
make education
available

charge of monitoring trade relations with a single country.

"A question I hear over and over is: How do we know China will comply with it? Their track record, frankly, is mixed," he admitted.

To assuage wavering pro-labor legislators, Daley pledged \$22 million to erect a rapid response team inside the Commerce Department to immediately investigate business complaints about non-compliance. The team would have tight timelines for resolving the disputes. "We won't hesitate to go to the WTO if that's what it takes to fix a problem," he said.

He also promised to set up a special monitoring program to identify import surges in sectors such as steel, and investigate why exports aren't growing in promising sectors like agriculture. The administration plans to offer China technical assistance to educate its bureaucrats and businesses about compliance with WTO rules.

Daley also promised to launch a nationwide effort to help small- and medium-size U.S. businesses that want to crack the Chinese market. "We'll be using our trade centers in every state and our five offices in China to find export opportunities," he said.

But opponents of permanent normal trading status for China argue that many Americans have grown skeptical about the benefits of freer trade with developing countries like China, whose government is seen as hostile to human and labor rights for their workers and hostile to global environmental concerns. That perception has forced the administration to shift the debate onto national security grounds as it searches for the final votes needed to pass the accord.

"This is the same pattern as the North American Free Trade Agreement debate," said Jeff Faux, president of the Economic Policy Institute, which bases its opposition to permanent normal trading relations with China on its contention that it will cost the U.S. more jobs than it will create. "As people start punching holes in the economic arguments, they shift."

Faux argued the U.S. doesn't need to give up its annual review of China's human-rights policies because "they need the U.S. market and that \$70 billion surplus. They have 80 million unemployed people in a country that only a few years ago promised everyone a job."

Seeking to assuage its labor critics, administration officials on Wednesday endorsed a proposal by Rep. Sander Levin, D-Mich., to set up a special commission to investigate ongoing human and labor rights violations in China. "These unenforceable provisions would provide no incentive for Beijing to change its behavior," said Lori Wallach, director of Global Trade Watch, the group that spearheaded opposition to permanent normal trading status for China.

Meanwhile, Republican leaders attempting to win over the fence-sitters on their side of the aisle welcomed the administration's new emphasis on security issues. "At 1/8 Chinese Premier 3/8 Zhu Rongji will likely be deposed if we vote down this agreement, and he's one of the reformers we're trying to encourage over there," said Ways and Means chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas.

He is pushing President Clinton to deliver a nationwide address on both the trade and national security benefits of the deal. A defeat "will certainly play into the hands of the hard-liners in China," Archer said.

Clinton visits classrooms in dramatically improved schools

By Naftali Bendavid

Chicago Tribune

OWENSBORO, Ky. President Clinton visited a third- and fourth-grade classroom in this small Kentucky town Wednesday, reading from the classic children's book "Charlotte's Web," leading a classroom reading exercise, and meeting a teacher who was hired under the president's class-size reduction initiative.

The visit launched a two-day tour of dramatically improved schools, during which he is urging Congress to pass his school improvement program, emphasizing Democrats' differences with Republicans on education, and trying to provide a boost to Vice President Al Gore.

Owensboro's Audubon Elementary School, whose students in many cases come from poorer families, was severely troubled just a few years ago but has undergone a rebirth and is now one of Kentucky's top schools. Clinton is pushing for a \$250 million fund that he says would prompt similar turnarounds elsewhere. Republicans, however, say the plan is too heavy-

handed, imposing rules in areas better suited to local control.

"I want people all across this country to know that there are places where people, against considerable odds, are bringing good education to all our children," Clinton told community leaders in the school gymnasium. "This is not a day's work or a weekend's work or a month's work. You've got to make it a long-term disciplined commitment."

Although Clinton's school tour is intended to highlight his legislative agenda, the president is wasting few opportunities in the final months of his tenure to boast about his administration's accomplishments. White House staffers distributed a fact sheet emphasizing, for example, that Clinton has overseen a near-doubling in the number of children participating in the Head Start program.

Clinton and congressional Republicans, meanwhile, have been tangling over a proposed \$15 billion school spending bill for 2001. Clinton has threatened to veto the Republican version, which he says does not hold states accountable for improving their schools, fails to fund school renovations and provides for school vouchers, which he opposes.

Despite this legislative backdrop, Clinton's school trip is in part a form of shadow campaigning. While he is not electioneering in the traditional sense, with rallies and fundraisers, his presence in these towns, touting Democrats' accomplishments and plans on education, has a similar effect.

In Owensboro, for example, residents gathered along the motorcade route, 300 dignitaries packed the Audubon school gymnasium to hear him, and a local television station carried the visit live.

All four states Clinton is visiting in this two-day swing Kentucky, Iowa, Minnesota and Ohio are crucial to Gore's presidential hopes. In Kentucky, Clinton praised Gore for initiating the e-rate program, designed to bring the Internet to every classroom in the country. Later Wednesday, Clinton flew to Davenport, Iowa, where he toured Central High School, whose students still use antique wooden lockers.

Clinton has proposed a \$1.3 billion emergency fund to repair 5,000 schools a year, plus tax credits to modernize thousands more. Republicans in Congress oppose these ideas, and Clinton has pummeled them for it, saying the country's school buildings are in crisis.

One-third of U.S. schools, about 25,000, need extensive repairs, and the average school building is 42 years old, according to government reports. Some New York schools are still heated with coal. Central High, the Iowa school where the president spoke Wednesday, is nearly a century old and suffers from basic ventilation and electrical problems.

On Thursday, Clinton will visit City Academy in St. Paul, the nation's first charter school, and he will wrap up his tour at Eastgate Elementary in Columbus, Ohio, showcasing the school's unusual mentor program for new teachers.

On Wednesday morning at Audubon Elementary, Clinton stepped into the classroom of Crystal Davidson, who recently joined the school as part of Clinton's teacher hiring program and has a class of 19 students.

"It makes a difference to have a small class, doesn't it?" Clinton asked. Davidson answered, "Yes, it does. I'm able to spend a lot more time with each student."

Then Clinton stood at the front of the class, with a colorful mural of Kentucky behind him, and began reading a chapter called "The Miracle" from E.B. White's "Charlotte's Web," about a spider who weaves messages into her web.

Clinton stopped periodically to ask the children about the meaning of certain words, for example quizzing them on "bewilderment," "exertion" and "distinct." In his speech in the school gym, Clinton heaped praise on Kentucky, which 10 years ago began pouring money into failing schools and simultaneously demanding higher standards. Now some of the state's top schools are in poorer areas.

Seed companies to be required to provide more data on biofoods

By Bruce Japsen

Chicago Tribune

In a broad plan to address consumer concerns about genetically engineered food, the Clinton administration on Wednesday said it would require seed companies to provide more data about the safety of new gene-spliced crops.

go Tribune

WASHINGTON In a suit with a sharp political edge, House Democrats accused House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, Wednesday of violating federal civil anti-racketeering laws in his fund-raising practices for GOP candidates.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, headed by Rep. Patrick Kennedy, D-R.I., alleged in a U.S. District Court complaint that DeLay is guilty of extorting and money-laundering through a web of fund-raising organizations he controls.

DeLay, a conservative known as "the hammer" for his political toughness, said Democrats had "impugned the dignity of the House of Representatives by resorting to ugly, unfounded, politically motivated charges for their own political gains."

But Kennedy said "this is not a political suit" and alleged that DeLay used threats and intimidation to raise funds and then concealed them from public disclosure by laundering the money through tax-exempt organizations, which then paid for campaign commercials attacking Democrats.

The party asked for treble damages from DeLay and the other defendants.

The use of the anti-racketeering statute, known as RICO, in such a political context is highly unusual and prompted cries of outrage from the Republican camp.

John Feehery, press secretary to House Speaker Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., said the speaker "is not going to be distracted by these kinds of tactics" in his effort to maintain control of the House. "They have no agenda," Feehery added. "They're trying to sue their way to majority status."

The suit added to an increasingly bitter political climate in which both parties have accused each other of violating campaign finance laws. The GOP has made an issue of Vice President Al Gore's 1996 controversial fund-raising efforts, while Democrats have claimed DeLay was stepping over the line in raising money.

With control of the House at stake, Democrats also are attempting to label Republicans in Congress as extremist and out of touch with the American people. As a staunch conservative who pushed for President Clinton's impeachment, DeLay is being used as their main symbol of extremism.

Democrats conceded that they did not have independent evidence DeLay violated the anti-racketeering law, but instead relied almost entirely on press reports in supporting their claims.

The party will "mount an aggressive discovery effort" to gather independent evidence, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee said. If the suit is permitted to proceed, it could result in a judicial decision on whether campaign finance laws have been skirted by the increased use of "issues ads" against candidates by tax-exempt organizations.

The suit alleged that as whip, the third most powerful position in the House, DeLay had threatened to withhold favorable action on legislation unless contributors gave more money to GOP candidates and reduced funds for Democrats.

Specifically, Democrats alleged DeLay and his associates established a separate network of political organizations that are not registered under federal election law in an effort to exploit a loophole in which tax-exempt groups are used to attack political opponents.

The tax-exempt organizations named as being involved in the alleged scheme were the Republican Majority Issues Committee, headed by Karl Gallant, a DeLay fund-raiser; the U.S. Family Network, headed by Ed Buckham, DeLay's former chief of staff; and Americans for Economic Growth, headed by Jim Ellis, who manages a GOP political action committee known as Republicans For a Republican Majority.

The complaint alleged DeLay oversaw the diversion of campaign contributions to these groups in violation of federal disclosure laws and put the Democratic Party at a disadvantage.

Gallant, who heads the Republican Majority Issues Committee, called the suit "an attack by party hacks against independent issues groups, and they're an attack on the First Amendment as well."

Rep. Tom Davis, R-Va., head of the National Republican Campaign Committee, said, "Unfortunately, they (Democrats) have brought the politics of personal destruction which they denounce down to the floor of the House."

Davis, whose committee is in charge of fund raising for Republican candidates, said Democrats also rely on tax-exempt

groups to finance "issue" commercials against Republicans. "They didn't cite the Sierra Club, did they?" he said. The Sierra Club, an environmental group, often criticizes Republican candidates.

Davis called the suit "pure and simple politics."

But Kennedy said the GOP had illegally exploited the loophole that permits tax-exempt organizations to use issues ads against candidates. "This is a serious charge," Kennedy said, adding that Democrats have no alternative to such fund raising. "This is too much of a damaging proposition."

Administration unveils plan for policing U.S.-China trade

By Merrill Goozner

Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON Launching its final push to win permanent normal trading relations for the People's Republic of China, the Clinton administration on Wednesday unveiled an elaborate monitoring scheme for policing the U.S.-China trade accord that was negotiated last November.

Administration officials also have been emphasizing the strategic importance of maintaining friendly trade ties with China. At every public appearance this week, the administration's top national security and trade officials have claimed a negative vote on permanent normal trading relations will launch a new Cold War with China and jeopardize U.S. interests throughout Asia.

Defeat of the measure would lead to a "fundamental deterioration in our relationship with China," U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky told the House Ways and Means Committee Wednesday. "China, seeing no rational economic reason for our decision, would begin seeing hostile intentions in our every move."

The administration realizes it must emphasize trade enforcement and national security if it is going to win over legislators who still are undecided on the trade vote. While Senate passage is virtually assured, observers say the administration is still 20 votes shy of a majority in the House vote that is scheduled for later this month.

Pro-labor Democrats are opposed to granting China permanent normal trading status because of its poor compliance with previous trade accords. They also fear that the \$70 billion trade deficit with China will worsen under the agreement and cost many trade unionists their jobs. In an election year, many Democrats in swing districts cannot afford to antagonize organized labor, which strongly opposes the measure.

Meanwhile, some Republican conservatives oppose friendlier relations with China because of its recent threats against Taiwan and the long-term threat it allegedly poses to U.S. national security. They also point to China's persecution of its religious minorities.

There are an estimated 30 legislators who are still undecided, including about 20 Democrats and 10 Republicans.

Permanent normal trading relations would put an end to the annual congressional review of China's human-rights and labor policies. It also would put in place the far-reaching trade accord negotiated last fall.

That agreement will lower trade barriers for U.S. businesses entering the 1.2-billion-person Chinese market. Assuming it reaches a similar accord with the European Union, China would be able to join the World Trade Organization whether Congress approves the measure or not.

U.S. companies fear they will lose the advantages contained in the accord and watch business go to their European and Japanese competitors. A coalition of business groups has launched a nationwide advertising campaign and a lobbying blitz to win approval for the accord.

However, critics charge that China has flagrantly violated previous trade agreements. China clearly has erected numerous informal barriers to entering its market; it has enacted a string of policies aimed at boosting domestic industries at the expense of foreign competitors; and it has widely flouted rules governing protection of intellectual property like compact discs and computer software.

At the House Ways and Means Committee meeting, Commerce Secretary William Daley laid out a five-point program for enforcing the dozens of market-opening provisions contained in the latest trade agreement between the two countries. For the first time, a special office headed by a deputy assistant secretary would be in

D.C. Tuition Break Is Good Across U.S.

By STEPHEN C. FEHR
Washington Post Staff Writer

District high school graduates are eligible for large tuition breaks at any public college or university in the United States, not just those in Maryland and Virginia, according to information released yesterday by Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.).

Under the program—widely praised by national and local leaders as an incentive to keep families from leaving the District—students may attend colleges and universities outside the District but pay in-state tuition rates. The difference is made up by the \$17 million program approved last year by Congress.

When the tuition assistance program was officially announced Feb. 24, Mayor Anthony A. Williams (D) and other officials said District students initially would be limited to applying at Maryland and Virginia schools. Williams said a decision would be made by this summer on whether to expand the program to colleges and universities nationwide.

In fact, Norton said yesterday, D.C. students have been eligible all along to apply for in-state tuition benefits at any public school in the country. She blamed the confusion on differences between House and Senate bills that were resolved in the final appropriation bill for the 2000 budget.

"I meet parents and students lit-

erally every week who are unaware of important aspects of the new tuition benefit that could save them thousands of dollars," Norton said. "Many do not know about the nationwide provision."

She said many parents are not aware that D.C. sophomores and juniors already in college qualify for the tuition aid.

Under the program, yearly grants of \$2,500 also are awarded to D.C. students who go to private colleges in the D.C. area or private, historically black colleges and universities.

There is no age limit to apply. All that is needed is a high school diploma or a general equivalency diploma received on or after Jan. 1, 1998; residence in the District for at least 12 months before beginning college; and no other undergraduate degree.

Rep. Thomas M. Davis III (R-Va.) and Norton introduced the legislation creating the program after conferring with a group of business and community leaders—including Washington Post Publisher Donald E. Graham—who set up a privately funded college scholarship program for D.C. high school students.

13 Vie for Chance to Be N.C. Governor; 2 Seek GOP Nod in Indiana

Associated Press

RALEIGH, N.C., May 3—Thirteen candidates vied yesterday for the chance to succeed retiring North Carolina Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. (D), with Democrats sparring over education and Republicans challenging each other's conservative credentials.

In Indiana, three-term Rep. David M. McIntosh and a lawyer touring the state in a red school bus battled for the Republican nomination to challenge first-term Gov. Frank L. O'Bannon (D). Congressional races

in both states drew heavy competition.

Turnout, however, was expected to be low in both states since the Republican and Democratic nominees for president are all but chosen.

During the campaign, the two leading North Carolina Democrats seeking to succeed the popular Hunt—Lt. Gov. Dennis Wicker and state Attorney General Mike Easley—argued over how best to strengthen education programs with money from a not-yet-approved state lottery. Easley, a 50-year-old former state prosecutor who ran

unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1990, led by as much as 20 points in polls, but a poll last week showed his margin slipping below 10 percent.

On the GOP side, former Charlotte mayor Richard Vinroot, who ran unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination for governor in 1996, and state Rep. Leo Daughtry criticized each other's conservative record on spending and abortion. Former state representative Chuck Neely avoided most of that fight. Vinroot held a small lead in polls over Daughtry, former majority leader of the

state House. Neely, a Raleigh lawyer, was close behind.

To avoid a runoff, the winning candidate in each party must get more than 40 percent of the vote. In all, there were seven Democrats, four Republicans and two Libertarians running.

In congressional races, three Republicans and a Libertarian are seeking to challenge Rep. Melvin Watt (D), whose district's lines are being challenged in federal court. Critics allege it was drawn with an unconstitutional emphasis on race.

In Indiana, McIntosh's decision to run for governor set off a scramble to represent his east-central Indiana district, which includes Muncie. Among the 11 candidates are former radio talk show host Mike Pence and state Rep. Jeff Linder.

McIntosh and Indianapolis attorney John Price are seeking the GOP nomination to challenge O'Bannon, who has no opposition for the Democratic nomination. Price, who promised to visit all 92 counties in his red bus, trailed McIntosh in recent polling.

Woman Awaits Execution for Murder of Children

Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, May 2—A former nurse who asked for the death penalty for drugging and suffocating her two children awaited lethal injection tonight in Arkansas' first execution of a woman in more than 150 years.

Christina Marie Riggs, 28, would be the fifth woman executed in the United States since the Supreme Court lifted a ban on capital punish-

ment in 1976.

She had withdrawn all appeals and chose not to seek clemency from Gov. Mike Huckabee (R).

Initially, Riggs's mother and lawyer said she suffered post-traumatic stress after working as a nurse in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. But the matter never came up at her trial.

Riggs worked at the Veterans Affairs hospital in Oklahoma City from 1990 to July 1995, but the hospital

said she was not sent to the scene of the April 1995 bombing. She later worked at the Arkansas Heart Hospital.

Riggs pleaded with the jury in 1998 to give her the death penalty, saying: "I want to be with my babies."

Prosecutors told jurors that Riggs's children had become an inconvenience to her. They said she left the children by themselves while she competed in karaoke contests and had plotted their deaths for weeks.

May Not be what you are looking for

Schools Chief Plays Higgins To Unlikely Eliza, the Board

A

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

A few weeks ago, the seven members of the New York City Board of Education found something odd in their mailboxes: three Wallace Stevens poems, courtesy of Harold O. Levy, the interim schools chancellor. "Poetry," he wrote in an attached memo, "can give voice to the inner souls of people who lead seemingly mundane lives."

Then came the news that Mr. Levy was planning a series of lectures, intended specifically for the enlightenment of the board members. The first, scheduled for tomorrow night, will be on cosmology. That is, the study of the universe.

And next week, Mr. Levy will gather the school system's 43 superintendents for a group violin lesson at Carnegie Hall, taught by none other than Isaac Stern.

What is going on here?

If the school system's top officials did not have enough to worry about, with Mr. Levy pushing them to be more efficient and accountable, now he wants them to think more, too. Music and poetry are among the more esoteric parts of his plan to raise the level of debate on education policy, he says. That means focusing less on administrative minutiae, and adding intellectual rigor to the often

tedious board meetings.

"The notion is to change the areas of conversation," Mr. Levy said in an interview, "so that we are squarely confronting some of the great philosophical questions of our day."

To that end, Mr. Levy has enlisted his friend, Jonathan Levi — a novelist, jazz violinist and founding editor of the literary journal *Granta* — to be the resident intellectual at 110 Livingston Street.

Mr. Levi, whose official title is executive assistant to the chancellor, says that his duties include bringing board members, school officials and students "into the secret society that is New York City's intellectual culture."

Whether they will go willingly is another question. After all, the members of the Board of Education — who are appointed by the mayor and the borough presidents — are known more for their political allegiances than their intellectual pursuits. At least one has suggested that Mr. Levy stick to being a manager and let them choose their own enrichment activities.

"For the most part I'm ignoring it," said Nina Segarra, one of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's appointees to the board, referring to the clippings that Mr. Levy has been circulating from *Scientific American*, *The New*

York Review of Books and other erudite journals. "I guess he thinks we don't read on our own. But every single board member gets Education Week. Most of us are pretty well versed on the issues."

Ms. Segarra said she had not decided whether to attend the lectures. And as for the poems, she said she had not received them.

"Probably if I had gotten it I would have thrown it out," she said. "I'm not a poetry kind of person. I like serial killer novels."

Other board members appeared appreciative, or at least tolerant, of what one wryly described as Mr. Levy's attempt to play Henry Higgins.

"There is a very fine line between sharing information and being viewed as arrogant," said William C. Thompson Jr., the board president. "But I don't think Harold has fallen on the side of arrogant. I see this as Harold constantly thinking and sharing ideas he finds exciting."

Jerry Cammarata, one of the three board members who fought Mr. Levy's appointment, said his attempt to spark intellectual discourse was appropriate because the board's primary responsibility should be to debate and create policies.

"I think 110 Livingston should be an intellectually enriching experience for anyone who walks through the doors," Mr. Cammarata said. "We should be continually thirsting for information. If he thinks this stuff is relevant, it would be imprudent and disrespectful of us not to give it a shot."

But whatever their reaction to Mr. Levy's recent efforts, the board members pointed out that they had been mulling ideas long before Mr. Levy's appointment in January.

"We're always swapping stuff around," said Terri Thomson, the Queens member. "The more we can learn together, the better."

So far, Ms. Thomson and five other board members have signed up to attend the cosmology lecture, at the Museum of Natural History. The speaker will be Neil deGrasse Tyson, the director of the Hayden Planetarium, who will provide insights on how to teach such a complex subject. In addition to board members and administrators, Mr. Levy has invited several dozen of the city's science teachers. For the second lecture, Alan Brinkley, a history professor at Columbia, will discuss the civil rights movement.

"This is a chance for them to exercise their minds," Mr. Levi (his name is pronounced with a long i), the son of a philosophy professor at Columbia, said this week. "We want them to be doing mental push-ups."

For the district superintendents, Mr. Levy has already brought in speakers like Jonathan Kozol, who has written extensively on urban education, and Kati Haycock, director of the Education Trust, a Washington-based advocacy group for poor and minority students. And, of course, they have the violin lesson to look forward to.

Mr. Levi said he and his boss would not be foisting lectures and clippings on the board — and violin lessons on the superintendents — if

they did not believe their audience was already highly intelligent.

"We're assuming our audience is sophisticated enough to listen to lectures at the highest level, but that in the course of their normal days as educators, they don't get the opportunity."

Ms. Segarra pointed out that Mr. Levy, a Citigroup executive, was hired for his corporate expertise, not his intellectual vigor. She said he had not used his managerial skills as much as she had hoped, and that he should be focusing on the coming summer school program, which is to be the largest in the city's history.

"He has a very limited amount of time to do some very critical things," Ms. Segarra said. "He's supposed to be managing us through some major

projects, like summer school, on a very short timetable."

But while the plan to create a literary salon of sorts at 110 Livingston Street might not seem to fit in with Mr. Levy's efforts to make the Board of Education more businesslike, Mr. Levi said that in fact, the two efforts fit together seamlessly.

"To run a business you need to find the best resources and apply them as efficiently as you can," he said. "My job is to look at the issue of resources more broadly, in terms of the artistic and intellectual resources of New York City."

Mr. Levy did not deride his predecessors, but said that, as career educators, most were more focused on a handful of initiatives directly related to classroom instruction. Many of those initiatives were abandoned when the next chancellor came in, he said.

"I don't want to blow through here with an initiative or project that won't withstand the test of time," Mr. Levy said. "What I want to do is have a public debate about the methodologies and what the true needs of the system are."

But whether such a debate will lead to permanent change is as open a question as whether Mr. Levy will become the permanent chancellor after his temporary contract ends in July. Quite possibly, his friend Mr. Levi said, people are reacting enthusiastically to Mr. Levy's initiatives simply because they do not expect him to stick around.

"The chancellor's office is such a revolving door," he said, "you never know whether people are genuinely interested or just nodding politely and waiting for you to depart."

New York Acts To Cut Pollution From Midwest

By RAYMOND HERNANDEZ

ALBANY, May 1 — The New York State Legislature today completed passage of a bill that seeks to reduce the amount of air pollution that drifts into New York from coal-burning power plants in Midwestern and Southern states.

The measure would stop New York companies from keeping the money they make by selling pollution credits, earned by cleaning their own smokestacks, to major polluters in the Midwest and the South. The credits are now sold on the open market to companies with older power plants that find it cheaper to buy such credits instead of modernizing their plants and cutting their emissions.

The action is the first by a state that directly challenges a major provision in the federal Clean Air Act of 1990: setting up a marketplace in which companies can trade the right to pollute, in the form of credits, as a commodity. Some New York utility companies immediately threatened a court challenge to the new legislation, saying the law could violate constitutional protections for interstate commerce.

It is not clear the degree to which the legislation will reduce pollution and acid rain in New York State, in large part because polluters in the South and the Midwest could turn to other companies in other states to buy their pollution credits. But experts say the legislation will ultimately limit the amount of pollution

credits available to polluters in the Midwest and the South and thereby force up the price of such credits.

The federal Environmental Protection Agency, which administers the credit program, said it supported New York's attempt to regulate pollution credit trading by companies within its own borders.

Kim Rubey, a spokeswoman for the agency, defended the credit trading program. But, she added, "We are also in favor of providing maximum flexibility to states like New York in our common effort to protect public health and the environment."

Federal regulations permit a company that cuts pollution below federal levels to sell credits it has earned to a company unable or unwilling to meet those federal emission levels. The goal is to reward companies that reduce their toxic emissions below the federal standard, while forcing companies that exceed the standard to buy the right to continue polluting.

Over all, the free-market approach has resulted in cleaner air nationwide. But there has been a glaring

glitch, according to environmental experts. Major polluters in the South and the Middle West have found it cheaper to buy pollution credits instead of cutting toxic emissions that have blown downwind into New York and contributed to the state's acid rain problem.

The legislation adopted today is intended to help correct that problem, essentially penalizing power companies in New York when they sell pollution credits to coal-burning power plants in the Midwest and in the South, whose pollution is a major cause of acid rain in the state.

The measure essentially calls for the state to seize all proceeds that a utility would receive from such polluters as part of a transaction for pollution credits. The bill allows state regulators to impose a fine equal to the amount of such a sale; the fine would be used to promote development and use of nonpolluting energy sources like solar power.

John F. Sheehan, a spokesman for the Adirondack Council, an environmental group, said the measure could help protect regions of the state that have been ravaged by acid rain, most notably tracts of wilderness in the Adirondacks. He said government studies estimated that in fewer than 40 years, half of that

region's nearly 3,000 lakes and ponds would be too acidic to sustain the fish and plants that now live in them if the acid rain problem continued unabated.

"It makes no sense for New York to clean up its own smokestacks and then hand the right to pollute to its neighbors," said Mr. Sheehan, whose group played a major role in pushing the bill through the Legislature. "This legislation puts an end to New York's squandering of the benefits of its own responsible actions toward clean air."

The measure drew harsh rebukes from representatives of the state's powerful utility industry, who said it potentially violated the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution prohibiting states from enacting laws that restrict trade outside their

national trading program or you don't," she said. "I haven't talked to anybody who doesn't think this law is unconstitutional."

In all, New York utility companies have sold roughly 700,000 credits between 1995 and 1998 to polluters in the other states, according to a recent report issued by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress. The credits now cost about \$140 each and allow polluters to emit one ton of sulfur dioxide, a major contributor to acid rain and smog. New York's pollution credits account for roughly 4 percent of all the sulfur dioxide emitted in the United States, government and private estimates indicate.

The bill was passed by the Repub-

lican-controlled State Senate by a 59-to-0 vote early this afternoon. The Assembly, which has a Democratic majority, passed the bill by a 129-to-15 vote earlier this year. The measure now goes to Gov. George E. Pataki. He has expressed support for such legislation in the past, but aides said today that he wanted to review the measure carefully.

Richard L. Brodsky, a Democrat who is the bill's primary author in the Assembly, said the measure did not diminish the need for federal legislation that would force plants in the Midwest and the South to reduce pollution that caused acid rain in New York. "The legislation we passed is self-help for New York," he said. "But it also focuses attention on the need for the Congress to meet us halfway by stopping other states from dumping on us."

Carl L. Marcellino, a Republican who is the legislation's main sponsor in the State Senate, said the state's action should send a message to Washington that the current system had allowed utilities in regions like the Midwest to burn high-sulfur coal at the expense of states like New York. "At the very least, I believe this legislation will force Congress into action and ultimately require the federal government to reduce acid rain," he said.

The pollution credit trading system was approved by Congress at the urging of economists and some environmentalists, who said it would bring about pollution reduction with the least amount of government intervention and the most efficiency. The act gave New York utilities a windfall of pollution credits because a New York State law had forced those companies to cut emissions in the 1980's to levels below what the federal law requires.

The legislation adopted today seeks to prohibit power companies from selling their pollution credits to companies in 10 Southern and Midwestern states by providing for fines against utilities making such sales. Those states are Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana and Wisconsin. It also prohibits sales to four neighboring states: New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Trying to reduce acid rain traced to coal-burning power plants in other states.

borders. Proponents of the measure say companies still have the ability to sell credits to whomever they want but run the risk of incurring penalties when the credits go to out-of-state companies that contribute to New York's acid rain problem.

Carol E. Murphy, executive director of Independent Power Producers of New York, said she expected utility companies to sue the state over the measure. "Either you have a

Mediator Helps Settle Baltimore School Suit

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, May 1 — Lawyers involved in a case that has dragged through the federal courts for 16 years said today they had reached a tentative settlement concerning charges that the Baltimore public school system had woefully neglected physically and mentally disabled students.

The settlement sets goals for evaluating children with special needs and for putting special education students into regular classes and calls for annual monitoring.

What may be most notable, however, is the unusual procedure used to settle the case, which was scheduled to go to trial today. The parties chose a federal judge — one not involved in the case — to serve as a mediator.

Such a procedure, the lawyers and the trial judge said, had been used only once before, and it proved unsuccessful. That occurred this year in the Microsoft antitrust trial. The judge in that case, Thomas Penfield Jackson, asked Richard A. Posner, chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, in Chicago, to mediate the dispute, but his efforts failed to produce a solution.

In the Baltimore case, both sides agreed in January to ask Judge David S. Tatel of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to help them reach a settlement. Lawyers for both sides said today that they were delighted with the results.

The suit dates to 1984, when the Maryland Disability Law Center

sued the city and state, charging that little was being done to accommodate the needs of the estimated 18 percent of the enrollment of slightly more than 100,000 students who qualified for special education. Similar lawsuits have been filed in about a dozen major cities, including New York and Los Angeles.

At one point in the litigation, the city was so discouraged about its

Unusual means end a long dispute over special education.

ability to do anything that it came up with the idea of simply giving televisions, videocassette recorders and computers to students to make up for its neglect.

In his earlier career as a private lawyer in Washington, Judge Tatel represented the Baltimore school board in the case.

Judge Marvin J. Garbis, who was presiding over the trial, said, "it has to be a pretty extraordinary person who once sat with the defense" to be deemed acceptable to both sides.

But lawyers who were suing the city said they had confidence in Judge Tatel because he had also once been director of the Office for Civil Rights in what was the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Steven Ney, legal director of the

disability center, said the settlement "sets a road map for the ultimate disposition of the case."

The courts had ruled that the city and state had neglected children in need of special education, and the last several years have been about how to remedy that. Under the settlement announced today, the federal courts will "disengage" from monitoring the city's schools if all the goals are substantially met.

Among the requirements of the agreement, the school district will have to place nearly 60 percent of the special education students in regular classes, or "mainstream" them, in three years. About 40 percent of such students now attend regular classes at some point in the school day.

The reading gap between special education and other students will have to be narrowed in three years, and there will be annual reporting to a special master, Amy Totenberg.

Judge Garbis said that while the Microsoft case involved great amounts of money the Baltimore case involved the "precious resource of our children." He led the lawyers in a standing ovation to Judge Tatel, saying, "the people of Baltimore and its children owe a great deal to Judge Tatel."

In addressing the court, Judge Tatel, who was not compensated for his work, said he believed that both sides had achieved their goals. "They produced an agreement that calls for educationally sound but realistic outcomes that have a good chance of improving the quality of education in the Baltimore public school system."

Break Out the Rabbit Ears, Martha

By TERRY PRISTIN

Sam Ramer, an assistant district attorney in the Bronx, watches "Eyewitness News" to keep up with breaking crime stories and spends late evenings with Ted and Sunday mornings with Cokie and Sam. He's also a big fan of other ABC programs like "NYPD Blue" and "The Practice."

But don't count Mr. Ramer among the millions of Time Warner Cable subscribers across the country who woke up yesterday to find that one of their favorite networks had gone dark. He took action 10 days ago just to forestall such disappointment.

Mr. Ramer and his neighbors got together and bought a satellite dish for their brownstone in the Park Slope section of Brooklyn. Each of the five families was able to get a service package from DirecTV for about \$40 a month — \$20 less than Mr. Ramer was paying for cable service from Time Warner.

For Mr. Ramer, the ABC-Time Warner dispute "turned out to be a blessing in disguise," he said. "You really think you have only one option," he added, "and it's not until you are forced into action that you realize that as a consumer, you have a right to better service." ABC is a unit of Walt Disney.

But for other television viewers — whether they are addicted to one of ABC's longrunning daytime soap operas or the surprise hit "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire" — the timing of the blackout was especially irritating. It arrived just at the start of the May sweeps period, when the competition for ratings heats up and viewers can expect special developments — the return of a much-

missed character of "All My Children," for example, or more celebrity contestants on "Millionaire."

Satellite providers like DirecTV and EchoStar Communications hope to capitalize on that unhappiness. They say the disruption is likely to prove a bonanza, pushing many people who have been contemplating switching into finally acting. Both companies said sales had already increased in Houston, where the Time Warner-Disney squabble first surfaced in March.

Seizing the window of opportunity, EchoStar is running an advertising campaign advising that ABC pro-

Satellite TV companies learn the meaning of joy.

grams can be seen through the company's Dish TV service and offering a free dish, receiver and remote control plus installation to cable customers, said Judianne Atencio, an EchoStar spokeswoman.

In March, the ABC affiliate in Houston gave Time Warner customers more than 4,000 vouchers that could be redeemed for DirecTV satellite dishes. The two companies are close to signing another agreement that would include rebates on both the dish and the installation, said Robert A. Marsocci, a DirecTV spokesman.

Fighting back, Time Warner pointed out that subscribers could still watch ABC programs by installing an A/B switch and an antenna and offered to reimburse them up to \$15

for the cost. Tony Magoulas, a spokesman for Radio Shack, said it was too early to tell if the tactic was working. But he said one store in Houston had reported a tenfold increase in antenna sales.

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani scoffed at the antenna idea as "stupid" in New York, which has so many tall buildings. Similarly, satellite dishes are not always a practical option for Manhattan residents — unless their apartment includes a balcony. Another company, RCN, hopes to lure some high-rise-dwelling Time Warner customers into signing up for a package that includes telephone service, a high-speed Internet connection and cable. RCN now serves 70,000 customers in the 800 Manhattan buildings equipped with the company's fiber optic cable and is weighing whether to step up its marketing efforts, said Valerie C. Haertel, a company spokeswoman.

Yesterday, Time Warner Cable offices were flooded with complaints. By 10 a.m., the company's Los Angeles division had received 300 calls — half from people who were angry about the service disruption and half from people who were concerned that their rates might be affected, said Robert Moel, a Time Warner vice president.

Other people voiced their complaints directly to Soap Opera Digest, a weekly publication with a circulation of one million. "Think about the investment these people make in their shows — the amount of time they spend and the passion they feel," said Lynn Leahey, the editor in chief. She recalled that when some of the soaps were pre-empted for the murder trial of O. J. Simpson, some viewers never came back.

Schwab Wins Approval to Buy U.S. Trust

WASHINGTON, May 1 (Reuters) — The Federal Reserve today approved the acquisition of the U.S. Trust Corporation, the venerable money management firm, by the world's largest discount and Internet broker, the Charles Schwab Corporation.

The deal, valued at \$2.7 billion when it was struck in January, will enable Schwab to offer investment services to wealthy individuals, creating a full-service brokerage firm after 25 years as a discounteer.

By acquiring the 147-year-old New York commercial bank, the San

Francisco-based Schwab will also become the first of a new breed of financial conglomerates made possible by last year's overhaul of Depression-era United States banking laws. The change allows banks, brokers and insurers into one another's businesses.

U.S. Trust's financial advisers manage the wealth of an exclusive group of 7,000 families and individuals. Schwab, a pioneer in discount brokerage and later Internet trading, has more than six million customers, mostly small investors.

It says the merger will allow it to provide trust, financial and estate planning, and private banking services to the growing number of wealthy individuals among those customers, noting that some three million United States households currently have over \$1 million to invest and that number is expected to grow 13 to 14 percent annually over the next three years.

In its order approving the deal, the Fed said it would not adversely affect competition or raise concerns about Schwab's capitalization once it was consummated.

Under the order, the deal must be completed within three months. U.S. Trust shareholders are to vote on the offer on May 31.

Go—No-Go—on the CFO

THE FUTURE of Valerie Holt as the District's chief financial officer is taking on the aspect of a death watch. Most observers believe her days may be numbered, given the tepid public support she has received from financial control board Chairman Alice Rivlin and Mayor Anthony Williams since her failure to produce the city's annual financial report on time. Chief financial officer is a critical city post. The incumbent should not be left twisting in the wind. With the audit now in hand, the mayor and control board ought to decide whether Ms. Holt will stay or go.

Ms. Holt's critics say the 13-week delay in completing the financial report is symptomatic of a larger problem associated with her close-to-the-vest management style. She is accused of declining control board offers of assistance when, in fact, she could have used some help. The council complains it was kept in the dark about the trouble she was having in meeting the Feb. 1 audit completion deadline. When she did inform city leaders about the trouble in January, it was too late.

We do not know whether the blame for the audit's slow progress rests entirely on the CFO's shoulders or if, as Ms. Holt asserts, her staff was not given enough time to master a sophisticated new computer system that produced the tardy report. The problem, however, did occur on her watch, and at a time when city leaders were clamoring for data to be used in budget planning. Ms. Holt, it seems to us, should have been more forthcoming about the problems she was encountering and the steps she was taking to rectify the situation.

Ironically, the audit contains some good news. The city received a clean report and shows an \$86.4 million budget surplus—two steps that move the District closer to the day when the financial control board pulls up stakes. Ms. Holt's experience and competence are not at issue as much as her leadership and management style. The mayor and control board should weigh not only Ms. Holt's past performance but also her future value as a CFO.

The Online Professor

NO ONE knows what the ultimate effect of Internet technology on universities is likely to be—whether online “distance education” will detract from campus-based education, enrich it or prove mostly irrelevant. One early set of questions involves professors' newfound ability to “teach” without being present in the classroom and to market their lectures independently of the institutions for which they work. Would that add to the reputation of the institutions, or would it reduce the incentive for students actually to enroll?

Harvard University recently proposed a tightening of rules that limit the work its professors can do for outside and online ventures. The proposed change comes after the university forced law professor Arthur Miller to give up an online course he was teaching for the all-online Concord School of Law (a venture that, readers should note, is owned by The Washing-

ton Post Co.). The new rules would require professors to get permission from a dean any time they wanted to teach or conduct research outside the university, whether in person or online.

It is not farfetched to draw the distinction, as Harvard plainly did in this case, between activities that traditionally bolster professors' reach and stature (such as publishing a book) and activities that compete directly with the professors' employer. We can't help thinking, though, that the likelihood of videotaped lectures' becoming a competitive threat is just another of those fervid, mostly overblown predictions of how the Internet will alter human behavior. Professors' wisdom has been available off-the-shelf for centuries in book form and on screen for nearly a decade, and full-time enrollment has continued, at least so far, to strike most as a better way to absorb the wisdom fully.

What's News—

Business and Finance

TIME WARNER CABLE abruptly dropped Disney's ABC network from its system, leaving 3.5 million households in parts of New York, Los Angeles and elsewhere without the No. 1 rated network. The media companies are fighting over the fee Disney charges Time Warner cable systems to carry the Disney Channel.

(Article on Page B1)

Royal Numico will buy Rexall Sundown for about \$1.63 billion. The deal will boost the Dutch consumer-products maker's share of the U.S. vitamin market to 21% from its current 13%.

(Article on Page A3)

Marriott and Hyatt are forming an Internet firm to supply hotels, restaurants and hospitals with products ranging from bath soap to electricity.

(Article on Page A3)

Spain's Telefonica is in discussions to merge with Dutch carrier Royal KPN in a transaction that would value KPN at more than \$60 billion, according to people familiar with the talks.

(Article on Page A18)

The Clinton administration said the government will be able to cut the national debt by a record \$185 billion this quarter. The announcement led to some bond selling, with the 30-year Treasury bond off 12/32 to 103 17/32.

(Articles on Pages A2 and C23)

Manufacturing slowed slightly last month while the prices of industrial commodities moderated, according to the purchasing managers' report. Construction spending accelerated in March despite Fed rate increases.

(Article on Page A2)

The Nasdaq composite rose 97.42 points to 3958.08, as technology shares rebounded. Microsoft's stock surged more than 5% despite the company's antitrust troubles. The Dow Jones industrials climbed 77.87 to 10811.78.

(Article on Page C1)

The next generation of Microsoft's Windows operating system could be threatened by curbs the government wants to impose in its antitrust case.

Microsoft signed a pact with I/O Software to include "biometric" security devices like fingerprint or eye scanners in its Windows systems.

(Articles on Pages A3 and B5)

Veba said the SEC is investigating whether the German company misled investors in August by denying its intent to merge with rival utility Viag.

(Article on Page A18)

Eight specialty-metals companies are developing an online exchange to buy, sell and distribute aluminum, stainless steel and other metals.

(Article on Page A4)

Procter & Gamble chose insider Steve David to oversee its computer systems and to harness the Internet for running day-to-day operations.

(Article on Page B10)

Motley Fool will name C. Patrick Garner, a senior Coke executive, as its first CEO, ending a lengthy search.

(Article on Page B12)

Acquiring companies' stock prices are being hurt more than at any time during the merger boom of the 1990s, amid a more difficult deal market.

(Article on Page C20)

Markets—

Stocks: NYSE vol 943,849,520 shares, Nasdaq vol 1,441,889,181. Dow Jones industrials 10811.78, up 77.87; transportation 2858.68, up 8.67; utilities 319.84, up 2.09.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 8460.80, off 19.30.

Commodities: Oil \$25.88 a barrel, up \$0.15. Dow Jones-AIG futures index 98.518, up 1.636; DJ spot index 120.23, up 1.96.

Dollar: 108.78 yen, up 0.58; 1.0921 euros, off 0.0049; 2.1359 marks, off 0.0097.

World-Wide

JUSTICES RULED government employers can set "comp time" schedules.

The 6-3 Supreme Court decision involved a challenge to overtime-compensation rules at a Texas sheriff's department. Workers argued unsuccessfully that mandated schedules of time off in lieu of overtime pay violated federal law. The court also agreed to decide if police suspecting drug sales can bar people from their home while a search warrant is obtained. (Article on Page B10)

Justices decided 5-4 to throw out a conviction based on a longstanding ban on using a law to criminalize acts committed before the law went into effect.

The terrorist-nations list was released by the U.S., which named Iran, Syria, North Korea, Cuba, Iraq, Libya and Sudan. The report reflects a shift in concern from the Mideast to South Asia. Policy toward Libya, blamed for Lockerbie, is under review. The trial in that 1988 bombing opens tomorrow.

The China trade bill should be rejected because of Beijing's crackdown on religious freedoms, particularly its repression of Falun Dafa, a U.S. government commission urged. Members were appointed either by Clinton or congressional leaders, all of whom back the bill. (Article on Page A28)

An accused Iranian Jewish spy confessed on state TV. He is one of 13 Iranian Jews on trial in a case many in the West say has been concocted by hard-liners. Meanwhile, Iraq-based rebels shelled Tehran police headquarters. (Related article on Page A18)

Private Social Security accounts are being considered by Bush, who may follow many Republicans in Congress in proposing to let workers put some of their payroll taxes in stocks. The White House dismissed his plan as too sketchy and unrealistic.

Hyperactivity-diagnosis guidelines were issued by the American Academy of Pediatrics. Doctors hope the first-ever standards will better identify youngsters with the problem while preventing children who are just rambunctious from being medicated.

Antiglobalization protesters attacked a McDonald's in London, sending staff fleeing before 22 arrests were made. About 5,000 police officers worked to quell what Prime Minister Blair called "mindless thuggery."

Elian Gonzalez's father filed a motion with a federal appeals court to reject political-asylum claims made for the boy by Miami relatives. The court is to decide on May 11 whether to begin asylum hearings.

Sri Lankan rebels overran the town of Pallai as they continued to consolidate gains following their capture of a strategic pass a week ago. Rebels are now 15 miles south of Jaffna, the nation's second-largest city.

South Carolina's governor approved observance of the Martin Luther King holiday, the last state to do so. But he drew an NAACP protest for also approving a holiday for Confederate Memorial Day on May 10.

Venezuela's Hugo Chavez kicked off his re-election campaign with a rally by thousands in Caracas. Balloting is set for May 28. Francisco Arias, a Chavez ally in a failed 1992 coup, has emerged as a credible rival.

Taiwan's president-elect rounded out his cabinet, naming his top economic planner and the representative to Japan. Appointments indicate that Chen Shui-bian plans continuity with his predecessor's policies.

Zimbabwe opposition backers protested Mugabe's government and rising political violence as thousands rallied outside Harare. Leaders urged defeat of Mugabe's party in elections expected by mid-June.

Puerto Rican protesters prepared for a possible confrontation with the Navy this week over military exercises on the island of Vieques. Many who oppose war games are gathered at the site, as are three warships.

Austria's far-right leader stepped down as formal head of the Freedom Party, inclusion of which in Vienna's government led to consternation in Europe and the U.S. But many view Joerg Haider's move as a stunt.

Actors went on strike against radio and TV advertising agencies in the first major Hollywood walkout in 12 years. They are demanding more compensation when their work is used on cable TV and the Internet.

Died: Pham Van Dong, 94, Communist premier of North Vietnam 1954-75, and reunified Vietnam 1976-87, Saturday, in Hanoi.

Senate debates sweeping education changes

GOP, Dems draw battle lines on issue that tops priority polls

By Wendy Koch
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The Senate began debate Monday on the issue that voters say they care about most: education.

The deliberations won't be simple or short, and, amid election-year pressures, it's unclear how much will get done.

If nothing else, the debate will highlight the philosophical differences between Democrats and Republicans on education policy. The outcome could affect which schools parents send their children to, how well teachers are trained, how much aid poor students receive and whether parents get report cards on school performance.

The Senate will spend as long as three weeks considering the nation's biggest education bill, a five-

year update of federal rules governing schools.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, first passed in 1965, has programs that affect most of the nation's public schools and some private ones. About \$8 billion of its \$15 billion total funding this year is for Title I, a program that targets low-income students.

A top concern

Polls show Americans rank education as a top priority, so both parties are eager to please. Republicans are touting their approach, and Democrats are setting up a "war room" outside the Senate chamber for senators to broadcast their views. President Clinton plans a two-day, four-state tour this week to praise Democratic ideas and bash GOP ones.

Two major differences divide the parties. Republicans, including presidential nominee Texas Gov. George W. Bush, want to give schools more leeway in how they spend federal dollars, partly by consolidating programs into lump-sum payments, known as block grants, to the states. Most Republicans support voucher plans that would allow parents to use some of this money for private school tuition.

Most Democrats, including Vice President Gore, oppose private-school vouchers and block grants. They want to ensure federal money goes to disadvantaged students and to key Democratic priorities such as reducing class size, modernizing schools, improving technology and expanding after-school programs.

Compromise will be difficult because the two parties are so far apart and have little time to negotiate this year. The debate also could get bogged down if Democrats try to add gun-control provisions to the bill and Republicans use parlia-

mentary means to block them.

"It's a presidential election year, and almost everything here is rife with uncertainty," says Joe Karpinski, GOP spokesman for the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee. "We could have trouble passing a Mother's Day resolution."

"There will have to be significant movement" on the GOP side, says Scott Flemming, the Education Department's assistant secretary for legislative and congressional affairs. "We've made clear there's things this president won't sign."

A policy compass

The squabbling may seem peripheral at first, because the federal government provides only about 6% of total spending on the nation's schools, down from 9% two decades ago.

But lawmakers say the bill provides a broad policy compass for schools. Federal money is also much more targeted than state or local funds toward low-income children, and Washington provides \$1 of every \$4 spent on technology.

The Senate is working on one 922-page bill while the House has broken the legislation into smaller pieces. The House has one more major piece, opposed by Democrats, to finish.

The Senate bill would give 15 states unprecedented freedom to spend federal dollars however they want, as long as they set student performance goals. The House version would establish a similar 10-

state pilot program.

Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa., chairman of the House education committee, argues that local officials know more about their schools than Washington bureaucrats and should be given more discretion in spending the money.

"Our whole approach is that we should be talking about quality, not process," says Goodling, a former educator. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., who will lead Democrats in Senate debate, argues that block grants could cause a "significant" shift of federal funds from low-income schools to wealthier ones. "They're a blank check from the federal government," he says.

Senate Democrats will try to eliminate the voucher and block-grant measures and insert their own priorities. They will push to fund the remaining five years of Clinton's seven-year program to hire 100,000 more teachers and reduce average class size to 18 pupils in early grades. They also will lobby for federal tax credits for interest payments on \$25 billion in school modernization bonds.

Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, says the average age of the nation's schools is 42 years. "It is a national disgrace that the nicest thing our kids see are shopping malls, sports arenas and movie theaters," he says, "and the most rundown place they see is their school."

Republicans say their approach would allow, but not require, local officials to use federal funds to reduce class size or modernize schools.

Support is strong for Justice

But Americans frown on tactics in Elian raid

By Laura Parker
and Kevin Johnson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A poll showed that Americans continued to approve of the Justice Department's decision to remove Elian Gonzalez, 6, from his relatives and reunite him with his father. A majority, however, disapproved of the way the government conducted its raid on the Miami home of his relatives.

Americans opposed congressional hearings on the raid, although opposition is waning. Several Republican leaders have called for an investigation of whether the Immigration and Naturalization Service agents used too much force when they raided the Little Havana home of Lazaro Gonzalez, Elian's great-uncle, on April 22. No date has been set for hearings.

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll, conducted over the weekend, showed about two-thirds of Americans said Elian should be allowed to return to Cuba with his father, Juan Miguel Gonzalez, rather than live with his Miami relatives.

Meanwhile, Elian's father asked a federal appeals court Monday to dismiss the request for an asylum hearing for the boy, so the family can return to the Cuban village, Cardenas, where Elian was born.

In strongly worded papers filed with the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, lawyers for the father attacked the asylum applications brought by the boy's Miami relatives as frivolous acts that could do "great damage" to the boy.

Lawyers for Lazaro Gonzalez filed a brief arguing that the INS subverted Elian's right to apply for asylum. They said the refusal to

USA TODAY CNN GALLUP POLL

Many want refugee to return to Cuba

Do you approve of federal agents removing Elian Gonzalez from the Miami home of his relatives?

Yes	60%
No	36%

Do you approve of the way the Justice Department removed Elian from the home?

Yes	43%
No	53%

What should happen to Elian?

Return to Cuba	67%
Remain in the USA	23%

In the long run, if Elian returns to Cuba, how do you think his life would be, compared with life in the USA?

Much better	11%
Somewhat better	7%
About the same	26%
Somewhat worse	19%
Much worse	26%

Source: USA TODAY-CNN Gallup Poll of 1,003 adults Friday-Sunday. Margin of error +/- 3 percentage points. Percentages don't total 100 because other responses are not shown.

consider Elian's right "profoundly offends any principle of fairness or due process." Lazaro Gonzalez's lawyers also repeated his request that a guardian be appointed to represent Elian's interests. "Elian is

truly not invisible before the eyes of our laws and urgently needs a guardian," the brief said.

The father's lawyers accused Lazaro of being "totally ignorant" of Juan Miguel's relationships with the boy and his mother, who died at sea last November, attempting to flee Cuba. The boy survived the shipwreck, and the battle for his custody has been raging since he was placed in Lazaro's care.

"As to Lazaro's past history with Elian, his sole contact with Elian came in 1998," when Lazaro visited Cardenas, the lawyers said. "According to Juan Miguel, Lazaro paid no attention to the boy during that visit."

Lawyers for Lazaro could not be reached for comment. The appeals court is scheduled to hear arguments May 11 on the family's request for an asylum hearing.

Americans regarded the issue of parental custody as more important than the issue of political asylum, according to the poll. Three of five said children from other countries should not be able to seek political asylum in the USA on their own, without the involvement of their parents.

Americans were willing to see Elian returned to Cuba despite their concern that he faces hardships there. About 45% said he would have a worse life in Cuba than in the USA, while 18% said it would be better and 26% said about the same.

Americans were most closely divided on the methods used to remove Elian from his relatives' home: 43% approved, while 53% disapproved and 4% had no opinion.

As the Senate Judiciary Committee considers calling hearings on the raid, 54% of Americans said they disapproved of the hearings. Last week, 68% said the hearings should not be held.

The poll had an error of margin of +/- 3 percentage points.

House votes to increase U.S. funding for mandated education programs

By Sean Scully
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The House yesterday voted to dramatically increase funding for special-education classes, calling for the federal government to pay the full amount it promised 25 years ago when it required local schools to educate disabled students.

"We didn't put our money where our mouth was, so all this money has to be raised locally," said House Education and Workforce Committee Bill Goodling, Pennsylvania Republican. Local school boards "had to take away from school construction, had to take away from class-size reduction, had to take away from the education of other children to educate these children."

When Congress passed the Individuals With Disabilities Act, it promised to pay 40 percent of the cost of special education. In the quarter-century since, it has never paid more than about 12 percent, or about \$5 billion, of the cost of educating the 6 million disabled children in the United States.

The bill, passed 421-3 by the House yesterday, authorizes the federal government to start paying the full 40 percent — almost \$16 billion at this year's level — within 10 years.

The Senate failed to pass a similar measure last year after Democrats said Republicans were using the issue to take money away from programs proposed by President Clinton, such as using federal

funds to hire teachers or build schools.

The issue may resurface in the Senate this week or next as it debates a sweeping reauthorization of \$15 billion worth of education funding programs.

Democrats in the House did not attempt to block the disabilities measure yesterday, but they expressed concerns similar to their Senate colleagues.

"I am worried the act we are debating represents a fig leaf rather than real progress for American's schools. ... [I fear] it will take away from existing education programs and create exactly the same problem schools face today," said Rep. Lynn Rivers, Michigan Democrat.

Republicans say there would be no need for Mr. Clinton's expensive education initiatives if local schools could count on federal funding for special education. The amounts of money involved are considerable.

At current funding levels, for example, Virginia would get an extra \$237 million per year, Maryland an extra \$158 million, and the District an extra \$12.5 million if the federal government offered its full promised funding.

"That money could go to hire extra teachers. That money could go to repair our schools, to high-tech programs," said Rep. Michael N. Castle, Delaware Republican. "Local and state money has been going to pay for this mandate [to educate the disabled] — a wonderful mandate, but a mandate imposed by Washington, D.C."

But even if the Senate does pass a similar bill, states cannot necessarily count on seeing the new money in next year's budget. The House bill authorizes the federal government to spend the money, but finding that money is up to members of the Appropriations Committee. They are not legally obligated to provide all the money called for in an authorizing bill.

"What the authorization bill allows us to do is make a promise but does not appropriate the money to allow us to pay for it," Mrs. Rivers said.

The Senate, meanwhile, continued the slow process of reauthorizing the bulk of federal education programs. Senators are not optimistic about finishing the work anytime soon, however, because of the political pressures of an election year.

Republicans and Democrats disagree deeply over education philosophy, with Republicans favoring a block-grant style of sending money to states and Democrats favoring a continuation of tightly targeted and specific programs.

On top of that disagreement, Democrats are threatening to derail the bill by adding a series of amendments unacceptable to Republicans. Particularly difficult would be an effort to attach new gun-control measures to the bill.

The Senate passed those measures last year after a bitter fight, but they are stalled in a joint House-Senate conference committee considering a sweeping juvenile justice bill.

House votes to relax requirements for government high-tech contracts

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Looking for a second job, Bill Gates?

House lawmakers have passed a bill to ease education requirements in government contracts for computer techies like Mr. Gates who don't have college degrees.

The federal government has for years required a college degree and three years' experience when contracting for information-technology services.

But lawmakers and industry leaders say the requirements are out of step with a billion-dollar industry bustling each year with young computer wizards who may have skill over experience.

"What we're saying is . . . let the private sector bid the best people instead of having these rigid mini-

mums that don't have a place in today's economy," said Olga Grkavac, executive vice president of the Information Technology Association of America. Many new college graduates, for instance, may be qualified for the job, but don't have the experience requirement.

"It just eliminates the rigidity in an environment when there is such a shortage," Miss Grkavac said.

An ITAA study released last month found that of the 1.6 million new information-technology jobs projected for this year, roughly half or 843,000, will go unfilled. That's one in every 12 jobs.

Mr. Gates dropped out of Harvard in his junior year after he and Paul Allen founded Microsoft, now the world's largest computer software provider, in 1975.

Today, Mr. Gates' share in Microsoft is worth more than \$50 billion.

Technology tycoons Larry Ellison of the Oracle Corp. and Michael Dell, chairman and CEO of the Dell Corp., are also without college degrees.

"What these minimum personnel requirements mean for the government is that a Bill Gates or a Michael Dell can't perform work for the government on most contracts," said Rep. Thomas M. Davis III, Virginia Republican, the measure's sponsor.

"This ought to be a no-brainer," said Rep. James P. Moran, Virginia Democrat, "These people want to work hard and have got the will and the ability, but they don't have the opportunity."

House votes for more funds to educate disabled children

The House voted Wednesday, 421-3, to move toward meeting a 25-year-old promise to pay 40% of the costs of teaching children with disabilities. The federal share is now 12.6%. Under the House plan, funding would gradually increase from \$5 billion this year to \$25 billion in 2010. School officials have long complained that the government has not lived up to its promise made in 1975 to pay 40% of the cost of meeting a federal requirement that public schools educate disabled youngsters. Nearly 6 million children receive special education at a cost of \$60 billion a year.

The Senate, working on a five-year rewrite of federal rules for aid to elementary and secondary schools, rejected along party lines a Democratic plan to target money to school modernization, reduced class size, more after-school programs and improved teacher training. Republicans favor consolidating some federal education money into block grants to states, which then could decide how to allocate it.

— Wendy Koch

House panel investigates missing White House e-mails

White House computer managers told a House panel that they didn't immediately fix a problem of lost e-mails because they were concentrating on Y2K issues. Y2K refers to concerns that some computers and software at the turn of the century might have mistaken 00 in dates for 1900 instead of 2000. The House Government Reform Committee is looking into the loss of e-mails sought by congressional investigators and independent counsel Ken Starr. The White House blamed a computer glitch. Republicans suggested a coverup. "When you don't have an honest president, you wonder whether the people who work for him are telling the truth," said Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn. Democrats said there have been too many investigations. "We have become obsessed and intoxicated with the notion of investigating," complained Rep. Harold Ford, D-Tenn. Former White House counsel Charles Ruff is scheduled to testify today.



Ford: 'We have become obsessed.'

Clinton and Congress members to meet on health care

President Clinton wants to meet with members of a House-Senate conference panel Monday to push health-care legislation. Each chamber has passed a different version of the legislation, which includes a "patients' bill of rights." The two bills have many similarities. They both include provisions that would make it easier to sue specialists, give patients the right to appeal to an outside panel when coverage is denied and allow use of out-of-plan hospitals in emergencies. Differences include whether patients can sue health plans and whether federal law should cover only the 55 million people whose plans are not regulated by states. "There have been enough delays," Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala said after mapping strategy with Clinton Wednesday.

Democrats eye record-breaking fundraiser

Democrats are doubling the amount of money they expect their biggest donors to pony up for the party's upcoming fundraising gala in Washington. The new price is \$500,000. That gets the donor into not only the barbecue May 24 but also a private dinner with President Clinton the night before. Democrats expect to surpass their one-day record of \$12.6 million set four years ago. "It's a sign of the economy," Democratic National Committee spokeswoman Jenny Backus said. "People have just given more this year." Larry Makinson of the Center for Responsive Politics, which studies political money, said, "They just keep trying to jack up the limits," and it "really shows you there is no end to the appetite for money." Republicans raised a record \$21.5 million at a fundraiser last month.



By Hillary Smith Garrison, AP

Memorial adds names of fallen journalists

In Arlington, Va.: Jamie Mumford, 6, and his stepbrother, Shawn Lane, both of New York, look at the name of their uncle Miles Tierney at the rededication of the Journalists Memorial at the Newseum on Wednesday. Tierney of the Associated Press was shot dead in January 1999 in Sierra Leone. The names of 40 journalists killed around the world last year were added to the memorial, bringing to 1,369 the total of those who died covering the news since 1812.

Mexican holiday proposed for United States

Members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus introduced a resolution urging the United States to recognize Cinco de Mayo. The festive holiday commemorates a battle in Mexico May 5, 1862, in which a ragtag army of Mexicans repelled Napoleon's well-armed French invading force. It's one more way of celebrating who we are and how we got here," said Rep. Silvestre Reyes, D-Texas.

Targeted congressman fires back at 'convicted felon'

After being targeted in a campaign by a pro-term limits group, Rep. George Nethercutt, R-Wash., has fired back with an attack ad of his own. It says U.S. Term Limits Executive Director Paul Jacob "is a convicted felon who served a long prison sentence. . . . So when you see the next U.S. Term Limits ad, recognize it for what it is, lies from convicted felons." Jacob served 5½ months in prison in 1980 after refusing to register for the draft. He called the ad a "mean-spirited cheap shot." U.S. Term Limits has criticized Nethercutt for reneging on a promise to serve only three terms.

House committee studies women's-rights treaty

Rep. Christopher Smith, R-N.J., told a House International Relations hearing that Mother's Day could be abolished if the United States ratifies a 20-year-old U.N. treaty on women's rights. Smith said the "controversial and fundamentally flawed" pact could allow "international bureaucrats" to set U.S. policies on such issues as abortion and the role of women. Others questioned his interpretation. "I wanted to get up and slap him," said Zieba Shorish-Shamley, an anthropologist and women's-rights activist from Afghanistan. "But then I wouldn't be able to come here again."

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

NTSB priority list targets fuel tanks

By Blake Morrison
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — With an August hearing into the crash of TWA Flight 800 approaching, the National Transportation Safety Board reiterated concerns Wednesday that the Federal Aviation Administration has yet to take action to prevent jet fuel-tank explosions.

Board Chairman James Hall told staff members to request an update on "what progress, if any" the FAA has made in addressing NTSB recommendations. Those recommendations, part of a "Most Wanted" list unveiled Wednesday, call for eliminating ignition sources in the fuel tank and alleviating fumes that could lead to explosions.

Besides researching the issue, FAA officials say they have been working with the NTSB since the accident. A spokesman said the FAA will likely issue a response before the hearing in August.

All 230 people on the TWA flight died after an explosion in the jet's center-wing fuel tank downed the plane off Long Island, N.Y., in July 1996. It is still under investigation.

Besides concerns about fuel-tank explosions, the board restated nine issues from last year's list, and added one other. The addition was a call for greater commercial truck and bus safety, including onboard recording devices.

Among the recommendations on the list:

- Safety measures to stem the high teen auto accident rate and improve use of child safety seats.

- Development of ways to preventing aircraft icing, train crashes and airplane collisions on runways.

- Moves to improve recreational boating safety, including more laws, better enforcement and more education.

- Better air bags and more widespread use of seat belts to reduce highway fatalities.

- Methods for addressing fatigue among pilots, drivers and train engineers.

- Required use of automatic recording devices and sensors for all modes of transportation.

Issued annually, the list is intended to underscore what the NTSB considers critical safety recommendations that agencies such as the FAA and Department of Transportation have yet to heed.

The safety board has no regulatory authority. Its staff members are responsible for investigating transportation- and pipeline-related accidents, and its findings serve as the basis for recommendations.

Although regulatory agencies have accepted more than 80% of its recommendations during the 1990s, the "Most Wanted" list involves some of the most controversial or costly safety enhancements. Many items have remained on the list since its inception in 1990.

Federal agents on way to evict base protesters

Puerto Rican island residents remain defiant

By Jim Loney
Reuters

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Federal agents headed for the Puerto Rican island of Vieques on Wednesday for an expected operation to evict protesters from a controversial military base.

Officials in Washington said FBI agents and U.S. marshals left the mainland for the Caribbean island to remove protesters from the bombing range and main gate. The protesters want the base closed. The officials declined to say when the operation might start.

Reps. Luis Gutierrez, D-Ill., and Nydia Velazquez, D-N.Y., flew to Vieques, an island off Puerto Rico's eastern tip, to support the protest. Velazquez was born in Puerto Rico. Gutierrez, who is of Puerto Rican descent, told protesters camped on the Navy bombing range: "We will win peace for Vieques."

Local church leaders met with Adm. Kevin Green on Wednesday to discuss the crisis. The archbishop of San Juan, Roberto Gonzalez Nieves, said afterward that the two sides had agreed to talk again today. Green, however, gave no guarantee that there would be no arrests Wednesday night.

The furor over Vieques erupted after the death in April 1999 of civilian security guard David Sanes Rodriguez during a botched Navy bombing training exercise. A movement sprang up to demand the closure of the base.

Gov. Pedro Rossello and the Navy reached an agreement in January that called for the range to be open

for three more years using dummy bombs. During that time, the Navy would call for a referendum for Vieques voters to decide whether they want the Navy to leave. Protesters say the deal offers no guarantees.

"We're going to say the same thing we have been saying at every stage," said Heriberto Martinez, executive secretary of the Evangelical

Council of Puerto Rico. "We want peace for Vieques and justice. No more bombing and no more military practice."

Wednesday's talks took place at the U.S. Naval Station Roosevelt Roads in Ceiba, on the east coast of the main island of Puerto Rico. Today's meeting was set to be held on the western end of Vieques, in a military area but not in the contentious bombing range.

Two U.S. warships have been waiting off the coast, but the military said troops were unlikely to be directly involved in any action.

Federal law enforcement officials said the operation to remove the protesters could involve as many as 400 officers from the FBI and the U.S. Marshals Service. Under the plan, federal marshals would remove protesters from the main gate while FBI SWAT team members would arrest those on the bombing range, they said.

Asked what the protesters would do if the Navy asked them to leave peacefully, Martinez said: "We have a camp. I don't think we intend to leave."

Clinton starts 'school reform tour'

President hits road to push education agenda

By Laurence McQuillan
USA TODAY

OWENSBORO, Ky. — President Clinton kicked off his "school reform tour" Wednesday by visiting a small grade school in rural Kentucky that went from being one of the state's worst to one of its best.

Clinton plans to use the trip, which includes stops in Iowa, Minnesota and Ohio, to pressure the Republican-controlled Congress to embrace his education agenda.

"We know what works, and what you have done here will work in any community in the country," Clinton told teachers, students and parents at Audubon Elementary School, whose pupils come from mostly poor families.

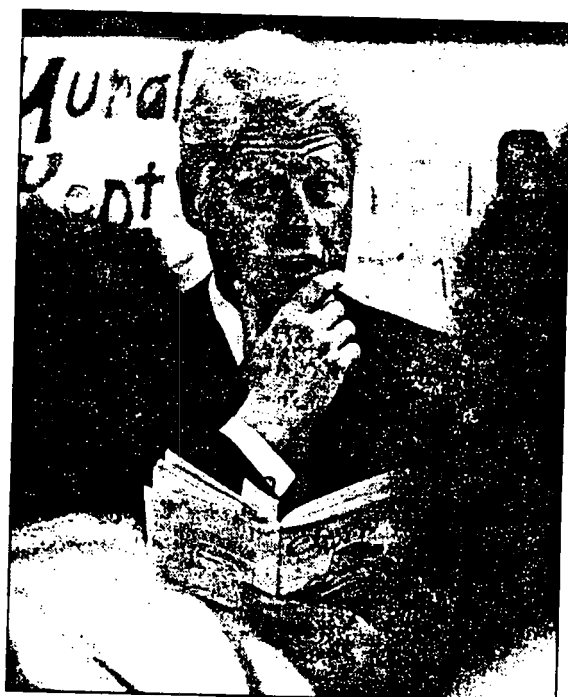
"Don't tell me all children can't learn," Clinton said. "Income is not destiny."

In Washington, the Senate is debating reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which governs federal aid through 12th grade.

The act, which expires this year, sets conditions on how some \$20 billion in federal assistance may be spent. Republicans favor the use of block grants to allow state and local governments more freedom in how to spend the money. Democrats prefer earmarking the funds for specific things such as hiring more teachers and reducing classroom size.

Democrats, frustrated that their efforts to enact gun-control legislation have been blocked thus far, also are trying to add gun-related amendments into the Senate bill.

Stressing the need to overhaul schools that fail to provide students an adequate education, Clinton directed the Education Department to



'Income is not destiny': President Clinton reads during his stop at Audubon Elementary School in Owensboro, Ky.

monitor performance levels and identify low-performing schools.

"No school has to accept failure," Education Secretary Richard Riley said. "Every school can improve."

Audubon, which has 450 mostly poor students, has seen a dramatic increase in student performance since reform efforts were introduced eight years ago, when the school was ranked among the worst in Kentucky.

The students now rank second in the state in writing skills, and reading scores have risen from 5% proficiency in 1994 to 70% today. The overhauled curriculum includes piano lessons for every student and foreign language instruction.

Clinton, during an evening appearance at Central High School in Davenport, Iowa, urged Congress to pass his proposal for tax credits aimed at allowing states and localities to build or modernize some 6,000 schools.

"The students of this country and their families deserve it," he said at the school, built in 1907, which has antique wooden lockers.

Clinton speaks today in St. Paul, Minn., at City Academy, the nation's first charter school. He will participate in an online chat at 11 a.m. ET about school reform hosted by the Internet site ChannelOne.com, which serves schools around the country. City Academy, which has about 90 students, focuses on what it calls "alienated young adults."

His final stop will be at Eastgate Elementary School in Columbus, Ohio, where he will participate in a roundtable discussion. An audit of

Columbus public schools last year criticized the district as having inadequate assessment tools and a "wide range of disparities" among its schools.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said the tour was "designed to draw attention to the need for Congress to act and generate public support." It's the first time Clinton has devoted two consecutive days to promoting his education agenda.

First lady's ad stresses work for children

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

The first campaign-backed TV ad of Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate race emphasizes her history of working on children's issues before her arrival in the White House.

The ad, by longtime Clinton media consultant Mandy Grunwald and New York City advertising agency DeVito/Verdi, begins running today throughout New York state.

Ad watch The television commercial is the first the Clinton campaign has run.

A radio ad ran in February. A TV ad that featured Clinton ran last year, but the state Democratic Committee paid for it.

AD SCRIPT:

Backed by quiet piano music, the ad shows sepia-toned photographs of Clinton with children. Only one of these photos appears to have been taken during her Senate campaign. President Clinton and the White House are nowhere to be seen.

Narrator: "First, she became a lawyer, named one of the top 100 in America. Her first cause was children, fighting abuse and chairing the board of the Children's Defense Fund. Her first priority was public schools, helping to establish teacher testing.

"More than a first lady. For 30 years, she has fought for children and families. As New York's sena-

tor, she'll fight for better schools and health care for children. Hillary. Put her to work for all of us."



ANALYSIS:

Clinton's formal announcement in February featured an 18-minute video about her life; it contained only one scene with the president. She has been trying to establish that she has a record on issues and a career apart from that of political spouse. The ad opens with mention of her training as a lawyer, a profession not always held in high esteem. Like many introductory candidate ads, this one maintains a positive tone. It doesn't mention Clinton's Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giu-

liani, or Arkansas, the state where Clinton did much of her legal work.

While generally light on specifics, the ad does refer to the Children's Defense Fund, a non-profit children's advocacy group, for which Clinton was a staff lawyer in the 1970s and later a board member. It also notes that she supported teacher testing; in Arkansas, she chaired an education standards committee that held hearings and won legislation that included a competency test for teachers. Since she announced her Senate bid, Clinton has called for testing of new teachers — New York does so — but she no longer favors testing teachers on the job. The New York state teachers union, which supports Clinton, opposes such testing.

ties in history. Nearly 7,000 Americans lost their lives in the 36-day fight; more than 18,000 were wounded. As for the island's Japanese defenders, all 22,000 were killed by U.S. Marines or by their own hands. But more than the bloody, churning waters, more than the stench of death, more than the screams of the dying and wounded, the public still remembers the iconic photograph that stirred hope and became the country's symbol of valor and victory.

In a new book titled *Flags of Our Fathers*, James Bradley, son of flag-raiser John "Doc" Bradley, with journalist Ron Powers, tells the inside story of the six flag-raisers

Cover Story

whose heroic image — if not their identities — lives on every time busloads of tourists stop at the Iwo Jima Memorial near Arlington Cemetery in Virginia.

"A thousand years from now, it will be the only book about these guys, because my Dad didn't talk and my family would never talk to an outside author," the young Bradley says. "It needed a son to get the Bradley story, and the other families would not have cooperated with a non-member of the family."

Unknown heroes

Three of the flag-raisers died on Iwo Jima before the grip of their celebrity took hold. Mike Strank, 25, of Franklin Borough, Pa., the Marine's Marine, idolized by his men, most likely died from friendly fire. He and Harlon Block, 20, a star high school football player from Rio Grande Valley, Texas, died just a week after the flag-raising, and Franklin Sousley, 19, the laughing, good ol' boy from Hilltop, Ky., died three weeks later.

The three surviving flag-raisers were treated as heroes when they got home. Author Bradley compares it to Beatlemania. They were hounded by the press, the public and memorabilia seekers for years. It was not until the dedication of the Iwo Jima Memorial in 1954 that the image of the flag-raisers as heroes began to fade and their roles as "anonymous representational figures" began to take hold.

The three survivors would wrestle with their role in the mythic flag-raising for the rest of their lives. They would, for the most part, remember the event as the least heroic of their moments on Iwo Jima, Bradley says. For despite

the myth that the photo was staged — it wasn't — neither was the flag raised in a hailstorm of bullets and mortars as war correspondents reported. And it wasn't the first flag raised on the island.

John Bradley would carry the weight of the photo's notoriety longer than anyone, outsurviving Gagnon and Hayes by 15 years.

Like many veterans, Bradley never spoke about Iwo Jima. There was no photo of the flag-raising in the Bradley household, and according to John's wife, Betty, he told her about it only once in their 47 years of marriage.

Bradley's experiences might have gone to the grave had the family not found three boxes of papers after he died in 1994.

James Bradley then spent years interviewing family, friends and fighting buddies of the six men. His book is an emotional and gripping account of the madness, mayhem and the misery of Iwo Jima. Military historian Stephen Ambrose says Bradley has produced "the best battle book I've ever read."

Untold stories

Artifacts can help us understand our history, and in Bradley's case they helped him draw closer to a side of his father he never really knew. A father so secretive that the boxes provided the family's first knowledge that Corpsman Doc Bradley was awarded the Navy Cross for bravery.

"I was stunned," says Bradley, "because this was a guy who wouldn't go out in the woods behind the cottage because bears might get him. He exhibited absolutely no aggressive tendencies."

But with the help of Iwo survivors, Bradley patched together this story of his father's award-winning valor: "My father sprinted through thirty yards of saturating crossfire — mortars and machine guns — to the wounded boy's side. As bullets winged and pinged around him, Doc found the Marine losing blood at a life-threatening rate. ... He tied a plasma bottle to the kid's rifle and jammed it bayonet-first into the ground. Then he moved his

own body between the boy and the sheets of gunfire. Then, his upper body still erect and fully exposed, he administered first aid."

Doc Bradley would perform countless acts of lifesaving valor during his weeks on Iwo Jima. He finally left the island after receiving shrapnel wounds to his legs. And even as his own wounds bled into the volcanic ash of Iwo, he continued to minister to his buddies.

"My breast didn't swell with pride," Bradley said in an interview, "because I understand they were all doing things like that. No one would have cooperated with me if I was out to show these guys were unusual heroes. What they represent is the best of America, but they were boys of common virtue."

That's what it says at the Iwo Jima Memorial — "Uncommon valor was a common virtue" — and it became the lifeblood of Bradley's book.

"What I came to understand about heroism is this," Bradley says. "Try to get (the veterans) to talk about themselves, and they dismiss it and say, 'I was doing my duty.' I thought this was a modest statement until I realized these

were good boys before the war, they were good boys (on the island), and then after the island they were good men in their community doing ordinary stuff, getting coffee for someone, opening the door for someone, smiling.

"My dad just did what he was trained to do; but under fire, when it's observed, it's called heroism."

It took Bradley six months to get one veteran to talk. The Iwo vet "cried into the telephone for 40 minutes and I could hardly see my screen I was crying so hard. And then at the end he said, 'That's all I'm going to say,' and the phone went click."

"And that's how it went. These guys don't talk."

Uncommon valor

The flag-raising itself was a moment of history from the start.

On Feb. 23, just four days into the battle to take Iwo Jima from the Japanese, Marines climbed Mt. Suribachi, the island's highest point. Using a 100-pound length of pipe that was part of the Japanese army's rain drainage system, the American flag was hoisted into

place. It was the first American flag to fly on Japanese territory.

But Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, down on the beach, ordered the flag taken down for posterity. An underling then ordered a bigger flag be placed at the top of Mt. Suribachi.

The second flag, the one in the photo, was taken off a ship sunk by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. The replacement flag was carried up the cliffs by Gagnon. He and the five other flag-raisers, and photographer Joe Rosenthal, had nothing to do with the first flag.

When President Franklin Roosevelt ordered the survivors brought home as heroes, they encountered a spotlight they never expected, and hardly knew how to handle.

Unwanted attention

Ira Hayes, a Pima Indian from the Gila Bend Indian Reservation in Arizona, would be tortured by alcoholism and more than 50 drunken and disorderly arrests. He died of alcohol poisoning at 32, 10 years after the photo was taken. It's James Bradley's opinion that Hayes suffered from severe post-traumatic stress syndrome and never received the medical help he needed.

Rene Gagnon died of a heart attack in 1979. He was 54. He had spent years bemoaning that his fame never brought him wealth and a prestigious job. He was a mill worker, airline clerk and finally, when he died, a janitor.

The Bradley children grew up knowing their father was in the photo but also not to talk about it. John told his son: "I want you to always remember something. The heroes of Iwo Jima are the guys who didn't come back."

The last survivor spent most of his life dogged for interviews, autographs and photos. His family was under strict orders to say he was off fishing in Canada.

In 1949, Republic Studios made a movie called *Sands of Iwo Jima* starring John Wayne. At the Marines' request, Bradley, Hayes and Gagnon made cameo appearances in the film, one of Bradley's rare, if grudging, nods to history.

Would the secretive John Bradley approve of this book and the new publicity it will bring?

"I think he would absolutely love it," says Bradley, "because it honors the guys. What my book does is focus the spotlight on the Chick Robersons and Tex Stantons (even lesser-known veterans of Iwo Jima).

"I'm doing everything I can to get reporters into the living room of Tex Stanton, who hasn't had legs for 55 years."

2/2

George F. Will

A Lesson Plan for Gore

If Al Gore keeps talking incessantly about education, someday he may slip and say something interesting. But he avoided that pitfall—anything novel would offend his leash-holders, the teachers' unions—in his Dallas speech last Friday, unless you find interesting this unintended lesson, drawn from his speech, about how schools are failing to teach future speechwriters how to write:

"Today, I am proposing a new national commitment to bring revolutionary improvements to our schools—built on three basic principles. First, I am proposing a major national investment to bring revolutionary improvements to our schools. Second, I am proposing a national revolution in . . ."

By November the salient issue may be not education but: Can Americans bear a president who talks to them as though they are dim fourth-graders? Whoever writes Gore's stuff knows his style, the bludgeoning repetition of cant, as in his almost comic incantations about Republicans' "risky tax schemes." In Dallas, Gore used "revolution," "revolutionary" or "revolutionize" eight times and "invest" (a weak word to avoid "spending") or some permutation of it 14 times. And—it is as reflexive as a sneeze—he used "tax scheme" three times, "risky tax cut" once and threw in another "scheme," referring to vouchers, for good measure.

Gore's grating style in Dallas suited his banal substance, which was Lyndon Johnson redux. The crux of Gore's plan is more spending of the kinds that are pleasing to teachers' unions. Such as: "My education plan invests in smaller schools and smaller classes—because we know that is one of the most effective ways to improve student performance."

Actually, we know no such thing. Pupil-teacher ratios have been shrinking for a century. In 1955 pupil-teacher ratios in public elementary and secondary schools were 30.2-to-one and 20.9-to-one respectively. In 1998 they were 18.9-to-one and 14.7-to-one. We now know it is possible to have, simultaneously, declining pupil-teacher ratios and declining scores on tests measuring schools' cognitive re-

sults. If making classes smaller is such an effective route to educational improvement, why, after 45 years of declining pupil-teacher ratios, are schools so unsatisfactory they need to be "revolutionized" by Gore's "investments"?

Gore's Dallas speech proves the need for remedial classes not only in prose composition but in elementary arithmetic, too. He says that George W. Bush's "tax scheme, if enacted, would guarantee big cuts in spending for public schools." Well.

Bush's proposed tax cut over 10 years would involve just 5 percent of projected federal revenues. And federal money amounts to just 7 percent of all spending on public elementary and secondary education. Tonight's homework assignment, boys and girls, is to calculate how trimming 5 percent of federal revenues could necessitate "big cuts" in education, 93 percent of which is paid for with nonfederal funds.

Gore's vow that every new teacher hired under his program would be "fully qualified" probably is an encoded promise that all new teachers would be herded through the often petty, irrelevant and ideologically poisoning education schools that issue credentials to teachers. Education schools feed their graduates into, and feed off, the teachers' unions. Those unions sometimes push for state legislation that keeps the education schools in business by requiring teachers to pass through them.

"There are," says Gore, "too many school districts in America where less than half the students graduate, and where those who do graduate aren't ready for college or good jobs." Washington has lots of public schools that fit that description, which is why none of Gore's children attended one.

Most failing schools serve (if that is the word) poor and minority children, whose parents increasingly favor meaningful school

choice programs—programs that give parents resources to choose between public and private schools, thereby making the public school system compete. Gore is vehemently opposed to that. The "dramatic expansion of public school choice" he promises would enable students to choose only among public schools, thereby keeping students from low-income families confined to the public education plantation.

What would be "revolutionary" would be a Gore education proposal that seriously offended the teachers' unions. But he is utterly orthodox in his belief that public schools are splendid—and desperately in need of revolutionizing investments.

"Fundamental decisions about education have to be made at the local level," said Gore at the beginning of last week's litany of proposals for using federal money, and the threat of withdrawing it, to turn the federal government into the nation's school board. To the classes Gore needs in remedial composition and arithmetic, add one on elementary logic.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 2000

Jim Hoagland

The Mellowing of Madeleine Albright

Hurling through Central Asia last month, Madeleine Albright felt at times as though she had stumbled on a column of personal ads placed by the troubled ex-Soviet republics she was visiting. "These countries feel alone," she recalls thinking. "They are In Search Of—looking for relationships, among themselves and with us."

Albright pauses, a mixture of empathy and humor in her voice as she describes the trip, which also took her to Ukraine. Her words open a window not only on places visited and people met but also on Albright's view of the world and her role in the final months of the Clinton administration.

It is a more mellow view than I expected, especially in its emphasis on the virtues of patience and perspective.

Albright's image is that of activist and mobilizer, prodding generals and presidents to put aside paralyzing caution. A year ago news magazines dubbed NATO's Kosovo campaign "Madeleine's War," ensuring her the hostility of administration colleagues as well as of Belgrade.

A restless student and teacher of history by profession, Albright made history the day she was sworn in as the first woman to serve as secretary of state. But she is determined to leave more of an imprint than that. Ironically, the path to that goal may lie in a realistic scaling back of her ambitions and those of the administration that seems already underway.

Under Albright, the administration's focus has shifted from a grand rhetorical design of enlarging democracy around the globe to discrete, achievable steps to bolster nations caught in the

long, difficult transition from communism to democracy.

Aid to get young people on the Internet in these countries is one tool she emphasized in her recent travels. She also channeled \$3 million to each of the Central Asian countries she visited in mid-April to help border police fight drug smuggling and terrorism, even as she pressed the leaders to stop "criminalizing" their political opponents. "We all misestimated how quickly people could get rid of the communist mentality," she said in a conversation the other day devoted largely to her trip to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine, and to Russia's suspicious reaction to it.

"We overestimated how enthusiasm for the ending of the Soviet Union was going to take these countries through very difficult problems," she continued. "We have to be patient. You can't change people overnight. You have to show them you are in it, with them, for the long haul."

Russian President Vladimir Putin responded to Albright's trip by promising to appoint his own special representative for Central Asia. Albright urged Putin to see her trip as "pro-democracy, not anti-Russian," and turned away my suggestion that the new Kremlin leader seemed intent on re-establishing influence over Russia's immediate neighbors.

"Putin's first concern is trying to figure out what to do with Russia. He has so many problems in getting his own economy straight and figuring out what to do with Chechnya. He has his hands full,"

The fact that it was Albright making the visit seems to have particularly nettled the Russians. They remember her advocacy of using force in the Balkans, her Cold Warrior reputation of seeing politics in black and white and her criticisms of them on Chechnya. They are not likely to buy into the mellowing of Madeleine as a catalyst in international diplomacy.

But Albright does seem more at ease with her often contested role in the administration. She seems more content to concentrate on a few big issues and the department she heads rather than doing battle at the White House for influence over a president whose attention to foreign policy, and to her advice, has been granted highly selectively.

She has directed the State Department to focus energy and priority on helping four transitional countries—Colombia, Indonesia, Nigeria and Ukraine—to become more democratic and stable.

Albright also maintains a strong direct interest in developments in the Balkans. She disagrees with those in Congress or at the Pentagon who would substantially cut U.S. involvement there. "It is not a sideshow. It has a lot to do with how we visualize how the world ought to operate in the 21st century."

Time grows short for an administration that is in some important ways also still In Search Of. Staying focused on what matters, and the differences that can be made by measured U.S. involvement, could turn out to be an important part of legacy for Albright and her colleagues.

Work on E-Mail Probe Could Cost \$10 Million

By GEORGE LARDNER JR.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House said yesterday that it will cost \$8 million to \$10 million—three times more than originally estimated—to reconstruct hundreds of thousands of missing e-mails and search them for evidence demanded by subpoenas issued during past investigations of the Clinton administration.

The contractor assigned to retrieve the correspondence has told congressional investigators that the work cannot be completed until late November, after Election Day, but White House spokesman Jim Kennedy said, "We hope to begin searching as early as June."

By one account, backup tapes containing both incoming and outgoing messages from Vice President Gore's office may be given the most immediate attention. A spokesman for the House Government Reform Committee, Mark Corallo, said the contractor, Enterprise Computing Solutions Inc., informed it last week that the White House would produce 71 "priority tapes," 50 of them from Gore's office, to test first and try to put them in a searchable format.

Kennedy, however, disputed

those numbers and said no decision has been made "about what to search first." He said White House lawyers would be guided by what the investigators—from the Justice Department, congressional committees and independent counsel Robert W. Ray—most want.

"If we put [Gore] at the top of the list, it could be called 'political.' If we put him at the bottom of the list, it could be called 'political,'" Kennedy said. "We are [going to be] setting priorities consistent with the needs of the investigating parties."

Discussions with the various investigators will be held in the next few weeks, Kennedy said. He added that the White House still envisions not only searching tapes but turning over any relevant evidence to investigators in a "rolling production" starting in June.

The White House said in March that the complicated project, starting with retrieving e-mail from thousands of voluminous, sometimes unlabeled backup tapes and then putting them into a searchable system, would cost \$3 million and be completed by late September. Michael Lyle, director of the White House Office of Administration, disclosed the new estimate at a House hearing yesterday.

"It's going to cost a lot of money. It's taking a lot of time," Lyle volunteered near the end of his testimony. "We are working as quickly as we can."

House committee staff members said ECS President Eric Tung Q. Duong told them last week that there were 4,925 backup tapes with electronic messages and other material that had not been recorded in the permanent, archival system the White House set up several years ago.

White House lawyers, who will testify today, have said the computer glitches that caused the problem were first brought to their attention in June 1998 but that they did not realize the scope of it because of a test suggesting that relevant messages had been turned over to investigators in paper form.

Committee Chairman Dan Burton (R-Ind.) and other GOP members complained that the test was too limited, dealing only with White House e-mail relating to former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky, and that the White House should have disclosed the problem and sought funds to retrieve the messages at congressional appropriations hearings in early 1999. Lyle said this was not done because the White House wanted to devote all available funds to resolving the Y2K crisis.

Kennedy said yesterday that the White House has \$4.8 million left over from Y2K appropriations that can now be used to start paying for the reconstruction effort.

School's In on Education Reform

Clinton Opens Two-Day, Four-State Swing to Push Proposals

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

DAVENPORT, Iowa, May 3—There was a time when the federal government had little to do with public education, leaving it mainly to local school boards, county officials and state legislators.

But the public's rising concern about poorly performing schools—along with the waning of other issues since the end of the Cold War and the start of a long economic boom—have pushed education to the front burner of national politics. Both of the leading presidential candidates have made it central to their campaigns, and President Clinton today launched a two-day, four-state "School Reform Tour" to highlight his proposals for federal funding of school construction, teacher training and other initiatives.

Meanwhile, the Senate took up an education debate this week that some legislators say is more likely to produce fodder for the election campaign than an accord the Republican-led Congress will pass and Clinton will sign. Both parties in Congress support increased federal spending on public education, as do Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, and Vice President Gore, the Democratic candidate. But they differ on how the money should be controlled and spent, and that dispute has scuttled past efforts to enact major education legislation.

Republicans generally want a more

limited federal hand in public education, preferring to allow local school districts to decide how to attack problems. Many Democrats want to channel federal funds—which account for 7 percent of all public education spending—to specific programs such as reducing class sizes.

Clinton is emphasizing a different theme at each stop, and today's topics were turning around low-performing schools and boosting school construction and renovations. In Owensboro, Ky., the president toured Audubon Elementary School, where only 5 percent of the students showed proficiency in a statewide reading test in 1994, and none in science. Today, those figures are 70 percent for reading and 64 percent for science.

Audubon was among the targets of Kentucky's 1990 "standards-based" school reform program, which included using federal funds to hire extra teachers and reduce class sizes. After reading portions of "Charlotte's Web" to Crystal Davidson's third- and fourth-grade students, the president addressed several hundred adults in the school auditorium, citing Audubon and Kentucky as national models.

He said the state decided 10 years ago to "set high standards" and hold schools accountable "with real consequences" if they failed to meet those standards despite receiving state and federal help. The tactics in some schools included replacing principals and giving parents the right to shift their children to other public schools, he said.

"The results have been truly extraordinary," Clinton said. "I believe so strongly that we can have the kind of educational excellence we need for every child in the country, if people will take the basic things you've done here and do them."

Clinton praised Gore three times in the speech, and made clear he sides with the vice president on a key issue: The government, he said, should not "take money away from the schools as vouchers" for private education. He urged Congress to pass his legislative package on education, which calls for higher federal spending on low-performing schools, school construction, after-school programs and summer education efforts in low-income areas.

Clinton's education tour happens to hit four states considered battlegrounds in the presidential race: Kentucky, Iowa, Minnesota and Ohio. Some Republicans accused the president of picking the sites to help Gore's campaign, a charge the White House denied.

Congressional GOP leaders would let as many as 15 states establish federally funded charter schools with substantial leeway to spend the money as they please, provided they promise to improve low-performance schools. Clinton also favors more federally funded charter schools, but he would place tighter controls on them.

From Owensboro, Clinton traveled to Davenport where he pushed his plan for increased spending on school construction in a speech at Central High School, built in 1904.

Navy Protest Intensifies

Officials Urge Clinton to Defuse Puerto Rican Showdown

By SYLVIA MORENO
Washington Post Staff Writer

VIEQUES, Puerto Rico, May 3—A coalition of clergy, members of Congress and New York officials of Puerto Rican descent asked President Clinton yesterday to call off the threatened arrests of local residents who took over a naval bombing range after an errant missile killed a civilian last year, predicting civil unrest if a federal raid occurs.

They want the administration to negotiate a settlement with the dozens of protesters, including a leading Puerto Rican politician who lived on the beachfront range in a tent for almost nine months and three months ago built himself a wooden hut "to prepare for the long haul," as he says.

"To arrest the people would be a terrible mistake, and we appeal to the president to stop this nonsense. We are peaceful demonstrators," said Bishop Alvaro Corrado del Rio of the Diocese of Caguas.

"Arrests are only going to open a wider spectrum of civil disobedience in Vieques and Puerto Rico," he said. "This is unjust and an abuse of the people of Vieques."

The National Council of Churches sent a letter to the Clinton administration to back off from its threat of U.S. police action against the protesters and to cease immedi-

ately using the island for military target practice.

But a senior Pentagon official said today that "the decision-making process [on the raid] is complete but the plan allows a lot of flexibility in execution. The final call on when to go in will be made on the law enforcement side."

And government sources in Washington said the decision on when to move the protesters will be made by the FBI SWAT team

commander on the scene in coordination with the bureau's Strategic Information Operations Command in Washington.

Federal sources have said the raid could happen late this week.

Supporters of the protesters also warned of the potential backlash a federal raid could have for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is running for the Senate in

New York, where people of Puerto Rican descent make up 6 percent of the electorate.

"This will have a lot of political implications," said Rep. Nydia M. Velazquez (D-N.Y.).

The president "needs to read my words. I don't need to threaten the president," she said. "But aren't we being hypocrites by exporting democracy to Bosnia and Croatia while we don't have democracy in Vieques?"

Once just a ragtag group of protesters little known outside this island town, the dissidents, and their cause, drew supporters from as far away as Chicago and New York to their turf—a dozen illegal seaside camps that are reachable only by boat. Last week, other Puerto Ricans consecrated the First Ecumenical Church of Puerto Rico. On the altar of the open-air wooden structure is a poster that reads, "No More Bombing Vieques" in English and Spanish.

"The people of Vieques have been extra patient and generous with the Navy for 60 years," said Rep. Luis V. Gutierrez (D-Ill.). "Their petition is for peace, and it's a non-negotiable one."

Naval bombing and training exercises came to a halt here a year ago following the death of civilian security guard David Sanes Rodriguez. The incident sparked the smoldering discontent of local residents still resentful of the federal expropriation in 1941 of the eastern and western ends of the island to build a bombing range and an ammunition depot. The island's 9,300 residents live between the installations.

Within weeks of the accident, protest camps of multi-colored tents sprang up on the bombing range, forcing the Navy to cancel training maneuvers. In an attempt to appease protesters, Clinton and the administration of Gov. Pedro Rossello agreed to a deal in January that will give Vieques \$40 million in exchange for allowing the Navy to conduct exercises with mock bombs that contain no explosives. In addition, the residents of Vieques will also vote on a referendum sometime between this August and February 2002 on whether the Navy may resume using live ammunition. If voters say yes, Vieques will receive an additional \$50 million. If they defeat the proposal, the Navy must clean up its practice range—littered with rusting targets and live bombs—and stop all training by May 1, 2003.

That agreement only angered the protesters, who increased their numbers and the illegal beach encampments leading to the federal ultimatum that they abandon the range.

Staff writers Roberto Suro and David A. Vise in Washington contributed to this report.

Study Finds Most in U.S. See College Education as Essential

By JODI WILGOREN

In a shift that experts attribute to the changing economy, higher education is increasingly seen as the ticket to the middle class, with 87 percent of Americans saying "a college education has become as important as a high school diploma used to be," a new study has found.

Seven years ago, a majority of Americans believed that too many people were going to college rather than directly into technical trades like plumbing or computer repair; now, 3 out of 4 think the country could never have too many college graduates. The study shows that 77 percent of Americans believe college is more important now than a decade ago.

"The market demands it," a woman from Old Bridge, N.J., said in one of several focus-group discussions held around the country as part of the study. "Before, you could get a good job with a high school graduation. Now, you need a college degree, a master's or even a Ph.D."

More than 60 percent of parents of high school students see a college education as "absolutely necessary" for their children. Even more noteworthy are the views of minorities, whose enrollment in higher education lags behind that of whites. When asked to choose the single factor that most determines success, 67 percent of Hispanic parents and 45 percent of African-American parents picked a college education, compared with 35 percent of parents over all.

"There has been this coalescing of opinion in this country around the notion that college is critical to opportunity," said Patrick M. Callan, president of the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, a research group in San Jose, Calif. "It isn't just a piece of paper. It's a necessary factor for middle-class life."

The \$315,000 project on attitudes about education was financed by three groups that study education policy, and conducted by Public Agenda, an organization in New York that conducts in-depth research on various issues. It began with telephone interviews of 1,015 adults — particularly parents — in December, and included in-depth discussions with groups in six cities.

The strong support for higher education among minority parents, experts said, belies the oft-stated view that one barrier to black and Hispanic enrollment is the low priority those ethnic groups placed on college. Only 20 percent of Hispanics ages 18 to 24 are enrolled in college, compared with 37 percent of non-Hispanic whites, yet more than twice

as many Hispanic parents (65 percent) as white ones (32 percent) believe a college education is necessary to be successful in today's working world, according to the new poll.

"This is a pattern that we've been waiting to see emerge," said Robert Zemsky, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Institute for Research on Higher Education. "It now follows other groups that have seen higher education as a means of transformation. The Jewish community, the Italian community, the Asian community — now we're seeing it in the African-American and the Hispanic community."

When asked what students should gain from attending college, those surveyed emphasized job-related skills rather than the traditional tenets of the liberal arts. Sixty percent said computer proficiency and specific expertise in a chosen career were "absolutely essential" outcomes, while just 32 percent gave that level of importance to "exposure to great writers and thinkers" in literature and history. At the top of the list were basic skills in living, including a sense of maturity and an ability to get along with diverse people.

"All of us in the academic world like to think that the purpose of higher education is to master the great philosophies and read the great books," said Stanley O. Ikenberry, president of the American Council on Education, which represents 3,500 colleges and universities. "But the public, throughout this past century, has really seen education in very instrumental, very practical terms."

While 71 percent of those polled think paying for college is more difficult than it was a decade ago — and 4 out of 5 say students have to borrow too much money to pay tuition — an overwhelming 93 percent of parents are confident that they will find a way to work out the cost of higher education. Still, 69 percent of parents worry about meeting college expenses and 61 percent say they "should have done more" to prepare financially.

Asked about various forms of financial aid, more of those polled favored tax credits and work-study programs than loans or direct grants to students. Fewer people (47 percent) believe there are many qualified applicants who lack the opportunity to attend college now than who believed so in 1993 (60 percent).

"If the desire is there, you make a way for your children," a parent from Philadelphia said in a focus group.

THE PRIMARIES

North Carolina's Race For Governor Begins As Candidates Focus On Education Issues

By KEVIN SACK

ATLANTA, May 3 — The results of Tuesday's primary elections for governor in North Carolina set up a fall campaign between candidates with starkly different views, particularly on the critical issue of education.

The Democratic nominee, Attorney General Mike Easley, is likely to campaign on his plan for a state lottery that would finance a reduction in class sizes in the lower grades. Southern Democrats who defeated incumbent Republican governors in Alabama and South Carolina in 1998 benefited from their support for a lottery, and polls show that the idea of a lottery is popular in North Carolina as well.

Mr. Easley's Republican opponent, the former mayor of Charlotte, N.C., Richard Vinroot, opposes a lottery for North Carolina, though he has said he would support a referendum on it. Instead, Mr. Vinroot's education plan proposes a system of vouchers intended to give parents greater choice in selecting schools.

Voter turnout was low for both primaries. Mr. Easley, 50, and Mr. Vinroot, 59, won easily despite spirited challenges from well-financed opponents. With 97 percent of precincts reporting, Mr. Easley led Lt. Gov. Dennis Wicker 59 percent to 36 percent. Mr. Vinroot took 45 percent of the vote while his closest competitor, State Representative Leo Daughtry, won 37 percent. Candidates must win at least 40 percent to avoid a runoff.

Mr. Easley and Mr. Vinroot will compete to succeed Gov. James B. Hunt Jr.

Although Mr. Easley and Mr. Vinroot were not the favorites of their respective party establishments, both ran aggressive television advertising campaigns, and they did not suffer for making fewer public appearances than their opponents.

"The old-style politics may not work as well as it used to, meaning going county to county and shaking hands with a lot of people," said Thad Beyle, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "The new politics of raising money and paying for your media and looking good on TV worked."

Mr. Easley, who is considered a moderate, said he would make education a centerpiece of his campaign. "To those who seek to dismantle public education by risky schemes of vouchers, let me be clear," he said. "I will fight you every step of the way."

Mr. Vinroot, who ran as more of a conservative this year than in his unsuccessful 1996 primary race for governor, asserted that Mr. Easley "won by promising to spend more of your money." Mr. Vinroot has pledged not to raise taxes, but Mr. Beyle and other observers predicted that the state's deepening fiscal problems and the dynamics of the campaign would force him to move toward the center and reconsider his position on taxes.

Republicans are counting on a strong showing by Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, their presumptive presidential nominee, to help Mr. Vinroot. Mr. Bush is heavily favored to win North Carolina, but the size of a Bush

victory could be crucial.

"If George Bush is a really strong candidate, if he's winning at the level of Reagan in '84 or Nixon in '72, Easley can hang it up," said Ted Arrington, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. "If George is more like his father or Bob Dole, there's a good chance that Mike Easley will be our next governor."

In Indiana on Tuesday, Representative David M. McIntosh won the Republican nomination for governor. He will challenge the Democratic governor, Frank L. O'Bannon.

Time Warner Faces a Fine By F.C.C. Unit

By BILL CARTER

The Cable Bureau of the Federal Communications Commission blamed Time Warner Cable yesterday for cutting off ABC television stations to 3.5 million subscribers, declaring that Time Warner's action had violated a federal regulation.

The F.C.C. said it would separately consider what enforcement action to take, but a spokesman for the agency said Time Warner was likely to face a fine.

The fine, an F.C.C. official said, will be based on a charge of at least \$7,500 per violation per day in the areas that were blacked out. Because seven areas lost access to ABC stations, Time Warner could be liable for seven violations but in any event the amount of the fine will not exceed \$250,000, the official said.

In a statement, the F.C.C. chairman, William E. Kennard, said: "Time Warner Cable committed a clear violation of F.C.C. rules. Unfortunately millions of consumers paid the price." He added, "No company should use consumers in a private contract dispute."

The violation occurred, the F.C.C. said, because Time Warner pulled ABC stations off its cable systems in the middle of a ratings sweeps month.

Time Warner, after a protracted impasse in negotiations with The Walt Disney Company, the parent of ABC, stopped sending ABC-owned stations to areas around the country, including New York, Los Angeles and Houston, on Monday. The two sides agreed Tuesday to an extended deadline in their talks and ABC's signals were restored.

The general counsel for Time Warner Cable, Marc Apfelbaum, said in response to the F.C.C. announcement that the company would "pursue a further review" of the decision. In a statement, he questioned why only the Cable Bureau and not the entire commission made the decision.

"While we agree this ambiguous rule needs clarification," Mr. Apfelbaum said, referring to the sweeps month rule, "it is unfortunate that on an important issue affecting the entire cable industry, and where there was no emergency, that this was done without the full commission being involved."

Disney executives applauded the decision. Michael D. Eisner, the Disney chairman, said during a conference call with securities analysts that Time Warner had damaged Disney's brand name and reputation by treating ABC shabbily.

Separately, Peter F. Vallone, the speaker of the New York City Council, met with Barry Rosenblum, the president of Time Warner Cable, in New York and contended that Time Warner had violated its franchise agreement with the city. Mr. Vallone said he believed the company had an obligation to reimburse customers for part of their cable bill this month.

Michael Luftman, a spokesman for Time Warner Cable, said the company was not ready to announce a rebate but said, "Our intention is to go further than that."

Clinton Goes to Classrooms To Promote Education Plan

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

OWENSBORO, Ky., May 3 — President Clinton visited an elementary school here today to read "Charlotte's Web" with fourth graders and promote his latest plan to help states turn around failing schools.

The school, Audubon Elementary, was Mr. Clinton's first stop on a two-day tour of public schools in Kentucky, Iowa, Minnesota and Ohio. The trip is meant to draw attention to his proposals to hold failing schools more accountable, increase school construction, open more charter schools and improve teacher quality.

With only eight months left in the White House, Mr. Clinton is eager to emphasize what he thinks of as his legacy in education, one of his pet issues in his more than two decades of public service.

He is also hoping to draw attention to Vice President Al Gore's education proposals while at least indirectly criticizing those of Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, the likely Republican presidential nominee.

Mr. Gore's battle against Mr. Bush is expected to be fierce in all four states that Mr. Clinton is visiting on this trip — Mr. Bush recently ran an advertisement attacking the Clinton administration's education policies in Kentucky and Iowa.

Mr. Clinton's school tour also comes at a time when his administration is wrangling with the Republicans in Congress over a major education law that Congress must reauthorize this year.

The law, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, governs how more than \$15 billion in annual federal aid to public schools is spent.

Visiting public schools and emphasizing policies to build a legacy.

The Republicans want the money to be distributed to the states in block grants and let them direct it toward any educational programs, including private school vouchers.

But the administration would distribute the money in grants targeted to specific programs that it wants schools to embrace, like summer school programs and mentoring for teachers.

"The answer to excellence for all our children is not to take money away from our schools through vouchers," Mr. Clinton said in a speech to several hundred students, parents and teachers, "but to combine the money with high standards, accountability, and the tools teachers, children and parents need to succeed."

Many politicians have held up Kentucky as a model for education reform, because a landmark court ruling here in 1989 led to the most comprehensive overhaul of public education the nation had ever seen.

A court order required the state to sharply increase aid to poor school districts, which used the additional money to reduce class size, improve curriculums, increase preschool programs and create a statewide testing system.

Audubon Elementary School, with 450 students, most of them from families classified as poor, used to have some of the lowest test scores in the state. But it now ranks 18th in the state, with 70 percent of its students performing above average on reading tests.

In his speech, Mr. Clinton saluted the school's turnaround and announced that he would send teams from the Department of Education into other states to make sure they are "meeting their responsibilities on low-performing schools." He also announced that the Education Department would begin publishing annual reports listing the nation's lowest performing schools and the strategies being used to improve them.

In a morning visit to a first-grade classroom, Mr. Clinton read aloud from a chapter of "Charlotte's Web" and then listened to students read from it. He stopped several times to quiz the children on some of the bigger words in the chapter, like "exertion" and "bewilderment." He also asked if any of the 19 students had seen the movie version.

U.S. Plans Closer Study of Biotech Foods and Will Guide Labeling

By MELODY PETERSEN

Trying to ease consumer fears about genetically engineered foods, the Food and Drug Administration announced yesterday that it would tighten its review of the products and develop guidelines for companies wanting to label them.

The food and drug agency's announcement is part of a broader plan by the Clinton administration that includes increased financing of studies on the potential risks of genetically engineered plants and a review of environmental regulations.

Under the plan, the Department of Agriculture will also take steps that could lead to a system in which genetically engineered crops are kept separate from those that have not been altered. Now, the crops are commonly harvested together, which has caused some foreign importers to reject American crops.

The measures were announced after the food and drug agency held hearings on the growing concerns of consumers. Dr. Jane E. Henney, the commissioner of food and drugs, emphasized yesterday that "F.D.A.'s scientific review continues to show that all bioengineered foods sold in the United States today are as safe as their nonbioengineered counterparts."

Nevertheless, the agency said it would strengthen its policies and would write guidelines for companies that want to label foods that contain genetically engineered ingredients.

But consumer groups said shoppers in American supermarkets were not likely to see much change. Most processed foods include genetically engineered ingredients, but that is not disclosed in labels.

Jean Halloran, director of the Con-

sumer Policy Institute at Consumers Union, said she feared that few food companies would label their foods because of the expense of meeting the government guidelines. "This will make very little difference for consumers," Ms. Halloran said.

To strengthen its policy, the food and drug agency also said yesterday that it would propose that biotechnology companies be required to talk to regulators about the safety of their new genetically engineered products at least 120 days before they are sold. That discussion is now voluntary.

The nation's largest food companies had asked the administration for the change to help calm consumer fears. The agency will publish its proposal in the next few months and ask for public comment.

To ensure that regulators are also monitoring environmental risk, the Clinton administration said it

planned to begin a six-month review of its current regulations.

The Agriculture Department said yesterday that it planned to increase the \$1.7 million it spends on research into the crops.

The department also said it would work with farmers and industry to create new systems for keeping genetically engineered crops separate from their conventional cousins. It is already helping to create reliable tests for determining whether a truckload of grain includes genetically engineered varieties.

"There is obviously a market out there that wants non-G.M.O. food," said an agricultural official using the shorthand expression for genetically modified organism. "We want to find a way for farmers to meet that need."

What's Sunday without The Times?

FUND-RAISING

Democrats' Ticket Sets Record At \$500,000 to Attend Gala

By DON VAN NATTA JR.

WASHINGTON, May 3 — For its annual gala here on May 24, the Democratic Party is offering tickets ranging from an affordable \$50 to a platinum price of \$500,000, the highest amount either party has charged for admission to a fund-raising gala.

The donors and fund-raisers who give or collect \$500,000 will be given a package of perks that includes an invitation to a private dinner with President Clinton at a Washington restaurant on the eve of the gala and front-row seats, in the so-called "platinum section" of the MCI Center, for the gala's entertainment. The comedian Robin Williams leads the list, along with the musicians Stevie Wonder and Lenny Kravitz.

The gala is a tribute to Mr. Clinton, led by his close friend Terry McAuliffe, who offered last year to put up \$1.35 million of his own money for the Clintons' house in Chappaqua, N.Y. The event features the widest gulf in donor levels ever seen at a political fund-raiser here.

Prolific fund-raisers and generous donors will also be invited to attend a private reception with Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore before the gala.

S. Daniel Abraham, the chairman of Slim-Fast Foods of West Palm Beach, Fla., recently wrote a check for \$500,000, which the national committee deposited on May 1, party officials said today.

At its black-tie gala last month, the Republicans raised a record-shattering \$21.3 million, a sum composed mostly of large, unregulated checks of \$100,000 or more. Nearly 50 Republican fund-raisers gave \$250,000 each. And the Republicans have a big-money club of donors, known as the Regents, who each pay \$250,000. The Democrats have their own big-money club: members of Leadership 2000 each give or collect \$350,000.

The sharp escalation of campaign contributions, or "donation inflation," as some fund-raisers call it, has alarmed many who advocate changes in the campaign finance system, and they reacted with outrage today at the \$500,000 fund-raising level established by the Democrats.

"The spiraling obscenity of craven campaign finance efforts will not stop unless either the public's outrage starts being felt or corporations

and special interests become sickened themselves and balk at paying these absurd amounts of money," said Peter Eisner, managing director of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonprofit public watchdog group. Fred Wertheimer, the president of Democracy 21, a public policy group that advocates campaign finance reform, said, "This is crazy greed, and it would be shameful if there was any shame left in this city."

Democratic Party officials objected to the portrayal of the gala as a soft-money event.

"This is a different kind of event meant to bring people from all walks of life to rally around the Democratic Party and the issues we stand for," said Jenny Backus, a spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee. "It's very disappointing for these reformers, who know better, to try and put a pox on both of our houses, when it is very clear that the Democratic Party is the party that wants to reform the campaign finance system."

Mr. McAuliffe says he is trying to open the gala to thousands of young Democrats, who he says will pay \$50 or \$100 for tickets. The Democrats want to sell 14,000 arena tickets at prices from \$50 to \$1,000. And they have contrasted their event, which they say will encourage guests to wear blue jeans and cowboy boots, with the Republicans' black-tie affair last month in tribute to Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, the party's presumptive presidential nominee.

But both have one thing in common: many checks of soft money, the large, unregulated contributions.

The Republicans received large checks and fund-raising assistance from Phillip Morris and Wayne LaPierre, the executive vice president of the National Rifle Association.

In recent months the Democrats have received \$350,000 from SBC Communications, the telecommunications giant, and \$250,000 checks from both Marc Andreessen, the founder of Netscape, and Mark B. Nathanson, a cable television mogul.

"The money for this event is unbelievable," said one Democratic fund-raiser. "It's all because of Terry. He could raise \$25 million, or even \$30 million, in one night. It will be the most successful Democratic event, by a factor of three."

Antibiotics view is healthy dosage

USA TODAY really hit the nail on the head with its editorial on antibiotics, especially when it took on doctors who overprescribe such drugs ("New antibiotics inject hope, underscore misuse," Editorial, Friday).

Not all doctors have done this, but most have. As such, they must share in the blame when a patient dies from a resistant pathogen that formerly could not defeat antibiotics.

Let those doctors try to point fingers at their patients, drug companies and HMOs all they want. They wrote the unneeded prescriptions. Patients, drug companies and health insurers did not.

There is another insane practice that must be curbed as well. Much animal feed contains antibiotics, thus contributing to the development of resistant germs.

The making of another dollar in the meat market is not worth a human life.

This, too, must be stopped.

Kemp Philips
Apex, N.C.

Safe public schools

I want to thank columnist Patrick Welsh for confronting the lie that our public schools are unsafe ("Are schools really dangerous? Not mine — and not most others," The Forum, April 18).

As he wrote in USA TODAY, the truth is that there has been a marked decrease in all areas of school-related violence over the past five years.

Unfortunately, the tragedy at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., seems to overshadow this truth and has sent many parents fleeing in fear to private schools.

At the same time, some parents kept their children at home, in fear of the bad influences they thought their kids would encounter in the public schools.

As a society, we seem to be falling prey to irrational fears resulting in an inability to find solutions and work on reform. Many parents, in my view, seem to feel that the only solution is to exit the public arena and run to the exclusive world of private education, where, I believe, intolerance of those who are different, slower, darker and poorer has become acceptable because there are just too many problems in public schools.

Let's confront the truth: This form of institutionalized intolerance encourages polarization in our society. It marginalizes the lonely, the poor and the minority, and it is just simply wrong.

I want to ask all of those parents who want to be part of the solution to have better public schools — and who want their children to be educated with other children from diverse backgrounds — to keep their children in what is a safe public school system.

Julia Kipp
Jackson, Tenn.

Tax breaks for health

As Americans prepared their tax forms this year, many realized they had to pay more for health insurance and long-term-care insurance because they didn't get the same tax treatment enjoyed by citizens with employer-sponsored health insurance ("Relief for HMO patients?" Editorial, April 12).

The 1999 tax benefit for employer-sponsored family coverage in the 28% tax bracket averaged \$957.60.

A self-employed individual in the same tax bracket with the same family coverage realized a \$574.56 tax benefit.

Most people who own individual health insurance that is not employer-sponsored get no tax break at all. The same imbalance holds true for individuals who purchase private long-term-care insurance.

It doesn't take a Ph.D. in economics to understand that the single underlying reason for being uninsured is the cost of the insurance. In an effort to alleviate some of the economic pressure on the uninsured and to establish equity for those who do have insurance, the tax inequity needs to be eliminated.

A major first step in the right direction is to support the current Republican legislation that provides a 100% tax break equally and fairly to everyone who buys health and long-term-care insurance, regardless of employment status.

Until this inequity is eliminated, no amount of state and federal regulation will improve the unacceptable number of uninsured citizens, nor will it enhance the ability to afford health and long-term-care insurance.

Conrad F Meier
Health policy adviser
The Heartland Institute
Chicago, Ill.

Relatives' missteps led to raid

I watched the news conference in Washington, D.C., held by the Gonzalez family from Miami — Lazaro and Marisleydis ("Mediator: Deal was close," Cover Story, News, Monday).

The Gonzalez family should remember that:

► No man has the right to tell another man what country his son must live in. Elian's father may prefer that his son live in Cuba.

► The Gonzalez relatives in Miami were the beneficiaries of a personal "hands-on" intervention meeting by U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno, who went to them to seek resolution. This was an extraordinary effort by the U.S. government that most native-born American litigants never receive.

► The Miami relatives' failed attempt to impose their presence on the father-son reunion at Andrews Air Force Base on Saturday attests to their impulsive, insensitive and aggressive attitudes. This attitude is perhaps prompted by poor legal advice.

In short, the real instigators of the forced seizure of Elian are the boy's Miami relatives.

Stewart C. McCracken
Brownsville, Vt.

We are losing our freedom

When our government can ride roughshod over the citizens of this country, it is time for a change.

As I see it, Bill Clinton and Janet Reno are puppets in Fidel Castro's hands. Our laws are being used to serve Cuba's interests rather than the interests of the average citizens.

This country, in my view, no longer stands for freedom and liberty.

I agree that Elian should be with his father. But why didn't Juan Miguel Gonzalez come for his child when the boy's rescue at sea was first reported?

Alice E. Feezor
Eldridge, Mo.

Pictures tell the story

In this age of computers and instant news, two pictures showed the stark contrast of what happened to Elian Gonzalez on Saturday morning:

► First, there's the controversial Associated Press photo of the Immigration and Naturalization Service agent, with his finger not on the trigger, and his submachine gun pointed away from Elian, as the fisherman who saved Elian's life, held him tightly in a closet of the Miami relatives' home. This picture showed the dramatic reality of how Elian had to be taken, in order for him to be with his father. It is a most dramatic and high-impact view of a little boy and the enormous power of the INS that it took to return him to his father.

► Then there is the poignant, moving picture of Elian with his dad, stepmother and stepbrother later Saturday after being reunited at Andrews Air Force Base, near Washington, D.C.

This photo was taken by U.S. marshals.

The bottom line is that we have the best of both worlds right now: We have a father reunited with his son and they both, for the moment, are on American soil.

Rich Unge
Sarasota, Fla.

Police state 'storm troopers'

I still can't believe what I saw on TV Saturday morning: storm troopers snatching that child using Gestapo-style tactics.

Surely there was a better way to reunite the child with his father.

Nobody ever seemed to consider the feelings of the child and the trauma caused by such events.

I'm ashamed of our country today.

Gloria W. Harris
Charleston, W.Va.

Movie deal?

The Gonzalez family and their supporters seek to blame the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the

way Elian was removed from their custody. The Justice Department negotiated endlessly with the Gonzalez family to try to ensure the peaceful transfer of the boy to his father.

It was this family's continued defiance of a government order to surrender Elian that forced the INS to act. If emotional damage was inflicted, the Gonzalez family's stonewalling and brazen disregard for the law are responsible for it.

The Gonzalez family could have prevented the escalation of events if Elian's Miami relatives had been more concerned with the child's welfare instead of their own political agenda. Unfortunately, they will now most likely be rewarded by the American entertainment industry for their selfish actions.

Greg Stone
Barstow, Calif.

Raid? No, a rescue mission

The Lazaro Gonzalez family in Miami needs psychiatric help more than Elian does. They hurried to Washington after Elian was taken, having repeatedly shunned every opportunity for a peaceful escort to return the boy to his rightful place with his father.

The Miami relatives no longer had any right to withhold this young boy from his father, the lawful guardian who has agreed to stay in this country throughout the court proceedings. Their hollow expressions of "shock" are confounding. To carelessly claim "excessive force" is nonsense.

The U.S. government bent over backward to avoid the tension of the 5-minute rescue mission. The media calls it a raid. I call it a rescue.

Elián Gonzalez is now where he belongs.

Teirra M. Vituscka
Riverside, N.J.



Father and son: Juan and Elian Gonzalez.

25 years after
1975: The end of the war in Vietnam

Communists' grip strangles growth

Economic reforms stall in Vietnam

By Julie Schmit
USA TODAY

HO CHI MINH CITY — Last year Nike shipped 20 million shoes out of Vietnam — 15% of its total production.

This year, its Vietnamese subcontractors will make the same number of shoes, but Vietnam will account for only 12% of production because Nike has expanded in Thailand.

Nike's decision underscores one of Vietnam's biggest challenges: staying competitive with other Asian nations that are opening more doors, faster, to foreign companies.

Twenty-five years after the end of the Vietnam War, the country finds itself "pretty much off the radar screen of Corporate America," says Ron Kiel, Vietnam managing director for 3M and president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Ho Chi Minh City.

Just last July, Vietnam and the U.S. announced a tentative trade deal to open markets to each other. Hopes soared that foreign investment would again surge into Vietnam as it did in the mid-1990s when Vietnam was dubbed an emerging Asian tiger.

But Communist Party officials, fearful that opening up Vietnam too quickly could jeopardize their control, have balked at signing. No one knows when, or if, the deal will be resurrected. "It would take a miracle," to break the logjam this year, says Russ Ornburn, former Vietnam manager for AT&T and now a business consultant.

By letting the trade deal wither, Vietnam has signaled that it's not yet ready to reform its state-run economy as fast as outsiders hoped — and the effects are being felt:

- While foreign investment picks up in an Asia recovering from the 1997 financial crisis, it shrinks in Vietnam.

- Discouraged by the slowing pace of reforms, few foreign firms are expanding. Nike, whose 35,000 workers make it one of Vietnam's largest private employers, won't consider expanding unless Vietnam signs the trade deal, says Nike's Vietnam general manager, Lalit Monteiro. Without the deal, shoes made in Vietnam but sold in the U.S. face higher tariffs than shoes made in other Asian countries. That makes other countries more attractive for production.

This year economists expect Vietnam's economy to grow about 4%, vs. 5% to 5.5% for the overall region.

- Many foreign firms are leaving or shrinking. Britain's Cable & Wireless recently backed out of a deal to expand telephone service around Hanoi after trying for years to make it happen. IBM employs 40 in Vietnam, down from 60 in 1996. The U.S. law firm Coudert Bros. recently closed its Ho Chi Minh City office.

Foreign investment in Vietnam peaked in 1996 and 1997 (see graphic, right). Then, even finding housing for expatriates was difficult. But rents have since dropped 50%, even though the exodus of expatriates has now slowed, says Michael Forsyth, director of the Riverside apartments near Ho Chi Minh City.

Vietnam opened to foreign investors in the late 1980s and has continually reformed its economy. Industries are being privatized. Restrictions on foreign ventures are loosening. Companies can assume anything not against the law is allowed. Last year, they had to seek guidance for almost any move made. "No policies are worse today than they were in 1996," says Kazi Matin, lead economist at the World Bank in Hanoi.

But changes aren't coming fast enough, investors say. Vietnam still lacks a developed legal and banking system. Foreign investment laws often conflict. The banking, telecommunications and transportation sectors are still heavily controlled. "Vietnam has picked up from 0 to 60 mph, but the rest of the world is going 100 mph," says Kiel.

One example: For six years, Vietnam has been on the verge of launching its first stock market.

Not all foreign investors who've struggled here can blame everything on Vietnam. "Many came in with enormously high expectations," says Peter Ryder, managing director of Indochina Capital in Hanoi. Vietnam has a per capita income of \$360. Last year, consumers bought 7,000 vehicles. Yet the country's automakers could produce more than 100,000 a year.

Likewise, not all foreign companies are down on Vietnam. General Electric remains bullish. Nike has invested too much time and money to scale back, says Monteiro. Expatriates invest in pubs and restaurants. Citibank added 13 employees last year for a total of 66. "We're plugging in quite well," says corporate bank head Peter Langshaw.

Trade deal or not, Vietnam is likely to continue its slow reforms, analysts say. It also retains the same assets it had in 1996: 78 million consumers and a literate, top-notch workforce.

The question remains when, or if, those assets will be tapped.

"I'm sick of hearing the word 'potential' for Vietnam," says Radne Bryant, IBM Vietnam country manager.

Internet access beyond reach of most in Vietnam

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam — By day, Phuong Le, 25, works to make a living. By night, she teaches herself how to build Internet sites.

"My friends, they wish for the Net day by day," she says.

Phuong, a labor practices manager for Nike, is one of just 40,000 Internet users in Vietnam.

Vietnam's Internet costs far surpass the financial means of a vast majority of the country's 78 million residents, who have an average per capita income of just \$360 a year. The infrastructure upon which to build a networked economy — big pipes and fast connections — doesn't exist here.

"The Internet is not in Vietnam," says Brian Quinn of the Harvard Institute for International Development, a partner in the Fulbright Economics Teaching Program at Vietnam National University. Every year, the program brings 50 to 60 mid-career Vietnamese government officials, business people and educators through an extensive one-year program taught by professors from top-notch U.S. universities. Many of the students have never used the Internet.

One aspect of the stalled U.S.-Vietnam trade deal was to begin opening Vietnam's state-controlled telecommunications sector, which other Asian nations are doing to achieve lower costs and better service.

Without such pressure, Vietnam's access to the Net is expected to im-

prove slowly. "Vietnam is rapidly losing any competitive advantage to Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and China, who are embracing information technologies to market their products to a worldwide export marketplace," says Radne Bryant, IBM's Vietnam general manager.

Still, the Internet is making inroads. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have Internet cafes, although they cater most-

ly to tourists. Computer-skills courses are proliferating. The government has cut Internet fees by 25%, although at \$3 a month plus 2 cents a minute, they remain too high for most. KNA Consulting in Ho Chi Minh City plans to launch an Internet site to at least start to connect Vietnam manufacturers to overseas buyers.

By Julie Schmit

Foundations Target African Education

Four Groups Plan \$100 Million Project to Support Promising Universities

By LYNNE DUKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 24—Four of the nation's most well-endowed foundations announced a joint \$100 million investment today to help reform and revitalize higher education in select African countries in the largest-ever coordinated U.S. philanthropic effort on the continent.

Leaders of the Carnegie Corporation—along with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur, the Rockefeller and the Ford foundations—said they will coordinate with one another as well as with African educational leaders to focus grants that will strengthen universities that already have shown creative promise in their efforts to reform and expand.

The new thrust is designed to support higher education in countries where economic and political decentralization efforts are underway and to help expand the pool of Africans equipped to cope with the continent's many pressures, including the HIV epidemic, the fragility of democracy and the speed of the global economy that has largely passed Africa by. The program also is predicated on the

belief that higher education is fundamental to a strong civil society—a non-governmental sector that is beleaguered or ignored in many African countries.

The new program "will actually feed into the democratization process," said Andrew Siwela of Zambia, president of the 150-member Association of African Universities, who said he expected about a dozen universities across the continent to be targeted in the new program.

Called the Partnership to Strengthen African Universities, the five-year program is a departure from the traditional competition between foundations.

It also represents a departure from what Susan Beresford, president of the Ford Foundation, called the "relentlessly negative coverage of Africa," which she said this new effort would balance "by the positive image of human creativity and possibility in Africa."

Africa's chronic problems have been in the news lately, from natural disasters such as the floods of Mozambique and the AIDS epidemic of the southern African region, to man-made disasters such as the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, sectarian strife in Nigeria and the im-

plosion of President Robert Mugabe's long run in Zimbabwe.

At the same time, though, dozens of African countries have fostered more political openness and economic competition over the past decade, creating more space for universities to innovate and expand.

Among the initial grantees will be Makerere University of Uganda, which has created new degree programs and doubled its enrollment over the past six years. Makerere scientists, along with counterparts from Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, discovered an inexpensive but effective treatment last year to prevent HIV transmission from mother to child.

Other universities that have received initial planning grants are the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique.

The foundation officials stressed that they are only facilitating change, not deciding changes themselves. "Ultimately, the successful development of Africa will be planned and led by people who live there," said Jonathan F. Fanton, the MacArthur Foundation president.

In Spokane, Long, Fearful Hunt Ends

Pilot May Be Linked to 18 Murders in Area

By JESS WALTER
Special to The Washington Post

SPOKANE, Wash.—For more than a year, a billboard displaying the somber faces of 16 women marked the unofficial entrance to a strip of taverns and hourly-rate motels at the edge of downtown. Written on the billboard were the words, "Help Us Find Our Killer!"

With the arrest last week of Robert Lee Yates Jr., who was charged with murder in the death of one 16-year-old, investigators believe they've found him—a 47-year-old helicopter pilot and father of five who, they say, hunted and killed prostitutes for up to 10 years in this mid-sized city on the dry, low-tech side of the state.

Standing in a soccer field near Yates's split-level house, Spokane County Sheriff Mark Sterk said Friday his undermanned homicide task force has so far linked Yates's DNA to nine victims. He expects lab results to tie Yates to three others by next week. In all, Yates is suspected in 18 homicides of women here.

Meanwhile, authorities in New York, Alabama and Germany—places where Yates reportedly was stationed during an 18-year Army career—plan to look at Yates in connection with similar unsolved slayings that occurred while he lived in their communities.

"At this point," Sterk said, "there's no telling how many murders [Yates] may be responsible for."

This is overwhelming for a community of 450,000, a family-friendly city that might get 15 homicides in a bad year, the kind of place where people already have begun donating money to help the accused killer's wife and children.

For generations, prostitutes in Spokane worked a shifting, two-mile strip along East Sprague Avenue, cruising for "dates" behind adult book stores, tattoo parlors and used-car lots. During a four-month period of 1990, three women who worked as prostitutes here were shot in the head and dumped along the banks of the Spokane River. Between 1992 and 1996, three more bodies were found in the woods near Mount Spokane and in Tacoma, 290 miles to the west.

Investigators suspected a serial killer, but were confounded by the long gaps between the killings. Then, from August

1997 to October 1998, bodies seemed to fall from the sky. During that period, 12 more women were killed, 10 in Spokane and two in Tacoma, and dumped near houses, in fields, along remote roads.

Then, as suddenly as they'd started, the killings stopped. Looking back, investigators think they know why. The last body was found in October 1998. A month later, they questioned a man on East Sprague who had just picked up a prostitute in a white Corvette. That man was Robert Yates.

Investigators say Yates's wife and children, who are between the ages of 11 and 25, were stunned by the charges. The family is staying in a motel while their house is searched by detectives. The sheriff's department chaplain is raising money to help them.

Yates's neighbors and co-workers quickly stepped forward to offer the requisite, banal descriptions: Quiet family man. Good pilot. Good neighbor. Liked cars.

But along that strip of East Sprague, prostitutes and at least one motel manager knew this "family man."

"Yeah, he was a regular," said Melanie Dunning, who manages the Spokane Budget Saver Motel, a low-slung, horse-shoe-shaped building where Yates rented a \$28.95 room a couple of times a month. "He was quiet, never caused a problem."

A native of Washington, Yates moved to Spokane in 1996 when he retired from the Army. He has a couple of speeding tickets and a pending assault charge on his record, but nothing that hints at allegations of serial murder. In 1994, while stationed in Fort Drum, N.Y., Yates wrote a letter about gun control to the editor of the Watertown (N.Y.) Daily News.

"Do not . . . equate guns with crime," Yates wrote. "If we seek answers to the crime problem, let's look to the criminal and focus on enforcement of existing laws, stiffer penalties, more prison space and deterrents to criminal activities."

All of the victims in Spokane were shot to death.

The first victim in the 1997 cluster was Jennifer Joseph, 16, whose body was left with a towel that yielded light brown hairs from a Caucasian person. Another prostitute recalled seeing Joseph climb into a white Corvette and drive off with a

1/2

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 2000

Charter Schools Break D.C. Rules

Many Financial Reports Late; Unapproved Contracts Signed

By JUSTIN BLUM
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Many D.C. public charter schools are not accounting for how they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in tax money and are signing sizable contracts without following strict legal guidelines.

Oversight reports and other records kept by the Board of Education and the D.C. Public Charter School Board show that a large number of the city's 27 charter schools have failed to comply with a wide range of regulations addressing finances, record keeping and police background checks.

These violations have continued for months, but charter board regulators say they prefer to work with the schools to bring them into compliance rather than impose penalties.

Since the first charter school in the city was founded nearly four years ago, the amount of public funds committed to these independently run schools has steadily increased and is now about \$54 million. Nearly 7,000 students—about one in 11 of the school system's current enrollment—attend charter schools, a number projected to grow to about 11,000 next year when eight more are scheduled to open.

The nation's capital is at the forefront of a charter

school movement. Proponents argue that giving these schools autonomy from the traditional public school system promotes innovation, creates competition and improves education.

While the monitoring reports generally indicate that the charters are living up to their stated educational missions, those reviews along with other records show a pattern of violations. Among them:

- Eleven schools failed to provide audited financial reports that were due in November. Some schools said that their audits are underway and that they had not realized they needed to file them. One school turned in its report last week, after a reporter's inquiries.

- At least 13 schools have not complied with rules saying that contracts of \$10,000 or more must be advertised, competitively bid and approved by the D.C. financial control board. Some schools said they were unaware of the requirement, while others said the rules were too cumbersome.

- Eleven schools failed to complete required criminal background checks of employees. Some said they have since improved procedures, but others acknowledged last week that not all background checks have been completed.

- A number of schools have filed incomplete annual reports, required by law to provide such information as test scores, teacher qualifications, graduation rates and attendance records. Many omitted much required information; one report was two pages.

- At least eight schools had not adequately verified that students were D.C. residents, a problem that also has plagued the District's traditional public schools. The control board audits residency data in the fall, but schools are supposed to maintain residency verification information.

- Seven schools failed to pay required administrative fees to the school board and owe \$29,433.

Theresa C. Bollech, a parent activist who has reviewed the schools' monitoring reports and audits, said she was "appalled by the lack of fiscal accountability."

"Where is the money going?" asked Bollech, who focuses on special education issues. "Where is the mayor, where is the city council, where is the control board, as well as the elected Board of Education and the Public Charter School Board?"

The school board and the public charter board—the two authorities responsible for overseeing charter schools—are supposed to ensure that the schools comply with the law and provide the educational programs outlined in their charter proposals. Founders of a charter school can choose the authority that reviews their application and oversees them if they are approved.

Kevin P. Chavous (D-Ward 7), chairman of the D.C. Council's education committee, said the two boards have failed to provide sufficient monitoring. He said he wants to create an office that would provide oversight of all charter schools while allowing the charter-

ing authorities to continue to review and approve charter applications.

"While the charter school movement offers some exciting possibilities for educating our children, we don't want them to have a loosey-goosey approach to standard operating procedures," Chavous said. "If there continues to be egregious examples of a school or schools not following the law, then both chartering authorities shouldn't hesitate to revoke their charters."

Rep. Ernest J. Istook Jr. (R-Okla.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on the District and a supporter of the charter school movement, said he could not reach a conclusion until reading the monitoring reports.

Leaders of both oversight boards said they are working with the schools and pushing them to improve. Many, they said, have made progress, and shutting them down for these kinds of violations would harm children.

"We are teaching and training them at the same time as holding them accountable," said Robert G. Childs, president of the elected school board. "We've not seen gross mismanagement. We're seeing people who say, 'We'll get to that later.' We're saying to them, 'You just can't put it on the back burner.'"

1/2

Wave of Concern: Atlantic Tsunami?

*Fissures Found Off Va. Coast
May Be Precursor, Experts Say*

By DAN EGGEN and JACQUELINE L. SALMON
Washington Post Staff Writers

Researchers setting out to sea from the Virginia coast this weekend hope to find answers to a new scientific riddle: Could tsunamis, the large, destructive waves that have terrorized Japan and the rest of the Pacific for centuries, pose a threat to the mid-Atlantic coast as well?

According to the latest research, they might. Scientists have discovered a 25-mile series of cracks along the edge of the continental shelf, about 100 miles east of Virginia Beach and the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

If the fissures are moving, they could be the beginning of the type of underwater landslides that trigger tsunamis, according to a report just published in the May issue of *Geology* magazine.

Scientists estimate that a landslide from the fissures could send a wave 20 feet high hurtling up the region's beaches. Such a wave hitting southern Virginia would be similar to the force of a severe hurricane. In 1972, Hurricane Agnes caused the worst flooding the Washington area had seen in decades; it washed out roads and bridges and killed 118 people from Florida to New York.

The Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News area, with 1.5 million people, would be closest to the origin point of the wave, but flood waters also could push up the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River

and inundate waterfront areas of Annapolis, Washington, Alexandria and other low-lying communities.

"The potential impact would depend on the tides and all sorts of other complications," said Neal W. Driscoll, a scientist at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Massachusetts, one of three authors of the *Geology* article. "The risk associated with this is slight, but finite. These tsunamis do happen, and they can happen in all kinds of places."

A tsunami—which means "harbor wave" in Japanese—is notoriously hard to anticipate or predict. An underwater earthquake or landslide can trigger a fast-moving series of waves spread out across a path that is broad but barely detectable on the surface, until the waves reach shallow water.

A tsunami can cross the open ocean at 450 miles an hour, then rise to 100 feet as it approaches the shore, according to the Federal Emergency Management Agency. But even in the tumultuous, earthquake-prone Pacific Rim, it is rare that any one place will be hit by a wave.

Yet even on North America's Atlantic coast, tsunamis are not unprecedented. In 1929, a wave measured at up to 40 feet slammed into the southern coast of Newfoundland, killing 51 people. The landslide in that case was about the same size as the one that researchers fear could happen off the Virginia coast.

"If a massive landslide occurred this close to the coast, you would only have about 20 minutes' warning," said Jeffrey K. Weissel, of Columbia University's Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory, who also is part of the research team. "With a hurricane, you often have hours or days. In that respect, the tsunami threat is even more acute."

In 1998, a tsunami struck Papua New Guinea with almost no notice, killing more than 2,200 people.

Emergency management officials in the Washington area say they were surprised by the scientists' report, conceding that they have never considered the possibility of a tsunami. Officials said they need more information before deciding whether to design tsunami disaster plans.

"This is not something that you traditionally hear of on the East Coast," said Janet Clements, of the Virginia Department of Emergency Services.

If a surge of water moved up the Potomac, low-lying areas such as Reagan National Airport, Old Town Alexandria, Mount Vernon and the George Washington Memorial Parkway could be under water, officials said.

"It would be bad," said Alexandra T. Craig, deputy coordinator for emergency services in Fairfax County. "You've just added something to my list of things that I need to worry about."

In Ocean City, Md., yesterday, emergency officials consulted with tsunami experts before briefing the mayor and City Council about the potential danger.

Driscoll, Weissel and colleague John A. Goff, of the University of Texas, plan to set out to sea Saturday for two weeks to get a closer look at the potential landslide area. The researchers will use special sonar equipment to determine how recently the cracks opened and, perhaps, predict how soon a tsunami could occur.

The *Geology* article stresses that "it is unclear whether these cracks are fossil features or are active and therefore likely to produce a potentially large submarine landslide in the near future." Driscoll and Weissel said that if their examination shows that the cracks are recent, they will install monitoring equipment to see whether they are moving.

Driscoll said the cracks were not the only thing that caught researchers' attention: The fissures are just north of an Ice Age landslide that occurred about 18,000 years ago—which is not all that long in geologic terms. "If it was just the cracks themselves, that might be different," Driscoll said. "But this has happened before in this area."

Eddie Bernard, a tsunami expert with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, said underwater landslides are comparable in power and speed to avalanches.

"The behaviors of flooding would also be similar to a hurricane. . . . It can be devastating," said Bernard, chairman of the National Tsunami Mitigation Program in Seattle.

Although earthquakes are the most common cause of tsunamis, landslides, or a combination of the two, can also trigger them. The researchers say that there may be a number of explanations for the crack formations off the Virginia coast, from the release of trapped methane gas to erosion caused by ocean currents.

Childs acknowledged that there are problems. For example, Community Academy failed to administer standardized tests on the same day as all other schools, prompting a letter from Childs warning the school that it was in violation. And Maya Angelou Public Charter School failed to turn in test materials on time, raising questions about the results, officials said.

Childs said he plans to meet with trustees of each school this month and give them until next month to fix things or face being put on probation or losing their charters.

Trustees at many schools, especially those that opened this year, are unaware of all regulations they must follow, Childs said. He said he would advocate changes in oversight regulations, including requiring schools to wait a year after their charters are approved before opening—to make sure they have time to comply with the law.

Nelson Smith, executive director of the charter school board,

said he has warned two schools that public funding could be cut if they do not turn in their audits.

"They may be late with a couple of reports, but that's because the staff is working day and night with the kids," Smith said. "The most important bottom line is: Is the school living up to its mission?"

The chartering boards take widely different approaches in regulating the schools. The school board has hired monitors who visit the schools and issue detailed reports about their finances, facilities and academics. The charter school board focuses more heavily on the academic program and learning environment and greatly relies on self-evaluations from each school. The board sends monitors to schools to report on record-keeping issues, but those reports are less extensive, and more up-beat, than the elected school board's.

The charter board, for instance, has not checked to see whether its schools are putting contracts of \$10,000 or more up for bid and having them approved by the control board. Instead, it asks schools to submit lists of those contracts.

Since last year, the charter board has received a list of only six contracts, and it never checked to see whether contracting rules were followed. Only one contract was

approved by the control board; the charter school board approved a waiver for another. Smith said the board will start matching the list of contracts issued against the ones approved by the control board.

Chavous said there's an "awkward relationship" between the charter schools and the charter school board because the board serves "in the role of advocate of the charter school movement."

On the other hand, charter schools complain that some of the elected school board monitors are biased against them and failed to examine documents that would have contradicted their findings—allegations that the school board officials deny.

"We said: 'Here's all the backup material on this desk. Whatever you want, you can take,'" said Robert H. Crosby, president of Richard Milburn Academy, a nonprofit organization that operates schools in 19 locations on the East Coast. "And then later on we get a report that says we're deficient in the ma-

terial that we provided."

Some school officials said they had corrected many deficiencies since the monitoring reports were written last year. Monitors for the school board said that there have been improvements in some areas but that many violations remain. Both chartering authorities said they are working on new reports.

The audits and oversight reports suggest that a number of schools are not carefully accounting for where their money goes or spending it in ways that point to a potential conflict.

At Community Academy, for example, monitors could not find invoices for 17 percent of the transactions. In addition, the school's audit said the school, operated by the Urban Family Institute, contracted in fiscal 1999 with UFI Consulting, a for-profit corporation affiliated with the institute, for \$310,446 in operational services and a \$173,189 management fee. It also paid \$20,000 in rent in 1999 to an organization with which one of its trustees was affiliated.

Kent Amos, founder of Community Academy, declined to discuss in detail any of the concerns raised in the monitoring report or audit. "We have resolved—to my knowledge—all of the issues," he said.

2/2

Consultants Pursue Promising Web of New Business

Last of four articles

By SUSAN B. GLASSER
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Quietly, but with accelerating speed, the Internet is changing the business of politics. From eContributor.com to eCommercial.com, dozens of companies have declared themselves open for electronic commerce in this election year, determined to reimagine the fundamentals of campaigns and how to make money from them.

For just about every service sold to politicians the old-fashioned way, they offer a digital-era analogue. Already, online fundraisers have proved their worth, helping bankroll the insurgent campaigns of Democrat Bill Bradley and Republican John McCain earlier this year. The Internet's promise to allow campaigns to directly communicate with voters is less proven, but it has even broader implications.

At a time when 30-second attack ads are still the staple of modern campaigns, driving out-of-control inflation in political spending, those in the Internet vanguard tout their new medium as a low-cost replacement for television. Soon, they insist, TV spots will go the way of whistle-stop tours.

"The Era of the Imagemaker," said Michael McCurry, made famous by television as President Clinton's White House spokesman but now looking to make money off the Internet, "is giving way to the Era of the Webmaster."

Political operatives such as McCurry, Democratic media consultant Robert Shrum and former New

Hampshire governor John H. Sununu are now the proud possessors of stock options "that may or may not be worth something someday," as McCurry put it. Theirs are from Grassroots.com; 30 other traditional political consultants are boasting of their stock options from Voter.com, a rival to Grassroots.com in the months-old "political portal" business. Both companies have received millions of dollars from venture capitalists as part of an influx of new cash into politics.

"The Internet has turned the communications industry in this country on its head," said Craig Smith, who is now running Voter.com along with former Christian Coalition director Randy Tate after being ousted as Vice President Gore's campaign manager. "It's going to turn politics on its head, too."

Not everyone shares his enthusiasm. And so for now, fundraising online is the first order of business for an otherwise skeptical political class.

"It's skyrocketed," said John "Trey" Richardson, who left his old-paradigm power job as director of the National Association of Realtors' political action committee to found eContributor.com last year.

A Fundraising 'Magic Bullet'?

Two years ago, Becki Donatelli and her partner Tom Hockaday opened their Internet political shop. Campaign Solutions, banking on a future that did not yet exist. As chief Web consultants to McCain's presidential campaign, Hockaday and Donatelli earned a cut out of every e-dollar McCain raised online.

"Madison Avenue sells soap, while the political media world knows how to sell candidates," said Donatelli. "In this world, we're the new media consultants."

At most 2 percent of all political donations in the 1998 campaign were made online, according to Richardson. This year he predicts, that figure will be more like 20 percent.

Unlike Hockaday and Donatelli, Richardson sees himself as a vendor, not a political strategist. "We're not in the business of consulting," he said. "We're very much a service provider." But the business concept is similar: Process the contributions as they come in, and take a percentage off the top. How much depends on how much is raised: 12.5 percent for campaigns that raise \$25,000 or less, 8.5 percent for those that collect \$1 million or more.

Two Republican presidential candidates signed up, Steve Forbes and Gary Bauer, but Richardson's real money-making plan involves strategic partnerships with Web "portals" such as Voter.com, which will spend millions of dollars on advertising this political season in hopes of becoming the most heavily trafficked site for political information. Campaigns that sign up with Voter.com can then raise money—using eContributor.com's system—from all the visitors lured there by the ads.

The pitch by all the online political fundraisers is obvious: It's quick and virtually free.

"I guarantee you that raising funds online is always cheaper than direct mail or telemarketing," Hockaday said. He pegs the cost as between 8 cents and 18 cents for every dollar raised. Richardson said it costs about 10 cents for every dollar raised. Either way, it's a stark contrast to telemarketing calls and direct mail, which can sometimes cost as much as they produce in revenue.

Even the legal complexities of fundraising may prove to be a benefit to companies like Richardson's, since candidates tempted to bypass the political middlemen and simply set up their own secure servers may run afoul of the Federal Election Commission's many guidelines for accepting contributions. Already, some Web sites have been publicly criticized for not posting the required disclaimer that corporate contributions are prohibited in federal elections.

"Politics is so heavily regulated that you can't take a shopping mall e-commerce system and apply it to political fundraising," Richardson argued. EContributor.com's lawyer, Cleta Mitchell, said there are "24 separate rules to comply with in order to contribute online to a federal candidate."

But traditional practitioners of fundraising still see their business as an art, not a science, with big money raised through relationships, not computer programs.

"Candidates are always looking for the magic bullet—right now it's Internet fundraising," said Nancy L. Bocskor, a veteran Republican consultant who specializes in helping House candidates raise PAC money. "I say, yes we will have to have Web sites, but you still have to call people."

New Ways to Make a Pitch

But more sophisticated methods of gathering political contributions online are being developed. To start, a hidden scramble has developed among companies seeking to become the first able to sell e-mail lists that can be used for political fundraising purposes. With no Yellow

Pages for the Internet, such a list is seen as the prerequisite for true electronic fundraising success.

McCain's now defunct campaign owns the most lucrative such list. For years, candidates have rented out the names and street addresses of their donors to direct-mail houses; list vendors are still selling conservative groups "snail mail" postal addresses from Oliver North's 1994 Senate campaign. No decision has been made yet about making McCain's online database available for a price but, in the meantime, both political parties are investing significant sums in creating their own e-mail lists.

Telemarketing firms are even being paid by the parties this year to solicit e-mail addresses over the phone—an expensive proposition with uncertain return. "We're making a lot of calls to people trying to collect e-mail addresses," said Jeff Larson, a Republican phone consultant from Arizona. "It's definitely a trend."

Even that represents old-school thinking to those who are busy looking at the business potential of online politics.

"The current state of the online political business is clearly fundraising. Candidates are desperate to raise money to air more television ads," said McCurry, an old-school spinner

1/2