, and there were 34 fewer Democrats in the House and four fewer in the Senate in 1993 than in 1977.

If ever there was a time for bipartisanship, it was at the start of Clinton's term. Instead, he chose to ram through virtually all the major items on the first-year menu of economic and social legislation by shaky partisan roll calls. The basic strategy on bill after bill was to lock in the Democratic left, then compromise just enough with moderate Democrats to get it passed.

That strategy failed on health care; the moderate Democrats were never reconciled to the Clinton plan. As Clinton's stock in the country fell, Republicans became increasingly obdurate. An opportunity was lost and, with it, a great deal of important legislation.

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*File
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Murray*

NBC "MEET THE PRESS"
WITH HOST: TIM RUSSERT
JOINED BY: GWEN IFILL

INTERVIEW WITH:
JESSE JACKSON
WILLIAM BENNETT

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1994

PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS NBC PROGRAM TO "NBC'S MEET THE PRESS."

MR. RUSSERT: We're back on "Meet the Press." Beginning today, NBC News will begin a week-long look at the problems, causes, and solutions for a country that is becoming more and more a nation of victims. Many are real, some are contrived. All are competing for our attention.

With us now, two men who've studied this issue with very different views on how to cope with the problem, William Bennett and Jesse Jackson.

Gentlemen, welcome.

MR. BENNETT: Good morning.

MR. JACKSON: Thank you.

MR. RUSSERT: Reverend Jackson, let me start with you. The problem of out-of-wedlock births. One out of three American children born this year out of wedlock. In the black community, it's two out of three. In some cities, it's as high as nine out of 10.

Why is this happening, and how do we stop it?

MR. JACKSON: Well, in our society, we've somewhat commercialized sex without love, making unhealthy, unwanted babies -- a kind of glorification of body beauty as opposed to a sense of ethics and character and responsibility.

The thing about the impact, the environment, this generation has watched 15,000 hours of television by age 15 -- 18,000, rather -- about 22,000 hours of radio, so the mass media quantitatively has more access to their minds and qualitatively penetrates more deeply and sets the pace. There's a tremendous struggle to inject a quality of values and ethics and responsibility different from the

commercialized

value system I feel is (erupting/corrupting ?) us in our innermost person.

MR. RUSSERT: If a teenage mother is single and does not have a high-school education, the chances are 80 percent her child will grow up in poverty. If a teenage mother gets married, gets a high-school education, and has a baby after she's 20, the chances are only eight percent the child will grow up in poverty --

MR. JACKSON: And that is why --

MR. RUSSERT: -- what do we say to a 17-year-old girl, "Don't have a baby"? How do we bring that about?

MR. JACKSON: That's why there must be much more focus on sex education before the fact, prenatal care, Head Start, and day care on the front side is more effective than jail care and welfare on the back side. Much of it is a matter of education and opportunity and hope.

When you have children in Chicago at age 15 calling the funeral director, planning their funerals rather than their futures, that is a cycle of despair we somehow must break. These are troubled children, but they're ours.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. Bennett, one of the ways that you have advocated dealing with this is saying that any woman under the age of 21 who has a child out of wedlock should receive no welfare benefits. Why are you for that proposal, and how do we deal with this larger problem of telling kids not to have babies out of wedlock?

MR. BENNETT: Well, I think that's one of the things you do. I think you do have to change the welfare system and change it along the lines Candidate Clinton talked about -- bring an end to the welfare system as it is -- but that's only one thing.

I actually agree with Reverend Jackson on this point. I defer to my wife, who runs a program called Best Friends. She works with girls in the city, this city. She's been working for five years. Very, very few pregnancies in the program.

Girls want to learn how to say no to boys without hurting their feelings. The fact -- the belief out there that girls do not want to say no, that they don't want to learn the right kind of thing, is misplaced. If we make an effort with children, if we make an effort with girls and with boys, I think we can see some changes.

There's a very important article out by Barbara

Whitehead in "Atlantic" about sex education, the status of sex education. It shows that the condom stunt doesn't work, the free-and-easy woozy stuff doesn't work. We've got to get back to the notion of personal

As for welfare, what I think we're seeing is really the point you make, Tim -- that it doesn't make sense -- if it is so damaging for children, particularly children, to have babies before they get married, the government should stop subsidizing the behavior that leads to just that end. I think what we need to do is get our programs back to the states, let the states experiment with a number of things, but I think essentially what the American people are saying is, "Stop subsidizing this, because we're hurting the kids."

There's three conditions --

MR. JACKSON: The real thing is sex --

MR. BENNETT: -- let me add one thing.

MR. JACKSON: All right.

MR. BENNETT: It's not just having babies. It's three conditions to get out of poverty. Finish high school -- finish high school. When you get out of high school, get a job, hold a job, and don't have a baby before you get married. You satisfy those three, you will make it in America.

MR. JACKSON: I'm convinced that sex education is a factor. Much of this pregnancy and venereal diseases are a matter of sexual ignorance, emotions without a sense of understanding. Prenatal care is a big factor. Day care, job training on the job, even Reagan's welfare reform program and Clinton's welfare reform program promised, on the front side, the prenatal care and the day care and job training and jobs. That substance never, in fact -- that's how you break that cycle.

I sit here as a son of a teenaged mother who was the daughter of a teenaged mother. Our family broke that cycle with some combination of initiative and opportunity, and many of these children, for them, sex is for them the only gratification and power that they have. We must expand their base of gratification and hope.

MR. BENNETT: Yeah, I'm the child of divorce, and people can make it. It's still not a great idea.

But, look, I'd say something else. We shouldn't turn the discussion just -- or focus primarily -- on the black community or the poor black community. The entire society

--

MR. JACKSON: I'm certainly not referring to the black

community --

MR. BENNETT: No, no, I know, but the numbers often do.

MR. JACKSON: -- because of the 40 million in poverty, 29 million

MR. BENNETT: No, no, I know.

MR. JACKSON: -- and it would be a terrible mistake --

MR. BENNETT: Jesse --

MR. JACKSON: -- to associate welfare and black as synonymous.

MR. BENNETT: No, but the teenage pregnancy rate, as you know, is terrible everywhere. It's just awful in the black community. Moynihan, your former boss, in 1965, wrote the Moynihan Report. He said the problem in America is the Negro family -- 26 percent out-of-wedlock birth rate. Today it's 68 percent. But the overall population is 30 percent --

MR. JACKSON: Well --

MR. BENNETT: -- but let me make the point --

MR. JACKSON: Well, but if you're going to deal with these --

MR. BENNETT: That's not the point I want to make.

MR. JACKSON: Well, then you ought to make the point you're going to make, because --

MR. BENNETT: Well, let me make it.

MR. JACKSON: -- if in fact unemployment's down to 5.9 for the country --

MR. BENNETT: Yeah.

MR. JACKSON: -- and 14 to 25 unemployment for blacks and Hispanics. There is some correlation --

MR. BENNETT: I don't think so.

MR. JACKSON: -- between lack of opportunity, lack of hope, and what we're talking about.

MR. BENNETT: Lack of hope and, yes, opportunity matters, but, look, we kept the illegitimacy rate in this country constant from 1900 to 1960. It was about five percent. Then this thing took off in 1960.

The point I want to make is it didn't just take off in one part of American communities, the inner city, the black community. This was a social thing. I mean, the middle class loosened its hold on marriage. Academics attacked the nuclear family. We said, "Well, let's experiment. The family's just one way of organizing society," and all hell broke loose, you know? We let the genie out of the

MR. RUSSERT: Let me just rush through one point, Reverend, with Dr. Bennett and ask you to join in as well.

If you say to 21-year-old women, "Listen, if you have a child, we will not provide welfare," one, won't that encourage abortion? And, two, if a mother has a child or children and you force her to go to work, who takes care of those kids? Do you put them out on the street, or do you put them in an orphanage?

MR. BENNETT: Right. Well, I think it might lead to a short-run increase in abortion. Over the long run, I think it will not.

But the essential thing we want to do is change the conversation, change the nature of the conversation between men and women, between boys and girls, about sex. And I am sympathetic to the idea that marriage becomes, again, the institution through which rights and responsibilities are exercised.

MR. JACKSON: But you can't --

MR. BENNETT: That is fathers get visitation rights when they own up to their responsibilities, when they marry the girl.

MR. JACKSON: These kinds of programs --

MR. BENNETT: Orphanages may be the solution --

MR. JACKSON: -- these kinds of programs tend not to work, because this cannot be just a sex-centered solution to the cycle of poverty. There is the issue of sex without love. There's the issue of too much easy access to guns and the impact of drugs and who's bringing them in. We know now that the homicides, for example, are down, except in the 15 to 19 group, it's up for blacks -- mostly killing blacks -- and suicide is up for whites.

It's the sex without love, it's easy access to guns and drugs, and the kind of cycle of despair that must be broken. And I am not convinced that we can lock it up. We must somehow lift it up.

MR. BENNETT: Sure.

MS. IFILL: Reverend Jackson, when President Clinton went to the Baptist convention a few weeks ago and he said many of the things that you're saying here today, you said the president was lecturing people, giving them moral lessons on how to live, instead of talking to them about jobs and the things they wanted to hear. Isn't it the president's job to do that?

MR. JACKSON: We need some combination of family values where we put value on the family by something as basic as economic stimulus. You fight welfare and crime with jobs and education. Those same ministers at that convention wanted to hear where is the job training program. When I go to these schools around the country preaching values to these youth on the one hand, they can show me in the 30th Precinct in New York 30 of 120 police are indicted for dealing in drugs -- they're the runners, the police are the dealers -- they want to hear about that, too.

And I was at Carver High in New Orleans just a week ago -- two weeks ago where Marshall Falk (ph) went, and within that school no air conditioning, within that school the broken rims. But just down the street at the jail, air conditioning in the summertime, heat in the wintertime. This explosion of state of the art jails and second-class schools is not addressing this meaningfully.

MS. IFILL: Dr. Bennett, you said a few minutes ago that in the short run abortion might increase.

MR. BENNETT: Might.

MS. IFILL: How do you conscience that? And how do you also speak to the people whose lives are in the pipeline, who have a child sitting on their knee, who are raising them? Are you saying that they are not raising a family?

MR. BENNETT: No, no. I mean, you -- if you made such a proposal, you would make it prospective, you would make it for the future. You would say everybody who operated under the understanding up until this point keeps their benefits, but starting in a year or starting two years from now, we're going to change the rules because we don't think government should be subsidizing in this way.

I'm sorry. What was the first question?

MS. IFILL: The first question was whether -- well, you talked about abortion.

MR. BENNETT: Yeah.

MS. IFILL: That was the first question.

MR. BENNETT: It may not increase. I mean, look, I really think that, if programs are focused and go about their business in the right way, you may actually decrease teenage pregnancy by giving girls the opportunity to say no, which many of them want to say no. They know what happens to them. They know who bears the responsibility. They're the ones who get pregnant. They're the ones who get the sexually-transmitted diseases. They're the ones who might have to face the abortions. If people would speak directly to them and

The other point I want to make --

MR. JACKSON: You're talking about welfare for the poor, Bennett, and subsidy for the rich. Just last week --

MR. BENNETT: No.

MR. JACKSON: -- we passed a banking bill forgiving the S&L thieves, which is like subsidizing them. We passed a bill two years ago to offer to Poland 40-year loans at three-quarters of 1 percent, first payment due in 10 years. If we can subsidize businesspeople to get back on their feet, indeed subsidize other nations, we must somehow see the value in, in fact, helping --

MR. BENNETT: Jesse --

MR. JACKSON: -- to break the cycle within our own country.

MR. BENNETT: Jesse, I think there's a lot of welfare in government. There's welfare for the middle class. There's welfare for the rich. There's welfare for farmers. I think we should get rid a lot of that welfare.

MR. JACKSON: Well, let's focus on that stuff.

MR. BENNETT: Because a lot of that is creating the dependence, which is the theme of our idea here.

MR. JACKSON: Because the basis of our --

MR. BENNETT: Too much dependence on the federal government.

MR. JACKSON: The basis of our deficit and debt comes from the subsidy for those forces, not welfare for the poor. So why don't you put more focus on those who get the most money.

MR. BENNETT: I'm happy to do that whenever that's the

topic.

MS. IFILL: Are you two agreeing more than you are disagreeing on some of these issues here?

MR. BENNETT: Well, I think so.

MR. JACKSON: You've accused Republicans basically of stealing your issue of Democrats cross-dressing as Republicans.

MR. JACKSON: No, no --

MR. BENNETT: It's nobody issue. It's the country's issue.

MR. JACKSON: -- really the 10 Commandments is not a Republican

MR. BENNETT: That's right.

MR. JACKSON: And it is a chin bar that is higher than both political parties, and somehow for any party to assume it can co-opt the 10 Commandments is arrogant.

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. RUSSERT: Let me raise a subject that is on the minds of a lot of Americans. A wire story ran from Chicago --

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. RUSSERT: -- where a 10-year-old and a 9-year-old hung a 4-year-old baby out a window and dropped him --

MR. BENNETT: Yes.

MR. RUSSERT: -- to his death because he wouldn't steal candy.

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. RUSSERT: And I've thought a lot about that situation. Everyone I've talked to has talked a lot about it. How do we stop that? Do we treat those 10- and 9-year-olds as young people who went off the path? Or do we say, "Listen, you killed another human being, and you will pay for it"?

Reverend Jackson, as a point of reference, you gave a speech in New York in September where you said, "There's something wrong with the system; you can't put the blame on any individual." Is that true?

MR. JACKSON: Indeed, today I'm going to visit the

parents of the kids who dropped the kid and the parents of the kid that was dropped, because all of them victims of that situation. In that situation, first they need to be decongested. Some of them need more individuated education. Whatever it is that's putting in them this fear and volatility and devaluing of life, we must break that cycle. It is a system that keeps reproducing itself all over the country. We can't just lock it up. Somehow we must break the cycle.

MR. RUSSERT: But if the kids who killed the baby were punished, wouldn't that be a symbol to other kids who wanted to try the same thing?

MR. JACKSON: The present punishment is to put them in jail until they are 19. Then they'll come out with the life in front of them, having been somewhat criminalized in the process. I do not have a simple answer for that. It is a tragedy beyond any quick, instant explanation.

MR. BENNETT: Yes, sure, some punishment. You bet. Absolutely. But, look, they're 10 and 11 years old. We know that they are a product of a certain kind of environment, too. Look, if we didn't believe the environment made any difference, why would we care about taking crack when you're pregnant? Why would we care about fathers not being around? Of course it matters. Of course it matters.

The other part of that story was that the 8-year-old brother of the little boy who held onto his brother and once kept him from the brink of disaster and then the big boys bit him so he let go of his brother and he plunged to his death. I hope you see that kid, too, because that little boy deserves some kind of encouragement.

MR. JACKSON: Bennett, since we're on this little agreement part of our thing here, sometimes when the --

MR. BENNETT: Let's nurture this.

MR. JACKSON: -- when the character part does come through, we omit it. Rodney King was beaten by four white police, but one cannot assume all white police are racist.

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. JACKSON: Because George Halliday (sp), a white photographer, filmed it and therefore preserved the protection for Rodney King. On the other hand, four young blacks beat Reginald Denny nearly to death.

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. JACKSON: You can't assume all young blacks are thugs, because four young blacks saved --

MR. BENNETT: Came out and saved him.

MR. JACKSON: -- saved him from them and took him to the hospital, where a black doctor performed surgery. I think in this dialogue there must be some focus on -- only on the problems. But also when there are these character expressions of victory, we must put that in the mix as well.

MR. RUSSERT: Gentlemen, we have to take a quick break. We'll be right back with this very complicated and difficult, but important subject.

(Announcements.)

MR. RUSSERT: Welcome back to Meet the Press. We'll be joined by political handicapper Charles Cooke as he analyzes the upcoming midterm elections in just a moment, but first more on family values with Bill Bennett and Jesse Jackson.

Charles Murray has written a book, "Race and IQ -- The Bell Curve," where he talks about intelligence being a matter of genetics and that whites have a higher IQ than blacks. Dr. Bennett, is that helpful to introduce into this discussion?

MR. BENNETT: May be or may not be. Murray's a thoughtful scholar. It's -- I've read the book. It's -- I assume his data's accurate. It's a subject of debate now, and I think we'll just have to see what happens. It may or --

MR. JACKSON: Recapitulation of ancient garbage. Recapitulation of ancient garbage.

MR. BENNETT: It may or may not be helpful. I don't think the issue -- really the issue when we're talking about family values -- is one of intelligence so much no matter who you're talking about so much as a change in standards, a shift in values. That's what it's about.

MR. JACKSON: This idea of finding some reason, pseudo-scientific reason, to say one group is more intelligent than the other is simply invalid. I mean, I grew up under a system that said blacks were the cursed descendants of Ham; God had cursed us. That's why we lived in segregation. Then we had a small cephalic index; we did not have the brainial capacity, as it were, to achieve high office and assume high responsibility. This is in the lineage of that garbage.

What I would like to focus on in these next few minutes is who's going to break this crisis. The victims have to break it up. While we need to have from government an opportunity, who broke up slavery? The victims. Who broke up segregation? The victims. Who must break up the cycle of killing, self-destructive killing and drugs? Those who are victims of it must, in fact, lead the moral surge to change the climate, to set the new standard to bring about a level of security and stability. And that's why I spend so much time going to these schools and churches challenging those of us who are more likely to be killed or robbed or hurt or unemployed in fact lead the comeback.

MR. BENNETT: I think the political implications of this are interesting, because I think what's becoming clear is that for a lot of things that ail us the most, government is irrelevant. I mean, if the problem is a decline in values, if the problem is family disintegration, if the problem is what people ask me when I go out on the road on political events -- you know, is the country coming apart; you know, are the wheels coming off; what's happening to us -- I think people have put an awful lot of energies into thinking can you invent some government program to fix this.

We're now seeing that the government operates at the margins. And, again, I think I agree. It's at the level of the victim. It's at the level of the individual. And I think what we're learning is that programs that are supposed to help people, you know, because better, live better lives, more productive lives, don't work unless they make a kind of moral and spiritual demand of people, unless people get better internally. Some of the very old stuff. They're not going to get better.

MR. JACKSON: The Bible says, "We cannot live by bread alone," but we must have bread.

MR. BENNETT: Yeah.

MR. JACKSON: And to that extent, the issue of not having -- of bank redlining and insurance redlining and mortgage redlining --

MR. BENNETT: Okay, okay, but --

MR. JACKSON: -- cutting -- don't diminish opportunities --

MR. BENNETT: No, I know.

MR. JACKSON: -- because you have it.

MR. BENNETT: I know. I don't diminish it.

MR. JACKSON: That's why when Quayle speaks of this, one who has ample opportunity with a tailwind behind his back, does not speak to those who are facing a headwind --

MR. BENNETT: But, Jesse --

MR. JACKSON: -- with sensitivity.

MR. BENNETT: I know, but in the last 30 years never has government provided more bread than in the last 30 years, and things have gotten worse, not better. I think we should provide bread when bread is needed.

MR. JACKSON: That is not -- things have not gotten better.

MR. BENNETT: But the explosion has taken place --

MR. JACKSON: Things have not gotten better.

MR. BENNETT: -- apart from the proliferation of government. Trillions of dollars in welfare. It hasn't made the problem better. It's made the problem worse, Jesse.

MR. JACKSON: Sitting here with access to public accommodations and the right to vote and open housing and equal protection under the law, things have gotten much better in that sense.

MR. BENNETT: In some sense, sure.

MR. JACKSON: But the general decay --

MR. BENNETT: Sure.

MR. JACKSON: And I think --

MR. BENNETT: It's independent of the government subsidy.

MR. JACKSON: I've tried to find where the --

MR. BENNETT: It may be the government subsidy affects --

MR. JACKSON: -- where the kind of breakdown began to come. At one level, the Vietnam rebellion against authority because it betrayed the trust of many people. The Watergate phenomena. I mean, when high figures in whom people have much investment fall, many people fall with them. This has nothing to do with party. It has something to do with how one looks up -- the authority must maintain moral authority for those who live in the shadows or, in fact, fall as well.

MR. RUSSERT: Gwen?

MS. IFILL: I just want to follow up really quickly on the Charles Murray. Did you say that you think that he makes a good point or not?

MR. BENNETT: No, I -- well, I think -- I haven't done the research, so I can't cite the research.

MR. JACKSON: You read the book.

MR. BENNETT: Yeah, the notion that some people are smarter than others, sure. I mean, I -- there are --

MR. JACKSON: Based on race?

MR. BENNETT: Maybe race, maybe environment. I think that's the question --

MR. JACKSON: Maybe race?

MR. BENNETT: That's the question -- no, I don't have any doubt that there are sophomore Asian kids at MIT who can do --

MR. JACKSON: That's beneath your education.

MR. BENNETT: No, no, no, no, no, no, look.

MR. JACKSON: A former Secretary of Education saying there may be some validity in this?

MR. BENNETT: I think if you test IQ, I am sure there are a lot more Asian kids who could do math better than a lot of kids who were in the neighborhood where I grew up. So what. So what. Some people are smarter than others.

MS. IFILL: Assuming you're not going to agree on this --

MR. BENNETT: But is it genes or environment, I don't know, I don't know the research.

MS. IFILL: Assuming you're not going to agree on this, and assuming you're not going to agree on what government's role should be, answer the question about how do we fix us? Is it possible and how do you start on that?

MR. BENNETT: Well, self generation comes from within. I think that the neglected part of the story here may be the role of the religious institutions, the churches. You know, 1,000 black John Wesleys in the inner-city community would do a

lot more, I think, than \$100 billion in government programs, and some white John Wesleys in the middle class community could do an awful lot of good too.

I think we have to look at our public policy in ways that we evaluate it, in terms of its effect on the idea of personal responsibility, what it does to our institutions.

You've got to look at the tax code in terms of what the family does. You don't go around the country saying family values, family values.

MR. JACKSON: Thank you.

MR. BENNETT: If you want family values support the family, support the family through the tax code, create the right incentives.

MR. JACKSON: Don't confuse good public policy with spiritual values. We still have the moral obligation to feed the hungry, and to clothe the naked, and to employ the people, and to educate the children, and therein generate hope.

On the other hand, people have the burden to have a sense of spiritual strength, a sense of renewal, revival, redemption, and high ethical standards. And no group has a monopoly on holding onto those high ethical standards, it becomes all of our burden --

MR. BENNETT: But Reverend --

MR. RUSSERT: Go ahead, Doctor.

MR. BENNETT: I think the difficulty is that in some programs we have had the effect, I mean the welfare system as is, and you know Bill Clinton and the Republicans, I think agree on this. After two or three generations where you have 40 or 50 people in a family becoming entirely dependent on the federal government, becoming wards of the state, what was planned and put into place with good intentions has ended up destroying the moral fiber of people. That's bad. That's bad public policy.

MR. JACKSON: The reason why I must challenge that is that when we look at generation after generation recycled tax subsidy and government subsidy and sole source contracts, those who get the most money from the government, the most breaks, the most subsidy are not on the radar screen of debate.

MR. BENNETT: Cut their subsidy too. I am for that. Don't destroy anybody's moral fiber.

MR. JACKSON: Well describe that then.

MR. RUSSERT: You both mentioned churches.

MR. BENNETT: Right.

MR. RUSSERT: I use the example of the Catholic schools, the city of New York, 60 percent of the children who go to that school are non-Catholic, 80 percent minority, 95 percent go to college. Should we start turning towards Catholic schools, Baptist schools, as a way to solve this problem rather than using the government?

MR. BENNETT: In the city of Chicago Catholic schools are going out of business, and Catholic schools have a tremendous record of educating kids, particularly kids from the worst environments. This is why some of us strongly favor educational choice. The reason it works is they address these children as moral and spiritual beings as well as cognitive skills and coping, they talk to them -- because they truly believe they are made in the image of God and therefore should act in a responsible way. That makes an enormous difference.

MR. JACKSON: Whether you put public children in Catholic school or religious values in public schools, wherever people are, the sense of honor, and respect, and character, and a sense of right and wrong, and responsibility must prevail everywhere. When I was in public school that sense of reverence and chapel, and prayer, and discipline, and study, and right and wrong, those values worked. They worked for football teams, for armies, they worked for people.

MR. RUSSERT: Let me end on a political point. Dr. Bennett, Newt Gingrich said that Clinton Democrats are the enemies of the American people. Is that healthy kind of talk?

MR. BENNETT: Look, I think liberalism has got a large burden of responsibility for wrecking American society and destroying the hopes of a lot of young people. I'd put it that way.

MR. JACKSON: Can I respond to this?

MR. BENNETT: I wish you would.

MR. JACKSON: Well, you know when Oliver North says Clinton is not his commander-in-chief -- of course he thought Reagan wasn't his commander-in-chief either, when they take shots onto Clinton, at this point jobs are up, inflation and deficit is down, more children fed, more in college, and more markets for growth.

One cannot really attack that without some substantive

alternative.

MR. BENNETT: There are substantive alternatives.

MR. RUSSERT: If that is the Clinton record, then I assume you will not challenge him for the presidency in '96.

MR. JACKSON: You can assume that between now and November of this year, there will be much focus on saying to people there is a reason to vote, and do not put so much focus on Clinton until you leave Strom Thurmond, and Jesse Helms, and Orrin Hatch, and Oliver North off the radar screen, because they win by our not voting, will in fact suffer great loss until the year 2000.

MR. RUSSERT: We have 10 seconds.

MR. BENNETT: What's bothering the country is the social values issue, the topic of this show. That's where the people are troubled. That's where they think that we are not going in the right direction.

MR. JACKSON: And Bennett's joining my ticket. That's the big news on this show today.

MR. RUSSERT: Jackson-Bennett or Bennett-Jackson?

MR. BENNETT: There's a scoop, there's a scoop.

MR. JACKSON: Jackson-Bennett, of course.

MR. BENNETT: We'll work out the details later.
(Laughter.) Holy smoke.

MR. JACKSON: That's the ticket.

MR. RUSSERT: Guess who's coming to the election, huh?
(Laughter.)

MR. RUSSERT: Reverend Jesse Jackson, Dr. William Bennett, we thank you both.

MR. JACKSON: Welcome to the ticket, Bennett.

MR. BENNETT: Yes, sir, thanks very much, you'll enjoy the vice presidency. (Laughter.)

MR. RUSSERT: A very important hour, we thank you, gentlemen.

END

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DARING RESEARCH OR 'SOCIAL SCIENCE PORNOGRAPHY'?

CHARLES MURRAY

The incendiary conservative theorist sees America dividing into high- and low-I.Q. societies, largely for genetic reasons. Blacks, poor whites and other scholars are likely to contest that fate.

BY JASON DEPARLE

THE MAN WHO WOULD ABOLISH welfare was flying to Aspen, Colo., sipping Champagne in the first-class cabin and spinning theories about the society unraveling 30,000 feet below. In the past, he says, people were poor because of bad luck or social barriers. "Now," he says, "what's holding them back is that they're not bright enough to be a physician."

It is precisely the kind of statement that makes Charles Murray so infuriating to so many people: sweeping, callous, seemingly smug. The words are harsh, but the voice is genial and oddly reassuring, suffused with regret. He switches to a Bordeaux and recalls his last approach to Aspen, on a private jet sent by Rupert Murdoch.

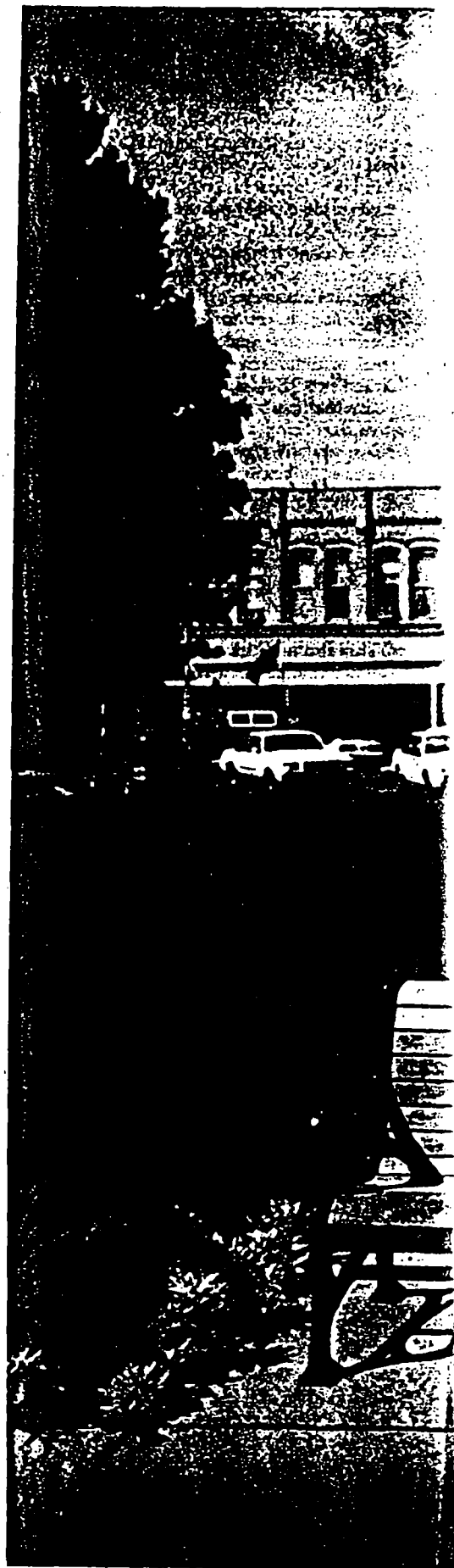
"Intelligence seems to blossom in the barest ground," he says, contesting the suggestion that the South Bronx is less nurturing than Scarsdale. "Now I know that's an odd thing to say about the

inner city, but at least they're going to school and they have the television on all day. You couldn't say that about blacks 50 years ago."

A white wine follows, and Murray is bursting with anticipation about the corks that will pop later that evening at the home of wealthy Aspen friends. He is 51 and balding, but boyish in blue jeans and tennis shoes, and he leavens his sociological theories with personal asides. The stewardesses in Japan offered him "everything short of a body massage"; he boasts that his friends look at his wife with longing, "and think of what might have been." He is smart enough to know that he is inviting caricature, and bold enough not to care.

Outrageousness, after all, has been good to Charles Murray. He was an unemployed Ph.D. stuck in a midlife crisis a decade ago when he produced "Losing Ground," the book that eroded the assumptions guiding American social policy. With 236 pages of charts and tables, it lent an aura of scientific support to an old suspicion — that welfare and other social programs cause more problems than they solve. Taking the

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PHOTOGRAPH BY RICH SAAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

thought a step further, Murray spoke the unspeakable: why not just abolish them all?

Now, if his name is not a household word, it is about as close as a social scientist can get. It is hard to know which is more startling — that Murray would imagine before publication that the book might be “to the 1980’s what ‘The Other America’ was to the 1960’s,” or that it was. Even his most bitter enemies concede his formidable intelligence, and in the wake of his antigovernment theories, it sometimes seems downright utopian for others to argue that Federal support can help the disadvantaged.

Though much of official Washington regards him as a menace, Murray’s influence is still on the rise, both as the enemy of social programs and the champion of the two-parent family. His prophecy last year of a coming white underclass touched a national nerve, and it brought a flurry of proposals to deny welfare to young mothers. It also brought a surprisingly respectful comment from President Clinton. While he did not agree with Murray’s solutions, the President said, the warning about out-of-wedlock births “did the country a great service.”



In 1991, Murray defended his collaborator and guest lecturer, Dr. Richard Herrnstein, to reporters at the University of Denver, while outside...

For years, colleagues have been arching skeptical eyebrows at the work in progress, and the chapters on race show why. Although “The Bell Curve” is not primarily about race, it argues that differences in intelligence are an important reason that blacks are disproportionately poor, imprisoned and dependent on Government aid. And it suggests that at least some of those differences have genetic roots. “That’s wild stuff,” Murray says with pursed lips and a frown of concern. Like many others, he

and sex. His writings comprise a kind of Michelin guide to the American underpsyche.

The phenomenon is one that he himself has at least inadvertently acknowledged. “Why can a publisher sell it?” he asked in the proposal for “Losing Ground.” “Because a huge number of well-meaning whites fear that they are closet racists, and this book tells them they are not. It’s going to make them feel better about things they already think but do not know how to say.”

Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich may have more power than Murray, and Rush Limbaugh and Pat Buchanan may have more direct influence. But no other conservative has his ability to

make a radical thought seem so reasonable. Where others rant, Murray seduces with mountains of data and assurances of his own fine intentions. He will never be the country’s most famous conservative, but he may well be the most dangerous.

Seventy-nine academic researchers signed a statement this spring condemning Murray’s proposal to abolish welfare; they say it would “increase the incidence of homelessness and hunger among children.” And in speeches in June and September;

No other conservative has his ability to make a radical thought seem so reasonable

With his new book, “The Bell Curve” (The Free Press), Murray has something even more dangerous and inflammatory on his mind: the relationship between race, class, genes and intelligence. Written with Richard Herrnstein of Harvard, who died last month at the age of 64, the book argues that I.Q. scores — and their large genetic component — are the key to understanding who gets ahead in America and who languishes in crime, poverty and dependency.

The authors say the country is witnessing the rise of a cognitive elite, people who are intermarrying and passing on to their children their genetic advantages. They see an underclass operating in reverse, with unemployed men and welfare mothers passing on genetic disadvantages in communities rife with disorder. As the gap widens between the mental haves and have-nots, the authors predict the rise of a new conservatism, “along Latin American lines,” with the cognitive elite employing repressive, police-state tactics to protect themselves from the growing danger.

“Like other apocalyptic visions, this one is pessimistic, perhaps too much so,” they write. “On the other hand, there is much to be pessimistic about.” Unsurprisingly, Murray sees the low intelligence of the poor as a reason to abandon remedial education and similar programs designed to help them, since “for many people, there is nothing they can learn that will repay the cost of teaching.”

wonders whether the work will bring an end to his remarkable influence, or extend it into new, more outrageous realms.

HALFWAY TO ASPEN, MURRAY GRABS his laptop computer and demonstrates his research technique. How much can 15 I.Q. points be expected to raise a person’s earnings? The machine, packed with data on 12,000 Americans, whirs and makes a tongue-clucking sound, before spitting out its answer — \$6,654 a year. “See how fun this is!” he says.

Which white kids drop out of high school? More buttons, more whirring — only those with low I.Q. scores and lower-class parents. “White trash,” Murray says. While “that’s obviously a generalization,” he explains whom he has in mind — people “sitting at home in their undershirts drinking, and they really don’t care anyway.” Murray’s persona in print is that of the burdened researcher coming to his disturbing conclusions with the utmost regret; but at the moment, he seems to be having the time of his life. “It really is social science pornography,” he says.

Social science pornography. The phrase may explain more about Murray’s influence than he intended, and possibly more than he fully understands. Much of that influence has stemmed from his ability to express, through seemingly dispassionate analysis, many people’s hidden suspicions about race, class

Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, called Murray’s welfare solution “un-American” and “almost surreal.” She likened it to Jonathan Swift’s “modest proposal” that society eat poor children — minus Swift’s satirical intent.

The question now is whether, in his zeal to shatter taboos, Murray has finally gone too far. Murray was dropped from the Manhattan Institute, the think tank that had underwritten “Losing Ground,” as soon as he began the new book. In an interview at the time, William Hammert, the institute’s president, alternately praised Murray’s integrity and worried that the book would breach “the genetic inferiority stuff.” Murray quickly affiliated with the American Enterprise Institute in Washington. The Boston Globe began denouncing “The Bell Curve” this summer, months before it was publicly available. An article quoted scholars speculating that the book was based on pseudoscience, while the editorial page attacked the book’s “high ignorance quotient.”

The reason for the unease is no mystery: theories of genetic differences have a long and ugly history, especially when it comes to race. Herrnstein and Murray acknowledge as much, and worry that their book, “wrongly construed, might do harm.” They hedge their bet slightly, saying the evidence “suggests, without quite proving, genetic roots” for part of the black-white difference. They even call the debate over genes a distraction from more important

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issues. But once again Murray may be saying with scientific references and assurances of his own good will what others murmur darkly in barrooms and taxis. And his disclaimers are unlikely to mute critics.

"We don't know anything relevant about how the physical processes of the brain differ by race," says Christopher Jencks, a sociologist at Northwestern University, after hearing a lengthy description of the Murray thesis. "There's a striking dearth of evidence."

"This seems to me a case where you ought to have really airtight evidence before you make claims," he continues. "Promulgating the view that, for some physical reason, blacks are unable to do certain intellectual work, reinforces every harmful stereotype we've inherited over 300 years."

Denunciations, firing — no matter. For Murray, the prospect of trouble was always part of the project's appeal. "Here was a case of stumbling onto a subject that had all the allure of the forbidden," he says. "Some of the things we read to do this work, we literally hide when we're on planes and trains. We're furtively peering at this stuff."

Who is speaking here, an ideologue or a provocateur? Murray sees elements of both in himself but says at bottom he is neither. "The real answer is that I'm a social scientist, damn it, and a good one," he says. But the story is more complicated than that.

ance, and remains the headquarters of the Maytag Corporation. Murray's father, Alan, spent most of his career as a Maytag executive, rising quickly from working-class roots. The Murrays lived a half-mile from the country club in a neighborhood of managers who worked, golfed and voted Republican together.

If streets can embody a corporate ethic, these do — one that dubs its employees "the dependability people." The homes are solid and proud, comfortable but not lavish. Alan Murray says a similar creed prevailed inside his family's home: "You were supposed to do what's right, and that was it."

But ask how Charles Murray became the person he is, and the answer usually comes compressed into two words: his mother. At 88, she retains the stage presence cultivated in a lifetime of amateur drama, and she is happy to take credit for sculpturing an ideology. "In his writings I see many things we talked about at our dinner table," she says. "Home background just comes out, that's all." Murray tells a vivid story of her bursting into "furious tears" when she learned that he had accepted a stolen sweater from a friend.

He describes his youth as "a pretty typical story of the bright, quirky kid who doesn't quite fit in." In a community that stressed athletics, he played chess by mail and starred on the debate team. "I had friends, but I was always a bit weird," he says,

reversed. It began at home, where the disputatious debate star began espousing labor unionism, a pose that so annoyed his parents it is the first thing they mention upon a visitor's arrival many decades later. "He was pro-labor, living on his father's management money," his mother says.

During his senior year of high school, Murray found a more satisfying form of rebellion — decamping to the Newton pool hall, "where all the juvenile delinquents hung out." He discovered he was actually good at the game, and says that after years of semi-exile, "it was very gratifying to be accepted at that point by the hoods."

The hoods were struck by the change, especially after Murray returned home from college and announced his theory of love. "He was saying, 'To be more successful with women, you really have to have a background as a bit of an outlaw,'" says Denny Rutledge, who was still hanging around the pool hall.

While the basic facts of Murray's youth are not in dispute, his interpretation of them is. In Murray's memory, Newton becomes a kind of Jeffersonian village, where neighbors help neighbors and class distinctions are minor and "not invidious." It is a vision that shapes his hope of what society might look like if the misguided state would just get out of the way.

But Rutledge, who was arrested for theft in high

Murray seduces with mountains of data and assurances of his own fine intentions.

PEERING FROM HIS WINDOW SEAT, Murray watches the buckled Eastern continent gentle into a Midwestern plain, and he searches for the Iowa town of Newton. He describes his childhood there as if gazing upon a faded photograph of a 1950's Lake Wobegon. The streets are shady, the fences are white and the parents are moral and married.

It is impossible to understand Murray without understanding Newton, or at least his interpretation of Newton, which drives his pronouncements on family and community. "My family was pretty much the way a family was supposed to be," he says, "a Norman Rockwell kind of family, I'm afraid. I say 'I'm afraid' because it will just confirm my critics' view that my views about family are unrealistic."

The story patched together from ground level in Newton is more nuanced. Murray was raised in a Midwestern household that stressed moral responsibility, the value that forms the core of his ideology. But his brainy, somewhat alienated youth also kindled his distinctive impulse toward rebellion.

Newton, now a town of 14,789, happens to be where F. L. Maytag manufactured his first appli-



... demonstrators had a few words of their own for Herrnstein, who had drawn fire for years over his writings on the heritability of intelligence.

calling the time as a 9-year-old when he told a playmate he looked "rigid" when diving into the pool. "One of the kids said, 'rigid?' and started teasing me unmercifully for using a big word. I remember thinking to myself: 'Rigid? It's a little word. It's only five letters.'"

By his teens, Murray was moving from smart to smart aleck, a transformation he may never have

school, says this is an airbrushed view. "That's incredibly myopic, totally inaccurate," he says. "There was a very big dividing line in Newton." Rutledge, who graduated from juvenile delinquency to social work (and, later, real estate) says his own, pained understanding of Newton's class structure was formed during his family's annual pilgrimage to look at the Christmas lights in the Murrays' neighborhood. He remembers thinking, "those people are the haves, and we're the have-nots, and we're not going to get there."

While there is much to admire about the industry and inquisitiveness of Murray's teen-age years, there is at least one adventure that he understandably deletes from the story — the night he helped his friends burn a cross. They had formed a kind of good guys' gang, "the Mallows," whose very name, from marshmallows, was a play on their own softness. In the fall of 1960, during their senior year, they nailed some scrap wood into a cross, adorned it with fireworks and set it ablaze on a hill beside the police station, with marshmallows scattered as a calling card.

Rutledge recalls his astonishment the next day when the talk turned to racial persecution in a

town with two black families. "There wouldn't have been a racist thought in our simple-minded minds," he says. "That's how unaware we were."

A long pause follows when Murray is reminded of the event. "Incredibly, incredibly dumb," he says. "But it never crossed our minds that this had any larger significance. And I look back on that and say, 'How on earth could we be so oblivious?' I guess it says something about that day and age that it didn't cross our minds."

MURRAY LANDED AT HARVARD IN THE fall of 1961, where by his own account he spent four mostly uneventful years, studying Russian history and working at a classical music station. Taking a "pride in perversity," he went out of his way to advertise his oddness, wearing his ties, for instance, with the fat end short. "I really had very few close friends," he says. Graduating in 1965, Murray left for the Peace Corps and stayed abroad for six years. "Thailand was the transforming experience in my life," he says. "Thailand is where I grew up."

Murray claims he joined less out of idealism than a desire for adventure, and he found some in the romance he kindled that summer in Hawaii with



*Herrnstein in 1971, the year he published his ground-breaking essay in *The Atlantic Monthly*.*

"He found he dreaded coming home," she recalls. When he could not bring himself to tell his parents, she made the call.

A year later, Murray made his second break, leaving the research firm. Though he had risen to the position of chief scientist, he sensed a futility in the work. He had written what he considered "gems of reports," but he knew they were mostly unread. His plans (and his means of support) were unclear, but a book began to take shape in his mind.

MURRAY BOUNDS FOR THE DOOR AS THE ASPEN runway halts the jet. By sundown his car is climbing toward the gated community of Starwood (home to John Denver and the Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar) and the wine cellar that has tantalized him for much of the day. His host, Irwin Stelzer, is gone on business, but he has left his wife, Cita, a wine list and decanting instructions — a half-bottle of 1983 Château Margaux will be followed by the main event, a 1979 Pétus (retailing at \$375 a bottle).

A business consultant whose clients include Rupert Murdoch, Stelzer once arranged for Murray to spend a month in England writing about the British underclass for *The Sunday Times*. The

'The Bell Curve' acknowledges that I.Q. tests have been used in the past to support

his language instructor, Suchart Dej-Udom. The daughter of a wealthy Thai businessman, she was born with one hand and a mind sharp enough to outscore the rest of the country on the college entrance exam. He proposed by mail in the fall of 1965 and their 14-year marriage began the following summer, a move that Murray now views as another youthful rebellion. "I'm getting married to a one-handed Thai Buddhist," he said. "This was not the daughter-in-law that would have normally presented itself to an Iowa couple."

If Newton is where Murray's antistate politics were planted, Thailand is where they began to sprout — in part as the unintended consequence of the nation's privy program. The Peace Corps sent him from village to village, urging skeptical Thais to build and use modern sanitation, but Murray says his importunings had little effect. His father recalls him writing home to say, "It's hard to get a guy to build a well when he likes the taste of dead rats."

Murray's suspicions of Government initiative deepened after his tour ended. He found work with research firms doing counterinsurgency studies on behalf of the United States Government. The job sent him back into Thai villages, to assess the impact of programs designed to stave off rebellion with the provision of things like fish ponds, health clinics and roads.

But Murray concluded that the services had virtually no impact on the villagers' attitudes. They were much more interested in whether local chiefs could catch water buffalo thieves. "It became clear to me how utterly irrelevant Bangkok was to the

life of the village," he says, adding that in some cases the Government intrusion even destroyed a delicate civic fabric.

The theory blossomed into a doctoral thesis in political science at M.I.T. It is a classic Murray work, filled with complex statistical considerations from which he drew a stark conclusion: "Thai villages show a remarkable latent ability to take care of their own affairs." It is a message that, in one form or another, Murray has been repeating ever since.

Murray retained enough residual liberalism in 1972 to contribute \$5 to the McGovern campaign. But when he finally returned home a year later he was a married man with a child, and the country no longer looked the way it did when he left in 1965. Radical chic, Woodstock, the Black Panthers — all had washed across the continent while he'd been pondering modernity in places called Pong and Khao Soi. "I read about the 60's in *Time* magazine," he says. Driving to work one day, he had a minor epiphany. "Gee," he told himself, "you really are a conservative."

Murray cemented the belief with a seven-year stay at the American Institutes for Research, a Washington organization that evaluates social programs — none of which, he says, worked.

Murray's disillusionment had deepened on more than one level. His marriage had been unhappy for years, but his childhood lessons on the importance of responsibility brought him slowly to the idea that divorce was an honorable alternative, especially with young children involved. Then one day in 1980 he told his wife, "Life cannot go on like this."

paper paid for Murray's family to accompany him, an arrangement Murray considered his payment for the work. But as a bonus, Stelzer had the paper drop Murray a \$10,000 check. "He's the godfather," Murray says.

The Stelzer home happens to be the one where in 1976 Claudine Longet shot the skier Spider Sabich, and there is a requisite tour of the bathroom crime scene. Hummingbirds flit around the patio grill and the small talk eventually turns to Murray's work on I.Q. and race.

An Israeli cellist asks if Murray draws any conclusions about Africa's shortage of ancient literature. Murray says he does, and as the veal chops sizzle, he offers the Israeli a national compliment: "In terms of I.Q., you guys are off the charts." As the meal ends, a call is placed to the absent Irwin, and it falls upon Murray to deliver the bad news; the Margaux was somewhat tannic. "But the Pétus!" he says. "It's just been blossoming!"

The next morning brings a tougher audience. Murray is in town to address a retreat of foundation executives, sponsored by the Aspen Institute, and he will warn that welfare is driving illegitimacy and bringing society to the brink of collapse. The message is one he has perfected in the decade since "Losing Ground." It is a beguiling book, thick with statistics yet accessible, even lively, and steeped in a tone of good intentions. Scrapping the welfare system will not mean that stingy people have won, he wrote, but that "generous people have stopped kidding themselves." His calm marshalling of evidence,

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and would-that-it weren't-so tone, made it a work that liberals could not simply dismiss.

By now, an army of critics has challenged some of the book's statistical underpinnings. Murray tied the soaring rate of out-of-wedlock births to the growth of the welfare system that supports single mothers. Critics say the relationship is, at most, indirect. Births to single mothers continued to rise, they say, even when benefits were holding steady or (depending how one calculates) in retreat. And they rose for middle-class women who never collected welfare. After a decade of esoteric statistical debate, Murray claims (plausibly, even to some detractors) to have shown at least a small link between benefit levels and out-of-wedlock births, though only among whites.

But it is another thing then to leap, as Murray does, to the assertion that abolishing welfare will immediately halve the number of out-of-wedlock births — or that the resulting pain would be worth it. "There'd be a lot more homelessness, a lot more hunger and a lot more despair," says Robert Greenstein, until recently the director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a Washington advocacy group.

But as out-of-wedlock births have continued

hall outlaw with shocking views, luxuriating in the clucking disapproval of polite society.

His presence in Aspen is a bit of an event. His two co-panelists, Judith Jones of Columbia University and Frances Fox Piven of CUNY, berate him as a demagogue fueling the forces of reaction, but Murray has heard it all before. He genially professes "a lot of common ground" with his liberal antagonists, only to tick off his agenda: abolish welfare, abolish food stamps, abolish subsidized housing. Murray even wants to end child support payments to unwed mothers, arguing that physical unions acquire their legitimacy only through marriage. What would he tell a young, unwed mother? "I don't want society to say to her, 'You made a mistake,'" he says. "I want society to say, 'You did wrong.'"

Piven, looking aghast, accuses him of being "preoccupied with sin."

It is a provocative thought — is Charles Murray, deep down, on an antisex crusade? The notion makes him laugh. As a policy analyst, he cares only that children are raised by two parents. Besides, he adds, "No young man who spent as many years in Bangkok as I did can be against sex."

It is a flamboyant comment, but Murray has

Speaking of his high-school girlfriend, he volunteered that "in those innocent days, we never had the experience," adding later that he feared "the worst would happen, the condom would break" and he would be forced into a teen-age marriage. He added sarcastically, "It probably accounts for the twisted views I have today."

What then, took place in Bangkok? Quite a lot, it seems, since his friends from those days still tell tales of Murray's barroom antics, ones that he nostalgically repeats. Murray explains that he and a Peace Corps friend once sat for 12 hours at a place called the Patpong Terrace, interviewing bar girls as they returned from their liaisons, taking "all sorts of intimate notes about who did what, that I don't care to repeat." The resulting document became an underground thriller among his friends.

Murray also makes clear that he did more than take notes, though he theatrically objects to hearing the women described as prostitutes. "Don't use that word," he says. "They were women of the evening. Courtesans. We liked them, and they liked us."

"In a lot of the places you had to woo the ladies," he continues. "It involves money on the man's part, yes, but it also involves consensual relations."

He understands that he is describing a pastime

trageous racial policies.' But the authors remain uninhibited by this history.

to grow (more than 30 percent of Americans are now born to single mothers) so has Murray's influence. When "Losing Ground" first appeared in 1984, Murray's views were too radical even for Murray — the book couches them as "a thought experiment," and not even Ronald Reagan would actually propose such a thing. But this spring a dozen Representatives stood in front of the Capitol and called for an end to benefits for mothers under 21. They would send the children of those who could not manage to state-run orphanages.

Similar proposals are backed by such glamorous Republican names as Jack Kemp and William Bennett. Murray may even be the first welfare analyst to see his work on the multiplex screen. When the makers of the Joe Pesci film "With Honors" wanted to depict the tough-minded undergraduate of the 1950s, they showed a Harvard student with "Losing Ground" tucked under his arm.

Without undue armchair psychology, it is possible to see in this outcome the satisfaction of two of Murray's deepest, if contradictory, yearnings. With his speaking schedule, book sales and Congressional appearances, he has captured the respectability so valued in his childhood home. At the same time, he manages to remain the pool-



Murray met his first wife, Suchart Dej-Udom, a Thai language teacher, in the Peace Corps in 1965. Marrying her was another act of youthful rebellion, he says.

been advertising his hormones throughout the trip. He let out a manly groan when a woman in a tube top passed him on the plane. He noted the shapely blond assistants staffing the seminar and gave thanks, as a married man who values monogamy, that he did not dwell permanently among them, shuddering at "the tension."

In fact, Murray has been raising the subject of his own sexuality throughout months of discussion.

not usually associated with a defense of the two-parent family. "I'm trying to tell you I'm not against sex," he says, characteristically blunt.

"You," Murray concludes, "should have been so lucky."

THE CRITICS WHO SAY MURRAY IS living in the 1950s are, in at least one respect, off by more than a century. His home in rural Maryland, a half-hour outside Frederick, originally served as a tannery in the 1830s. Worried that the new book may bring threats of physical harm, he asks that the village's name be withheld. He lives there with his second wife, Catherine Cox, and their two young children.

The romance started a year after his divorce, when Cox, then teaching English literature at Rutgers, dropped him a letter. Their parents were close friends, but Murray, who is six years older, had never known her well. He invited her sailing, and they were married two years later. He wrote a chapter of "Losing Ground" on the honeymoon. "Catherine is just the person," he says. "We just fit like this utterly perfect fit."

There was one hitch — his politics repelled her. Cox says she knew the relationship would never work as soon as she saw him reading the conservative author George Gilder, and she spent long hours trying to reconcile his

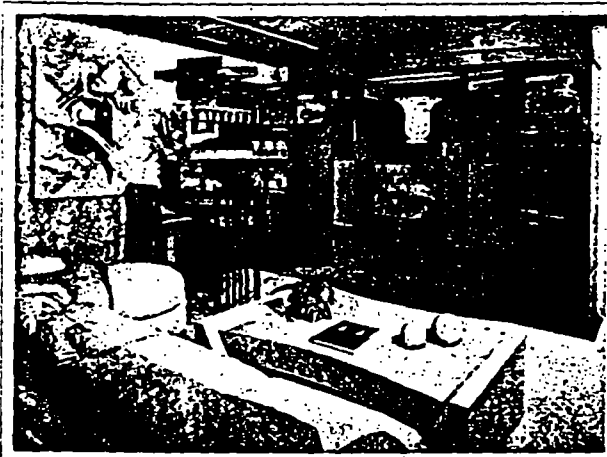
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shocking views with what she saw as his deep decency. "It took a long time for that to sink in," she says. "He really cares about people," she says.

By all accounts, Murray has managed the merger of his old family and his new one with unusual grace. Guilt-ridden over the divorce, he spent virtually every weekend with his daughters, Naisara and Sarawan, and friends say he sometimes turned down lucrative out-of-town engagements to do so. His ex-wife remarried first, and she says when Catherine was pregnant she told her, "Don't worry, Charlie's a good father." When Murray threw a 60th anniversary party for his parents, Suchart Dej-Udom Murray Milsted was on hand. "Everyone's healed nicely now," she says.

At least until the new book arrives. In Richard Herrnstein, Murray found his equal in two vital categories — intelligence and shock value. Superficially, their backgrounds could not be more dissimilar. Herrnstein's parents were left-wing, Jewish immigrants from Hungary who raised him in a working-class neighborhood of the Bronx.

But as he told the story of his youth, in a long conversation last summer, it echoed with Murray-like themes of alienation and rebellion. He was packed off in Hungarian short pants and stockings to endure the taunts of grade-school classmates, and he acted up so much that his teachers used to lock him in the coat room. "I was raising hell most of the time," he said.

Though he was an acclaimed psychologist who held B.F. Skinner's former chair at Harvard, Herrnstein's notoriety stems from his non-academic work. In 1971, he published an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* about the heritability of intelligence, famously predicting a future in which the "the tendency to be unemployed may run in the genes of a family about as certainly as bad teeth do now." Though Herrnstein dealt only peripherally with

race, militant students branded him a racist, interrupted his lectures and, he said, threatened him with physical violence.

But he continued to write about intelligence, not only out of interest but also out of a sense of obligation. Scholars, like priests, he said, have a "calling to find the truth and disclose it." Meeting Murray at a conference, he told him "you ought to get into the I.Q. business," and the two quickly agreed to collaborate. Their paired sensibilities reminded one colleague of two kamikazes on a test flight.

The book begins by asserting a paradox: America, by its commitment to equal opportunity, is reordering society into increasingly unequal classes, with a prospering, intellectual elite at one end of the bell curve and a miserable, menacing underclass at the other. This inequality, it says, is the inevitable result of a modern economy that needs and rewards smart people. A true meritocracy is an astonishingly unequal place, since the abilities of individuals vary widely.

The argument goes like this:

The country has always had class divisions, but the criteria for them have changed. In the past, racial and class barriers kept smart people down, and privileged births lifted dim people up. In a world of bright farmers and dull senators, the rich weren't necessarily smart and the smart weren't necessarily rich.

But in midcentury, the economy vastly expanded its need for smart people, like engineers and computer programmers. And the educational system got increasingly efficient at finding them and channeling them into elite universities and prosperous careers. At the same time, there was little room for those with stong backs but dull minds, and a cognitive underclass settled like sediment. The result, they write, was a world "in which it became much more consistently and universally advantageous to be smart." The authors stress that they are merely describing this development, not celebrating it.

While lots of critics have worried about rising inequality, "The Bell Curve" veers away from more familiar discussions by its emphasis on genes. While others use words like "education" or "test scores" to describe the sorting mechanism at work, Herrnstein and Murray use the word "intelligence" and stress its genetic roots. Citing studies that estimate that from 40 to 80 percent of an individual's intelligence stems from genes, the authors take a midpoint of 60 percent. (The studies refer to how much an average individual's I.Q. is affected by genes, not to the cause of interracial differences in intelligence.)

While that would seem to leave a large role for environment, the authors insist that the differences separating one household from another are diminishing. (Unlike a century ago, for instance, virtually all children go to school.) As environmental differences narrow, heritability rises. Suddenly, they write, "success and failure in the American economy, and all that goes with it, are increasingly a matter of the genes that people inherit."

Herrnstein and Murray chase this vision to its apocalyptic conclusion. Smart people, intermarrying, will produce smart children; the disadvantaged will pass down their intractable handicaps; and the gap between the classes will grow. Skeptics may pin their hopes on "regression to the mean," the statistical phenomenon that predicts that two high-I.Q. parents will have children whose scores are lower, closer to the national average (just as two low-I.Q. parents are likely to have children whose scores are higher). But the authors say this force is overpowered by other factors, like the increasing tendency of the very smart to intermarry.

The book includes eight chapters of original research designed to correlate low I.Q. with a variety of social problems, including crime, poverty, out-of-wedlock births — even bad child-rearing and poor citizenship. They are careful to stress that for any

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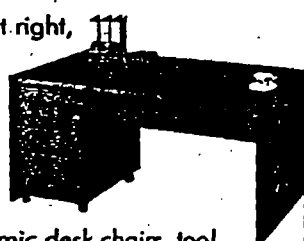
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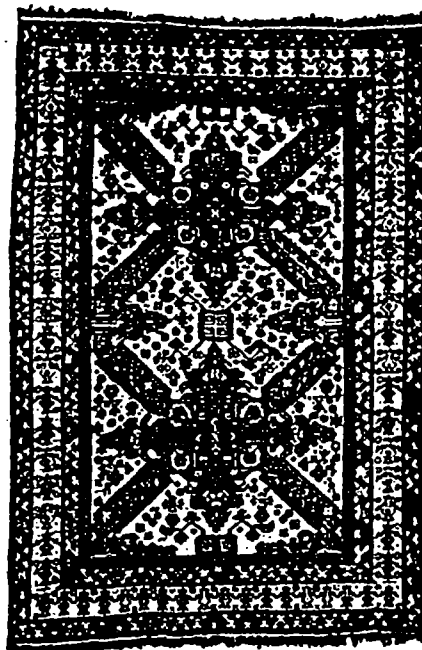
given individual, I.Q. scores may mean little; character, drive and luck may do much more to influence success. But they insist that the scores establish powerful patterns for people in the same cognitive range, meaning that inequality will increase.

Their prescriptions are, in many ways, a continuation of Murray's attacks on social programs. The authors want to abandon affirmative action, which they think poisons race relations by promoting unqualified blacks. They want to drop remedial education programs, which they think can never work, and spend the money on the talented students they say the economy really needs. They would alter immigration practices that they think are admitting people of less-than-average intelligence. And they would eliminate welfare and other Government benefits that, they believe, encourage women with low I.Q.'s to reproduce.

How all this would avert the apocalypse is unclear. If some people are really too dim to make it on their own, for instance, maybe welfare (or Government jobs programs) should be expanded. In the end, the Herrnstein-Murray solutions reside less in a specific set of policies than in a new set of expectations. Rather than trying to erase individual differences, they say, society should find ways for people of differing abilities to live with dignity.

They conjure a romantic vision of a world that strips power from the central Government and returns it to the neighborhood, where all people can engage "in the stuff of life — birth, death, raising children, making a living, helping friends, singing in the local choir or playing on the softball team." The goal is to offer the less gifted something more precious than economic equality, "a place as a valued fellow citizen." While it's hard to see how this will shore up a collapsing society, the neighborhood does sound familiar. It seems

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a lot like the world Murray saw in Newton, one that perhaps even then did not exist.

EVEN SKEPTICAL READERS will find the book's central message disturbing. A country founded on the principle that people are created equal does not like to be reminded that people can have innate, limiting, differences.

But bleak as "The Bell Curve" 's vision may be, it is not entirely new. Herrnstein has been saying similar things for two decades. And the fear that a meritocratic society will prove a dystopian one is at least a half-century old. In 1958, the British sociologist Michael Young, a member of the Labor Party, sketched a similar scenario in his novel "The Rise of the Meritocracy." He saw the trend leading to an armed rebellion by the year 2034.

One group of skeptics will question whether intelligence is as newly influential, or as dominant, a force in American life as Herrnstein and Murray believe. They are almost certainly right that the intelligent person can rise more easily today than a century ago. But brains have always helped, even before such gifts could be measured at the end of a No. 2 pencil. Witness Huck Finn.

Others will question whether I.Q. really is, as Herrnstein and Murray assert, the all-encompassing measure of mental aptitude. One leading skeptic is Robert Sternberg, a Yale psychologist, who has pioneered the study of what he calls practical intelligence. He cites experiments among housewives who are failures at pad-and-pencil math but competent comparison shoppers when they hit the supermarket aisle. "That's not to say I.Q. counts zero," he says. "It's to say that there are other kinds of intelligence that are equally or maybe more important."

A third, and perhaps more powerful, criticism of the book will most likely involve its stress on genes, and the short shrift Murray gives to environmental factors. There is, at the heart of the book, a fundamental conflict be-

Continued on page 74

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAG

tween cause and effect. While it may be true that cognitive differences produce inequality, inequality also produces cognitive differences. Environment, especially the unspeakably bad environment of the black ghetto, must count for something.

Murray sounds surprised and alarmed that anyone would think "that we're hung up on genes," a puzzling protest given the book's clearly provocative assertion (to repeat) that "success and failure in the American economy, and all that goes with it, are increasingly a matter of the genes that people inherit" (emphasis added). Of course environment matters, Murray goes on to say, but no one knows how to change bad environments in ways that bring long-term cognitive gains. The book makes a case that Head Start and other programs have tried, only to leave behind "high hopes, flamboyant claims and disappointing results." Murray concludes that "the heritability of I.Q. is not a big deal in this book," but "the intractability of I.Q. is a very big deal."

It is true that the public often assumes that environmental differences can be easily remedied, while genetic differences are forever fixed. Theoretically, the opposite could someday be true: biological differences may be easier to rectify than social differences. But his late-hour protests aside, Murray has spent months arguing that cognitive differences are highly heritable and highly intractable.

He has repeatedly waved aside the suggestion that rotten homes and neighborhoods suffocate the intellectual development of the disadvantaged. When I asked him in August if his own children would test as well if they had been raised in the Robert Taylor Homes, the vast public housing wasteland in Chicago, he said, "It doesn't make a damn bit of difference — their I.Q.'s are going to be the same, one way or another." Later, when I remind him of

Continued on page 78

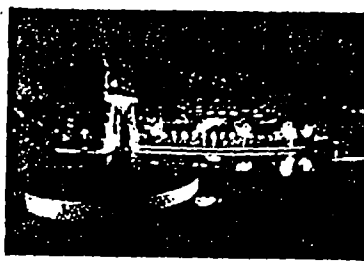
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The New York Times Magazine

Source: Simmons, 1994

MURRAY

Continued from page 74

his words, Murray says he had given "the wrong answer," and speculates that his children would have done worse in school and possibly have become criminals or teen-age parents. Nonetheless, he adds, "they still would have tested pretty high on I.Q. tests."

Whichever shading represents Murray's deepest belief, it's clear that most Americans think that environment matters quite a lot — especially those with the supposed genetic edge. The upper middle class is obsessive about getting its children in the right schools and test-prep courses. The Murray family seems no exception: before moving on to Harvard, Murray's older two daughters attended Washington's tony National Cathedral School (a decision he attributes to his ex-wife).

The emphasis on innate differences would be explosive enough, even if the subject of race never arose. But it does, and Murray knows an assault is coming. "Let's be sensible about this stuff," he says. "Let's not ignore it. Let's not run screaming from the room, either. That's not justified."

THIS MUCH IS KNOWN: blacks, on average, score about 15 points lower than whites on intelligence tests. Why that is, and what it means, are questions with a long and troubled past, marred by pseudoscience and racial animosity.

The most obvious explanation is that black children are more likely to grow up under handicapping circumstances like worse schools, poorer homes, inferior nutrition and violent neighborhoods. Indeed, as the overall gap in living conditions has narrowed, so, too, have the racial differences on test performance (although not as much as many people have hoped).

Other explanations for the differences involve test bias or differential motivation on the part of black children convinced of their own limited prospects. Herrnstein and Murray consider these theories but say they cannot ex-

plain the entire 15-point difference. They conclude that the evidence "suggests" that a portion of the gap — they are agnostic about how much — stems from "genetic roots."

What evidence? They cite studies showing the test differences persist even when class is held constant. They cite a survey in which a plurality of psychologists indicated that genetic factors helped explain racial differences. The authors also offer a Minnesota study of transracial adoption by the psychologists Richard Weinberg and Sandra Scarr. The study involved about 100 children born in the late 1960's, including black children adopted into upper-middle-class white homes.

At first, the new environments seemed to boost cognitive performance. At age 7, the adopted black children had I.Q.'s of about 97, above the racial average of 85. But a follow-up study 10 years later showed a fall-off to 89, only slightly above the national black average. White adoptees also declined, but had higher scores at both testings, falling from 117 to 106. Herrnstein and Murray conclude that "whatever the environmental impact may have been, it cannot have been large."

But that is not what Weinberg and Scarr emphasize. Their most recent paper, written with Irwin D. Waldman, claims to find "little or no conclusive evidence for genetic influences underlying a racial difference." Instead, they note that the black adoptees fared worse than white adoptees even before the adoption took place, thanks to longer stays in foster care and worse foster-care homes. They speculate that the blacks may also have encountered increased discrimination as they reached adolescence. They were, after all, still black children in a mostly white world.

Moreover, the psychologists found that although their I.Q. scores dropped, the black adoptees did better in school than other black children, suggesting their privileged home environments helped. Thus, "the balance of evidence, while not conclusive, favors a predominantly environmental etiology."

At this point, the debate

gets both nuanced and nasty. Murray notes that if an explanation is "predominantly" environmental, then it is at least partly genetic. Weinberg says, "the genetic component may be skin color," which triggers a discriminatory social response. Weinberg calls Murray "acontextual." Murray attacks Weinberg for trying to "dance around the point."

Other scientists, meanwhile, say the whole inquiry is plagued by insurmountable methodological difficulties, that no one knows how to disentangle genes from the social impact of being raised black in America. Jonathan Beckwith, a microbiologist at Harvard Medical School, argues that scientists cannot measure genetic differences between the races "until we can identify a gene that's involved." He adds: "I don't think there is any evidence that would point toward a genetically based black-white difference in intelligence."

"The Bell Curve" devotes only 2 of its 22 chapters to race, and less than that to the subtopic of genes. It even asserts "that it matters little whether the genes are involved at all." There are many outstanding black minds, Murray says, just as there are many dull white ones; individuals should always be treated as such. Genetic differences between the races, he says, "are utterly irrelevant to the arguments of 'The Bell Curve.'"

But in a country where white people have claimed innate superiority for 300 years, the talk of genetic differences matters quite a lot. It could be put to any number of demagogic uses, at a time when many blacks are already willing to suspect the worst of whites. "The Bell Curve" acknowledges that I.Q. tests have been used to support "outrageous racial policies." And it notes that by 1917, the spread of the tests had led 16 states to pass forced sterilization laws (primarily for the mentally retarded). But the authors remain uninhibited by this history.

In the last chapter they say they will be pleased if the book brings a discussion

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October 5, 1994

To: Alexis
Carol
George
Bill
Bruce

From: Maggie

In preparation for our meeting on Thursday you might want to review the attached articles as well.

File Charles Murray

Copyright 1994 Guardian Newspapers Limited
The Guardian

September 17, 1994

SECTION: THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 29

LENGTH: 2587 words

HEADLINE: GET THE POOR OFF OUR OVER-TAXED BACKS;
Charles Murray, the American guru who inspired Back to Basics, says the welfare state must be scrapped to save society from the underclass. He talked to MADELINE BUNTING.

BYLINE: Madeline Bunting

BODY:

CHARLES MURRAY is loathed. Insidious, pernicious and dangerous are the adjectives used to describe this American social scientist. It's hard to match this with the genial, obliging man with the quiet voice and a taste for tea. But within an hour, Murray has denounced unmarried mothers as a destructive social phenomenon which could lead to explosive political upheaval in Britain, the only solution being to get rid of their benefits. Put bluntly: starve them into marrying.

Murray insists he doesn't like controversy. But he has shown a rare talent for attracting it. His views on unmarried mothers and their responsibility for creating a crime-ridden underclass - the "New Rabble", as he calls it - have provoked furious criticism since he first broached the subject 10 years ago in *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-80*.

Now he is steeling himself for the publication of his new book next month, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence And Class Structure In American Life*. In this one he declares that intelligence is transmitted by genes, and differs between racial groups. Black Americans score dramatically lower than whites.

Nothing could be better calculated to provoke outrage. "My poor daughter is going to be in her junior year at Harvard, and it's not going to be fun for her," he sighs.

Murray has taken on every sacred cow of post-war US welfare policy in the last decade. He cast himself as the voice in the wilderness, and now claims with undisguised delight that his ideas on unmarried motherhood and the underclass have percolated through to every corner of the social policy debate in the US.

"*Losing Ground* was considered heretical," he says. "But the things I was savaged

for in 1984 are now conventional wisdom. People claimed I was a rightwing ideologue because I said it made sense (given the benefits system) for a young pregnant woman not to marry. Who will argue with that now? Another example is the whole issue about single mothers and illegitimacy. There is now broad agreement that it is a very destructive phenomenon.

"I'm astonished by what has happened in the US in the last year. I wrote a piece in the Wall Street Journal last October in which I came out and said we really had to get rid of the welfare system. Period. The response was

phenomenal; they got more letters on it than for any piece they had ever published. I kept hearing about people faxing copies to friends. Any time you get that much reaction it's because you've articulated something which was right beneath the surface."

There are now Bills before Congress, Murray says, which would effectively scrap the welfare system. "They won't pass, but what will pass are ones giving broad discretionary authority to each state. A state might soon be able to take all the money given to mothers in food stamps, and set up a really excellent adoption service and orphanage system. I don't advocate ripping children away from their mothers, but if at any point she says, 'I'm not prepared to care for this baby, I want the state to pay,' the state could respond by offering a guarantee of a loving home if the mother will give up the child for adoption."

Murray articulates the unspeakable with the assurance of a man who believes his time has come. Even President Clinton is on record as saying that Murray's analysis is essentially correct - though he said his solution was immoral. For the last couple of years, Murray has been able to lay claim to respectability and to being a major influence on US government policy.

American social scientists, particularly of the Murray ilk, usually make little headway on this side of the Atlantic, let alone clock up headlines and draw crowds. Yet the best part of a thousand people turned up to a forum sponsored by the Sunday Times and the Institute of Economic Affairs in London last week to hear him. He has been able to tap into a deep fear of unmarried mothers and the rising costs of the welfare state. Murray's polemic - which first appeared in the British press in 1989 - prepared the ground for the outbursts against unmarried mothers which have become a feature of Toryism.

We have Rupert Murdoch to thank. It was he who invited him to speak at one of the annual gatherings of his news editors in Aspen, Colorado. Murray was spotted by Irwin Stelzer, a Murdoch adviser, who pressed him to visit Britain and try to apply his theories here. The result has been the wholesale import of classic American libertarianism. What Milton Friedman was to early Thatcher economic policy, Murray is to Major's Back to Basics.

MURRAY believes the state's role extends little beyond defending its citizens and enforcing law and order. "Government exists," he says, "so that I can walk down the street minding my own business and not have someone bonk me on the head." Murray is unruffled by the incongruity of coming to Britain from a completely different culture, nor deterred by his evident lack of knowledge of Britain. He has done lightning tours of various depressed urban housing estates, but ask him any question and he quickly slips back to home territory, extrapolating from the American experience as if Britain was the rather retarded 53rd state. "The debate on social policy is lagging behind America by about seven to 10 years. I get into the arguments here that I was getting into in 1986 in the US. The feeling of *deja vu* was very powerful.

"But in terms of the things I'm worried about, Britain is now far ahead of the US. As recently as 1975 you had only 10 per cent of children brought up out of wedlock and now you've over 33 per cent. That is an incredibly rapid change. It's been slower in the States. It is quite possible that you are going to telescope the effects of all of this. The potential for really explosive upheaval is very, very high.

"You have single parenthood rapidly rising; as benefit budgets rise, they cause hostility amongst those paying the taxes.

"The politically correct thing to say is that a mother can do a fine job of raising children on her own. But there has been a growing feeling that if you aren't prepared to care for a child, you shouldn't be going out and having one. There is this discrepancy between what people say and what they think and when that is finally recognised, it tends to snap way in the other direction. The middle classes will get real angry."

Murray proposes that all benefits to new single mothers should be axed, with effect nine months from the day of announcement. A Faustian bargain has been struck with those already in the system, so they would continue to get benefits.

"If you got rid of the welfare system in the States nine months from now, I would get nervous at what might happen in the black inner city. I think there might be a large response. But among the white community, where you are still looking at about 80 per cent of births within marriage, the reaction would be manageable. In America, it is about our last chance to withdraw the state.

"Britain is a peculiar case. Among whites, only 70 per cent of births are within marriage, and at the rate in another five years only about half the children will be legitimate. At that point withdrawing the system becomes very dicey."

But, argues Murray, we have little option because what is at risk is the future of civil society. He takes a gloomy view of human nature, an even gloomier view of men. At the heart of his attack on single mothers is his belief in their inability to

socialise the disruptive energy of sons. Boys need fathers as role models who have been civilised by their wives.

"What we have taken for granted is the socialisation process because it has worked so well for so long. We have forgotten that each generation is invaded by a horde of barbarians - our kids. Without socialisation, crime is going to be astronomical and the police will have to be given more and more authority."

The next stage?

"The middle class will say we know how we want to run our lives and we're being reasonably successful at it, we will do whatever's necessary to protect ourselves. This is not far-fetched stuff. We're not talking about decades and decades before this comes to pass."

Murray's belief is that if you withdraw benefits, people will be forced to bear the consequences of their behaviour. Gradually a traditional morality will re-emerge - society's natural way of organising itself - whereby the two-parent family becomes the norm again, and bastards and single mothers are stigmatised.

Murray draws a direct, causal link between single mothers and crime; high structural unemployment, considered central by his critics, remains marginal in his analysis. Asked directly about its impact, he chose to highlight two points: "If there is nothing you can do about unemployment, then the responsible behaviour of those people is to say, 'I will not have a child'. That is a wrenching decision but that is part and parcel of being a responsible adult.

"A lot of structural unemployment is produced by the very policies we are talking about. It is avoidable. You have little boys growing up who literally do not know how to work. They have not been socialised to get up at 7 o'clock and go into work even if they don't feel like it."

What makes critics so vitriolic in their hatred of Murray is his divisiveness. He appeals to middle-class self-righteous complacency, praising them as the "New Victorians" who have rediscovered family values after the sexual permissiveness of the sixties. It also sounds drawn from his personal experience: he is now said to be happily married after a divorce.

To warm murmurs of approval, he told his audience last week that there are plenty of people who work hard, pay their taxes, take care of their kids. It was the pap of reassurance to a confused, panicky middle class.

LOAD-DATE-MDC: September 17, 1994

Copyright 1994 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

August 10, 1994, Wednesday, City Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL PAGE; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 329 words

HEADLINE: A high ignorance quotient

BODY:

What determines a person's intelligence: genetics or life experience or both or something else? The question has been debated for years but has no definitive answer, because the human mind is too complex for definitive answers.

Everybody, particularly politicians, should remember this when the already controversial book by Harvard psychologist Richard Herrnstein and conservative political analyst Charles Murray is published this fall. Titled "The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure," it takes the view that IQ is inherited. It will surely intensify the "nature vs. nurture" debate.

There's nothing wrong with intensifying intellectual debate. That's what makes academia interesting; let a thousand theories bloom. The danger here is that the theory could be used to justify regressive public policy.

Murray, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, has been an outspoken opponent of welfare and decries the growth of a "white underclass." Herrnstein's work equates low IQ with societal ills. "If you accept the correlation between crime and IQ," Herrnstein told Globe reporter Tony Flint, "then some people are genetically predisposed to break the law. People on welfare on average have low IQs. The income distribution in this country is an echo of IQ distribution."

Such logic paints a world of "us versus them" and violates a basic tenet of democracy: that every person has a chance to succeed. A democratic government cannot cast aspersions in the plural - blaming the plight of welfare mothers, for instance, on their "stupidity." It must see these citizens as individuals, who come upon hard times for a variety of reasons and who need help getting back on their feet.

Americans who have risen from humble roots to lofty intellectual positions are legion: Abraham Lincoln, George Washington Carver, Maya Angelou and Bill Clinton, to name a few. Every mind makes a unique journey. No one can or should draw a road map on the cradle.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: August 11, 1994

Copyright 1994 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

August 9, 1994, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1363 words

HEADLINE: IQ fight renewed;
New book links genes, intelligence

BYLINE: By Anthony Flint, Globe Staff

BODY:

The academic world is bracing for an intellectual firefight this fall, with the publication of a book claiming that intelligence is largely inherited and cannot be changed significantly by external influences.

The authors, Harvard psychologist Richard J. Herrnstein and conservative political analyst Charles Murray, say this idea is the key to understanding America's social problems. They claim a direct correlation between IQ and income, social status, crime, welfare dependency and illegitimacy.

"The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life" (Free Press), due out next month, is expected to reignite the longstanding "nature vs. nurture" debate - the question of which human traits are innate and which are shaped more by life experience. On a political level, it also promises to inflame old tensions among scholars on issues ranging from race to egalitarianism.

The premise of "The Bell Curve" raises several provocative questions simmering beneath the surface of social science and politics. Are there inexorable differences in intelligence not only among individuals, but also among racial and ethnic groups? Are certain individuals born with low intelligence predisposed to a life of crime? Should the smartest couples somehow be encouraged to procreate? Should government programs aimed at improving mental capability, such as Head Start, be scrapped?

Even before it hits the bookstores, "The Bell Curve" is being criticized as inaccurate and inflammatory. "It's politics masquerading as science," said Leon Kamin, professor of psychology at Northeastern University.

For the most part, "The Bell Curve" emphasizes differences in intelligence among individuals, and not the intelligence levels of racial or ethnic groups as a whole.

But since the authors accept IQ tests as unbiased and reasonable measures of intelligence, and blacks as a group have historically scored 10 to 15 points lower than whites on such tests, the Murray-Herrnstein thesis inevitably suggests that blacks, as a group, are on average less intelligent than whites.

Even those scholars who do not dismiss the book acknowledge it will be greeted like a party guest who insists on bringing up forbidden topics.

"There's a long memory of acts of retaliation in academia on this. Everyone recalls the calumny that was heaped on Arthur Jensen's head 20 years ago," said James Q. Wilson, a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, referring to the Berkeley scholar who was branded a racist after articles in 1969 and 1972 linking intelligence and genes.

"But that memory is slowly being offset by the growing weight of evidence about this," said Wilson, a public policy analyst who collaborated with Herrnstein on "Crime and Human Nature" in 1985. "People are more prepared to say these things and more prepared to hear about these things."

The anticipation building for "The Bell Curve" - named for the shape of the graph showing the distribution of a population's IQ scores - is compounded by a dramatic twist: Herrnstein, 64, is gravely ill with cancer. Some friends wonder whether he will live to see his ultimate work unveiled.

Herrnstein, who lives in Belmont, has been a controversial fixture in the Harvard psychology department for decades. In 1971, he was harshly criticized for an Atlantic Monthly article where he first suggested a link between genes and intelligence. Many balked at the implication that some racial groups, on average, were born more intelligent than others.

Murray, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is well known in conservative circles for his warnings about a growing "underclass," and for wanting to abolish welfare and put "neglected" children into orphanages. He is skeptical, on the whole, of the effectiveness of government interventions, such as job training for welfare recipients.

Using primarily existing studies, including experiments done with identical twins separated at birth, Herrnstein and Murray conclude that intelligence is largely inherited and cannot be improved significantly after birth. They accept the validity of IQ tests as a measure of intelligence - itself a hugely controversial notion.

Herrnstein, in an interview this spring, said the book goes on to establish a link between intelligence and a whole range of societal behavior - economic success, criminal activity, welfare dependency and educational performance, for example.

"If you accept the correlation between crime and IQ, then some people are

genetically predisposed to break the law. People on welfare on average have low IQs. The income distribution in this country is an echo of IQ distribution," Herrnstein said.

"What we are struck by is, the genetic distribution of intelligence is taking a huge toll on how our society functions. We want people to recognize that," he said. "My hope is that we will . . . put things on the table, so that people will be able to filter it into their thinking about public policy."

In part because of the racial dimension, and in part because there are sharply divided camps on the question of whether intelligence is truly genetically transmitted, the Herrnstein-Murray thesis is expected to deepen rifts between scholars.

The evolution of the nature vs. nurture debate on intelligence is a rancorous one. While most psychologists scoffed at Jensen and Herrnstein some 20 years ago, a 1988 survey of experts in the field showed that most agreed that intelligence may well be largely heritable.

What Herrnstein first touted two decades ago "is standard doctrine now," said Ellis Page, professor of education at Duke University. "The more you look at the journals, the more amazing the role of genetics seems to be."

Most experts in genetics, however, say there is no hard DNA evidence that certain traits - intelligence, alcoholism, mental illness, even homosexuality - are genetically transmitted.

"I don't think we're at a point where we can draw a strong conclusion," said Jonathan Beckwith, a geneticist at Harvard Medical School. Because no scientist has identified a set of "intelligence genes," scholars must rely on studies involving separated identical or fraternal twins, whose reliability is disputed, he said.

Even among those who agree that intelligence is inherited, there is considerable doubt about the Herrnstein-Murray thesis that little can be done to improve inborn mental ability. Though twin studies seem to show that intelligence is "primarily genetic in origin," said Tom Bouchard, a psychologist at the Minnesota Center for Twin and Adoption Research, "clearly intelligence can be impacted by environment."

"Genetics does not suggest something is unalterable," said Evan Balaban, former associate professor of organismic and evolutionary biology at Harvard, and now a senior research fellow at the The Neurosciences Institute in La Jolla, Calif.

Many scientists hypothesize that intelligence is shaped by a mixture of genes and environmental influences. Like Beckwith, Balaban expressed some impatience with social scientists making more comprehensive assertions about the role of genes. "All this talk of biological determination is being driven by the people who have the least

training in genetics."

Yet adherents to the Herrnstein-Murray view are legion, and they are fiercely loyal. Many hope "The Bell Curve" will reopen academic discussions long viewed as taboo.

"The media downplays heritability and overplays bias in IQ testing, but most of the experts hold the opposite views," said David Row, a professor of family studies at the University of Arizona at Tucson and author of "The Limits of Family Influence: Genes, Experience and Behavior."

"If you take someone off the street and try to make them a professional baseball player, no amount of training or batting practice is going to make them one," he said. "More nurture doesn't make a shy person sociable, or make someone aggressive less so."

"People are actively looking for genes that influence a variety of behavior. It's the early part of the search and we don't have the answer yet," Row said. "But a lot of the evidence is already there."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Richard J. Herrnstein is the co-author of a controversial book claiming that intelligence is largely inherited.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: August 10, 1994

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Rocky Mountain News

June 8, 1994, Wednesday

SECTION: NEWS/NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL; Ed. F; Pg. 36A

LENGTH: 1307 words

HEADLINE: Talking tough on welfare

Controversial author advocates slamming door on new recipients, refusing to give additional benefits to mothers on the dole who have more children

BYLINE: Peter A. Brown; Scripps Howard News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Most Americans have never heard of Charles Murray, but he may have more impact on the changing national view of welfare than almost anyone else.

Murray believes the answer is to stop accepting any new welfare recipients.

A former Peace Corps volunteer turned academic, Murray's ideas for solving the welfare problem, once largely viewed as draconian, have gained currency.

"Murray took a lot of heat many years ago for a lot of things that are now not so controversial today," said Bruce Reed, the White House aide in charge of welfare reform.

Although the program that President Clinton will soon propose falls short of Murray's current prescription, even Clinton acknowledges his contribution to the evolution of thought over the past decade.

"He did the country a great service," Clinton said of Murray this spring. "I mean, he and I have often disagreed, but I think his analysis is essentially right."

Ideas earn respect

"Whether his prescription is right, I question," Clinton said, who does not support ending welfare.

Most Republicans don't go that far, either, but there is tremendous respect for Murray's ideas on Capitol Hill. "Charlie Murray has done more to radicalize the debate about welfare than Bill Clinton by a factor of 10-to-1," said No. 2 House

Republican Newt Gingrich of Georgia.

In 1984, Murray became one of the first academics to use statistical data to advance the notion that government programs aimed at eradicating poverty actually have contributed to a dependency that has trapped millions of Americans in a vicious cycle.

At the time, his book, *Losing Ground*, was applauded by some conservatives and assailed by most liberals.

He was among the first to advocate putting time limits on welfare participation and refusing additional benefits when welfare mothers have additional children. The political establishment once considered those ideas radical, yet they are in Clinton's plan and have solid support on Capitol Hill.

He sounded the alarm early on the growing problem of out-of-wedlock births, arguing that they were the major cause of poverty - a position now being adopted by those on both sides of the political aisle.

In an article last year titled "The Coming White Underclass" Murray argued the horrific implications of 30% of all births in America being out of wedlock, including 22% among whites. "I think the Murray article is one of the seminal events of the welfare debate," Gingrich said.

"The difference from 10 years ago is I am respectable and my ideas are respectable," Murray said in an interview. "An awful lot of what I do is the kind of thing, (that) most people in the country hear and say, 'Of course': That social science has discovered that two-parent families are better than one-parent families."

Now, Murray, a Harvard graduate and Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is advocating ending welfare entirely for new applicants as a way of stopping the huge increase.

"It is hard to argue he is not having impact," said Sharon Parrott of the Center On Budget and Policy Priorities. "But he gets some things right and some things wrong. His presentation of the impact of welfare on out-of-wedlock births is suspect. We think he gets wrong the assumption that the rise in out- of-wedlock births is driving every other social problem in the country."

Most lawmakers shy away

"The harm that would be done to the poor is unacceptable" if Murray's view that eliminating welfare would cause women to avoid having out-of-wedlock births is adopted, she said. "We should not be abandoning the needs of poor children."

Privately, many Republicans and Democrats working on the welfare issue say

they'd be interested in seeing if Murray's idea of cutting off welfare would work. But publicly, even most conservatives aren't willing to embrace that notion.

Ironically, Murray, who has become a hero in many Republican circles, is getting more attention from a Democratic White House than he did during GOP administrations.

Murray thinks race is standing in the way of dealing with the welfare issue. Because on a per-capita basis blacks are three times more likely to be welfare recipients than are whites, many have muted their criticisms of the welfare system for fear of being misconstrued as racists, he said.

That's why Murray, now a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington D.C. think tank, believes that the most likely location to test his thesis is a lily-white state.

"Some small state, probably heavily white and in the West, will get rid of welfare and the whole ballgame will be over" when it succeeds, he predicted.

Murray, who does not advocate throwing off welfare those already on it, believes that refusing to accept new applicants will change the incentive structure that has led young people to have out-of-wedlock children.

"Illegitimacy is the single most important social problem of our time - more important than crime, drugs, poverty, illiteracy, welfare or homelessness, because it drives everything else."

Teaching responsibility

"What I want is society drumming into little girls that having a baby is a very big deal and the way to hang on to the father is to be married. For little boys, I want them to be taught that they must take responsibility for their action" by marrying the mother of their children.

Murray isn't optimistic about the ability of Clinton's ballyhooed welfare reform plan to help much.

"The rhetoric sounds real good right now. In fact, if you take a look at the way they are describing that bill, there are a lot of things that are markedly different than the way we are doing things right now. If that bill is passed as is, it would be very interesting to see what happens.

But, he said with a smile, "the thing that might come out of this bill is (an amendment) someplace that might give states the option of taking the money they currently spend on AFDC (Aid For Dependent Children, the largest cash welfare program), food stamps and public housing and diverting it to adoption services and

foster care.

"If you have that kind of (amendment), it is my scenario you will have some little state out there that will take up the challenge, and I'm absolutely confident there will be a night-and-day response."

GRAPHIC: Photo

Charles Murray argues that programs aimed at eradicating poverty have contributed to a dependency that has trapped millions of Americans in a vicious cycle. By Chick Harrity / U.S. News & World Report.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: June 9, 1994

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May 30, 1994 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 48

LENGTH: 765 words

HEADLINE: Sighting a Great White Threat

BYLINE: BY MICKEY KAUS; KAUS is a senior editor at The New Republic and author of "The End of Equality."

BODY:

WHEN CHARLES MURRAY first suggested abolishing welfare in his 1984 book, "Losing Ground," he was demonized by the left and his idea was dismissed as kooky. He's still demonized by the left, but the welfare debate has moved to the right, and Murray's latest concept -- "the coming white underclass" -- has hit a media nerve. Nowadays, you're likely to turn on your TV and see network correspondents strolling with Murray through fields near his rural home. Murray's theories provide the intellectual basis for an emerging Republican effort to out-tough President Clinton on welfare, cutting off benefits entirely where Clinton would merely impose a two-year time limit.

Does Murray have a hidden agenda? Actually, it's not all that hidden. he is a laissez-faire communitarian who thinks that unless a do-gooding government foolishly interferes, people will naturally form communities that protect themselves by enforcing "norms of safety" and "norms of self-respect" (stigmatizing unwed motherhood, for example). In person, Murray adopts a more-in-sorrow-than-anger tone, as if once you take the "underclass" problem seriously, you must embrace his cut-'em-off prescription. But there are at least three areas where his theories deserve more scrutiny than they have been getting.

Is "the white underclass" an imminent threat? You have the makings of an underclass, Murray argues, "when you have in a community a whole lot of people with kids without fathers." That is what was left in the black ghettos when the black middle class moved out in the '60s and '70s. Today, in many of these ghettos, more than 80 percent of births are illegitimate. But it was race segregation that created the ghettos. Will there be a similar geographic concentration of poor, broken white homes? Impoverished whites, after all, tend to be spread throughout the population -- only 4 percent live in high-poverty ghettos, according to one study, compared with 26 percent of poor blacks. Although it can't be a good thing that about 22 percent of white births are now illegitimate, 22 percent is still a long way from 80 percent. In an interview with NEWSWEEK, Murray admits he can't name any white underclass neighborhoods "happening now." He is merely predicting that some poor white areas

will soon reach a "tipping point."

Is the problem illegitimacy or non-work? "I don't care how many women go to work," Murray has declared. He and his Republican champions like to pooh-pooh the importance of getting single mothers into the labor force. That distinguishes the Murrayites from Clinton, whose welfare plan will stress work. But does Murray really not care about work? He says he's not very concerned

about single moms who do work -- the Murphy Browns. (They would be unaffected by his aid cutoff anyway.) At the same time, he seems quite troubled by the idea that welfare checks might go to two-parent families that don't work, where "dad and mom sit around the house." Sounds like work is pretty important after all.

What's the best way to deter illegitimacy? The nub of the underclass problem, black or white, is clearly the combination of illegitimacy and non-work. Who has the cure? Here the seeming gulf between the Murray and Clinton plans shrinks even further. Both wind up relying on the need to work as a deterrent to illegitimacy. Murray, by abolishing welfare, would in effect tell prospective unwed mothers that they'd have to support themselves in private-sector jobs. Clinton plans roughly to say the same thing, though he'd offer public jobs as a last resort. Even Murray concedes that a work requirement imposed after two years might have a deterrent effect "if you have an absolute cutoff [of all benefits], so that on the 25th month, every woman who has been on welfare must report to a job site . . . or get nothing." He just doesn't think Clinton will propose anything that rigorous, or that any "mechanisms of government" would make such a requirement stick.

So the debate comes down to the old question of whether, in Murray's words, "the government will screw it up." If the Clintonites are naive about the ability of government, Murray seems equally naive about what would happen in the absence of government. Ending welfare, he says, would "trigger . . . a wide variety of extremely helpful private activities." Perhaps. But what if we abolish welfare and charity doesn't flower? You can be alarmed about illegitimacy, even about a "coming white underclass," and still not think Charles Murray has found the answer.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Murray's theories have hit a media nerve, VINCENT J. MUSI

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: June 01, 1994

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May 29, 1994, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: ISSUES; MINDY CAMERON; Pg. B6

LENGTH: 833 words

HEADLINE: CRABBY WELFARE REFORMER MAY BE ON TO SOMETHING

BYLINE: BY MINDY CAMERON

BODY:

THE man who suggested 10 years ago that we reform the welfare system by getting rid of it admits the idea still makes him a little queasy.

Author and researcher Charles Murray first proposed eliminating welfare in his book "Losing Ground." He calls it "a thought experiment."

Some experiments take longer than others to produce results. A decade after going public with his idea, Murray finds himself at the eye of a storm over welfare reform.

President Clinton is about to send his welfare-reform proposal to Congress. All across the country, state legislatures, including Washington's, are passing laws to change the welfare system.

It's not the cost in dollars and cents that motivates reformers. At both the state and federal level, payments to welfare recipients represent only a small fraction of budgets. The real issue is the social cost of so many babies being born to unwed mothers, often teen-age mothers.

In this state, 52 percent of welfare recipients are teen mothers. All too often, they live out their lives in poverty; they stay on welfare longer and, once off public assistance, are more likely to return.

"It's a dirty little secret," Murray contends, "that a large proportion of young women having babies out of wedlock are rotten mothers."

Murray said he overcame his anxiety about doing away with welfare because of his belief that "bringing a life into the world is profoundly important. And also, that bringing a child that you can't care for into the world is wrong, wrong in a moral sense."

He is also careful to stress that his proposal is for government to end welfare nine months and one day after deciding to do so. "We have a Faustian bargain" with mothers and mothers-to-be now relying on welfare, he said, and he does not propose to cut off their support.

Murray's research of social policy and its effects has persuaded him that since the 1960s the welfare system has enabled large numbers of single girls and women to have babies with the comfort of knowing they'd have government help

caring for their child.

In the last three decades, single parenthood has risen dramatically, first in poor African-American communities, and more recently in poor white communities.

Few would disagree with Murray that a growing underclass is a dangerous trend for American society. The sharp and widening class division leads to hostility and social chaos. It's a powder keg.

It's the ease with which Murray draws a simple connection between the welfare system, individual behavior and social chaos that makes his critics crazy.

That was quickly apparent last week at a welfare-reform roundtable convened by the Washington Research Council.

What about the global economy that has led to the loss of low-skill, high-wage jobs, the decline of public education, the increasing violence in media? one participant asked.

"There's always the temptation to be reasonable and say the world is complicated, and, of course, it is," Murray responded with a touch of sarcasm, hardly appeasing his frustrated critic.

Even Murray admits he sometimes sounds like an old curmudgeon. Perhaps he has earned the label "crabby" that one writer has hung on him. Up close, however, he doesn't fit the image of a heartless, cloistered researcher.

Murray speaks with passion about "the animus for my proposal." He is driven by a desire to re-energize the local community to solve problems. He genuinely believes the welfare bureaucracy saps human energy and initiative. Dismantling it, he insists, would result in individuals and community institutions reclaiming responsibility for taking care of each other, especially the children.

Again, the skeptic: What about the two-parent family in Gray's Harbor that needs assistance because of job loss and misfortune, not irresponsible behavior or bad choices?

A safety net, such as unemployment assistance, is a legitimate government role, Murray said. But as a policy matter, he favors putting cash into people's hands (through the Earned Income Tax Credit, for example) over providing an array of government-funded services.

Ambivalence haunts the debate over welfare reform. What will help the children? That question hovered in the room where Murray met with people from Washington state.

Murray thinks he has an answer. He's confident ending welfare would be good for kids back home in his Maryland community or in Montana. If government steps aside, good will from churches, volunteers, families and neighbors will fill the vacuum.

His critics believe he could be tragically wrong.

Murray himself retains some doubts. He's worried about the most desperate and dangerous inner cities where communities may be too broken for repair by local energy and initiative.

That lingering queasiness over what he has proposed is a human quality that makes Murray all the more credible and very much worth listening to on this perplexing matter.

Mindy Cameron's column appears Sunday on editorial pages of The Times.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 30, 1994

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The Palm Beach Post

May 1, 1994 SUNDAY, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: OPINION, Pg. 2F

LENGTH: 760 words

HEADLINE: AMERICA LOST THE 'WAR ON POVERTY'

BYLINE: FRAN HATHAWAY

BODY:

To every thing, there is a season, according to Ecclesiastes. Now seems to be the season to believe in Charles Murray.

I wouldn't have believed that eight years ago, when the social scientist came to Palm Beach County to discuss his book *Losing Ground* at the Palm Beach Round Table and stopped by to talk with Post editorial writers. At the time, most people dismissed his views as radical.

Abolish welfare? Leave poor women and children to fend for themselves? What planet's this guy from? These days, Mr. Murray's sounding more mainstream.

So who has changed - me or him? Me. And millions of other Americans.

Last week, President Clinton ruled out tax increases to finance his welfare-reform plan. He will focus on requiring work after two years on the rolls. But Americans across the political spectrum want to get tougher about welfare. In this election year, the debate is likely to rival the one over health-care reform.

Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., former Republican congressman from Minnesota Vin Weber, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp and former Secretary of Education William Bennett are pushing Republicans in Congress to oppose welfare payments to any woman under 21. Sen. Lauch Faircloth, R-N.C., introduced a bill to do that.

That's vintage Charles Murray. Last October, in an article he wrote for *The Wall Street Journal*, he began, "Every once in a while the sky really is falling, and this seems to be the case with the latest national figures on illegitimacy." In 1991, he noted, births to unmarried black women hit 68 percent - 80 percent in inner cities.

"But that's old news," he said. "The new trend that threatens the U.S. is white illegitimacy." What about all those well-educated white women choosing single

motherhood? Hype. White college-educated women have just 4 percent of illegitimate babies. "White illegitimacy is overwhelmingly a lower-class phenomenon."

Mr. Murray, now with the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington research group, would end all economic support for single mothers, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps and subsidized housing. He would provide medical care for the children.

He wants the signal to be loud and unmistakable: From society's perspective, to have a baby you cannot care for is profoundly irresponsible, and the government will no longer subsidize it.

What would Mr. Murray do with these babies?

He would make adoption much easier for the large pool of people who want children. Spend "lavishly" on orphanages. (Call them "preschools," he says, if that makes you more comfortable.) A woman who had a baby she couldn't support would have three main options: get help from family members, give the baby up for adoption or place it in an orphanage. Mr. Murray thinks any of those alternatives is better for a child than poverty.

Suzanne Turner, administrator for Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services District 9 - Palm Beach County - knows people are fed up with skyrocketing welfare numbers. She'd like to do more to prevent them - teach the economics of marriage as well as sex education, identify more fathers and make them responsible. But she knows cutting off welfare wouldn't send a message overnight. "And government would still be left to handle the consequences."

Charles Murray is a soft-spoken man with the air of an academician, but his words are forceful. "The war on poverty is over and America lost" was his thesis in *Losing Ground*. Today, many - perhaps a majority - of Americans have come to agree that our well-intentioned spending of billions of dollars has only created a large underclass devoid of motivation and hope.

Fran Hathaway is an editorial writer for The Palm Beach Post.

LOAD-DATE-MDC: July 26, 1994

Copyright 1994 The Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

March 9, 1994, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 20; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1187 words

HEADLINE: GOP WELFARE PROPOSALS BECOMING MORE CONSERVATIVE;
PUBLIC AID: THE MOVE COULD COMPLICATE CLINTON'S EFFORT TO
ACHIEVE BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT. GOP TURNS THE FOCUS TO
OUT-OF-WEDLOCK BIRTHS INSTEAD OF WORK

BYLINE: By RONALD BROWNSTEIN, TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Under fire from conservative intellectuals, Republicans are toughening their welfare reform proposals -- a move that could complicate President Clinton's hopes of building a bipartisan legislative coalition on the issue.

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) has asked a GOP task force that drafted the House Republican welfare proposal last fall to study the possibility of incorporating sterner measures into the bill to discourage births out of wedlock. The measures would be modeled on conservative analyst Charles Murray's call for reducing the rising number of such births by denying cash benefits to single women who bear children.

At the same time, Rep. James M. Talent (R-Mo.) is circulating a competing reform bill that would deny welfare benefits to any parent under 21 and impose work requirements more broadly than either the existing House GOP bill or the plan under development by the Clinton Administration.

"I think the political landscape has changed since the Republican bill was developed," Talent said. "It is now possible to go much further than I thought it was possible to go four or five months ago. . . . The possibilities are open-ended now."

Within Republican circles "there's a sense that the whole spectrum has shifted right," one House leadership aide said. "What seemed about as far out as we could be and still be in play legislatively (in our proposal) seems to be about middle-ground right now."

With many liberals still suspicious of Clinton's call for "ending welfare as we know

it," the rightward movement within the GOP will complicate the Administration's task of building a centrist coalition for reform.

None of the Republican initiatives is likely to become law. But as the more conservative proposals rise in prominence, it becomes more difficult for Clinton to attract significant bipartisan support for his plan, which is to be released next month.

This movement follows a pattern that has emerged on other issues, such as crime: As Clinton has tried to steer the Democratic Party toward the center,

Republicans have moved further right.

For years, conservatives were the champions of requiring welfare recipients to work. But now that Clinton has called for mandating work after two years on the rolls, the center of conservative opinion is moving to the argument that deterring out-of-wedlock births, not demanding work, is the key to real welfare reform.

"If you're dealing with different premises, different analyses and fundamentally different proposals, it makes it more difficult to get a Clinton coalition" to pass welfare reform, said Peter Wehner, policy director at a Washington conservative think tank, Empower America. "But if you concede at the outset (that) the Clinton premise is right, you may get a bill -- but you don't get a bill that really deals with the issue."

The hope, Talent said, is that, by moving to the right, Republicans will "hold Clinton to his commitments" against pressure from liberal Democrats to dilute reform. But more moderate welfare reform advocates question whether the real conservative goal is to deny Clinton a legislative victory on the politically polarizing issue.

"One of the nightmare scenarios for Republicans is that they join with the President to solve the welfare problem that has bedeviled the Democrats for decades," one left-of-center welfare lobbyist said.

In the Senate, Republican thinking about welfare reform has not coalesced as much as in the House. The principal Senate Republican welfare proposal, built around an immediate workfare requirement for all able-bodied recipients, has attracted just 19 sponsors.

In the vacuum, GOP calls for more radical change are emerging. On Monday Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) proposed turning over responsibility for welfare, food stamps and the Women, Infants and Children nutritional program entirely to the states, in return for the federal government eventually assuming all costs for Medicaid, the joint state-federal health care program for the poor.

Kassebaum said Monday that her plan would allow states flexibility to redesign the welfare system in basic ways. "I do not think Washington can reform welfare in any meaningful, lasting way," she said.

Like Clinton's evolving plan, the House GOP bill places primary emphasis on moving welfare recipients off the rolls by requiring them to work. And like the expected Clinton plan, the bill would require recipients to work after two years on the rolls and provide government jobs if no private employment is available.

The bill attempts to discourage out-of-wedlock births by preventing teen-agers on welfare from establishing their own households – as Clinton is likely to propose. But the Republican plan would go well beyond Clinton's to say that states could not provide benefits to parents under 18, or to women who had additional children while already on the rolls, unless they pass legislation specifically authorizing such payments.

When House Republicans introduced their bill last November, 162 of the 175 GOP members endorsed it. And with its broad similarities to Clinton's

approach, some legislative observers thought that it created the possibility for a broad welfare reform coalition. But that prospect is being clouded by the intense counterattack against the legislation within Republican circles.

In a process reminiscent of the toughening stand among GOP legislators against health care reform, this reassessment on welfare is being driven primarily by criticism from outsiders, such as Murray; Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington think tank; former Education Secretary William J. Bennett, and Bill Kristol, founder of the Project for the Republican Future.

The conservatives have strafed the bill on policy and political grounds.

The principal policy criticism is that it focuses too much on expensive workfare programs and does not do enough to discourage out-of-wedlock births. Conservatives have been urging at least experiments with the idea of cutting off all cash aid, except medical assistance, to unwed mothers since Murray wrote a Wall Street Journal article late last October presenting that as the best way to stem the tide of out-of-wedlock births – expected to reach 40% of all births by the end of the decade.

"I do not understand why these people think getting poor women into the job market is going to solve the problem," Murray said. "You're still going to have urban centers where you don't have any fathers, and that's the source of the problem."

Almost all observers consider Murray's idea too Draconian to pass Congress, but it is shifting the center of debate.

It is likely, sources said, that the GOP will amend its bill to allow states to

experiment with Murray's proposal. It may also stiffen the measures allowing states to cut off welfare benefits to young mothers – for example, by raising the age beneath which benefits would be terminated.

But Rep. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.), who led the task force that drafted the House GOP bill, signaled that he is likely to resist too many changes.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: March 10, 1994

Copyright 1990 The New York Times Company
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November 30, 1990, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 22; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1676 words

HEADLINE: Washington at Work;
An Architect of the Reagan Vision Plunges Into Inquiry on Race and I.Q.

BYLINE: By JASON DePARLE, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Nov. 29

BODY:

One thing Charles Murray knows how to do is generate controversy. In 1984, his book "Losing Ground" argued that social programs did more harm than good and proposed, as "a thought experiment," that the country simply abolish them.

A visitor to White House offices recalls a Reagan aide brandishing the book aloft as a sort of Exhibit A when advocating program cuts. The President himself cited it in attacks on the welfare system. Liberal academics combed through census tapes seeking to discredit his thesis.

That may not be Mr. Murray's last uproar. Now at the American Enterprise Institute, a public policy research center here, he sits at an important crossroads of ideas and politics. Collaborating with Richard Herrnstein, a Harvard psychologist who has in the past been in the center of disputes about heredity and intelligence, he is asking one of the most explosive questions a social scientist can pose: whether there are differences in intelligence between blacks and whites that help explain differences in their economic and social standing.

Departure From Institute

"There is no way to exaggerate the sensitivity of the issues we're involved in," said Mr. Murray, who argues that the issues are too complex, and his views still too subject to change, for him to publicly discuss them.

Not only is the pressure on Mr. Murray in the personal sense. His decision to wade into the subject has put him in the middle of think-tank politics. Though Mr. Murray was by far the best-known scholar at the Manhattan Institute in New York City, the conservative policy research group was reluctant to follow him into this thicket, and he left, after an eight-year association, taking with him an annual foundation grant of

about \$100,000 for salary, overhead and other expenses.

Other influential research institutes had reservations as well. One question is whether the enterprise institute is risking a damaging controversy, or instead adding a prominent scholar who will help it be as central to intellectual activity in the 1990's as it was in the early days of the Reagan era.

Christopher DeMuth, who worked on deregulation in the Reagan White House and is now president of the enterprise institute, says he decided to recruit Mr. Murray on the basis of his past work, without studying the details of his current project.

"I think he's a very bright social scientist who does very good work," he said.

Faith in Murray's Work

As for the work on race and intelligence, "people have written responsibly and irresponsibly in the area," said Mr. DeMuth, adding that he had faith that Mr. Murray's product would fit the former description.

But many of Mr. Murray's colleagues, in Washington and elsewhere, describe themselves as torn between their regard for his intellectual integrity and their concern over where such research has led in the past. Some also worry that his concentration now on I.Q. tests is leading him away from the nonracial precepts of "Losing Ground."

"So Charles, are you a racist?" asked an editor who has published Mr. Murray's work, only half-jokingly, when the two of them met for lunch recently.

"I've started to keep a journal, because people do say that a lot," Mr. Murray said.

Defending the work in an interview, Mr. Murray said the discussion of racial differences would play only a small role in a book that would take a much broader look at the way individual characteristics, like intelligence, patience and diligence, affect success and failure.

Asked if he had concluded that differences in intelligence helped to explain the relative standings of black people and white people in America, he said: "Read the book. There is absolutely no simple answer I can give you." William Hammett, president of the Manhattan Institute, said he thought Mr. Murray had little to gain in terms of useful knowledge as a result of his inquiry and much to lose in terms of adverse publicity.

Asked to articulate his objection, Mr. Hammett had difficulty choosing his words, saying he feared headlines like "White Scholar Suggests Genetic Inferiority," but assuring that Mr. Murray "would never fall into that."

"When you say this stuff it just sounds bad," he said. "I have to rethink this damn thing."

Better to Work Elsewhere

While Mr. Murray could have stayed at the institute, he said, they both agreed it would be better if he pursued such work elsewhere.

After leaving New York, Mr. Murray also discussed the project with the Brookings Institution, which has a reputation as being more liberal than the American Enterprise Institute. "We also thought that the project was an interesting one on which no one could pass judgment until it's finished," said

Bruce MacLaury, the Brookings president.

Since Mr. Murray already had a grant from the Bradley Foundation, a large Milwaukee-based foundation, Brookings could offer him an office without facing the question of whether to place him on its staff, Mr. MacLaury said. The racial aspects of the research would have made the decision to offer him a staff position more difficult, he said.

Defying convention seems a habit with Mr. Murray, who said it has been the way since at least his undergraduate years. On the rare occasions when circumstances forced him to wear a necktie, he said, he took pains to make sure the narrow end was longer. "If I got it wrong, I would retie it," he said, in a tone that wobbled between pride and self-reproach.

Neckties aside, Mr. Murray, who is 47 years old, enjoyed a conventional upbringing in Newton, Iowa, where his father worked as an executive for the Maytag Corporation and his mother raised a family.

"On both sides of the family, they were really an American story of working hard and being rewarded for it," he said, describing the one kind of social program he believes in.

When Mr. Murray graduated from Harvard University in 1965 with a bachelor's degree, he said, he did not yet consider himself a conservative. He views his years in the Peace Corps, which he said he had joined more as an adventurer than a humanitarian, as the beginning of a long education in the hubris of social engineering.

A Pattern of Failure

He spent two years in Thailand, telling villagers how to build toilets, but concluded that he had contributed nothing. After returning to the United States he

embarked on a career as an analyst with the American Institutes for Research, a private company that works for foundations and governments in evaluating a broad range of social programs. But the more dealings he had with inner-city programs to reduce teen-age pregnancy, crime or other social ills, the more he saw a pattern of failure.

With "Losing Ground," his disillusionment became the conservatives' manifesto.

While there was nothing new in the argument that Government policy had destroyed the incentives for the poor to avoid crime and find work, the elegance and detail that Mr. Murray summoned on its behalf was. Many officials in the Reagan Administration had said the same thing, but "Losing Ground," which was published by Basic Books, gave the viewpoint its intellectual architecture.

From the start of his frontal assault on the welfare state, Mr. Murray has understood that potentially volatile racial questions lurk close to the surface. He noted in "Losing Ground" that talk of welfare dependency was often accompanied by "a good deal of mean-spirited (often racist) invective," and he took pains to insist that his was a race neutral argument.

"This book is not about blacks and whites," he says when asked about the current work. It is mostly about the tensions between America's egalitarian

philosophy and the unequal way in which talents are distributed, he said.

Researchers have consistently found that groups of American blacks score on average about 15 points lower in I.Q. tests than groups of whites. But there is much disagreement about what that means. Some social scientists have argued that the gap is caused by differences in socioeconomic status and other environmental factors. Others have assailed the tests as relying on a narrow conception of intelligence.

Many argue that so-called scientific claims about racial differences in intelligence have turned out to be wrong. They say that such research has a discredited history of justifying violence and oppression.

"There is such a discrepancy in what's known by the specialists and assumed by the nonspecialists," Mr. Murray said.

Mr. Murray's collaborator in the new research, Professor Herrnstein, attracted national attention in 1971 when he predicted that as society became more meritocratic, individuals with low I.Q.'s would congregate on the bottom of the economic scale, intermarry and produce offspring with low I.Q.'s. Protesters accusing him of biological determinism — unfairly, he argues — disrupted his classes and tried to get him dismissed from the university.

He has largely been silent on issues of race. But this year, in *The Public Interest*, a

conservative journal, he attacked a report by the National Academy of Sciences on the state of black America. He said the report had overemphasized racial discrimination in explaining the status of blacks and had ignored "intractable race differences" in I.Q. test results. Modern science did not know what caused the difference, he said -- inheritance or environment -- or how to cure it.

Among those unpersuaded of the value of Mr. Murray's new project is his friend and fishing partner, Ed Crane, president of the libertarian Cato Institute. Mr. Crane said that he once hoped to lure Mr. Murray to his research organization, and that he had talked to him briefly about the current project, but did not offer him a position.

"It's not an area that I wish to get involved in," said Mr. Crane, who was otherwise full of praise for Mr. Murray's work.

Asked whether he shared Mr. Murray's view that the subject had unfortunately become taboo, he said, "I think that sometimes taboos serve a legitimate social function."

GRAPHIC: Photo: "Read the book," said Charles Murray of his examination of intelligence and race. "There is absolutely no simple answer I can give you" (Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 30, 1990

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April 2, 1990, Monday

SECTION: SECTION I; Pg. 38

LENGTH: 1684 words

HEADLINE: Monday Interview;
How to be cruel to be kind

BYLINE: MICHAEL PROWSE

HIGHLIGHT:
Michael Prowse talks to American social scientist Charles Murray

BODY:

Charles Murray, the US writer and social scientist, believes almost all welfare benefits should be abolished.

He first advocated this extreme policy in *Losing Ground*, a trenchant attack on the Great Society programmes of the 1960s which some say became the bible of the Reagan Administration.

Murray did not argue that welfare programmes should be slashed because the US could not afford them. Nor did he bother to make a case for lower taxes. He focused on the recipients of benefits.

His thesis was that the welfare system should be scrapped because it damaged those it is intended to help: the poor and disadvantaged.

What kind of man, I wondered as I waited for Murray at Washington's elegant Willard Hotel, arrives at such a harsh conclusion? An arrogant aristocrat? A soulless scientist?

By no means. Balding and good-humoured, Murray is a homey American - the kind of neighbour you might expect in a pleasant suburb.

He was born in Newton, Iowa. His father, who started 'dirt poor' and could afford only a single semester at a local community college, worked most of his life for Maytag, the washing machine maker. Murray used his brains to escape this relatively humble beginning.

A bright student, he took degrees at Harvard and MIT before joining the Peace

Corps in Thailand.

Murray spent six years in Thailand. It was a formative experience.

As a 'change agent' in the Peace Corps, he discovered he was unable to change anything. Effective development seemed to occur only when instigated by the villagers themselves. He also discovered he could be happy despite enduring what was by US standards an extremely low standard of living.

When Murray returned to the US, he joined a Washington think-tank and spent most of the 1970s evaluating social programmes. After voting for Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s, he found himself steadily drifting to the right. The Great Society policies he was analysing just did not seem to be working. Since nobody read his technical reports, he decided to write a book.

Murray admits that when he began *Losing Ground*, he had no idea he would end up urging such radical solutions as the abolition of welfare benefits, the dismantling of the public school system and the repeal of affirmative action legislation.

'I progressively wrote myself into a corner,' he concedes, where these were the only intellectually honest answers.

At its simplest, Murray's thesis is that poor people - like everybody else - respond to incentives. The problem is that the social policies invented by well-intentioned middle class professors create thoroughly perverse incentives.

Thus in 1960, a poor youth who got a girl pregnant had little option but to get married and seek employment.

After the Great Society, alleges Murray, changes in benefit rules, legal precedents and social norms had tipped the scales decisively against marriage and a low-paid job. Although these were still the right long-run strategies, they looked stupid in the short term. It seemed more rational not to marry, to let the girl pick up welfare cheques as a single parent and to resort to crime or casual work in the black economy while drawing unemployment benefit.

The exact arithmetic is unimportant. Murray's point is that by being kinder to people in trouble, welfare reformers ensured that more people would get into trouble and stay there. He says the phenomenon is not unique to the US.

On a flying visit to Britain last autumn, he diagnosed the emergence of a US-style 'underclass' in UK inner cities. Some of the statistics certainly appear alarming.

Illegitimate births (in Murray's view a key predictor of social strife) have risen from around 5 per cent of all births in 1960 to 25 per cent today - and the recent rate of increase is sharper than anything seen in the US.

The property crime rate is higher in England than in the US. Meanwhile, inner-city youths show a disturbing tendency to withdraw from the official labour market - another alleged sign of an underclass.

Visiting Britain was like 'being in a time warp,' he says. Experts tried to play down the significance of the illegitimacy figures, arguing that cohabiting couples often formed stable relationships.

Murray says this is a battle he no longer has to fight in the US: even the sceptics now accept illegitimacy is a problem.

Perhaps Murray has a point. But in talking with him, one cannot help noting a moralistic, almost puritanical, streak. He is libertarian enough to recognise that people may want to form gay or single person communities but argues that US policies (such as support for one parent families) are 'subsidising

destructive lifestyles.' There is no mistaking his preference for 'cornflake families:' Mom and Dad (preferably decently married in church) and a bunch of well-scrubbed kids.

If welfare benefits undermine the self-respect and productivity of the poor, I protested, why is it that the largesse parents shower on middle class kids does so little harm? Shouldn't inheritance also be abolished?

'I had many wealthy friends at college whose self-respect was undermined enormously,' he said. 'The practical effect of abolishing inheritance might not be so bad,' he joked.

In Murray's view, parental income is a red herring.

He says the important thing is to be demanding as a parent - to make children earn their allowances, respect moral values and learn a sense of civic obligation. To test his commitment to the principle of 'earning your way,' I asked him to imagine the US after many additional decades of economic growth.

Some time in the 21st century, a social dividend or guaranteed minimum income for all might become affordable without prohibitive rates of taxation. Everybody could have a small non-wage income as of right. If monotonous full-time employment was no longer a necessity, more people would be able to develop their full potential.

Murray seemed horrified by such a vision. A social dividend would be pernicious even if it could be afforded. Why? Because work is one of the main sources of pleasure in life.

'We have to figure out something to do with our time. That will still be true in 100 years. A guaranteed income would take away one of the crucial ways by which people lead satisfying lives.'

In a society rich enough to pay a social dividend, he riposted, there would be no need for a centralised welfare system. Resources would be so plentiful that the feckless and jobless would be able to rely on local and private charity. Moreover, such a society would be far happier than one which guaranteed benefits.

Returning to reality, I asked whether Reagan had made any social headway during the 1980s. He conceded there had been little, if any, progress. Unemployment among young blacks had fallen quite sharply, but that reflected the economic cycle. Education test scores had stopped deteriorating but were still awful. The crime figures had improved slightly - until the crack epidemic.

But Murray does believe attitudes have changed for the better. People are less certain that welfare is an 'entitlement' and they are perhaps beginning to recognise the advantages of decentralisation in social policies.

What did he think of the Bush Administration?

'It is moderate, competent and a believer in incremental solutions,' he replied. 'I don't expect much from it.'

But he is gloomy about any government getting to grips with entrenched social problems. The members of an underclass, he points out wryly, will never press for fundamental reforms which would reduce their benefits. Nor is a majority of the electorate going to back 'radical change in what looks like an uncompassionate direction.'

Ironically, Murray himself seems to have been losing ground in recent years.

In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government, his second and rather philosophical book, makes a spirited case for putting the clock back 200 years and reorganising US society along Jeffersonian lines. The refrain on almost every page is that big government is bad. Sadly for Murray it sold only about a quarter as many copies as Losing Ground.

His third book, about the Apollo space programme, was a flop - a reminder, perhaps, of the truth of the second of five solemn social principles enunciated in Losing Ground: 'effort is not always rewarded with success.'

But Murray remains in high spirits. He is collaborating with Richard Herrnstein, the Harvard psychologist, on a fourth book. The working title is Individual Differences and Public Policy. It deals with a taboo subject in the US: the causes and

consequences of differences in IQ. Friends told Murray it would be 'professional suicide' to tackle this subject, which is explosive given the the US's racial mix, the low test scores of blacks and the fact that social policies (such as reverse discrimination) implicitly assume that differences in individual achievement reflect environmental factors.

Murray is undeterred. Herrnstein has already been attacked for arguing that IQ is heritable, that success is linked with IQ and that, therefore, success is heritable.

If correct the argument has ominous implications. It suggests that if progressive forces succeed in ironing out environmental differences, genetic inheritance will become a more important determinant of individual success.

Thus policies intended to widen opportunity could ironically create a more stratified society. A self-perpetuating elite would monopolise the top jobs not through nepotism but by through its monopoly of the top genes.

'We're the only two who can write this book,' says Murray with a smile, 'because everything that can be said about us has already been said.' PERSONAL FILE

1943	Born Iowa, US; educated at Harvard and MIT
1965	Joins Peace Corps in Thailand
1970s	Social scientist, American Institutes for Research
1984	Publishes Losing Ground
1985	Senior Fellow Manhattan Institute
1988	Publishes In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government
1989	Diagnoses emergence of British 'underclass'

GRAPHIC: Picture, 'I don't expect much from the Bush administration

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