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CHARACTER

A PERIODICAL ABOUT THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POLICIES SHAPING AMERICAN YOUTH

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*bill
Cory memo*

August 6, 1980

Dear Irv:

More free political suggestions.

The statistics and graphs in the enclosed issue of Character--especially the graphs which are simple to understand--are a powerful indictment of the (federal) interventionism which has been prevailing.

Of course, such interventionism is not the only "cause" of these shocking developments, but it is fair to label it an important contributor.

Reagan might want to mention this in some campaign document. Or, in his post-election planning, his education and youth policy should be developed with full cognizance of the implications of these data.

This letter is written after I have just failed in my second effort to get the federal research establishment to publish a paper officially summarizing the data. Such a paper would cost little money and might stimulate some good effects. I am not surprised my suggestion was rejected.

Sincerely,



Edward A. Wynne

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IN FUTURE ISSUES OF CHARACTER, ARTICLES WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY COMMUNICATIONS FROM READERS, BRIEF NEWS NOTES, AND OCCASIONAL EDITORIALS.

FACTS ABOUT THE CHARACTER OF YOUNG AMERICANS

Edward A. Wynne

There is a widespread public concern about the character of our younger generation. And there is a good deal of scientific data which reveal that this concern is warranted. Essentially, the statistics reveal steady increases in adolescent conduct which can be described as either other-destructive or self-destructive. And these shifts have been accompanied by concurrent changes in youth attitudes. Unfortunately, while matters such as shifts in student reading scores have excited considerable publicity, the statistics about harmful conduct and disturbing attitudes have received less attention.

However, the data raise important questions about the continuing vitality of American society. After all, that vitality ultimately depends upon the ability of adult-operated institutions such as families, neighborhoods and schools to rear children and adolescents to become effective and competent adults. The data suggest that the portion of youths maturing into such competence may be steadily declining.

This article will present relevant data about contemporary youth character and offer an interpretation and prescription. Unfortunately, data showing national trends cannot always be current. The basic facts are collected through elaborate counting systems, and there is necessarily a time lag in reporting and publication. Still, in view of the long-term, incremental patterns disclosed, one would have to be extremely optimistic to suppose that up-to-date data would reveal dramatic reversals.

Data About Youth Conduct

Between 1959 and 1976, the rate of death by homicide of white males aged 15 to 19 rose from 2.7 per 100,000 members of the age group to 7.5. This is a 177% increase. In particular, the rate increased each year between 1969 and 1975.

During the same period no other age group had a comparable increase in its homicide rate. The highest previous homicide rate (before the 1970's) for white males aged 15 to 19 during the twentieth century was 5.2 in 1919. (Incidentally, the rate for black males in the same age group started from a much higher base, and it also has been rising; but between 1969 and 1975

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the black rate began to decline. In 1976 it was 46.8.) There is every reason to believe that such increased crimes against the young have generally been committed by their peers, i.e., other white male adolescents.

Between 1950 and 1976, the annual suicide rate of white males between the ages of 15 and 19 increased 260%, from 3.5 deaths for each 100,000 to 11.9. No other age group had so high a rate of increase. During these same years the overall white male suicide rate increased by only 11%. The increase in adolescent suicides was relatively steady and incremental. The gradualness of the increase suggests that it was not directly related to the major political and social upheavals of the period. For instance, the rate of climb during the allegedly quiescent late 1950's was about the same as the rate of climb during the turbulent late 1960's.

Suicide statistics are a reliable measure of comparative changes in the suicide rate. The tabulations reflect the judgments of thousands of local health officers and coroners as to cause of death. Sometimes these individual judgments are incorrect; however, there is no reason to believe that the basic random pattern of "incorrectness" that prevailed years ago is not still in operation today.

The absolute number of youths involved in the increase in homicide and suicide are, fortunately, comparatively small. We have perhaps 10,000 homicides and suicides a year among whites aged 15 to 19. This is a minute fraction of our youth population. But the increase has immense symbolic and indicative significance.

For each homicide and suicide, there are presumably innumerable uncounted episodes, aborted attempts, aggravated assault, and incidents of severe aggression or depression. Evidently, the incidence of such episodes has enormously increased among our white adolescents over the past 25 years.

There is also evidence of increased drug use by the young. In 1975, a national survey of a sample of the high school graduating class of that year reported that 18.2% of the males admitted to using marijuana before tenth grade; a similar survey of the 1977 class disclosed that the equivalent figure had increased to 30.6%. And this drug use extends to other,

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more serious substances. For instance, two successive surveys of national samples of "youths" (no ages were given in the report) conducted in 1972 and 1974 asked respondents about their use of five illegal drugs. The 1974 respondents reported higher levels of usage for all five drugs than did the 1972 respondents. A 1975 report of the National Institute on Drug Abuse also concluded that "there is no indication of any recent decline in the annual prevalence of any drug, with the possible exception of psychedelics."

We do not have statistics about the national level of youth drug use before the late 1960's. Thus the issue of long-term trends in drug use is complicated; however, we do have some trend statistics from the late 1960's onward. The most thorough statistics cover San Mateo County (California) students for every year from 1968 to 1976. San Mateo is an affluent suburban county. It is recognized as having relatively intense drug use and is, therefore, not typical. Still, there is evidence that trends originating in California tend to spread. For example, the 1968 San Mateo levels represent current rates of adolescent marijuana use in many communities. The statistics thus provide a potential forecasting indicator. The San Mateo statistics on marijuana use among certain high school grades are set out in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Percentage of Marijuana Use Among Male San Mateo County, Calif., High School Students, 1968 to 1976

Year	One or more uses in past year		Ten or more uses in past year		Fifty or more uses in past year	
	Grade 9	Grade 12	Grade 9	Grade 12	Grade 9	Grade 12
1968	27	45	14	26	na	na
1969	35	50	20	34	na	na
1970	34	51	20	34	11	22
1971	44	59	26	43	17	32
1972	44	61	27	45	16	32
1973	51	61	32	45	20	32
1974	49	62	30	47	20	34
1975	49	64	30	45	20	31
1976	48	61	27	42	17	30

Source: San Mateo County, Department of Public Health and Welfare, *Summary Report, 1976, Surveys of Student Drug Use* (San Mateo, Calif.: Department of Public Health, 1976).

These statistics reveal a stabilization of use at a comparatively high level of intensity. Other tabulated San Mateo data reveal steady increases in student use of a variety of drugs. Nationally, it is also significant to recall that arrests of males under age 18 for narcotics law violations increased 1,288% between 1960 and 1972.

There are also statistics on increased use of alcohol by youths. The San Mateo survey reported that the percentage of seventh-grade boys who had begun drinking during the previous year increased from 52% in 1969 to 72% in 1973. This increase is consistent with equivalent increases reported in other surveys in Duval County, Florida, and Toronto, Ontario. And this adolescent drinking is not simply tasting. In 1974, 24.1% of a national sample of youths between the ages of 13 and 18 reported being drunk four or more times during the past year.

The increase in drug and alcohol use is obvious evidence of the growing drive for speedy gratification among the young — and of an effort to avoid or escape the environment around them. Incidentally, since much of that environment consists of their peers, the statistics might also imply that some adolescents are finding each other's company less and less pleasant without the support of drugs or alcohol.

Changes in the area of youth sexual relations have been significant. Between 1950 and 1976, the estimated number of illegitimate births for unmarried white females, aged 15 to 19, went from 5.1 per 1,000 to 12.4. This increase in illegitimacy has occurred during a period characterized by increasing availability of contraceptives, abortion, and sexual information.

Another pertinent sex-related change has been the spread of venereal disease among the young. Between 1956 and 1974, reported cases of gonorrhea (per 100,000 members of the 15 to 19 age group) rose more than 200%, while syphilis increased 100%. These increases were associated with an increased availability of medicines, treatment centers, and appropriate preventive information.

Obviously, the increases in illegitimacy and venereal disease reflect a growth in casual (or promiscuous) sexual relations and in irresponsible attitudes among sex partners, who feel little concern for "protecting" one another.

Some national trend statistics are available on delinquency. Between 1957 and 1974, the number of delinquency cases per 1,000 persons aged 10 to 17 disposed of by American juvenile courts rose from 19.1 to 37.5. Throughout the period, the proportion of status offenses (e.g., running away and other non-criminal conduct) to criminal acts (e.g., shoplifting, robbery) added together to calculate total delinquency remained relatively constant. Drug cases were a significant but not central element in the increase. There are also statistics for increased antisocial conduct in schools. One survey reported that, in the national samples of schools studied, assaults on teachers increased 85% between 1970 and 1973. During the same period the number of weapons confiscated from students by authorities in the schools surveyed rose by 54%.

Some forms of school-related delinquency are not necessarily criminal, though their implications are still disturbing. Thus, the Carnegie Commission, in 1969, surveyed a sample of students in American research universities, as to their incidence of cheating; 5.4% of the students surveyed admitted engaging in some form of cheating. In a 1976 survey of the same nature, the level of incidence had risen to 9.8%.

We should also consider the student unrest, building take-overs, and other youth disorders of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Occasional student disorder has always been a fact of American history, but the most recent wave involved a higher proportion of youths and took more destructive forms. For example, during 1969 and 1970, more than 8,000 bomb threats, attempted bombings, and bombings were attributed to student unrest. In 1970, nine of the top 16 FBI most-wanted persons were youth activists, their crimes including murder, bank robbery, and bombing. I shall discuss the significance of this particular form of disorder in more detail later.

I have presented data on a variety of self-destructive and other-destructive acts committed by adolescents from all races and social classes. In any particular year one measure may go up and another down. But if we were able to develop any system of accumulating and weighing these measures, such a system would, I believe, reveal a steady increase in those acts demonstrating a lack of what is traditionally called "good character." And wherever comparable statistics are available, the data reveal that the rate of increase in such conduct is greater

than the rate for adults. Obviously, we must look at these acts cumulatively rather than discretely. We shouldn't make alcohol the issue one year, suicide the next, and so on. A segmented approach robs us of the chance to recognize the more general and shocking totality: our children and adolescents are increasingly engaged in killing, hurting, and abusing themselves and others.

Statistics on Changes in Attitudes

Not surprisingly, changes in youth conduct have been accompanied by changes in adolescent attitudes. Some trend data are available. Between 1948 and 1968, successive freshman classes at Haverford College in Philadelphia took the Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory (MMPI), a short-answer test that measures attitudes. Figure 2, from a study by Heath, reports a sample of statistics derived from the student answers. The numbers listed for each item represent the proportion of students who answered "yes." Clearly, these data are not up to date, but they do help us understand shifts in youth attitudes over a considerable part of the last quarter century and constitute the most complete longitudinal study available. When we consider more recent data later, a consistent relationship between the changes that occurred among the Haverford students and those revealed in current polls will become apparent. Finally, if we are concerned with interpreting the deeper meaning of the campus unrest of the Vietnam war period, the Haverford students represent a classic group of student militants — articulate, upper-middle-class, status-conscious. It is easy to recognize an overall attitudinal trend in their shifting answers. Essentially, the successive classes of students became less sympathetic to cooperative and group activities; more and more, they evinced attitudes consonant with withdrawal from contact or cooperation with others.

This increase in withdrawn attitudes among students was coupled with an apparent simultaneous increase in their self-centeredness. Between 1948 and 1968, the proportion of Haverford students who thought they could work great benefit to the world if given a chance rose from 40% to 66% while the proportion of these 17-year-olds who thought they knew more than experts rose from 20% to 38%. It is not clear how these increasingly withdrawn and introverted students could render such benefit without human interaction, or how they could acquire the experiences incident to becoming so knowledgeable.

Other statistics about youth attitudinal trends show that the Haverford patterns are representative of trends displayed by successive cohorts of late adolescents on other college campuses. Attitudinal tests were administered to students at Dartmouth College in 1952 and 1968 and at the University of Michigan in 1952 and 1969. Several similar questions were asked of all students queried at both colleges. For example, they were asked whether "human nature is fundamentally more co-operative." Agreement declined from 66% and 70%, at Dartmouth and Michigan respectively, to 51% and 55%. Another question asked whether "most of what I am learning in college is very worthwhile." Agreement declined from 67% and 74% respectively to 58% and 57%. Again, these students were asked to identify the private and public institutions (e.g., school, church, family) to which they felt related. The number and intensity of summed identifications declined from 296 and 259, respectively, to 269 and 206. In other words, successive groups of students have felt less and less relationship to the world. They have become increasingly *alienated*.

We also have the 1969 and 1973 Yankelovich youth surveys. Unfortunately, they do not replicate questions asked in the

Haverford, Michigan, and Dartmouth studies, nor do they cover precisely equivalent groups of adolescents. Still, I contend that they show a continuation of the trends toward egotism and withdrawal. Among the college students surveyed in Yankelovich's national samples, the importance of "privacy" as a value increased from 61% in 1969 to 71% in 1973. At the same time, the respective importance of "religion" and "patriotism," two values that stress the individual's obligation to extrapersonal concerns, declined from 38% and 35% to 28% and 19%. The two surveys also showed a continuing pattern of gradual dissemination and acceptance of the views of college youths among non-college youths. In general, the views disclosed in the surveys demonstrate an enlargement of expectations about the rights of students and citizens and a lessening of expectations about the responsibilities of these same persons.

Figure 2. Haverford College, Sample MMPI Items for the Classes of 1948 Through 1968

	Percent "Yes"							
	48-49	52	56	60	61	65	67	68
When I was a child I didn't care to be a member of a crowd or gang	33	35	35	38	49	58	19	47
I could be happy living all alone in a cabin in the woods or mountains	23	28	34	38	33	35	42	45
I am a good mixer I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun	77	49	48	63	60	58	38	43
At parties I am more likely to sit by myself than to join in with the crowd	65	56	55	53	44	40	38	40
My worries seem to disappear when I get into a crowd of lively friends	23	35	40	27	44	38	47	50
If I were in trouble with several friends who were equally to blame, I would rather take the whole blame than give them away	71	69	73	68	58	65	56	55
When a man is with a woman he is usually thinking about things related to her sex I enjoy reading love stories	63	56	50	57	47	43	33	45
I like dramatics I would like to be a singer	29	37	15	27	35	28	36	43
	55	49	35	25	44	30	18	25
	80	74	73	75	60	73	67	65
	51	47	37	36	33	38	31	23

It is true that some of the period covered by some of the surveys encompassed the Watergate episode. Readers may deduce that this episode was an essential cause of the trend toward withdrawal. This interpretation is significant, because if Watergate was the "cause," and if Watergate was a transitory phenomenon, then we might expect youth attitudes to return to more healthy earlier patterns. However, the more long-range attitude trend statistics already presented suggest that the trend toward

withdrawal long antedated Watergate. For example, between 1949 and 1952, the first shifts toward withdrawal were already appearing in the Haverford statistics. And over the next 20 years, as more and more Americans became prosperous, as poverty declined, as the status of blacks generally improved, and as large-scale international war was avoided, those students (plus those at Michigan and Dartmouth) became increasingly alienated.

The data about trends toward increasingly individualistic and withdrawn youth attitudes are also supported by the diverse studies summarized by Dean Hogue in an analysis of the shifting values of college students over the past 50 years. Obviously, many of the measures used by Hogue to describe such trends are relatively imprecise. Still, the cumulative effect of the variety of data he has collected is highly persuasive.

Increasingly withdrawn attitudes have appeared among students during an era when the adult society has been dedicating increasing proportions of its economic resources to help the young. Thus, between 1950 and 1972, per-pupil daily expenditures in public schools increased by 170%, measured in constant dollars (to allow for inflation), while the national average pupil/teacher ratio (combining both elementary and high schools) declined from 25:1 to 21:1. It would seem that students were given more than ever before but liked their status—and, implicitly, the givers—less.

There are also significant cross-cultural statistics about the attitudes of American children. The statistics were developed in a contemporary international study of youth interaction patterns in six cultures. Five of the cultures represented underdeveloped or primitive environments. The sixth group of students were children in a New England community. A common rating scale was used by observers in all locations to evaluate youth conduct on the dimension of altruism versus egotism. A total of 134 children between ages 3 and 6 and between 7 and 11 were observed in the entire study. Approximately 9,500 interactions were identified. When the median level of altruistic conduct was treated as 50%, the American children, with a level of 8%, scored as the most egotistic. The next lowest group was a tribe in India, with a level of 25%. The number of children involved was small. Still, the dramatically high level of egotism among the American children, compared with that of children in non-Western cultures, suggests that the data may justify comparative generalizations about the overall level of egotistic conduct among American youths or youths from industrial societies.

What the Changes Mean

The preceding statistics invite analysis. But the analysis must be put in an appropriate framework. In general, the statistics are not decomposed into socioeconomic classes, although some of the changes (e.g., student unrest, drug use, evidence of withdrawn attitudes) are clearly common among upper-middle-class youths. Despite the rather dramatic nature of some of the conduct trends disclosed, relatively little longitudinal research is available concerning the socioeconomic status of the youths involved in certain acts (e.g., suicide) 10 and 20 years ago in comparison with the status of the youths involved at present. Still, the statistics that are available provide an important, albeit imperfect, tool for forecasting general trends affecting youths and younger adults and for interpreting significant elements of youth conduct.

The rising suicide rate, in particular, while it directly involves a small number of youths, may provide a vital clue to the possi-

ble causes of the spread of alienation. During the late nineteenth century, Durkheim identified that rate as an important index of social cohesion and vitality. He discovered that in European societies suicide was more prevalent among Protestants than among Catholics, urbanites than rural persons, the affluent than the middle and lower-middle classes, unmarried adults and childless married adults than married adults with children, males than females, and persons in the liberal professions than laborers and tradesmen. In other words, people were shielded from suicidal impulses because of the communal intensity of their religion, the stability of their life patterns, the predictability of their aspirations, the intensity and complexity of their social commitments, the focus of their responsibilities, and the tangibility of their work products. All of these shields were forces that placed human beings in complex but predictable patterns of human relations that moved toward identifiable goals.

Suicide is not so much the outcome of "pressure," but *pressure without social support*. Suicide does not automatically mean that a person has not been loved or cared for. It probably does mean that he was not needed by others in an immediate, tangible fashion. "Needed" should be understood in the sense we imply when we say we need the first-string member of an athletic team, the paper delivery boy, the only secretary in a small office, or the only wage earner in a family. The person needed must be obviously relied upon by others, and his absence should create a disruptive and foreseeable gap. In this light, it is understandable that one of the highest suicide rates is that of middle-aged bachelors, and one of the lowest is that of married women with children; yet which of these two groups is subject to the greater pressure? Indeed, the most "pressured" status is that of being left without apparent and immediate responsibilities to help others. While it is nice to know we are loved, it is essential to know we are needed.

In effect, suicide is a measure of the extent to which society has succeeded in integrating its citizens and its institutions. If integration is low, suicide will increase, because people will be self-centered and lonely, and they will crumple under the inevitable tensions that life generates. Less self-centered persons will withstand such pressures better, because they will be tied to social systems that provide them with demands as well as help. Thus suicide is a measure of both individual self-centeredness and the efficacy of a society's integrating institutions. Evidently, both our adolescents and the institutions around them are increasingly tending to fail that test.

The other statistics cited provide additional evidence of the decline of character among adolescents. Thus it is often selfishness that promotes delinquent acts: the injuring or threatening of others or stealing from them. It is selfish to destroy public property created by the sweat of others to make one's point or to release one's frustration. It is selfish to become pregnant—or to make someone else pregnant—and bring into the world a child who will not receive the emotional support of a stable family.

We should also recognize that much of this adolescent anti-social conduct does not float around in space; rather, it descends onto tangible victims—most of them also adolescents. For instance, adolescents have the highest rates of crime victimization. The victimization rate in 1974 (per 1,000 members for each age group) was 122 for 16- to 19-year-olds, compared to 64 for the total U.S. population. In other words, adolescents were likely to be victimized—usually by other adolescents. The most frequent

crimes committed against the young were larceny and rape. And most of the despised drug pushers who sell drugs to young users are other adolescents, trying to earn money to buy motorcycles, maintain cars, or dress in expensive or flashy clothes.

The shifts in youth attitudes, as well as conduct, are also consonant with a growth of self-centeredness. For example, a common belief of mature adults is that it is right for a group member—one who is himself equally at fault—to take blame for his fellows. We call such an attitude loyalty or fidelity. In the Haverford questionnaire this measure of potential fidelity declined from 63% to 45%. It may also represent a selfish (or self-centered) attitude when students at public colleges, where 60% to 70% of the costs are borne by taxpayers, describe the world as largely uncooperative. Without the cooperation and sacrifices of others—not only their parents, but all citizens—the students would not be given most of the cost of their education.

But Durkheim was concerned with more than self-centered conduct. He also hypothesized that dis-integrated persons would be excessively inclined toward loneliness, anger, withdrawal, and self-destruction. The use of drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes is often associated with such attitudes. The same sense of inadequacy is implied by the responses to the attitudinal questions that suggest increasing drives toward isolation as reflected in the growing emphasis on privacy as a personal aspiration.

Apparently young people expect more and more from society, but are simultaneously less and less willing to participate. Who, then, will be left to do the giving?

Durkheim's general analysis about dis-integrating social structures has obvious applicability to a variety of modern phenomena that increasingly surround our youths and young adults. These phenomena have special significance for younger persons, since the younger a person is, the higher the proportion of his life that has been spent in modern environments. Conversely, the older a person is, the less likely it is that his formative years were spent surrounded by modern phenomena. Figure 3 indicates a variety of modern phenomena that affect our young and suggests the effects they have on human interaction, the attitudes taught by such effects, and the supporting evidence that discloses the attitudes.

Applying Figure 3

A fuller understanding of the implications of Figure 3 can be reached if we use it to analyze one modern institution heavily involved with children and adolescents; our schools and colleges. This analysis is not to imply that education is the sole cause of the current situation, but to show the relationship between a general pattern of phenomena affecting the young and the operation of one important institution. Modern education systems:

1. Segregate the young from adults except for their immediate family and teachers, a highly restricted class of adults.
2. Segregate the young from contact with youths not in their immediate age range.
3. Segregate the young from contact with youths of different ability levels or from different socioeconomic classes.
4. Segregate the young (after elementary school) from persisting intense contacts with individual members of their age

group, since students are frequently shuffled from one group to another to meet the needs of rational scheduling.

5. Deprive the young (in departmentalized schools) of intimate contact with individual faculty members.
6. Place the young in environments where they have few occasions to participate in the dramatic, collective release of strong emotions.
7. Fail to encourage young people to participate in co-operative work efforts.
8. Compel the young to work on projects unrelated to proximate social and economic needs.

Figure 3. Modern Phenomena (A) That Affect Human Interaction (B), and Thus Teach Attitudes (C), Plus Statistics That Demonstrate Visible Patterns of Character Change (D)

A. Phenomena	B. Effects on Human Interaction	C. Attitudes Taught	D. Supporting Statistics
1. Technology	1. Lessening in frequency of intense human interaction	1. Less willingness to accept deferred gratification	1. Increase in youth homicide, suicide, illegitimacy, delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, and self-centered attitudes
2. Urbanization and suburbanization	2. More frequent peripheral contacts	2. Loneliness (and latent anger and resentment)	
3. Affluence	3. Segregation among age groups	3. Ineptness in talking to strangers and adults	2. Public perception that discipline is number one education problem
4. Decline of youth work roles	4. Healthy adult role models less available for the young	4. Instability and exploitiveness in personal relations	
5. Large institutions	5. Less pressure on the young to learn and display maturity	5. Low levels of loyalty and increased disaffection from society	3. Statistics on declining public faith in important institutions, both public and private
6. Mass media	6. Less willingness to demand cooperation or loyalty from the young, or to ask them to display respect for traditions and symbols of the society	6. Fear of serious commitment	
7. Rationality and individualism		7. Greater willingness to hurt others	
8. Important and legitimate institutions and interest groups having a stake in the continuation of current "unhealthy" trends			

9. Deprive the young of the chance to receive relatively immediate, tangible, commonly valued reinforcements (e.g., money, punishments, or pats on the back) in exchange for their efforts.

10. Fail to require the young to make significant choices (i.e., commitment) among different alternatives and to maintain their commitment or suffer a serious loss.

All of these patterns have continuously intensified over the past 20 to 30 years. School and college attendance has increased

and has been prolonged. Schools and school districts have become larger, more bureaucratic, and more controlled by forces outside the purview of local parents, teachers, and administrators. Teaching has become more departmentalized and subject-focused. Extracurricular activities have evidently declined in importance, and school activities have been increasingly segregated from local community life. While pupil/teacher ratios have improved (at great economic cost), modern institutional structures encourage teachers to have brief contacts with many different groups of students; they often restrict students to transitory relationships with large numbers of fellow students. Oftentimes, the responsibility for relating emotionally to students has been taken away from teachers—the adults with whom students spend most of their time—and assigned to “specialists,” e.g., counselors and social workers. The present system seems scientifically designed to teach students how not to handle intimacy and, consequently, how to fear and flee from it. But wholesome intimacy is essential to a satisfying life.

Thus far I have presented objective evidence of changes in the nature of (1) adolescent conduct, (2) the attitudes of many adolescents, and (3) our social systems. I have also tied these diverse changes together in a logically related pattern. In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, we should assume that distressing youth conduct will continue and increase unless we change the social systems and schools that relate to our young. This analysis of the relationship between contemporary social systems (including formal education) and youth dis-integration is not particularly novel. A number of reports have presented similar conclusions; the general direction of my recommendations shares some of the emphases of these writings.

Consequences of Declining Youth Character

The growing decline of youth character raises the central question of social continuity. Is our society rearing adults who can keep the country going? In the end, the survival of any society depends on its ability to create successive groups of mature adults (i.e., young people who are socialized to adulthood within that society) who are committed to its major traditions. Those traditions include the production of goods and services to sustain the young, the aged, and the ill; the maintenance (through taxes and military service) of a necessary defense establishment; the persistence of a decent level of public order; and the commitment of citizens to constructive community and political activities to sustain the country.

The modes of satisfying such traditions are mutable, and they include adaptations. However, widespread and continuing commitment to the central themes of those traditions is imperative: a country can “work” only so long as the people in it care about one another as well as about themselves. And the attitude we call “caring” is learned. Without such commitments to the whole society, adults of productive age may fail to provide adequately for the emotional and physical needs of the young or the old; society may not maintain an appropriate level of defense; public disorder may pollute social life with fear or make social contacts so unpleasant that we adopt cellular modes of existence; or community and political activities may be abandoned to irresponsible and incompetent leaders/followers and thus be governed by shortsighted egotism. These disastrous outcomes can be the product of excessive personal cynicism, withdrawal, anger, selfishness, and social incompetence among our youths and adults.

As adolescent dis-integration has increased, so also have signs of dis-integration among older Americans. The suicide rate, again, invites attention. Essentially, the statistics have always revealed that older males (aged 45 and older) have higher suicide rates than do younger males (between the ages of 20 and 24). But, in the past 10 to 20 years, the young adult rates have been rising, while the rates for older adults have stabilized or are declining. Presumably, part of the cause of the increased rate among young adults has been the growing proportion of alienated adolescents who carry forward their increasing fragility into adulthood. Another relevant phenomenon is the rising divorce rate, especially among younger married persons. While the steady increase has been a long-term rise, the alienating developments affecting adolescents are also long-term trends. And it is not surprising that increasingly anxious and insecure young adults are less able to make and keep judicious commitments—to make marriages that work. And when those marriages break up, children are often left to be reared by one parent. Thus again, the personal actions (and shortcomings) of anxious persons affect the lives of others.

At this point let us return to the phenomenon of student unrest during the Vietnam war. Many adults see this unrest as simply a dramatic response to wrong actions by the government. I can consider here only certain limitations of this interpretation. Many acts of the students involved breaking the law, destroying property paid for by others, disrupting classes, disturbing bystanders, and even injuring (on certain occasions, killing) innocent parties. Of course the violators often offered subtle and elaborate explanations of their transgressions. But how many criminals fail to offer excuses? It is surprising that articulate and educated persons offer more elaborate justifications? Perhaps it is equally significant to realize that, in general, the violators—as revealed in the statistics presented above—were lonely, filled with unrealistic confidence in their judgment, and members of an age group displaying an increasing disposition to engage in a wide variety of antisocial and self-destructive acts. Is it not conceivable that, for the great majority of the actors—the mass that made the demonstrations feasible—the unrest was largely an excuse for the release of latent aggression and the dramatic satisfaction of a variety of starved emotional needs? Of course the unrest eventually subsided, but this is not necessarily evidence that the underlying emotional causes have been satisfied; other measures of youth alienation have continued to show increases despite the end of the war. And perhaps if another vehicle—real or apparent—as “good” as the war appears, we may have further collective outbreaks among the dis-integrated.

Whether our society, at this time, is uniquely immoral or bad is hard to say—although I do not believe so. Governments will always be imperfect, like all human institutions. But I would contend that many people are applying higher standards to judging this country than ever before in its history. The application of such standards inevitably gives the “judges” many occasions for expressing anger, and it provides noble-sounding excuses for the display of what would ordinarily appear as selfish and unstable conduct. We cannot ignore this line of analysis as offering one explanation for much of the social dissatisfaction of our times.

There is a readily available example of the use of the “cry for justice” as an excuse to release aggression: consider the conduct of the contemporary upper-middle-class terrorists in Western Europe, who excuse their ruthless brutality with the most pretentious language. Or, to look back in history, we can recall

the slogan of Joseph Goebbels' pro-Nazi paper in Berlin during the 1920's, "For the oppressed, against the oppressor."

Some Corrective Steps

The steps we must take to correct the deficiencies of our current character-destructive policies entail putting into execution forces which will directly counteract the effects of these policies. Of course, this broad prescription requires extensive amplification, which is necessarily beyond the scope of this paper. However, that amplification can be aided by placing the challenge facing us in a general framework.

In particular, we must recognize the unique naivete of current popular – and even academic – American attitudes about youth character formation. Our implicit assumption, apparently, is that children "naturally" grow into responsible and productive citizens, who will display affection and concern for and loyalty toward the society and citizens who have nurtured them. This assumption would have been ridiculed by most thoughtful adults throughout history – including our Revolutionary forebears and many nineteenth century reformers. Leaders in earlier persisting societies believed that the formation of good character was the outcome of a complex medley of forces. They understood that responsible adults had to give careful consideration to the management of these forces. In particular, the impact of any significant public decision on youth character formation was subject to subtle analysis.

True, in modern America we often hear grumblings about the effects of television or the decline of the family, but the analyses offered are often pop or simplistic. And, all too often, many critics desperately seem to search for one "villain," and imply that there is some single operational cause – beyond our own general heedlessness. Undoubtedly, earlier public leaders would have looked for more complex causes. They would have been particularly distressed by our basic assumption that things will work out all right without careful, deliberate effort – the kind of effort we today give to the SALT negotiations, or to dealing with contemporary controversies in the areas of race and sex. Obviously, these analogies do not promise any simple "solutions" to the challenge of character development, but they do suggest the need for a much higher order of public and intellectual priority than is now evident.

At this point, I will suggest a few general steps to assist such a shift in priorities:

1. Adults should recognize that we cannot take the continuity of the social compact for granted; e.g., if our current young, in their future adulthood, decide to vote to lower the social security benefit rate, the generation of pensioners cannot

successfully sue them. The continuity of whatever we now value in our society is being maintained only by the values and attitudes we – and our institutions – are now inculcating in our young. And, if "right" values are not deliberately inculcated, other values will be – which is what the data about other-destruction and self-destruction mean.

2. Our public and private institutions, at all levels of our society, must scrupulously examine the many formal and informal systems which affect character formation in our young. These institutions include schools, employers, media, the courts, neighborhoods and other communities. In particular, they should see if the attitudes and values they transmit to the young, by the powerful implicit teachings of their policies, are consonant with social continuity. Researchers from all academic disciplines should direct their varied talents toward such intriguing and complex issues. Special attention should be given to the criteria articulated in Figure 3. Where existing institutions are inadequate, various imaginative correctives must be considered. And in all these measures, there should be no assumption that centrally stimulated initiatives are especially beneficial – after all, the criteria in Figure 3 suggest that large-scale, centrally managed operations are an important cause of the current problem.

3. The federal government should publish, and widely disseminate, a statistical bulletin tabulating and cumulating, in a relatively up-to-date form, the adolescent homicide, suicide, illegitimacy and venereal disease data presented in this paper. Supplementary tables should enable each state to discover the rates for its own adolescents.

4. Research should be begun to discover the social class of the adolescents involved in these acts of other-destruction and self-destruction, now and in the past, and the data should be analyzed and published.

These suggestions encompass large and arduous tasks. But, at least, they deal with a challenge of scope and importance. And one characteristic of the important thinkers and doers in any culture has been their degree of concern with the next generation; for that concern enables us to put our own stamp on the future. But, unless the next generation possesses good character – in contrast to mere verbal skills, or a strong drive to self-benefit and "self-expression" – we will bequeath a barren future. By being concerned with youth character, in our research and our social policies, we identify ourselves with an historic – and even noble – theme which is worthy of a demanding pursuit.

(The author is Associate Professor of Education, College of Education, Chicago Circle, University of Illinois.)

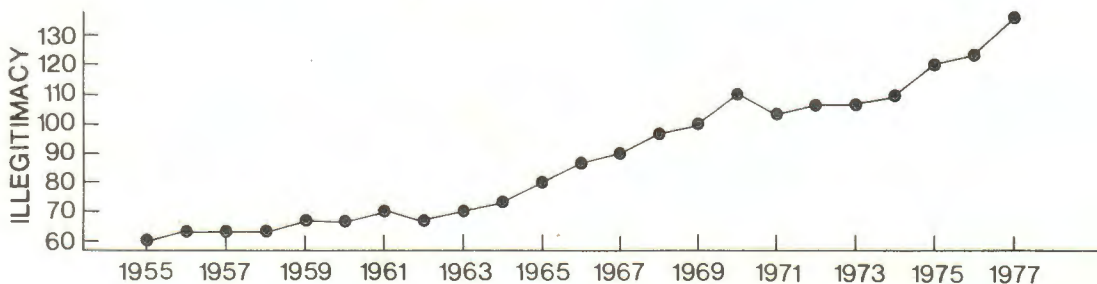
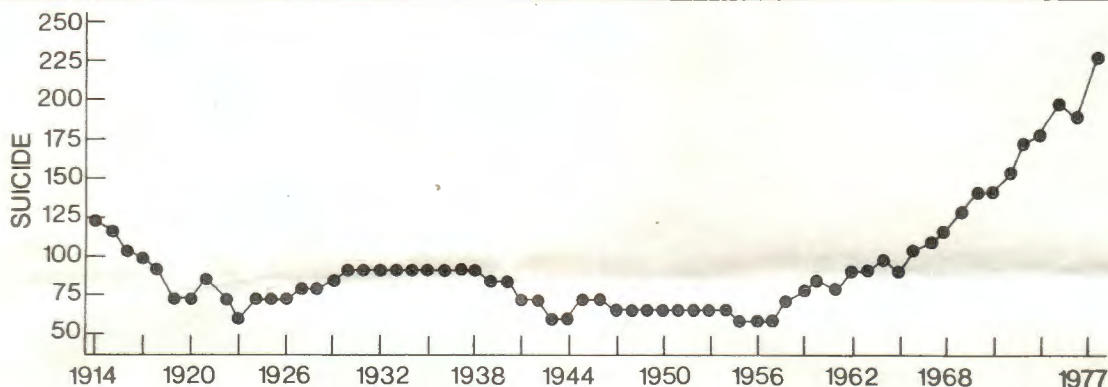
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

All persisting human societies have made great efforts to ensure that their children and adolescents — the future of the society — are trained to support their central values. As Plato said, over two thousand years ago, “training and education are what the overseers of the city must watch, and take care that they are not corrupted insensibly. They must guard them beyond everything . . .”

In our democratic society, the word “character” is often used to describe traits that relate to America’s central values. These traits include persistence, tact, self-reliance, generosity, and loyalty. There are many signs that America is becoming less effective in transmitting such traits to its children. This is understandable. A large, dynamic, materialistic, and prosperous society may not be an ideal environment for developing these traits. Indeed, a significant number of both social scientists and laypeople have concluded that we are failing to give adequate attention to the many forces destructively affecting character formation in our young.

Character believes that (1) America’s traditions and values are worthy of protection and preservation; (2) they are endangered because many public policies — and the attitudes underlying those policies — have created harmful elements in the social and institutional environments that surround our children and adolescents; (3) there is much that can — and should — be done to remedy the situation; and (4) able academics should increase interdisciplinary efforts directed at identifying causes of and possible solutions to our youth character problems.

To advance its aims, Character publishes materials — many written by established researchers and humanists — to help readers understand what the current unsound policies and attitudes are, why they are unsound, and what can be done about them. These materials are written for laypeople concerned with youth issues, for educators, and for academics. They indicate that many of the current errors are not so much the product of deliberate wrongdoing but rather the outcome of a widespread pursuit of apparently desirable ends. Therefore, the correction of our dangerous course may require many of us to reconsider our own priorities and pursuits. America has given us much; we may owe it the sacrifice of changing our minds.



WHAT THE GRAPHS SHOW

The above graphs present the most recent available national statistics about youth suicide, homicide, and illegitimacy. They portray annual changes in the rates of death (for each 100,000 members of the age group born alive) by suicide and homicide for white males (age 15-24), and the rate of illegitimate births (for each 1,000 unmarried females in the age group) for whites (age 15-19). Each of these three indices is at the highest recorded point in American history. (Statistics about youth drug use would also disclose equivalent record highs.) The first year in each graph is the earliest year for which precise data are available. During the periods described by the graphs, the equivalent measures of these activities by all adults—such as the annual average adult rate of death by homicide—increased much less than the youth rates. For more details about these statistics, see *Character*, November, 1979. (Source: National Center for Health Statistics, HEW)

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

MEMORANDUM TO: TONY DOLAN

August 20, 1980

FROM: Bill Casey

Here's more on the theme of Carter loading up the government appointments and trying to lock in his policies irrespective of the wishes of the electorate.

W.J.C.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: William J. Casey
FROM: Betty Southard Murphy
DATE: August 14, 1980
IN RE: Senate Confirmations: Double Appointments

When we were in Detroit I gave you a memorandum pointing out the fact that the Carter Administration sought Senate confirmation for all Board and Commission seats due to expire any time in 1980. Carter's purpose was twofold: (1) patronage now; and (2) in the event he is not elected, there will be no vacancies for Governor Reagan to appoint new chairmen. Thus Governor Reagan will have to keep the Democratic chairmen or appoint Carter-Republicans to head these very important agencies and boards.

I also pointed out that President Carter--for patronage reasons--was filling all of the advisory commission seats, some of which were vacant for three years. Many of these terms are for six and eight years.

On June 20, 1980, you asked me to send the above information to Senator Paul Laxalt and I did. Thereafter, on July 2, 1980, Senator Laxalt sent Senator Baker a letter stating that it "may well be time for the Republican leadership to say 'no more confirmations' until after the election."

I understand, on a hearsay basis only, that the Republican leadership in the Senate has decided not to oppose all confirmations, but only to oppose selected ones. And even this opposition will depend on the Senior Republican Member of the Committee to which the nomination is referred. If the Senior

Memorandum to William J. Casey
August 14, 1980
Page 2

Republican Senator does not want a particular nomination opposed, according to my sources, it will not be.

Now President Carter has gone a step further and is submitting double nominations to the Senate. In two instances the terms for which confirmation is sought do not commence until December 1980.

Thus on July 25, 1980, President Carter nominated James Robert Smith of Florida to be a Member of the Civil Aeronautics Board for a term expiring December 31, 1980.

Also on July 25, 1980, President Carter nominated Mr. Smith for a "reappointment" for a term commencing on December 31, 1980, and terminating on December 31, 1986.

On July 31, 1980, President Carter nominated E. G. Koury to the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation for a term expiring on December 17, 1980. Also, on July 31, 1980, E. G. Koury was reappointed to OPIC for a term commencing on December 17, 1980, and expiring on December 17, 1983.

On July 10, 1980, Maria B. Cerda of Illinois was nominated as a Member of the National Council on Educational Research for a term expiring September 30, 1980. Similarly, on July 10, 1980, Ms. Cerda was renominated for a second term on the National Council, commencing on September 30, 1980, and due to expire on September 30, 1983.

Attached hereto is a list of the Presidential nominations submitted to the Senate during July 1980. The above information is found on pages 6, 8, and 5, in that order.

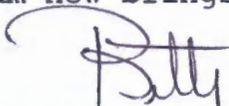
Memorandum to William J. Casey
August 14, 1980
Page 3

The following chart showing Presidential nominations submitted to the Senate in 1979 and comparing their number with 1980, may be of interest to you:

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
February 1--March 1	354	636
March 1--April 1	435	246
April 1--May 1	187	131
May 1--June 1	42	217
June 1--July 1	<u>220</u>	<u>379</u>
Total	1238	1609

In the month of July 1980, President Carter sent 200 nonmilitary nominations to the Senate to be confirmed. I am advised that there are presently approximately 400 nominations awaiting confirmation in the Senate.

I think this memorandum now brings you up to date.


Betty Southard Murphy
BAKER & HOSTETLER
818 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20006
Telephone: 202/861-1500
703/978-2677

ia

Enclosure

cc: Bill Timmons

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

Term
Expiration

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position / Name</u>	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officer of class 2, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Alfred V. Boerner, Jr., of Connecticut.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officer of class 3, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Stanley E. Johnson, of California.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officer of class 4, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Christopher Paddack, of the District of Columbia.	
7/2/80	For promotion from a Foreign Service officer of class 6 to class 5: Eric A. Kunsman, of Pennsylvania.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service officer of class 5, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Russell F. King, of California .	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officer of class 5, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Randall Speer, of New Jersey.	
7/2/80	For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 7 to class 6: Charles L. Glatz, Jr., of Virginia. Bruce W. Keeling, of Michigan. Eileen Ann Riley, of the District of Columbia. Tanya M. Russ, of Florida. James Douglas Seay, of Virginia. Michael James Senko, of Guam. Stuart Lee Spoede II, of Texas. Laurence D. Wohlers, of Washington.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service officers of class 6, Consular Officers, and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Larry H. Atcherson, of the District of Columbia. Marie Louise Burba, of Virginia. Karlene G. Knieps, of California.	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position / Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officers of class 6, Consular Officers, and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Wendy Marie Beaver, of New Mexico. Katherine Inez Lee, of California.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officers of class 7, Consular Officers and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Merrie D. Blocker, of Florida. Camille Caliendo, of Illinois. Carl Kam-To Chan, of Virginia. Janey D. Cole, of New York. Betty Ann Felthousen, of New York. Gerard J. Joria, of Illinois. Mark Krischik, of Maryland. Peter John Kovak, of Maryland. Gregory Lynch, of Virginia. Helen E. McKee, of Oregon. Greta N. Morris, of California. Gloria S. Nelli, of Massachusetts. Karen L. Perez, of California. William R.C. Phelps, of Virginia. Warren Solffer, of New York. Louis John Spaventa, of New York. Daniel Sreebny, of New York. Alden P. Stallings, of Alabama. Sam Westgate, of California.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Information officers of class 8, Consular Officers, and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Brad Owens, of Massachusetts. Michael T. Scanlin, of Maine. Daniel Alan Spikes, of Florida.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Reserve officers to be Consular Officers of the United States of America: Stanton R. Bigelow, of Wisconsin. Donna C. McClelland, of California.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Reserve officers to be Consular Officers and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Nancy Anne Agnew, of Florida. David Stewart Black, of Virginia. John Bobbin, of Connecticut. Manuel Brana, of Virginia. Lou Linn Cain, of Virginia. Marc R. Cardwell, of Virginia. John A. Chalfant, of California. Jan A. Cioci, of Maryland.	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE
DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position / Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/2/80	John Scott Crissman, of Texas. Catherine A Eschback, of Virginia. Warren E. Frank, of Nebraska. Howard J. Freeman, Jr., of Texas. Jack G. Downing, of Virginia. John F. Gilhooly, of Virginia. Robert W. Ince, of Virginia. Gerald L. Jacoby, of Virginia. Emily E. Jeffers, of Maryland. Wesley D. Johnson, of Virginia. Peter S. Koromilas, of New Hampshire. John R. Mangis, of Virginia. Lane A. Nordholm, of Virginia. Morton Mowbray Palmer III, of Connecticut. John F. Patton, of Maryland. Curtis Jay Perry, of Oregon. Peter W. Rhoades, of Virginia. John E. Roberts, of Virginia. James Merrill Rosenbluth, of Virginia. Conrad A. Smith, of Virginia. Lisa N. Taylor, of the District of Columbia. Charles C. VanZee, of Virginia. Patrick T. Welch, of Virginia. Robert H. White, of Virginia.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Reserve officers who are candidates for appointment as mid-level Foreign Service officers to be Consular Officers and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Lois Gochnauer Angulo, of Virginia. Edmund Earl Atkins, of California. Gloria Charles Becker, of Maryland. Helen Marshall Carter, of Texas. Shirley Marie Hartman, of Texas. Olin Winston Morrow, of New Mexico. Marie Murray, of Maryland. Bismarck Myrick, of Virginia. Barbro Appelquist Owens, of Maryland. Albert Shaw, of the District of Columbia. Elizabeth Petersen Spiro, of the District of Columbia. Herbert Leo Tyson, of Maryland. Jennifer Claudette Ward, of the District of Columbia. Dorothy Watson, of New York.	
7/2/80	Foreign Service Reserve officers who are candidates for appointment as Junior Foreign Service officers to be Consular Officers and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: John Jack Boris, of Connecticut.	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position / Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/2/80	<p>Helen Dorothy Brown, of North Carolina. Sandra Joy Campbell, of Oregon. John W. Chamberlin, of New York. Jorge Cintron, of Puerto Rico. James Francis Cole, of New York. Alice R. Cook, of Massachusetts. Philip Hughes Egger, of the District of Columbia. Christopher Paul English, of Virginia. John Joseph Foarde III, of Nebraska. Jeffrey H. Gorsky, of Maryland. Richard Lance Hartung, of Washington. Cherie Jean Jackson, of Colorado. Mark Raymond Kennon, of New York. Monica Ladd, of Georgia. C. Robert Loftis, Jr., of Colorado. Wendell Alexander Matthews, of the District of Columbia. Virgin E. Morris, of California. Louis John Nigro, Jr., of Florida. Nelson Blythe Nugent, of New Hampshire. Lisa A. Piascik, of the District of Columbia. Ronald Sinclair Robinson, of Virginia. Stephen L. Savage, of Colorado. Virginia Jean Scheel, of Virginia. Nicholas James Spiliotes, of New York. Howard Stoffer, of New York Howard Joseph Thomas Steers, of Texas. Gail Aragon Thompson, of New York. Alan Roger Tousignant, of Massachusetts. Carol Lee van Voorst, of the District of Columbia. David G. Whittlesey, of Maine. Donald Yukio Yamamoto, of New York.</p>	
7/2/80	<p>Foreign Service Reserve officers to be Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America: Peter N. Brush, of Maryland. John P. Carlson, of Virginia. Robert A. Stella, of California. Eugene G. Vincent, of Maryland. Gene H. Williams, of Virginia.</p>	
7/2/80	<p>Foreign Service Staff officers to be Consular Officers of the United States of America: Dan J. Jordan, of Oklahoma. Patrick B. Long, of Nevada. Vita A. Palazzolo, of Maryland. Dorothy J. Simmons, of Ohio.</p>	
7/2/80	<p>Foreign Service Information officer of Class 7, a Consular Officer, and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America, effective May 23, 1980: Arthur N. Buck, of California.</p>	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position / Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/2/80	U.S. Commissioner General for Energy-Expo 82. Charles E. Fraser.	Pleasure to the President
7/2/80	Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Matt Garcia.	Pleasure to the President
7/2/80	U.S. Marshal Brian P. Joffrion.	4 yrs..
7/3/80	Director of the National Science Foundation John Brooks Slaughter, of Washington.	6 yrs.
7/7/80	Ambassador to Paraguay Lyle Franklin Lane, of Washington.	Life
7/7/80	Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Henry Precht, of Georgia.	Life
7/7/80	Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics Harry Alan Scarr, of Virginia.	Pleasure of the President
7/7/80	Members of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Farm Credit Administration: Ralph Raikes, of Nebraska. William D. Wampler, of Virginia.	3/31/86
7/10/80	Ambassador to Uruguay Robert S. Gershenson, of Pennsylvania.	Life
7/10/80	Ambassador to Malaysia Barbara M. Watson, of New York.	Life
7/10/80	Members of the National Council on Educational Research: <u>Maria B. Cerda, of Illinois.</u> Joseph J. Davies, Jr., of Louisiana. Timothy S. Healy, of the District of Columbia. John S. Shipp, Jr., of Florida. <u>Maria B. Cerda, of Illinois (reappointment).</u>	9/30/80 9/30/82 9/30/83
7/10/80	Members of the National Council on the Humanities: Marcus Cohn, of Maryland. Samuel DuBois Cook, of Louisiana. Roland Paul Dille, of Minnesota. A. Bartlett Giamatti, of Connecticut. George Alexander Kennedy, of North Carolina. Louise Ano Nuevo Kerr, of Illinois. Frances Dodson Rhome, of Indiana Philip Aaron Schaefer, of California. Anita Silvers, of California.	1/26/86

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/18/80	Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission Albert Carnesale, Massachusetts	6/30/85
7/23/80	Foreign Service Officer of Class 1, to be an Assistant Secretary of State William Jennings Dyess, Alabama	Life
7/23/80	Foreign Service Officer of Class 1, to be an Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Diego C. Asencio, Florida	Life
7/23/80	Foreign Service Officer of Class 3, to be Ambassador Extraordinary of U.S.A. to Republic of Guinea-Bissau Peter Jon de Vos, Florida	Life
7/24/80	Commissioner of U.S. Parole Commission Leslie R. Green	6 years
7/25/80	Assistant Secretary of the Interior Wallace Orphesus Green	Pleasure of the President
7/25/80	U.S. District Judge Norman P. Ramsey, Maryland	Life
7/25/80	Members of Civil Aeronautics Board James Robert Smith, Florida	12/31/80
7/25/80	James Robert Smith, Florida (reappointment)	12/31/86
7/25/80	Member of the Federal Council on the Aging Jacob Clayman, Maryland	12/19/82
7/25/80	Director of the Office of Self-Help Development and Technical Assistance Wayman D. Palmer	Pleasure of the President
7/28/80	Assistant Director of the Community Service Administration Harold L. Thomas, District of Columbia	Pleasure of the President
7/29/80	Ambassador, U.S. Special Negotiator for Economic Matters Charles F. Meissner, Maryland	Life
7/29/80	Director, National Ocean Survey Herbert R. Lippold, Jr.	Pleasure of the President

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/29/80	Securities Exchange Commission - Member Barbara S. Thomas, New York	6/5/85
7/29/80	U.S. Attorney for Western District of New York Leslie G. Foschio, New York	4 years
7/30/80	U.S. Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit Howard E. Sachs, Missouri	Life
7/30/80	Members of the National Council on the Arts: Kurt H. Adler, California Margo Albert, California Robert Joffrey, NY Toni Morrison, NY Ieoh Ming Pei, NY Lida Rogers, Mississippi Erich Leinsdorf, Massachusetts	9/3/86
7/31/80	Ambassador to Honduras Jack R. Binns	Life
7/31/80	Members of U.S. Metric Board: Bruce P. Johnson, Nevada Alfredo A. Canter, Colorado James M. Rosser, California Dennis R. Smith, Massachusetts	6/14/82 3/23/86 6/14/86 6/14/86
7/31/80	U.S. District Judge for the District of Puerto Rico Miguel A. Gimenez-Munroz	Life
7/31/80	Members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences: Robert H. Ebert, New York Eugene M. Farber, California Lauro F. Cavazos, Texas Caro E. Luhrs, District of Columbia William R. Roy, Kansas	6/20/83 6/20/83 6/20/85 6/20/85 6/20/85

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION SUBMITTED TO THE
SENATE DURING JULY 1980

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/31/80	Members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Sciences:	
	Charles W. Benton, Illinois	7/19/85
	Gordon M. Amback, New York	7/19/85
	Paulette H. Holahan, Louisiana	7/19/85
7/31/80	U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy - Member Leonard Silverstein, Maryland	7/1/83
7/31/80	Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation <u>E. G. Koury</u>	12/17/85
	<u>Koury, E. G. (reappointment)</u>	12/17/83



REAGAN for PRESIDENT

909 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204
(703) 685-3400

July 2, 1980

Dear Howard:

As we discussed, we see a pattern of the Carter Administration in attempting to secure Senate confirmation for all Board and Commission seats due to expire any time in 1980 so that when Governor Reagan is elected there will be no vacancies for a new Chairman. Thus, Governor Reagan will have to keep Democratic Chairmen or appoint Carter-Republicans to head the agencies.

In some situations it will mean that Governor Reagan will not be able to make any appointment for almost a year and will mean no Republican control for two or three years of Governor Reagan's first term. Although this is widespread, I will give just three examples:

The National Labor Relations Board's present make-up is:

<u>PARTY</u>	<u>MEMBER</u>	<u>TERM EXPIRES</u>
D	John Fanning, Chairman	Dec. 16, 1982
R	Howard Jenkins	Aug. 16, 1983
D	John A. Penello	Aug. 27, 1981
Ind.	Don Zimmerman (If confirmed)	Dec. 16, 1984
D	John Truesdale (If confirmed)	Aug. 27, 1985

Thus, it will not be until August, 1983, that Reagan appointees would form an NLRB majority.

July 2, 1980

Continued -

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:

<u>PARTY</u>	<u>MEMBER</u>	<u>TERM EXPIRES</u>
D	Eleanore H. Norton, Chmn.	July 1, 1983
D	Daniel E. Leach	July 1, 1984
R	Clayton Smith	July 1, 1982
D	Armando Rodriguez	July 1, 1982
R	Ethel B. Walsh (If confirmed)	July 1, 1985

Thus, Governor Reagan will not be able to appoint a new Chairman until July, 1982. It is the same story with the Federal Trade Commission. Commissioner Bailey's term does not expire until September 25, 1980, and the nomination is already before the Senate. Governor Reagan will not have a vacancy to fill until September, 1981.

Attached are copies of the nominations appearing in the Congressional Record for June, 1980, alone. You will see that nominations for every Commission possible -- some with 6 or 8 year terms -- are being rushed to the Senate this month to get them all confirmed before the election. There is no need to do this because, in most instances, the sitting Commissioner can continue to sit until a successor is appointed.

The same is true with the National Mediation Board, CAB, and others. I think it may well be time for the Republican leadership to say "no more confirmations" until after the election.

Sincerely,

PAUL LAXALT
U. S. SENATOR

Senator Howard Baker
Minority Leader
S-230, U. S. Capitol Building
Washington, D..C. 20515

PL/ed

Enclosure

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
	Career Minister (Foreign Service) Abramowitz, Morton I.	.
1/18/79	National Council of Educational Research Astin, Helens	9/30/79
5/20/80	Governor of V.S. Postal Service for H. Robertson Babcock, David E.	12/8/88
11/30/79	Member, U.S. International Trade Commission Baldwin, Robert E.	6/16/81
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs Bechily, Maria C.	5/8/82
6/4/80	Foreign Service - Career Minister Bloomfield, Richard J.	
6/13/80	Foreign Service - Class Minister Bodde, William Jr.	
9/4/80	Foreign Service - Career Minister Boeker, Paul H.	
5/1/80	Member, National Council on the Handicapped Boggs, Elizabeth Monroe	1 yr. term
6/11/80	Assistant Secretary of Defense for F. Wacker Borsting, Jack R.	
3/20/80	Board of Directors of the Inter- American Foundation Bowdler, William G.	9/20/84
3/20/80	Board of Directors of the Inter- American Foundation Bronheim, David	9/20/84
3/5/79	Member, Renegotiation Board Burkwalter, William Mays	
5/6/80	Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs - rank of Ambassador. Busby, Morris D.	
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

Page -

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
6/23/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of USA of Senegal Carrington, Walter C.	
7/2/80	National Council on Educational Research remainder ex. 9/30/80	9/30/80
7/10/80	(vice Schultz) Cerda, Maria B.	9/30/83
5/1/80	Member of National Council on the Handicapped Chambers, Mary P.	2 yr. term
5/1/80	Member of National Council on the Handicapped Chavez, Nelba R.	1 yr. term
11/30/79	Member of Civil Aeronautics Board Cohen, Marvin S.	12/31/85
7/10/80	National Council on the Humanities (Vice Ferre Resigned) Cohn, Marcus	1/26/86
7/10/80	National Council on the Humanities (Vice Hollander) Cook, Samuel DuBois	1/26/86
5/20/80	U.S. Metric Board Crofts, Marcus B.	3/23/86
6/4/80	Career Minister, Foreign Service Cutler, Walter L.	
7/10/80	National Council on Educational Research Davies, Joseph J. Jr.	9/30/82
5/28/80	Ambassador Extraordinary Davis, Allen Clayton	
7/10/80	National Council on the Humanities Dille, Roland Paul	1/26/86
6/26/80	Board of Directors of Communications Satellite Corporation Donahue, Thomas E.	ex. at ann mtg of Cor in 1981
5/20/80	U.S. Metric Board Dugan, Francis R.	3/23/86
5/1/80	Member of National Council on the Handicapped (New Position.) Duncan, Jack Genair	2 years

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
6/23/80	Board of Directors for Legal Services Corp. Engelberg, Steven L.	7/13/83
6/11/80	U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of North Carolina (new position - P. 95-486 approved 10/20/78) Erwin, Richard C.	
6/23/80	Board of Directors, Legal Services Corp. Esquer, Cecillia D.	7/13/83
6/23/80	National Science Board (NSF) Flawn, Peter T.	5/10/86
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs Foxx, Virginia	5/8/82
7/2/80	Commissioner General of the U.S. Government for Energy - Expo 82 (new position) Fraser, Charles E.	
6/18/80	Assistant Secretary of the Interior Fredericks, Thomas W.	
1/30/80	Advisory Board of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation Fredin, Conrad M.	
5/1/80	Member of National Council on the Handicapped (new position) Galvin, Donald E.	3 yr. term
12/19/79	U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Texas (PL 95-486 - new position) Garcia, Hipolito F.	
7/2/80	Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Carcia, Matt	
3/12/80	Associate Judge of the Superior Court of D.C. (PL 92-358) Gardner, William C.	
7/10/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of USA to Uruguay Gershenson, Robert S.	
6/4/80	U.S. District Judge for Northern Illinois (PL 95-486)	new position

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/10/80	National Council on Humanities Giamatti, A. Bartlett	1/26/86
12/7/79	U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of California (new position) (P. 95-486) Gilliam, Earl B.	
6/4/80	Career Minister, Foreign Service Gleysteen, William H. Jr.	
6/20/80	Council of Economic Advisers Goldfeld, Stephen M.	
6/23/80	National Science Board Good, Mary L.	5/10/86
1/10/80	U.S. District Judge for The Middle District of Alabama Gray, Fred D.	
4/30/79	U.S. Marshal for The Middle District of Pennsylvania Guyette, Curtis W.	4 yr. term
5/14/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of U.S. to Sierra Leone Healy, Theresa A.	
7/10/80	National Council on Educational Research Healy, Timothy S.	9/30/82
2/27/80	U.S. District Judge for District of Hawaii Heen, Walter M.	
2/19/80	Special Counsel of the Merit Systems Protection Board Henderson, Thomas H.	5 yr. term
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped (new position) Heumann, Judith E.	3 yrs.
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped Hourihan, John P.	1 yr. term
6/2/80	U.S. District Judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Arkansas Howard, George J.	
6/27/80	Federal Energy Regulatory Commission - Member Hughes, John David	11/20/83

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
5/20/80	Governor of the U.S. Postal Service Hughes, Paula D.	12/8/87
2/1/80	National Council on Humanities Javits, Marian B.	1/26/82
10/11/79	U.S. Circuit Judge for 5th Circuit (P.L. 95-486) Jefferson, Andrew L., Jr.	New Position
5/20/80	Governor of U.S. Postal Service Jenkins, Timothy L.	12/8/82
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped (new position) Joe, Thomas	2 yr. term
7/2/80	U.S. Marshal for the Western District of Louisiana Joffrion, Vrian P.	4.yr. term
6/2/80	Chairman of the Special Panel on Appeals (P. 95-454) Jones, James E. Jr. (new position)	6 yr. term
5/16/79	U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Virginia (new position) (PL 95-486) Jones, Hames P.	
1/30/80	Member, California Debris Commission Kavanaugh, Col. Paul Frederick	
7/10/80	National Council on Humanities Kennedy, George Alexander	1/26/86
6/20/80	U.S. District Judge for the Central District of California Kenyon, David Ureeland	
7/10/80	Member, National Council on the Humanities Kerr, Louise A.N.	1/26/86
6/4/80	Career Minister - Foreign Service Kirk, Roger	
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Education Kobayashi, K. Jessie	5/8/82
6/7/80	U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois Kocoras, Charles P.	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped Komer, Odessa.	1 yr. term
1/30/80	Member, Advisory Board of St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation Kornegay, Francis Albert	
7/7/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of USA to Paraguay	
6/23/80	National Science Board Member Lax, Peter D.	5/10/86
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped MacDougall, N.F.	1 yr. term
6/20/80	U.S. District Judge for the Central District of California Marshall, Consuelo B.	
6/4/80	Career Minister Masters, Edward E.	
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. McLin, Rhine L.	
4/10/80	U.S. District Judge for Western District of Virginia (new position) PL 95-486 Michael, James Harry, Jr.	
2/27/80	U.S. Marshal for the District of New Jersey Naples, Samuel F.	
6/23/80	National Science Board (NSF) Neal, Homer A.	5/10/86
6/10/80	Director of the Bureau of Mines Norman, Lindsay D.	
6/4/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of USA to Djibouti North, Jerrold Martin	
6/4/80	Career Minister Oakley, Robert B.	
5/1/80	National Council on the Handicapped Opheim, Edwin O.	1 yr. term
6/23/80	National Science Board Osborn, Mary Jane	

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/7/80	Ambassador Extraordinary of USA to Republic of Mauritan Precht, Henry	
6/3/80	National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs Prestage, J. Limar	
7/7/80	Member, Federal Farm Credit Board Raikes, Ralph	3/31/86
5/21/80	Member, Commission on Civil Rights Ramirez, B.C.	
11/30/79	U.S. Circuit Judge for 9th Circuit (new posotion) 95-486 Reinhardt, Stephen R.	
7/10/80	National Council on Humanities Rhome, Frances D.	1/26/86
6/23/80	National Science Board Member Rice, Donald B.	5/10/86
6/23/80	National Science Board Member Rice, Stuart A.	4/10/86
6/20/80	Chairman, Administrative Conference of U.S. Robertson, Reuben B.	5 yr. term
6/23/80	Board of Directors of Legal Services Corporation Rodham, Hillary Diane	7/13/83.
6/9/80	Member, Board of Directors of National Corporation for Housing Partnerships Rothchild, Kennon V.	10/27/82
5/1/80	Member, National Council on the Handicapped Rusk, Howard A.	3 yr. term
6/4/80	Foreign Service, Career Minister Sayre, Robert M.	
7/7/80	Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics (new position) Scarr, Harry Alan	
7/10/80	National Council on Humanities Schaefer, Philip Aaron	1/26/86

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
6/4/80	Career Minister Seelye, Talcott W.	
4/1/80	U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia (new position) PL 95-486 Sheffield, James Edward	
7/10/80	Member, National Council on Educational Research Shipp, John S. Jr.	
6/4/80	Career Minister Shirley, John W.	
3/20/79	U.S. Marshal for the District of Nebraska Short, D. Clive	4 yr. term
7/10/80	Member, National Council on Humanities Silvers, Anita	1/26/86
7/3/80	Director of National Science Foundation Salughter, John Brooks	6 yr. term
6/2/80	U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York Sprizzo, John E.	
5/28/80	Commissioner of Postal Rate Commission Steiger, Janet Dempsey	10/14/86
6/13/80	Inspector General, Department of Education (new position) Thomas, James Bert Jr.	
6/23/80	Member, Board of Directors of Legal Services Corporation Trudell, Richard Allan	7/13/83
6/16/80	Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development Vaughn, Jack Hood	
6/4/80	Foreign Service, Career Minister Veliotes, Nicholas A.	
6/4/80	Foreign Service, Career Minister Vine, Richard D.	
6/17/80	Member of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Walsh, Ethel Bent	7/1/85

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS
BEFORE THE SENATE

<u>Date Submitted</u>	<u>Position/Name</u>	<u>Term Expiration</u>
7/7/80	Wampler, William D.	
7/10/80	Watson, Barbara M.	
5/1/80	Member, National Council on the Handicapped Webb, J. David	3 yr. term
5/1/80	Member, National Council on the Handicapped Williams, Henry	3 yr. term
4/9/79	U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia (new position) Williams, Richard L.	
3/29/79	U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina (new position) Winberry, Charles B., Jr.	
6/23/80	Member, Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation Worthy, Josephine M.	7/13/83
6/4/80	Member, National Labor Relations Board Zimmerman, Don Alan	12/16/84
7/18/80	Member, Nuclear Regulatory Commission Carnesale, Albert	6/30/85

Executive Nominations
Submitted to the Senate

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
February 1 - March 1	354	636
March 1 - April 1	435	246
April 1 - May 1	187	131
May 1 - June 1	42	217
June 1 - July 1	<u>220</u>	<u>379</u>
TOTAL	1238	1609

Executive Nominations
Submitted to the Senate
February 1980 - July 1980

Between February 1 - March 1	636
Between March 1 - April 1	246
Between April 1 - May 1	131
Between May 1 - June 1	217
Between June 1 - July 1	379
Between July 1 - July 18	<u>26</u>
TOTAL February 1 - July 18	1635
TOTAL awaiting confirmation	131



Inter-Office Memo

Date July 30, 1980
To Thomas J. Houser
From Gary D. Lipkin *GL*
Subject "Tolling" Appointments to Federal Agencies

There has been some speculation of late that the Carter administration is considering, and possibly beginning to initiate, a plan to "toll" appointments to various federal agencies in an effort to insure that a Reagan administration will find the bureaucracy led by Carter-appointed chairmen and agency members who are well insulated, by law, from removal. At present, there is but one possible instance of this in the "speedup" reappointment of Patricia Bailey to the FTC prior to the expiration of her term.

Aside from factual questions, there is a legal question here, i.e., what is the authority of the President to reappoint agency administrators and commissioners prior to the expiration of their statutorily mandated term of office. It should be emphasized that the President's appointment powers are granted by the Constitution, which states, in Article II, Section 2:

. . . [the President] shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint . . . all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for . . .

This power is broad and has been construed accordingly.

Insofar as the President's power to remove these officials is concerned, our research has revealed the following:

1. The power of removal is limited.
2. The enabling statutes of the various federal agencies (e.g., FCC, NLRB, FTC, ICC, and the FEC) set forth, in general terms, the criteria that must be met before the President can legally seek to remove a commissioner prior to the expiration of his term of office.
3. Such things as inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance are examples of the types of grounds usually specified as allowing removal from office prior to the expiration of a term.

Thomas J. Houser
July 30, 1980
Page 2

4. In all these cases, vacancies that occur by reasons other than by the expiration of the statutory term of office (e.g., resignation), may be filled by the President only for the balance of the unexpired term.
5. Therefore, it appears that if and when President Carter moves to toll a commission or board appointment prior to the expiration of a term, he would arguably achieve nothing for that person could only be reappointed for the balance of the original term.

Because of the significant implications of this speculation, it is recommended that the matter be carefully tracked.

DETROIT



Reagan May Seek to Bar New Carter Nominations

DETROIT, July 16 (UPI) — Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) said today that Ronald Reagan has agreed to ask Republican members of the Senate to block presidential appointments to federal posts until after the Nov. 4 election.

Thurmond said he told Reagan that he should contact Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) and all other Republican members of the Senate in an attempt to withhold Senate confirmation of appointments.

"He said he would be glad to do that," Thurmond said.

Thurmond noted that the terms of various officials nominated by President Carter would extend far beyond Carter's presidential term.

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Russell



- 1) Call Perry
- 2) Talia
- 3) Leavone
- 4)

1606
Lynne

Employment Freeze

New employees

Fed. Empl News Digest

Merrifield VA

533-3036

~~Joe~~ Young

484-4279

535
Rayburn

Jim Kinosh

Talia
Cannotto
224-2946

1st Boston

Jim Cannotto

712-7038

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272

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Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

August 27, 1980

Mr. Seth Payne
Chairman, Board of Governors
National Press Club
National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

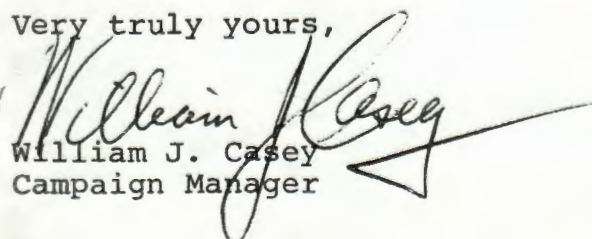
Dear Mr. Payne:

Thank you for your telegram inviting Governor Reagan to debate President Carter at the National Press Club on a date and under a format to be negotiated between the Reagan-Bush and Carter-Mondale campaigns. Governor Reagan is very anxious to debate President Carter one-on-one and has indicated this in his public statements and in those of his campaign representatives. What he is not willing to do, however, is to agree to a one-on-one debate to be held in advance of the first League of Women Voters' debate tentatively scheduled for the third week in September, because the net effect of this would be to exclude John Anderson from the first, and the most important, Presidential debate should he qualify under the League's criteria for participation.

As you know, Governor Reagan has participated in five debates during the presidential primary process, one of which was a one-on-one and four of which were debates including all Republican candidates. He has a track record of willingness to debate. President Carter, on the other hand, has consistently refused to debate his Democratic opponents.

We hope that you will keep your invitation to us open for consideration after a determination has been made regarding participation in the first League of Women Voters' debate.

Very truly yours,


William J. Casey
Campaign Manager