

Officials Say a Bomb Caused Explosion at Church in Illinois

By The New York Times

DANVILLE, Ill., May 25 — A bomb caused the explosion that ripped through a church here during Sunday morning services, Federal officials said today.

The blast, which injured 34 people and tore a hole 10 feet high in the west wall of the First Assembly of God Church, is the second church bombing in Vermilion County in five months.

A similar explosion in December at the United Methodist Church in Oakwood, Ill., just eight miles from Danville, killed a 46-year-old church member.

Agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms would not say whether the bombings were related.

"At this time," said Jerry Singer, a special agent of the bureau, "we are treating yesterday's bombing as an isolated incident."

Mr. Singer said Federal, state and local agents were still collecting evidence and interviewing witnesses.

He said the evidence would be sent to the national laboratory in Rockville, Md., to determine whether the explosion on Sunday could be connected to bombings elsewhere in the country.

Several members of the congregation gathered today at the church to talk to officials and comfort one another.

The church is just north of downtown Danville, a working-class city of about 33,000 near the Indiana border, about 120 miles south of Chicago.

When the bomb went off, 300 people were attending services, a crowd somewhat lighter than usual because of the Memorial Day weekend.

Most of the injured were teen-

agers, church officials said. The bomb went off next to the section of the church where the congregation's youth group was seated.

The two most seriously hurt were Elizabeth Russian, 15, and Nikki Brehm Lewis, 14. Both suffered deep head wounds, and were in good condition today at Carle Foundation Hospital in nearby Urbana.

Elizabeth was one of three teenagers planning a missionary trip to El Salvador next month.

Agents would not release specific information about the bomb, and said only that it created "a considerable blast."

The force of the explosion, which was heard seven miles away, ripped through the metal church wall, hurling debris hundreds of feet and reverberating many blocks away.

"Considering the force of this blast we are very fortunate no one was killed," Mr. Singer said.

Church members said Pastor Dennis Rogers had just called upon the ushers to collect the offering when the blast occurred.

"I had just reached down, got my Bible, took my money out and, kabam!" Lori Van Note, a church member, told The Danville Commercial-News. "I thought we were going to die."

A police spokesman, Larry Thomason, said the scene was remarkably calm when officers arrived.

"The pastor kept things very orderly," Mr. Thomason said. "He was instructing people to remain calm and help the injured. Things went very smoothly."

Ron Tellier, a retired truck driver who has attended the church for 55 years, said he knew it was a bomb as soon as it exploded.

"I could smell it," Mr. Tellier said.

He said nothing was going to keep him out of church next week.

"I don't think a church or any

building is safe anymore," Mr. Tellier said. "If someone wants to blow it up, they're going to blow it up. The Lord really took care of us."

The New York Times

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National News Briefs

Climber Falls to Death And Ranger Is Missing

ANCHORAGE, Alaska, May 25 (AP) — A Canadian climber fell to his death on Mount McKinley and a volunteer ranger trying to come to his aid was missing today and feared dead.

If he does not survive, he would be the first ranger to die on duty on the continent's highest peak.

Conditions were too severe for the National Park Service's high-altitude rescue helicopter today, but six climbers headed for the site of the fall for a possible rescue attempt.

The dead climber was identified as Daniel Raworth, 25, of Whistler, British Columbia. He is the first fatality reported on the mountain this year and the 90th since the National Park Service started keeping records.

Mr. Raworth fell Sunday afternoon as he was descending with a partner at 16,500 feet in whiteout conditions in an area called Washburn's Thumb. Winds at the time were about 50 miles per hour, with gusts reaching 60 to 80 m.p.h., said Kris Fister, a park service spokesman.

Two rangers were in the area and tried to go down the ridge to aid Mr. Raworth when one of them fell and disappeared. His pack was found about nine hours later about 20 feet from Mr. Raworth's body.

Defiant Marijuana Club Closed in Sheriff's Raid

SAN FRANCISCO, May 25 (AP) — More than two dozen sheriff's deputies swooped down on San Francisco's largest medical marijuana club today in a pre-dawn raid to shut it on a judge's order.

Four days after Judge William Cahill of San Francisco County Superior Court declared the club a public nuisance, a locksmith let a busload of deputies in through a back door of the Cannabis Healing Center at 6 A.M. They evicted seven people staying there, changed the locks and spent most of the day taking an inventory of the building's contents.

Sheriff Mike Hennessey said only a small amount of the drug was found, about three handfuls of dried mari-

juana and three dozen 4-inch plants. Nobody was arrested.

The raid was the latest skirmish over the voter-approved measure legalizing marijuana for medical use in California. Last week Judge Charles Breyer of Federal District Court banned distribution of marijuana, saying the initiative, Proposition 215, could not override a Federal ban.

Judge Breyer rejected arguments that the clubs should be entitled to furnish the drug because customers find it hard to survive without marijuana to ease the pain and side effects of cancer and AIDS therapy.

Several other medical marijuana clubs have refused to abide by his order. Clubs in Oakland, Ukiah and Fairfax continue to operate.

Teen-Agers Arrested In Girl's Hanging

CURWENSVILLE, Pa., May 25 (AP) — The police arrested two more teen-agers on Sunday on homicide charges in the hanging and beating death of a 15-year-old girl who the authorities say had threatened to reveal a group of youths' plans to run off to Florida. Three others were arrested in the killing last week.

The two, Teresa Marie Wolfe, 14, and Patrick Leroy Lucas Jr., 16, were classmates of the dead girl, Kimberly Jo Dotts, a 17-year-old boy, whom the authorities did not identify, was arrested for hindering the apprehension of the other two.

The police said Kimberly was dragged around the woods with a noose around her neck, hanged from a tree and then bashed in the head with a large rock.

Her body lay under branches for more than a week near this town of 3,000 about 60 miles northeast of Pittsburgh.

Arrested last week and charged with homicide were Jessica Holtmeyer, 16, and Aaron Straw, 18. On Friday, Kimberly's cousin, Tracy Lewis, 24, who was with the group, was jailed on a parole violation.

Charles Dotts said his niece was learning disabled and longed for friends to accept her.

And Beating Afterward

GLENDALE, Ariz., May 25 (AP) — One teen-ager was killed and two people were seriously injured early today when their car was run off the road and they were beaten by the second car's occupants, the police said.

The first car had been chased at speeds up to 90 miles per hour and, witnesses said, deliberately rammed off the road. The car went through a steel fence and overturned.

The driver of the second car then returned to the wreckage, said Matt Brown, a police spokesman. At least two people got out and began pounding the car and its occupants with aluminum baseball bats or metal poles, Mr. Brown said.

Marco Rubalcavalas, 15, of Phoenix, died of head injuries. Investigators were unsure whether he died from the crash or the beating.

No arrests were made.

Stranded Hiker Hoisted 40 Feet Up Sheer Cliff

LOS ANGELES, May 25 (AP) — An 18-year-old hiker stuck at the base of a 40-foot vertical cliff in the Angeles National Forest was rescued early today, a Los Angeles County fire dispatcher said.

The man was hoisted up by firefighters about 1:30 A.M., the dispatcher, Diana Aronson, said.

The New York Times

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Becoming An American

By John J. Miller

WASHINGTON
At a soccer game against Mexico in February, the American national team listened in frustration as a chorus of boos erupted during "The Star-Spangled Banner." Thousands of fans threw cups and bottles at the United States players, often striking them. They also attacked someone in the stands who tried to unfurl an American flag.

The match didn't take place in Mexico City but in Los Angeles. Most of the fans were Mexican or Mexican-American. The extreme reactions to their behavior were disheartening but predictable. On one side, the columnist Pat Buchanan declared that "the Melting Pot is freezing over." On the other, a Los Angeles Times editorialist said that critics of the fans were "xenophobic, nativist, protectionist and isolationist."

The United States is in the midst of an assimilation crisis — one inspired not by immigrants but by an American intelligentsia that has abandoned the struggle to help newcomers assimilate. *Neither left nor right* knows how to respond to a troubling incident like the Los Angeles soccer match.

John J. Miller is a political reporter for National Review and the author of "The Unmaking of Americans."

On the right, nativists argue that immigrants are not capable of becoming American. "Immigration is a failure because assimilation, contrary to national myth, never really occurred," Chilton Williamson wrote recently in the magazine *Chronicles*. Mr. Williamson, an editor and writer for the conservative monthly, claims that the Ellis Island generation of immigrants never actually became American.

On the left, multiculturalists say that immigrants should not have to become American. As Juan Perea, a law professor at the University of Florida, says, "Americanization must either be completely reworked or abandoned as a premise of American identity." For many in the academic world, assimilation is nothing but a gentrified form of ethnic cleansing.

Both sides have unfortunately ceded a sensible middle ground that supports some level of immigration but also insists on assimilation. As a result, many native-born Americans are confused about what, if anything, they should ask of immigrants.

The Americanization movement of the early 20th century provides an effective blueprint for how the United States should greet today's immigrants. The original Americanizers believed that newcomers and natives would have to reach an accord. Immigrants needed to become part of American society, rather than mere sojourners in it. They had responsibilities to their new home, like learning English, living by its laws and

earning citizenship. Ultimately, they were to dedicate themselves to the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that define American nationhood.

Natives had to keep their end of the bargain. "From the moment [the immigrant] arrives in America, he needs the creative, aggressive attention of American institutions," wrote Frances Kellor, a leading Americanizer, in 1916. She and others set up classes and lectures and wrote publications on the English language, American history and naturalization. They used various private and public institutions, including corporations, schools and government offices, as engines of

assimilation. They gave speeches and held parades.

Many immigrants encountered severe discrimination, and in the 1920's nativist groups like the Ku Klux Klan helped pass restrictive legislation that slowed immigration to a trickle. For two decades before that, however, the original Americanizers strove for the immigrant's full acceptance in and of American society.

Today, Americans no longer know how to pass on the ideals that bind us together. A mishmash of public policies actively inhibit the Americanization of immigrants. Public schools engage in the charade of bilingual education, which rarely teaches children to speak, read and write in English as well as they could. Often it leaves them illiterate

in two languages and fluent in none. That failure is the reason that so many Hispanic and Asian parents in California support Proposition 227, a state initiative that would get rid of bilingual education and replace it with English-language immersion classes.

Government racial-preference policies treat people as members of groups rather than as individuals, classifying them by the color of their skin. The overburdened Immigration and Naturalization Service flirts with the idea of eliminating the mandatory test on American history and government for new citizens — a change that threatens to lower the standards of naturalization so far that the only requirement for full citizenship could consist of filling out an application form, as if becoming an American were on a par with getting a driver's license. The State Department looks the other way as more countries encourage dual loyalties by enacting dual-citizenship laws that extend political privileges, including the vote, to select American citizens.

In a remarkably short period, the United States has forgotten what to ask of its newcomers. We must rediscover the lost idea of Americanization. Whether we welcome few immigrants or many, we should give every stranger a chance and a reason to become a patriotic American. □

The New York Times

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Today's Trick Question

So my friend Michael Mandelbaum, the foreign policy expert from Johns Hopkins University, calls me the other morning with a trick question: "What's the difference," he asks me, "between NATO expansion and the Indian nuclear tests?"

Think about it. When the Indians look at NATO expansion, argued Mr. Mandelbaum, they see the U.S. extending nuclear protection to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic — against Russia. The U.S. has told these three countries — none of which share a common border with Russia or have any border disputes with Moscow — that at a time when the Russian Communist regime that once occupied Central Europe has been overthrown and replaced with Russian democrats, and this new Russian Government has withdrawn from Central Europe and signed sweeping nuclear arms reduction treaties, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic nevertheless need

India, NATO — the ground rules have changed.

and are entitled to nuclear protection from Moscow.

At the same time, adds Mr. Mandelbaum, the U.S. is telling India that it is not really entitled to nuclear protection from China — a China with which India shares a long, disputed border that has been the subject of a bloody war, a China where Communists still rule and where democrats have been suppressed and a China that has not only refused to enter into any nuclear arms reduction treaties but is expanding its nuclear arsenal. What's more, the U.S. has told the Indians that their nuclear tests were just a dangerous symbolic political gesture by the ruling Hindu nationalists to thrill their followers.

Let's see now ... a political gesture for domestic politics but with long-term, negative strategic consequences not readily apparent today. Hmm. This Indian nuclear test is exactly like NATO expansion.

What's the lesson here? It's that NATO expansion, India's nuclear tests and, I would add, Israel's refusal to accept U.S. proposals to break the Palestinian-Israeli stalemate because not every right-winger in the Cabinet agrees are all manifestations of the same phenomenon — the collapse of the cold-war international system and the creation of the illusion that the world is now safe for countries to drive their foreign policies solely by their domestic needs of the moment.

The cold war was a bad thing, notes Mr. Mandelbaum, but it was nevertheless "an international system that did provide a certain discipline and impose a certain prudence," by threatening very serious costs to anyone who would go too far in indulging his domestic whims on the world stage. The Soviet Union was there to block any NATO expansion with its own nukes. It was there to arm Israel's Arab foes at a moment's notice. And the U.S. was there to defend Pakistan at the drop of a hat. Reckless policies could and did have immediate, life-and-death consequences.

But the collapse of the cold-war system has changed that. It has created more space for assertive, domestically driven foreign-policy initiatives that assume few, if any, external costs. That's because the international system that replaced the cold war — globalization of markets and technologies — provides a different set of disciplines. In the cold-war system you could be punished immediately and brutally by either superpower for strategic misbehavior, but economic misbehavior tended to be tolerated or ignored. In today's globalization system you are punished immediately and brutally by the supermarkets for economic misbehavior (see Indonesia), but more political-strategic misbehavior is tolerated — up to a point. This is because the immediate disciplining mechanism of two competing superpowers is gone, and therefore punishment now often has to await action by the U.N., NATO, some ad hoc coalition or global investors.

The cold-war system was good at restraining missile madness, by threatening those who misbehaved with the death penalty. The globalization system is better at restraining economic madness by threatening those who misbehave with loss of investment and bankruptcy.

Which is why NATO expansion, Indian nuclear tests and Israeli obstinacy are all playing with fire. They are all acts of domestically driven foreign policy in a world system that is now safe for countries to be reckless — but not safe for them to be ridiculous. Actions still have consequences, the possibility of miscalculation and unintended escalations is still alive and well, and they can burst the restraints of any international system. □

The New York Times

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Tell Me Again: Why Are S.A.T. Scores So Crucial?

By Hugh B. Price

Every time I debate a foe of affirmative action on television, the conversation invariably degenerates into a heated discussion of a familiar hypothetical: why should a white student with a combined score on the Scholastic Assessment Test of, say, 1,250 be denied admission to college in favor of a black applicant who scored 100 to 200 points lower?

The answer is simple: for the very same reason that these institutions for years have admitted white applicants with lesser scores over others with more impressive results.

Even in the days when blacks and Latinos were barely in the picture, universities wanted diverse student bodies. Admissions officers have steadfastly refused to choose applicants strictly by the numbers — instead they consider a host of personal attributes, like leadership and ambition.

Hugh B. Price is president of the National Urban League.

Admissions policies should serve one master, namely the mission of the institution. Of course applicants should be qualified. Yet opponents of affirmative action have snookered people into believing that test scores are the only way to judge qualifica-

Tests may not be a particularly good predictor of later success.

tions. This is a shameless distortion of what the tests are about. In fact, experts at the Educational Testing Service, which designs the S.A.T., tell me that as a general rule, applicants who score 1,000 or better on the examination can handle the work at highly selective schools.

Thus, the S.A.T. is a valuable yardstick for assessing ability, but by no means the only valid and useful one. Admissions officers also weigh cre-

ativity, perseverance, leadership skills and determination to succeed.

A study of Harvard alumni over three decades found that the more successful alumni — defined by income, community involvement and professional satisfaction — had lower S.A.T. scores and came from blue-collar backgrounds. In other words, they were ambitious, but not the most bookish of college students.

Bates College in Maine no longer requires applicants to submit S.A.T. scores. Those who submit their scores average 160 points higher on the test than those who don't. Even so, there's no difference in the grades and graduation rates of the two groups.

Universities need not and, in fact, do not adhere slavishly to exam rankings in judging merit. With a clear conscience, they can safely admit applicants whose grades and test scores meet or exceed a minimum threshold. This way, every admitted student is deemed qualified without question. This removes the "undeserving" stigma from all applicants.

How should colleges and universities go about defining — and defending — their respective thresholds?

As with Harvard and Bates, universities have abundant data readily at hand in their alumni records. They should examine what has become of students who entered, say, 10, 20 and 30 years ago. Gather the data anonymously so that the results cannot be attacked as racially slanted. Then group the alumni according to the strength of their original paper credentials and cross-reference this data against information about their professional and civic accomplishments.

How many who entered with stellar paper credentials have fulfilled their supposed potential? How many have fallen far short? How many matriculated with modest credentials, only to blossom later and do their alma maters proud? Lastly, is there any correlation between S.A.T. scores and subsequent academic disappointment?

This analysis could guide colleges and universities in their admissions decisions. And it would most likely rebut the fallacious assertion that applicants with the highest test scores are, ipso facto, more qualified than those with lower scores.

In any case, common sense dictates that we keep the doors of high-

er education wide open for promising young African-Americans and Latinos. By 2050 they will make up nearly 40 percent of the nation's population and form the backbone of the labor force in many states.

Higher education exists to prepare successive generations of young people to help lead our country. How will we do that if we leave almost half of our population behind?

As A. Bartlett Giamatti, the late president of Yale, put it so compellingly, universities should be tributaries to society, not sanctuaries from it. □

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The New York Times

High-Tech Hypocrisy About Government

By Mitchell Kapor

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. In the mid-1980's, during my tenure at Lotus, I was, I believe, the first person to publicly compare Microsoft to Standard Oil. Both companies sought and used monopoly control over a new industry critical to the nation's economy. And both were headed by men — John D. Rockefeller Sr. and Bill Gates — who would stop at virtually nothing to gain what they sought. Back then no one took the comparison seriously — except Bill Gates himself, who made it clear to me how irate he was about it.

Mitchell Kapor, the founder of Lotus Development Corporation, is an investor in high-tech start-ups.

Like Mr. Gates, I believe in and have profited from the free market. But I'm also a technorealist, which means that unlike many of my colleagues in the high-tech industry, I don't automatically see Government as the enemy of technological progress. Such views are all too fashionable in Silicon Valley, where the prospect of Government intervention causes a bad case of heartburn.

What my colleagues need to see is that the market cannot work unless our society sets rules of play and enforces them. Microsoft has benefited from the stability and opportunities provided by those rules, but it has been flouting them as well. The antitrust suits filed last week against Microsoft are therefore regrettable but necessary.

Despite all of Mr. Gates's talk about the right to innovate, his company uses its power to limit consum-

Microsoft and
others want to
have it both ways.

er choice and impede a free marketplace. Only the Government has the ability to take on Microsoft, and the Justice Department's antitrust chief, Joel Klein, has done his homework. He's a pragmatist, not a crusader.

Mr. Klein understands that the real threat to entrepreneurial innovation is Microsoft's anticompetitive arrogance. Great discoveries in computing often come from small start-up companies. Yet with Microsoft's dominance, vast areas of the product market — including but hardly lim-

ited to basic applications like word processors and spreadsheets — are barren zones where venture capitalists and entrepreneurs fear to tread because Microsoft has staked a claim or is seen as likely to do so. It is a sad but telling fact that in the high-tech field, virtually no business plan will be financed today without a convincing answer to the question of what is to be done about competition from Microsoft.

The Government also recognizes that Microsoft's dominance will only intensify as the Internet becomes an integral part of mainstream culture. The browser war is just the beginning. Microsoft claims droit du seigneur in any area of computing that becomes strategically important — voice recognition, home appliances, auto navigation and so on.

It's unfortunate that Microsoft is so aggressively self-interested that

an external check is necessary. I would prefer to live in and help create a society in which self-regulation makes antitrust suits unnecessary. But until such a business ethos prevails, we must rely on other means.

Ultimately, the extent of the Government-mandated reform may depend on Microsoft's willingness to begin acting like a more socially responsible industry leader. To the extent that the company remains recalcitrant, it's likely that radical solutions will gain favor.

The most drastic action, of course, would be to break Microsoft up into a series of Baby Bills, separating operating systems from applications and from content and services. Today that seems like overkill, but in the coming years, short of a sincere change of heart by Mr. Gates, it may well become the preferred solution. □

When Desegregation Turns Into Discrimination

By JOHN C. YOO
And ERIC M. GEORGE

"We do not classify any student by race," the lawyer representing the San Francisco school district told the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals last month. "Students classify themselves and then we assign them to their schools."

So began the legal defense of a racial quota system that for 15 years has been imposed on every public-school student in San Francisco. More than 40 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the self-proclaimed inheritors of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s have been reduced to such doublespeak—all in defense of an unconstitutional school admissions system that discriminates against children because of the color of their skin.

The legal odyssey that produced this result was born of a 1983 settlement between city and state school authorities and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Federal Judge William Orrick transformed the agreement into a consent decree that classifies each of the 63,000 public-school students into one of nine ethnic and racial categories: American Indian, Black, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Spanish-surnamed, Other White and Other Nonwhite. It then requires reassignment of students if their enrollment would drive their racial group's proportion of the student body above a 45% quota. Specialized schools, such as top-ranked Lowell High School—the alma mater of the late Gov. Edmund Brown, Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer and several Nobel laureates—are limited to no more than 40% of any racial group.

Judge Orrick justified the racial quotas with a single sentence in the consent decree. In it, the school authorities and the

NAACP stipulated that evidence of segregation within San Francisco's schools could be produced—even though no court, including Judge Orrick's, has ever found San Francisco's schools to be segregated. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that government may use racial quotas only in the rarest of circumstances, such as when state authorities are deliberately resisting federal orders requiring desegregation. This is not the case in San Francisco, as the district judge found both before and after the imposition of the racial quotas.

The one sentence in the consent decree has prevented children of Chinese heritage from attending schools that are "capped out" of their race. In 1994, several schoolchildren filed a class-action lawsuit against the state, the school district and the NAACP challenging the consent decree as a denial of their rights under the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. Among the plaintiffs was Patrick Wong, then 14, who was denied admission to Lowell even though his test scores and grade point average were higher than those attained by members of other races who were admitted. Brian Ho and Hillary Chin, five and eight respectively in 1994, were kept out of their neighborhood elementary schools because they were of the "wrong" race.

None of the plaintiffs were even alive at the time of the consent decree's entry, not to mention that none of them participated in the "segregation" that supposedly pervaded the San Francisco schools back

then. In 1996, the plaintiffs asked the judge to throw out the quotas without a trial, on the ground that the quotas were not appropriately tailored to remedy any previous state discrimination, as the Supreme Court requires. Rejecting their claim, Judge Orrick instead found last summer that a trial was necessary to determine whether the consent decree had eliminated all remnants of segregation in the

school district—despite the absence of any judicial finding that segregation had ever existed. The plaintiffs then took the unusual step of immediately appealing Judge Orrick's ruling to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which is expected to issue its ruling by this fall.

Like the quota advocates who settled a *Piscataway, N.J.*, case in which a white teacher was laid off before the Supreme Court could issue its opinion, the last thing the defense wants is for the Ninth Circuit to issue a decision on

the merits of racial quotas and preferences. Instead, in oral arguments the defense attorneys urged that the case be sent back to the district court, apparently hoping that an expensive and lengthy trial would prolong the quotas. The three judges on the panel seemed skeptical and demanded that the NAACP and the school district point to any evidence of past or present segregation that could justify the quotas.

The defense's problem is that at the time the quotas were imposed, no compelling evidence of segregation could be

found, eliminating any constitutional, political or moral justification for them. This point is hammered home by the fact that one of the defendants—the state Board of Education—has done an about-face and now supports the plaintiffs. The 11-member board, which is responsible for setting California's educational policy, reversed its position last summer at the behest of Gov. Pete Wilson.

Not all of California's educational establishment sees things in the same light. The state superintendent of public instruction, Delaine Eastin, who is responsible for administering California's educational policy, claims that San Francisco's racial quotas are justified. Caught between these two sides is the third component of the state's educational triumvirate, the state Department of Education. That bureaucracy has been forced into temporary neutrality in this litigation, pending resolution of a subsidiary court battle that will decide which authority—the governor-appointed board or the elected superintendent—has the authority to determine its litigation position.

The efforts of the superintendent, the school district and the NAACP to avoid a Ninth Circuit ruling on the merits underscore the weakness of their case. Such stalling tactics might work in draining the limited resources of the Chinese-American schoolchildren, but it is unlikely to hold back the will of the people of California to end racial discrimination, as expressed in Proposition 209. Eventually the courts must decide whether, after nearly 45 years, *Brown v. Board of Education* justifies a desegregation plan that imposes the very discrimination it sought to eliminate.

Mr. Yoo, an acting professor of law at the Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California at Berkeley, argued the case of the California State Board of Education before the Ninth Circuit. Mr. George is a deputy legal affairs secretary to Gov. Wilson.



"How come Chinese students aren't allowed in?"

As Goes Microsoft, So Goes the Computer Industry

By THOMAS W. HAZLETT
And GEORGE BITTLINGMAYER

Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.) is credited with the observation that competition is much too important to be left to the market. The Clinton administration seems to agree, as evidenced by this week's massive antitrust lawsuit against Microsoft. But has anyone bothered consulting the market to find out whether it agrees with the politicians?

As a matter of fact, we have. In the Microsoft antitrust case, Mr. Wyden's maxim is testable. Thanks to a nearly decade-long interest in the question of Microsoft's market power by both the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice, we have a historical trail of enforcement actions against the maker of MS-DOS and Windows. By examining how the stock prices of various computer companies react to such events, we may actually observe an unbiased forecast—provided by investors playing for their own financial success—of the likely impact of antitrust actions against Microsoft in promoting economic efficiency.

Vested Interest

It is obvious that any sort of antitrust action taken against Microsoft will hurt its shareholders. Thus Microsoft stock-price reactions flag those antitrust actions investors take to be serious threats to Microsoft.

Whether these actions are likely to improve efficiency in computer markets we may glean from the stock-price reactions of other computer companies. They have a vested interest in seeing Microsoft behave more competitively. Such an outcome would lower the cost of software while expanding the size of the market for companies producing complementary products such as chips and peripherals. Moreover, it would clear the path for rival software firms to compete successfully with Microsoft. These companies are now supposedly constrained by Microsoft's exclusionary tactics. Alan C. Ashton, president of WordPerfect, told The Wall Street Journal in 1992: "Microsoft's sway over operating systems and applications puts everyone else in the industry at a disadvantage.

They are a threat to everybody in the industry."

To gauge how investors reacted to announcements of federal antitrust action against Microsoft, we identified all articles breaking news on this subject in the Journal from 1991 through 1997 (54 in all). During this period the FTC investigated

"negative," and "ambiguous" news categories. (A positive story was one that would tend to help Microsoft, by announcing a withdrawal of enforcement action—say, the circuit court overruling Judge Sporkin.) If investors expect antitrust intervention to increase competition, then the returns to Microsoft shareholders (sub-

The movement of the market on May 18, when the Justice Department announced its latest action against Microsoft, appears to fit the pattern we found.

Microsoft for monopoly abuses, but deadlocked on seeking prosecution of the company in 1993, whereupon the Department of Justice quickly intervened with a new investigation of its own. That process created a 1994 consent decree concerning Microsoft's marketing—which Judge Stanley Sporkin in 1995 tossed out as insufficiently strict. Later that year, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit overruled Judge Sporkin and reinstated the consent decree, which has been in force since. In October 1997, the Justice Department alleged that Microsoft has violated the decree, a claim that is still being litigated.

Here's how we measured the effects these events had on stock prices: Around the dates of these events—specifically, a three-day window beginning on the trading day prior to the appearance of the article—we examined the abnormal stock returns experienced by Microsoft itself and by a broad index of 159 computer companies. (We included every hardware and software firm listed in Hoover's Guide to Computer Companies that was publicly listed and operated primarily in the computer sector, excluding Microsoft, weighted each firm equally in each of nine computer industry segments, and then weighted each industry segment equally when estimating aggregate industry returns.)

We divided the events into "positive,"

tracting out marketwide effects) should be negatively correlated with the returns for the rest of the computer sector. When Microsoft takes a negative hit, the computer index should blip up—and vice versa.

The actual results, however, came out strongly the other way. Unsurprisingly, when Microsoft receives good news, its stockholders experience average market-adjusted returns of 2.4% (per each of eight events). But the news is also good for the industry as a whole, which sees average returns of 1.2% over the same dates. (Both returns are significantly greater than zero at standard levels of statistical inference.)

During negative event windows (29 in total), Microsoft stockholders incur average returns of minus 1.2% per event, while the non-Microsoft computer portfolio declines 0.6%. (Again, both are statistically significant.)

The returns for a few companies—including Netscape, which is leading the charge for the recent antitrust enforcement actions—do exhibit some positive reaction during antitrust event windows, thus helping to explain why such companies would lobby for sanctions. Yet the overall conclusion is inescapable: As goes Microsoft, so goes the computer industry.

The movement of the market this Monday, when the Justice Department announced its latest action against Mi-

crosoft, appears to fit the pattern we found. Microsoft stock declined 3.8%. Compaq—Microsoft's biggest customer—saw its share price drop 3.5%, while both Intel and the Nasdaq computer sector index were down 1.2%.

The evidence strongly suggests that Wall Street does not see federal antitrust action against Microsoft as a solution to whatever monopoly power it may possess. Customers want operating system software that works, and upgraded software that works better—sooner rather than later. The rest of the industry prospers when consumers are able to plug their products into friendlier, more functional computers. Disrupting the release of new Microsoft products due to legal action can upset the entire sector. It is significant that the Justice Department's antitrust actions increased the uncertainty surrounding the introduction of both Windows 95 and Windows 98, unsettling large segments of the computer industry.

Intimidating Shadow?

The recent letter sent to the Justice Department by 26 computer company CEOs—including the leaders of Intel, Compaq, Hewlett-Packard, Dell and CompuUSA—should give the antitrust enforcers pause. The companies whose names appear on that letter stand to benefit monetarily from actions that would make operating system software better, cheaper, more reliable, more open to innovation and easier to use. The techie trade press has derided these executives for lining up behind Microsoft as evidence of Microsoft's long, intimidating shadow.

But investors in global capital markets stand in broad daylight. Their verdict is compelling because they are fearlessly independent wealth maximizers, and they have—over seven years—also lined up solidly behind Microsoft and against federal regulators. The smart money is shorting the government's case that antitrust enforcement will promote competition and enhance consumer welfare.

Messrs. Hazlett and Bittlingmayer are economists at the University of California, Davis.



Fewer Minorities Entering U. of California

By ETHAN BRONNER

LOS ANGELES, May 20 — Far fewer black and Hispanic students will enroll as freshmen at the University of California's most competitive campuses this fall, although their numbers will drop only slightly throughout the state system and some campuses will have an increase, officials said today.

The freshman class of 1998 is the first to be admitted since California banned consideration of race in college admissions in 1996. The release of the figures today follows by seven weeks an announcement that minority applications at the campuses at Berkeley and Los Angeles, the university's top two branches, had significantly declined.

University officials said today that they were heartened that the drop at the two campuses had not been steeper, but they expressed concerns that the numbers foreshadowed a racially divided system.

"The real danger — our biggest concern — is that the University of California system will become a segregated system," Theodore R. Mitchell, vice chancellor of U.C.L.A., said today in an interview. "If this trend continues over the next five or six years, the diversity on this campus will be seriously compromised and, with it, our greatness."

Ward Connerly, the University of California regent who co-sponsored the anti-affirmative-action ballot measure that California voters approved in 1996, said the increase at some campuses and the decrease at others was nothing more than a redistribution and proved that minority students had not rejected the University of California system as some had speculated in recent weeks.

As for the small number of black and Hispanic students at the most competitive campuses, Mr. Connerly said, "I tell people, 'You don't like those numbers. Well, I don't like those numbers either.' But to solve the problem you have to deal with the problems in kindergarten through 12th grade. Don't blame the university."

According to data released today, overall representation of non-Asian minorities in the freshman class at Berkeley, now the nation's most selective public university, will be 10.54 percent, compared with 21.92 percent last year. The class will include 98 blacks, far fewer than the 260 black freshmen in fall 1997.

At the University of California at Los Angeles, non-Asian minority groups will make up 14.1 percent of the class compared with 21.8 percent last year. Of them, 131 will be black, compared with 219 blacks last fall.

The numbers, a reflection of which students have signed up to attend in the fall, follow admission data released by the campuses in early April.

Across the university's eight campuses, minority representation of non-Asians will be down 2.4 percentage points from 17.6 percent in 1997 to 15.2 percent for fall 1998 because less prestigious campuses like those at Riverside, Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz increased the numbers of black and Hispanic students accepted. Officials emphasized that students at those campuses got an excellent undergraduate education, in some cases receiving more individual attention than at the flagship campuses.

The overall makeup of the student body at University of California campuses reflects the burgeoning presence of non-whites in the state. For fall 1998, Asian-Americans make up 35.4 percent of students who plan to enroll, those classified as "whites and others" 35.3 percent, Chicanos 8.7 percent, Latinos 2.9 percent, African-Americans 2.8 percent and American Indians 0.7 percent.

Those declining to state their ethnicity make up 14.1 percent, a huge increase over previous years. Officials say they are nearly all whites and Asians.

Robert M. Berdahl, Berkeley's chancellor, said in an interview that the numbers for blacks and Hispanic freshmen were "grim" and added, "It isn't easy to put a positive light on this."

But Mr. Berdahl and others said their worst fears had not been realized. Instead, of the small numbers of minority students admitted, a sizable segment are in fact choosing to attend.

After the university announced its low admission figures for minorities in April, there was much talk about whether those blacks and Hispanic students admitted would enroll or would go elsewhere because they had more desirable offers or because of concerns that Berkeley and U.C.L.A. were now seen as hostile environments for them.

So officials at both campuses began intensive minority recruitment drives. The chancellors held recep-

University officials voice fear of a racially divided California system.

tions for those admitted and called many students personally to urge them to attend. At U.C.L.A., more than 200 new scholarships based on a combination of need and merit were also offered to students — not limited to minorities but including them.

Those efforts were somewhat successful. The percent of black students accepted at Berkeley and U.C.L.A. who have chosen to attend — the so-called yield — is up slightly over previous years, at Berkeley to 42.3 percent from 41.6 percent and at U.C.L.A. to 44.3 percent from 40.6 percent.

Richard C. Atkinson, president of the University of California system, said in a statement, "We are proud that efforts to encourage students to enroll at one of our campuses have helped maintain diversity in the university and hope for greater success in the years ahead."

Despite such efforts, some students said they had chosen not to attend because of the change in admissions procedures as a result of the 1996 ballot initiative known as Proposition 209, which barred the consideration of race, ethnicity or sex in public employment, contracting and admissions to public colleges and universities in California.

Aaliyah Richmond, 17, a senior at Bishop O'Dowd High School, a pri-

vate Roman Catholic school in Oakland, said that despite being accepted at Berkeley, she would attend the University of Pennsylvania.

"O.K., they don't want me, I don't want to go there," Ms. Richmond said. "Their commitment to affirmative action is not there. I feel my enrollment at Berkeley would have been totally politicized whereas at Penn, I'm just another freshman."

On the other hand, her classmate, Aden Allen, 17, who was also admitted to Berkeley, said he had chosen to go to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology not for political but for academic reasons — he thought the engineering department was better. But Mr. Allen acknowledged that when he thought about the small number of blacks that would be in his Berkeley class, he was concerned.

"I didn't think it would be that diverse or that inclusive," said Mr. Allen, who is the kind of minority student that colleges fight over because he has a grade point average above 4.0 and a combined S.A.T. score of 1380 out of 1600. "But I don't think that's what made my decision."

Proposition 209 was sponsored by people who believed that affirmative action or preferences in hiring and admissions for so-called underrepresented minorities — Asian-Americans are included in that group in California — discriminated against whites and brought down state standards in employment and education.

But how to make sure such minorities gain access to good jobs and university spots — an expressed goal of both sides in that debate — has not been determined.

Elsewhere, there are similar concerns. In Texas, for example, a Federal court barred state universities from considering race or sex in admissions in the Hopwood case. The state Legislature responded by requiring that the top 10 percent of all high school seniors be admitted to the University of Texas system.

Data were released today for Texas, showing a slight increase in the number of black and Hispanic students slated to be in the fall 1998 freshman class of the University of Texas, although the figure is lower than the percent before the Hopwood decision.

The new figures show that 11 more blacks and 51 more Hispanic freshmen will attend the university than in fall 1997. In total, 174 blacks, or about 3 percent of the total, and 858 Hispanic students, about 14 percent, will be part of the freshman class.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1998

Microsoft Suit's Earliest Result: Surge of Buyers

By STEVE LOHR

The Government's sweeping antitrust suit against the Microsoft Corporation is already having an impact in the marketplace, though an unintended one.

Computer stores that are offering promotions allowing shoppers to reserve or buy Microsoft's next-generation operating system, Windows 98, before it goes on sale on June 25 are reporting a surprisingly strong surge of orders.

"The Government has created more demand for Windows 98 than could have ever been generated by a marketing program," said Lawrence N. Mondry, an executive vice president of CompUSA Inc., the nation's largest chain of computer stores with yearly sales of more than \$5 billion.

Nathan Morton, chief executive of Computer City, another large chain of computer stores and a unit of the Tandy Corporation, observed that advance sales of Windows 98 have "vastly exceeded" the company's expectations.

Microsoft and its new operating system have certainly been in the spotlight lately. First, concerns emerged a few weeks ago that the Government and several states might try to block shipment of Windows 98. That option was discarded, but on Monday the Justice Department and 20 states filed suits against Microsoft charging it with unfairly using its market power to maintain its monopoly in personal computer operating systems and trying to extend its monopoly into the new markets of Internet software and commerce.

The landmark suit has been front-page news everywhere and the subject of endless debates on television and radio talk shows. In the antitrust case, Windows 98 was a central character. The Government is asking a Federal judge for a preliminary injunction that would require Microsoft to allow personal computer makers to modify Windows 98 and force the company to either ship Windows 98 without its software for browsing the Internet or load a rival browser from the Netscape Communications Corporation on Windows 98.

All the newspaper mentions of Windows 98 and all the television images showing it

Continued From First Business Page

are, in marketing language, "impressions" — potentially valuable imprints on consumers' minds.

"All the cumulative impressions in the last few days could add up to a marketing windfall for Microsoft," noted John Quelch, a professor at the Harvard Business School.

Inside the nation's big computer retailing companies, executives say, there has been half-joking talk of sending thank-you letters to Joel I. Klein, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's antitrust division. Irreverent advertising slogans have become a mainstay of office humor. "This is

the product the Government doesn't want you to have."

Yet the antitrust case against Microsoft could hurt computer retailers, depending on court decisions and Microsoft's response. Supplies of Windows 98, analysts say, could be disrupted if Microsoft loses in court and is forced to modify its product.

The Government insists that the remedies it is asking for could be done almost overnight by Microsoft. And though Windows 98 was shipped to PC makers on Monday, so they can install the program on machines that reach customers in June, the Justice Department says that if it wins in court, it will not ask for a product recall of computers already

equipped with Windows 98.

But industry analysts say the logistical problems of trying to comply with a court order, or footdragging by Microsoft, could result in short supplies of Windows 98. "There is a potential for empty store shelves and that would be a deep problem for retailers, much more than for Microsoft," said Seymour Merrin, president of Merrin Information Services, a consultant in Palo Alto, Calif.

The advance-sales effort for retailers, dubbed "Windows 98 Coming Soon," was designed by Microsoft. Rob Bennett, a group product manager for Windows 98, says the program is intended to "help retailers realize some revenue now and build the hype."

It is also a marketing tactic that suits Microsoft's public relations campaign in its confrontation with the Government. "If the company can fan up a lot of early demand for Windows 98, Microsoft can argue it has the popular mandate of the consuming public — and back off Justice," said Chris LeTocq, an analyst at Dataquest, a research firm.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1998

Bosses' Words Irk Journalists

Newspaper Executives' Comments Seen as Disparaging Women

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

The newsrooms of the nation's two largest dailies are in a minor uproar over their executives' remarks about women.

Joyce Purnick, metropolitan editor of the New York Times, delivered what some mothers on her staff took as an insult: "There is no way in an all-consuming profession like journalism that a woman with children can devote as much time and energy as a man can."

And Mark Willes, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, set off alarms by declaring that women readers are drawn to stories that are emotional, not analytical. Willes also said he intends to set specific goals for the number of women and minorities quoted in news stories.

Negative reaction was swift. Purnick, who received a number of angry e-mail messages, convened a staff meeting with three dozen employees yesterday. Willes met with more than 200 staffers

At yesterday's meeting, one woman asked: "Do you actually think that because we're mothers we contribute less?"

"You contribute differently," Purnick replied.

"I don't think she succeeded in quieting people's concerns that she views mothers and fathers through the prism of parenthood and doesn't like having to accommodate us," one staffer said afterward.

Purnick said in an interview that the Barnard speech was "largely personal" about "my regret at not having a family." She said she "might have touched a raw nerve," and that the one line she regrets was about women working four days a week.

"It is still true in society that women bear the brunt of responsibility for raising children, and you have to factor that in," Purnick said. She said both mothers and fathers often seek flexible schedules or turn down demanding jobs, and while that doesn't mean they should limit their career goals, such family decisions "have consequences."

"I guess I'm not much of a politician," Purnick said.

Willes, who is also chief executive of Times Mirror Co., told his

staff he was sorry if he had offended anyone. But he stood by the comments he made in a Wall Street Journal interview.

Pointing to a heart-rending series on children of drug addicts, Willes said the paper's polling showed twice as many women liked the stories because of their emotional punch.

"It's like he threw a stink bomb in the room," said Bob Baker, the paper's assistant metro editor. One female staffer called the idea "offensive." Metro reporter Jim Newton said that "a fairly large number of women in this place are pretty miffed."

Willes further riled the audience by saying that men, having different interests, are far less likely to know the names of their children's teachers.

The staff was equally upset over Willes' plan to tie the compensation of senior editors to their staffs' progress in quoting more women and minorities. "People want to feel like the paper's theirs," he told the Journal. "They can't do that if it's a fundamentally white-male newspaper." At the staff meeting, Willes stressed the importance of diversifying coverage of the Los Angeles area.

One reporter countered that most of the California gubernatorial campaigns are run by white men, who invariably must be quoted. Newton told Willes that if an editor asked him to add a quote from a woman or minority to a finished story, "I would tell that editor to go to hell."

Baker, in an interview, called Willes' plan "a manipulative, market-driven sales approach to journalism. ... We spend our whole lives denying we write stories a certain way to sell papers, and now we're being asked to play that card to appeal to people's most superficial qualities, their race or gender." While he has admired the freshness of Willes' approach, Baker said, "he can play moral leader or businessman, but those two things shouldn't mix."

Some papers that once imposed quota systems for minority representation in articles, such as USA Today, have dropped them as impractical. But Times Managing Editor Leo Wolinsky said the Willes edict has been misconstrued. "There is no plan I know of that would have us go by numbers, or say you have to have so many quotes from so many

people," he said.

Newton agreed that the Times shouldn't simply "rely on the same old white guys," but added: "I'm writing about airport expansion. If I quote more blacks and Latinos in those stories, there's an assumption that blacks and Latinos will be more interested in reading that

story. ... It's patronizing and insulting."

The diversification plan "has been the object of a lot of ridicule in the newsroom," he said. "Do we ask sources about their ethnicity when we interview them? Do we identify sources by ethnicity in order to make the count?"

See WOMEN, C3, Col. 3

WOMEN, From C1

Tuesday.

Purnick, the first woman to run the New York Times metro staff, made her remarks in a commencement address Tuesday at Barnard College. Purnick said she "forfeited" the chance to have kids—she married former Times executive editor Max Frankel in her forties—and that was the key to her success.

"If I had left the Times to have children, and then come back to work a four-day week the way some women reporters on my staff now do, or if I had taken long vacations and leaves to be with my family, or left the office at 6 o'clock instead of 8 or 9—I wouldn't be the metro editor," she said.

With rare exceptions, Purnick said, "women who have children get off the track and lose ground." Citing one woman who turned down a top job "because she didn't want to be away from her young children for so long," she said: "Should women and men who have taken the detour of the mommy/daddy track be as far along as those who haven't? Would that be fair? I reluctantly have to say that it would not be fair."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1998

tions, housing ordinances and other discriminatory practices. In 1919 the NAACP lobbied for anti-lynching laws. During the New Deal, the group was a vocal reminder to the government to include minorities in social programs and it decried segregation in the armed forces during World War II. The NAACP fought for school desegregation and the passage of the civil rights acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Fair Housing Rights Act of 1968.

The list of accomplishments trails off in the 1970s and 1980s. Again there are parallels between the lives of the NAACP and Julian Bond.

"I can't imagine where this country would be without the NAACP," says association board member Joe Madison. "The strength of the NAACP has always been its impact on public policy."

Earlier this decade, the group hit turbulent waters. Executive Director Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. was accused of sexual harassment and financial mismanagement in 1994 and was sacked. Hazel Dukes of New York was removed from the board of directors after admitting that she bilked \$13,000 from a leukemia-stricken associate.

In 1995, Myrlie Evers-Williams was elected chairman of the board. Together with President and Chief Executive Officer Mfume, Evers-Williams helped rectify the group's financial woes and return some luster to the legacy.

The health of the organization is definitely improving, says Paul Ruffins, former editor of the *Crisis* magazine, "given that the patient was in cardiac arrest." When Evers-Williams retired, Bond became chairman. In a close race, he beat several contenders, including Joe Madison.

"If I had to lose to anybody," says Madison, who hosts a Washington radio talk show, "I'm glad it was to Julian. He brings a lot of experience as a legislator. He understands public policy and he brings a name—nationally and internationally. That opens doors. He has a good name."

"I will be able to sleep well at night knowing Julian Bond is chairman of the NAACP," Evers-Williams said in a statement.

These days Bond's stump speech is a vociferous defense of the NAACP. He usually begins with this story: When Bond was a student, he and Martin Luther King Jr. were walking across the Morehouse campus. It was a beautiful day. Bond asked King how things were going. King said he wasn't feeling good about a lot of things. There was too much crime, too much unemployment, too much racism. "I have a nightmare," King said. "No, Doc," I said, "turn it around: I have a dream."

Is the joke funny? Poignant? True? Ironic?

Bond continues, in his mellifluous radio voice, outlining the NAACP agenda. Favoring affirmative action, railing against school vouchers, supporting full funding for the civil rights wings of federal agencies, registering and educating voters—Bond has a whole list of actions he wants the organization to take.

As chairman of the NAACP, his message carries weight. "People pay more attention to what I say," he says. "And I think I say what they need to hear."

For the first time, Bond will be called on to work within a large organization, as the high point in a hierarchy. "He's never been an institutional man," says Roger Wilkins. "He's never had to deal with internal politics."

As one of his first official steps, Bond appointed James Ghee, a disbarred lawyer and convicted embezzler from Virginia, to several high-powered NAACP committees. The move outraged some members. Ghee's notoriety, Madison says, could have a chilling effect on the group's positive direction. "I think Ghee's appointment was a mistake," he says.

"Ghee was reappointed to these positions," counters Bond. He points out that the board, with no dissenting votes, ratified Ghee's appointment in February. "I have confidence in him. I believe in second chances. He's paid his price. He's served his time."

For the new chairman of the prestigious civil rights organization the biggest challenge, oddly enough, may be convincing young people that the NAACP is still relevant.

It's virtually impossible to tell

kids about the racism and discrimination the NAACP faced over the years, Bond says. "They say, 'Gee, I never would have put up with that.'"

When asked how he plans to attract young people to the organization, he says, "We have more youth members than any other secular organization, including 350 high school and college chapters."

"The truth is, we have never had enough youth or adult members. We still don't today," he says. "The current level of membership generally is too low."

The NAACP, Bond says, "needs to become a visible presence in the lives of young people, to meet them where they are. We've got to find some way to speak to the kids who aren't in college—as well as those who are."

At the same time, Bond says, "we need to move into the 20th century"—he pauses to let the irony sink in—with more fax machines and computers "to be better able to mobilize our grass roots member-

ship."

He says, "People look at us and they see Mr. Mfume or they see me. He and I are not the NAACP. It's the volunteer president in Anytown, Kansas, who has a job and family and still, on evenings and weekends, does NAACP work. In that place the NAACP is probably a phone in a church basement. We've got to make sure he's got a fax machine. We've got to be sure we can be in instant communications with him, or more likely, her."

That way, Bond says, "when a member of Congress needs to be reminded to do the right thing, he can hear from us in a moment."

There are still hurdles.

"I have students who wouldn't think of joining an organization with the words 'colored people' in

it," says one of Bond's U-Va. colleagues.

Tomika Anderson, 21, is president of U-Va.'s Black Student Alliance. "In school," Anderson says, "I learned that the NAACP was a bourgeois organization. It has appealed historically to upper-class and middle-class blacks. I don't necessarily believe that, but I can see how it has shaped opinions. That is a reason why black students don't see a need to join the black NAACP."

Often the same question comes up: Why would Bond attach himself to the NAACP? He answers, "I've been a member since I was in high school. All the other organizations of my youth have vanished. This organization is a survivor."

Funereal Music

After the bookstore reception, Julian Bond and his second wife,

Pam Horowitz, stop for dinner at the College Inn. In the cafe, Bond looks healthy. He is not gaunt anymore. His skin is bothering him. He suffers from psoriasis, but he's found an anticancer drug, methotrexate, which seems to be helping. Because of the possible side effects of this treatment, he goes in for a biopsy every three years.

On this the eve of his biopsy, he laughs a lot and teases Horowitz about watching the Weather Channel. Bond comments on the night and how nice everyone had been.

He says it was eerie to hear the music of the SNCC Freedom Singers. It was even weirder, he says, to hear the voice of Cordell Reagon, who had promised to sing at Bond's funeral.

In 1996, Reagon was killed at his apartment in Berkeley.

"I sang at his funeral instead," Bond says.

Highway bill gives veterans tradeoff

Plan kills smoking-disability funds for education benefits

By John Godfrey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Veterans would see \$1.6 billion in expanded education benefits over the next five years in return for an elimination of their disability payments for smoking-related illnesses, according to House and Senate aides.

The \$1.6 billion would pay for about a 25 percent increase in G.I. Bill benefits, bringing the average monthly benefit from about \$450 to \$550.

The changes will be wrapped into a massive highway and mass transit bill.

"That's wonderful," said Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico Republican. A deal reached last week by House and Senate Republican leaders and transportation bill negotiators would have killed the disability payments, but returned nothing to veterans.

Ironically, many of those who negotiated both deals joined the 422 members of the House who voted unanimously late yesterday to instruct transportation bill ne-

gotiators not to eliminate the disability payments.

A Republican leadership aide said the vote was "crocodile tears." The aide noted that the proposal was first made in President Clinton's 1999 budget and said the transportation bill and the veterans provision it includes will pass the House and Senate by week's end.

Rep. Bob Stump of Arizona warned fellow Republicans at a GOP conference yesterday morning that even with the extra money for education benefits, veterans will be displeased by the repeal of disability payments.

The disability payments are based upon the logic that service members who became addicted to tobacco during their service should be compensated for tobacco-related diseases if they stayed addicted after they retired. Veterans groups say that argument is bolstered by the fact that the military has supplied cigarettes free or at reduced prices for years.

Few veterans actually claim the benefit today, but the number of veterans who could is enormous,

according to the Veterans Affairs Department and the Office of Management and Budget.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, if Congress does not act, the VA will pay out \$10 billion for smoking-related disability in the next five years.

Mr. Stump, who chairs the House Veterans Affairs Committee, said he agrees with the Clinton administration that the benefit was never intended and should be cut off. However, any money saved, he says, should be returned to veterans.

Transportation bill negotiators say they need to cut the benefits to offset the cost of added spending for their bill. The transportation bill would spend from \$17 billion to \$18 billion more than was agreed to in the 1997 budget agreement, according to a Senate Budget Committee aide.

To avoid cutting other programs, negotiators, congressional Republican leaders and the White House also agreed to say that killing the veterans program would save \$17 billion — not the \$10 billion estimated by CBO.

Minorities find a place at the bar

Law students pass exams at better-than-predicted rates

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Four out of five minority law school graduates pass the bar exam and become lawyers, although minority pass rates are markedly lower than those for white students, a six-year national study found.

The odds of minorities passing the bar exam improve dramatically, however, if they go a top tier law school. These schools — largely private, pricey and highly selective — enroll students who have the highest undergraduate grades and law school admissions test scores.

Black students in these schools, for example, had a passing rate of 93.94 percent on the bar exam, compared with 69.51 percent for black students at low-rated schools.

More than 160 law schools from across the country participated in the study conducted by the Law School Admission Council, which tracked more than 27,000 students entering American law schools in 1991.

Results of the study, which found that law school grades and scores on the law school admissions test were the strongest predictors of success on the bar exam, bolstered supporters of affirmative action.

"There were all kinds of assertions, incidental anecdotes and wild guesses about the percentage of minority students who ultimately passed the bar — some as

PASSING THE BAR

Within nine months of completing law school, a majority of minority students pass the bar exam and gain entrance to the legal profession. According to a six-year study, the passage rates are:

All students:	94.8%
All minority students:	81.0
White students:	96.7
Asian students:	91.9
Hispanic students:	89.0
Mexican-American students:	88.4
Puerto Rican students:	79.7
American Indian students:	82.2
Black students:	77.6
Other students*:	91.5

*Mixed or declined to identify.

Source: Law School Admission Council
The Washington Times

low as 20 [percent] or 25 percent," said Henry Ramsey Jr., a retired California state judge and former dean of Howard University School of Law who served on the committee that oversaw the study.

"This study strongly refutes the myth that affirmative action policies tend to set students up for failure on the bar exam," Mr. Ramsey said. "Today we have the most credible evidence yet available ... that the great majority of these students succeed."

Eventual passage rate for all

students in the study was 94.8 percent. The passage rate for white students was 96.7 percent; Asian-Americans, 91.9; Hispanics, 89; Mexican-Americans, 88.4; Puerto Ricans, 79.7; American Indians, 82.2; and blacks, 77.6.

The study divided the law schools into six groups based on admissions selectivity and tuition. While the bar passage rate within each group of schools closely paralleled the ethnic pass rate for all schools, there were significant differences in the pass rates of so-called "first tier" law schools and the less selective ones.

The pass rate for students in the top schools was 98.09 percent, while the pass rate dropped to 78.17 for the bottom tier schools. The rigor of the program appeared to affect minority students more than white students. There was a 10-point difference in the pass rate of white students attending top schools and those at bottom tier schools. For minorities, the gap ranged as high as 30 points.

The study also found that many black students who took the bar exam and didn't pass never returned to take the exam again.

"If these African-American graduates had been as persistent as other test takers, their overall bar passage rate should have increased dramatically," said David Hill, a University of Colorado law professor who chaired the council study committee.

The study revealed no clear link between economic status and bar passage rates.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1998

Armey vows not to be pushed into quick vote on IMF funding

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

With the violence in Indonesia threatening to spark a wider crisis, some lawmakers are pushing for quick approval of funding for the International Monetary Fund, House Majority Leader Dick Armey said yesterday.

"There are some strong advocates for giving them the money now instead of raising all these troubling questions," said the Texas Republican, a chief critic of the fund. He spoke of the prospects for the administration's \$18 billion funding request for the IMF at a Cato Institute forum.

A House vote on the funding is "inevitable" this summer as part of a bill funding foreign operations, he said, adding that he will not allow the House to be rushed into action. The Senate already has approved the IMF funding.

"I feel someone is trying to stampede me," he said. "There's this alleged urgent need to do something now lest there be a catastrophe."

His comments came as Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin repeated warnings that the Asian financial crisis, which was reignited in the past week by a spate of violence in Indonesia, poses a risk of spreading. The IMF, with

\$114 billion of loan commitments in Asia, is largely unprepared to handle a wider crisis.

"The concern we have always had is that if these countries don't recover, this could spread to other countries and what is a minor problem for our country could become a severe problem," Mr. Rubin said in an NBC interview.

Currency and stock markets throughout Asia have tumbled amid news of Indonesia's renewed slump into economic chaos. The reverberations have been felt as far away as Russia, where a speculative attack on the ruble and a 12 percent drop in the stock market Monday forced the government to

raise interest rates to 50 percent.

An expansion of the IMF's bailout program into Russia and possibly even China would make its \$43 billion loan program for Indonesia "look like peanuts," said Charles W. Calomiris, a Columbia University professor at the Cato forum.

He said Congress should refuse to go along with any IMF expansion.

Mr. Armey said he opposes such an expansion and views the IMF as "a rogue agency" that looks for ways to expand. But he added: "Of course, we want stability in world markets. We do not want a catastrophe like the one we have seen in Indonesia."

Mr. Armey said the renewed troubles in Indonesia are a good example of why Congress should take a long, hard look at the role of the IMF and its request for expanded funding.

"You can't say all the troubles in Indonesia were the fault of the IMF," he said. "The fundamental problem in Indonesia is a corrupt dictator. ... But there's no evidence they were helpful in Indonesia, and there's some evidence they did in fact make things worse."

In attaching conditions to the IMF's funding request, the House will confine itself to requiring more public disclosure by the IMF of how it uses its funds and the

results of its actions. That will allow Congress to better judge situations like Indonesia, Mr. Armey said.

"This is a big deal," he said. "It is not enough for [IMF] documents to be given over to committees and not made publicly available. People should have the opportunity to see and analyze these documents."

While Mr. Armey appeared to be calling for more vigorous disclosure than the IMF and Treasury are willing to provide, he also appeared to be backing away from statements made earlier by GOP leaders that they would impose even tougher conditions on the IMF.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1998

Minorities Achieve High Success Rate in Bar Exams, Study Says

By TAMAR LEWIN

In findings that are likely to provide important support for advocates of affirmative action, a six-year study by the Law School Admission Council has found that 61 percent of African-American law school graduates passed the bar exam on their first try, and 78 percent had done so after repeated efforts.

Their success rate — like those of Asian-Americans and American Indians, as well as Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic law school graduates — was substantially lower than the 92 percent for white graduates taking the bar exam the first time. But the differences were far less extreme than some critics of affirmative action have asserted, according to the study, which was made public today by the council, an organization in Newtown, Pa., that administers the Law School Admission Test, or L.S.A.T.

The question of whether African-American and Hispanic students with relatively low grades and L.S.A.T. scores should be given preference for competitive slots in the nation's law schools has become a focal point of the debate over affirmative action programs that most law schools put into place in the early 1970's.

"This study strongly refutes the myth that affirmative action policies

White students score higher, although the differences are not that extreme.

tend to set students up for failure on the bar exam," said Henry Ramsey Jr., a retired California state judge who is on the committee that oversaw the study. "When we started this study, some people were questioning whether minorities who were encouraged to enter law school were being sent on a fool's errand. There were all kinds of assertions, incidental anecdotes and wild guesses about the percentage of minority students who ultimately passed the bar — some as low as 20 or 25 percent."

The new study, tracking more than 27,000 students who entered law schools in the United States in 1991, also found that among law graduates who failed the bar exam on their first try, whites were more likely than blacks to retake the test — a "persistence gap" that offers a partial explanation for why the white bar-admission rate is higher.

"If these African-American graduates had been as persistent as other test takers, their overall bar passage rate should have increased dramatically," said David Hill, a University of Colorado law professor who head-

ed the admission council's study committee. "Why some students don't come back to take the test again, while others do, is an area for future inquiry."

The study found that 92 percent of the white law school graduates passed the bar exam on their first try, as did 81 percent of the Asian-Americans, 76 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 75 percent of the Hispanic graduates, 70 percent of the Puerto Ricans, 66 percent of the American Indians and 61 percent of the blacks.

Eventually, after repeated efforts, 97 percent of the white law graduates had passed, as had 92 percent of the Asian-Americans, 89 percent of the Hispanic graduates, 88 percent of the Mexicans, 82 percent of the American Indians, 80 percent of the Puerto Ricans and 78 percent of the blacks.

For every racial and ethnic group, the study found, law school grades and L.S.A.T. scores were the strongest predictors of passing the bar exam. And men's and women's passage rates were similar within every racial and ethnic group.

9 Awarded Knight-Bagehot Fellowships

The Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism has chosen nine Knight-Bagehot fellows in economics and business journalism for the 1998-99 academic year.

The mid-career fellowships provide a \$25,000 stipend and full tuition for graduate courses at Columbia's Schools of Business, Law and International and Public Affairs.

The recipients are:

Julia Angwin, a technology reporter for The San Francisco Chronicle.
Charles J. Butler, editor in chief of Sales and Marketing Management, a monthly business magazine for corporate sales and marketing execu-

tives.

John J. Doran, editor-in-charge of the municipal bond desk of Reuters America.

Shirleen Holt, managing editor of Oregon Business, a monthly magazine in Portland.

Vincent Chikwendu Nwanma, business editor of The Financial Post, a new periodical in Accra, Ghana.

Donna Marie Rosato, business travel reporter for USA Today.

Scott Savitt, publisher and editor of Beijing Scene, an independent English-language newspaper published in China.

Donna Shaw-Bielski, a reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer.

Terry Williams, senior reporter for Pensions and Investments, a publication of Crain Communications

SUPPORT THE FRESH AIR FUND

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1998
The New York Times

Treasuries Dip on Fed Inaction

By ROBERT HURTADO

Treasury prices ended slightly lower yesterday after the Federal Reserve, as expected, left interest rates unchanged.

The price of the 30-year Treasury bond fell $\frac{1}{32}$, to 102 $\frac{22}{32}$. The bond's yield, which moves in the opposite direction from the price, edged up to 5.93 percent, from 5.92 percent on Monday. There was little reaction to the Fed's announcement at 2:15 P.M.

Until last month, many bond market participants were confident that the central bank would not move to raise short-term interest rates anytime soon. But that changed, and there is now some anxiety looking ahead to the the next meeting of Fed policy makers, the Federal Open Market Committee, in July.

"With signs of a slowing economy increasing, inflation still calm, the dollar still strong and Asia still in turmoil, the Fed decided to wait until its next powwow to see if an economic slackening actually materializes

and thus provides the rationale to continue to adhere to a 5.5 percent Federal funds rate," said Donald Fine, the chief market analyst for Chase Asset Management.

However, he said, "in the absence of a significant moderation in business activity, many on the F.O.M.C. will want to be pre-emptive and tighten at the July 1 meeting because of fears that the extremely low rate of unemployment will exacerbate already budding wage pressures and lead directly to increasing inflationary tendencies in the overall economy."

Mr. Fine also said economic statistics over the next six weeks would be crucial to the Fed and would therefore come under intense scrutiny by bond investors.

The Government released its April housing starts report yesterday and reaffirmed what the market already knows, that the housing industry remained strong. Consequently, the housing report had little effect on the market.

Few analysts expect the market to move sharply this week. With a long Memorial Day holiday weekend looming, it is not likely that bondholders will make any large moves or make commitments.

Key Rates

Percent	Yesterday	Day Ago	Year Ago
Prime rate	8.50	8.50	8.50
Discount rate	5.00	5.00	5.00
Federal funds	5.44	5.52	5.51
3-month T-bills	5.06	5.08	5.06
6-month T-bills	5.14	5.16	5.25
10-yr. T-infl.	3.76	3.76	3.57
10-yr. T-note	5.65	5.64	6.67
30-yr. T-bond	5.93	5.92	6.90
Telephone bd.	7.14	7.12	7.96
Municipal bds.	5.26	5.26	5.75

Sources: Salomon Smith Barney, Dow Jones Markets, The Bond Buyer

Big Board Seat Price Dips

By Bloomberg News

A seat on the New York Stock Exchange sold for \$1.4 million, down from the most recent sale of \$1.6 million on April 3. The most an investor is willing to pay for a seat now is \$1.35 million, and the lowest price at which an owner is willing to sell is \$1.7 million, the exchange said yesterday. A seat gives the holder the right to trade stocks and vote at exchange meetings. One of the 1,366 seats last sold on March 9 for a record \$2 million.

Criminal Justice Panel Defines Racial Issues

U.S. Board Urged to Study Disparities

By MICHAEL A. FLETCHER
Washington Post Staff Writer

A panel of criminal justice experts urged the president's race advisory board yesterday to examine the racial disparities that permeate the nation's criminal justice system, from black motorists being stopped and searched by police more frequently than whites to the disproportionate number of African American males going to prison.

But in their discussion of the issue, the experts left a crucial question unaddressed: Are the disparities the result of overt racial discrimination, or are they simply the unfortunate result of otherwise fair practices by police, prosecutors and judges?

"I, for one, did not get a complete answer to that question," said John Hope Franklin, chairman of the race advisory board.

And while the topic of race and crime promised to explode some of the nation's most ingrained racial stereotypes, in the end, the session at George Washington University produced little pointed discussion among those participating.

The panelists largely agreed on a range of positions that elsewhere are the subject of passionate debate, from their distaste for mandatory criminal sentences and the disparity in federal penalties for crimes involving crack and powder cocaine, to their feeling that the drop in crime across the country is mostly unrelated to the fact that the prison population has swelled.

In their discussion, panel members said that polling data makes clear that many minorities, particularly blacks and Hispanics, do not trust the criminal justice system.

A 1995 Gallup Poll found that more than half of blacks said the justice system was biased against them. The same poll found that two-thirds of blacks said police racism against blacks is common—a point with which 52 percent of whites agreed.

But while they are distrustful of the criminal justice system, blacks and Hispanics are most likely to come into contact with it, both as victims and perpetrators. Whites generally have the lowest victimization rates, which are exceeded in order by those of Asian Ameri-

cans, Hispanics and blacks. Likewise, said Christopher Stone of the Vera Institute of Justice, the groups with the higher victimization rates also are more likely to commit crimes.

"At core, there is this ambivalence within minority communities that on the one hand they feel threatened with the high rates of crime in their communities, but they also feel victimized by the police," said Christopher Edley, a Harvard Law School professor and a consultant to the race advisory board.

William L. Wilbanks, a criminal justice professor at Florida International University and author of "The Myth of a Racist Criminal Justice System," was one panelist who took issue with the group's prevailing views. He argued at one point that it is legitimate for police to resort to criminal "profiles" that include race when pursuing suspected criminals because it is "efficient" to scrutinize groups who have higher crime rates.

Yesterday's session was the eighth in a series of meetings held by the seven-member advisory board appointed last summer by President Clinton to help him carry out his initiative on race. The panel's final meeting is likely to be held some time in June. Afterward, the board is expected to pass its recommendation on to the White House, which will issue a final report late this year or early next year.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1998

Rivlin Amendment on Fast Track

Measure Sent to Hill Would Let Fed Official Head Control Board

By DAVID A. VISE
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House has sent legislation to Capitol Hill that would clear the way for Alice M. Rivlin to serve as chairman of the D.C. financial control board while continuing to serve as vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, congressional officials said yesterday.

The proposed amendment to the control board law, which would permit Rivlin or any other qualified federal employee to serve on the five-member panel, is on a fast track. As they have on other District matters, White House officials are counting on Rep. Thomas M. Davis III (R-Va.), chairman of the House Government Oversight subcommittee on the District, to get the measure through Congress swiftly.

Davis said yesterday that he is working with House leadership to attach the measure to noncontroversial legislation that Congress will approve as early as this week. That would enable President Clinton to sign the measure into law before he formally nominates Rivlin as control board chairman early next month.

"We all gain with Alice Rivlin," Davis said. "She is an outstanding person for this job, and it would help the city."

The White House has been turned down by a number of D.C. residents who have been approached about serving on the control board. Former D.C. Council members Bill Lightfoot and John Ray, both lawyers in the District, have told Clinton administration officials that they are not interested in serving on the panel, people familiar with the matter said. In addition, Floretta McKenzie, who

runs a Washington-based consulting firm and is former head of D.C. public schools, also declined an invitation to serve as a volunteer on the presidentially appointed board that oversees the city's finances and operations, people familiar with the matter said.

Joyce A. Ladner, the control board member with responsibility for overseeing the city's public schools, declined Rivlin's request to remain on the board and has made it clear that she is not interested in serving another term. In addition, Terrence Golden, who is chairing the effort to build a new convention center in the city and runs Host Marriott Corp., said that the convention center project is taking an enormous amount of time and that he cannot also serve on the control board.

Constance B. Newman, the number two official at the Smithsonian Institution, said she has not decided whether to accept Rivlin's invitation to serve as vice chairman of the control board. Newman, a control board member who many local officials wanted to see named chairman, has been focusing on the city's efforts to improve its troubled personnel and procurement systems.

Lightfoot, who is chairman of D.C. Council member Harold Brazil's mayoral campaign, said he does not want to serve on the control board because of the hefty commitment it requires.

"I left the council to spend more time with my family," Lightfoot said. "The estimate is that the control board is at least 20 hours a week. Given the fact that I have a successful and busy law practice, I would end up, as I did on the council, working late and missing time with my family."

Lightfoot said he also is worried about Congress micro-managing city affairs and second-guessing the control board. "I am wary that those orders and directions from Congress will continue and that at some point in time, I would have refused to obey and would have resigned," he said.

Despite the rejections, White House officials say they are confident that Clinton will have a slate of nominees ready by early next month, when the terms of all five control board members expire.

Even if Congress this week does not pass the amendment affecting Rivlin's appointment, Davis said the president still could appoint Rivlin in early June with the understanding that Congress would act soon to clarify the law.

Rather than amending the Federal Reserve Board statute, the White House wants to amend the law that created the control board in 1995 so that Rivlin and other federal officials can serve on the panel.

The key legal issue involves interpretation of the statute governing the Fed, which says that board members must devote their full time and attention to their Fed duties. Although Rivlin was advised by the Fed's general counsel that she could not volunteer as control board chairman and retain her post as vice chairman of the nation's central bank, Davis said that the Fed statute is subject to competing legal interpretations.

"If you are teaching Sunday school or head of the local YMCA, does that mean you can't serve on the Fed?" Davis said. "What does full time mean? Full time means you are not getting paid to do anything else. If you are the night clerk at 7-Eleven, that would knock you out."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1998

Church arsons are down but haven't been stamped out

By Gary Fields
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Two years after a rash of church arsons drew national attention — and led to new federal and state laws — they continue to decline.

According to a recent report from the National Church Arson Task Force, 47 houses of worship have burned so far this year. That's down 16% from the same period in 1996,



Mackey: Head of churches group

when a total of 297 churches were set afire or bombed nationwide, leading to the creation of the federal task force.

A USA TODAY investigation in 1996 found that racism was a major factor in many of the fires that year. Other factors included insurance fraud and religious hatred.

The task force report shows that although churches remain a target for arsonists today, some characteristics of the fires have changed:

► Ten of the 47 fires reported so far this year, or 21.3%, were at churches with predominantly African-American congregations. That's well below the percentage for 1996, when African-American churches made up 51.2% of all church arsons through May.

► In 1996, 12 Southern states had at least eight church fires. This year, only seven have had any fires at all.

Several factors have contributed to the drop in arsons, says Loretta Worters of the Insurance Information Institute, an industry clearinghouse.

Church arson is now a federal crime, punishable by up to 20 years in prison. And at least 10 states have revised their arson laws to provide for more severe punishment if a church is burned.

Increased awareness about church arsons, Worters says, has resulted in improvements in security. More congregations have added alarms and sprinkler systems. In addition, Worters says, state laws have changed to allow insurance investigators and law enforcement officers to exchange information.

One place where all the changes haven't helped is western Pennsylvania, where eight churches have burned in the past two months. Authorities are still trying to determine whether six of the fires are related. All eight churches had predominantly white congregations.

Two of the eight cases have been closed with arrests. One of the accused was a church custodian, and two boys, ages 13 and 14, were charged in a second fire.

Closure — spiritual and legal — was a key topic last month when dozens of ministers from around the country met in Jackson, Tenn., to talk about rebuilding efforts.

"The greatest concerns now are still where to find the resources to get all the churches rebuilt and the arrest and prosecution of the people responsible," says Terrance Mackey, president and executive director of the National Coalition for Burned Churches.

So far this year there have been arrests in 10 of the 47 cases. That closure rate of 21.3% is slightly above the national average for all arsons. But it is well below the rate of arrests

made in all church fires since Jan. 1, 1995.

Authorities have investigated 600 church arsons since then, solving 204 cases for a 34% closure rate.

James Shanley, one of the directors of the National Association of Fire Investigators, says arsons are inherently difficult for authorities to solve.

"A police officer arrives at a scene and finds a body with a knife in it and blood, that officer knows a

crime has been committed," Shanley says. But, "you walk up to a burned building or a burned-up car, and you don't even know if a crime has been committed."

Jeffrey Roehm, a spokesman for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, says finding a motive is often the best hope for an arson investigator.

The case gets more difficult "when the arsonist strays from the profit motive into ideology or if they

have a psychological or emotional disorder."

The Rev. Daniel Donaldson, pastor of Salem Missionary Baptist Church in Fruitland, Tenn., knows just how difficult that process can be. His church was burned down on New Year's Eve in 1995.

The 123-year-old church, which originally was of wood-frame construction, was rebuilt in brick with the help of hundreds of volunteer laborers, including President Clinton

and Vice President Gore.

But one big question remains: Who burned it?

Donaldson's church was one of four in the Jackson, Tenn., area hit by arsonists. Those fires, along with three others in Greene County, Ala., are the seven that first gained the attention of the media and federal authorities in 1996.

All seven churches have been rebuilt. But none of the crimes has been solved.

Donaldson sometimes wonders whether the arsonist is someone from the area that he passes on the highway. At one point last year, members of his congregation were told by authorities that there might be a suspect.

There wasn't.

Since then, Donaldson has not heard much from investigators. "I'm getting to the point where I'm beginning to think no one will ever be arrested," he says.

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1998

Fed holds steady; forecast is for rate jump

By Rich Miller
USA TODAY

The Federal Reserve held interest rates steady Tuesday, but experts say the odds are growing the central bank will lift them by the end of the year.

While inflation has all but disappeared, price pressures are starting to percolate that could prompt an eventual rate rise by the Fed.

"The odds of at least one move higher in the summer are better than 50-50," says David Jones of Wall Street broker Aubrey G. Lanston & Co.

Experts say the continuing crisis in Asia, particularly the turmoil in Indonesia, likely played a role in the Fed's decision to leave rates alone. A U.S. rate rise would have run the risk of fur-

ther upsetting fragile Asian financial markets. The dollar is already at a nearly seven-year high vs. Japan's currency, at 136.44 yen Tuesday from 136.25 yen Monday.

Anti-inflation hawks at the Fed have been clamoring for higher rates for months, arguing that tighter credit was needed to slow down an economy that was growing too fast for its own good and risked becoming overheated. But Chairman Alan Greenspan has been able to hold them off by maintaining that the economy would slow on its own as Asia's crisis cut into U.S. exports.

So far, though, that hasn't happened. Experts say it now looks like the economy grew at an annualized pace of 5% in the first quarter. The second quarter also has started strongly. The govern-

ment said Tuesday that housing starts fell in April, but only slightly.

In recognition of the risk of higher inflation, experts say the Fed likely decided Tuesday to again tilt future policy in the direction of higher rates. Fed policymakers first adopted such a biased policy directive at a meeting in March.

Anthony Chan, chief economist at Banc One Investment Advisors in Columbus, Ohio, cautions that doesn't mean the Fed will actually raise rates. During Greenspan's nearly 11 years in office, the Fed has only raised rates about 35% of the time after it's tilted policy toward tighter credit, he says.

The Fed's next policymaking meeting is June 30-July 1. It last changed policy in March 1997, when it raised short-term rates a quarter-percentage point.

Hackers: Internet could be crippled in half an hour

By Penny Bender
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — The Internet and other computer networks are so vulnerable to sabotage that savvy terrorists could cause havoc using little more than a personal computer and a modem, experts said Tuesday.

To underscore the seriousness of the problem, one group of hackers boasted it could bring down the entire Internet in just 30 minutes.

Loph Heavy Industries, a Boston-based hackers club, and other experts warned the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee that lax protection of government and private sector computer systems could allow terrorists to:

- Redirect commercial flights by hacking onto the Federal Aviation Administration's air traffic control system.

- Manipulate State Department data so terrorists would be able to enter the country.

- Cause panic on Wall Street by shifting large sums of money around.

- Disrupt electricity, water and cellular services for large sections of the country.

Government computers are not any safer than private systems, the General Accounting Office (GAO) has found. The FAA and the State Department so lack computer security that airline safety and diplomatic data are threatened, said the GAO, the investigative arm of Congress.

Both agencies acknowledged the GAO's findings. They were not asked to testify at Tuesday's hearing.

INSIDE TV / BY PETER JOHNSON

'20/20,' 'PrimeTime' officially one newsmag

The staffs of ABC's *PrimeTime Live* and *20/20* gathered in the network's cafeteria Monday to learn details of what everyone there already knew in broad strokes: *20/20* absorbs *PrimeTime* and airs three nights a week this fall.

Outwardly, the mood was upbeat. Privately, some *PrimeTime* staffers aren't so glowing about the merger, grumbling that ABC has killed a newsmagazine franchise it took close to a decade to build.

But ABC News president David Westin says the move was made to eliminate internal competition between the newsmags. "We are certain that this new program will be an even better one than either of its predecessors."

20/20 producer Victor Neufeld, who'll run the new shop, says, "It's a dynamite plan. ... We'll combine our 20-year record of producing wonderful, compelling pieces and great consumer investigations with the edgy nature of *PrimeTime*."

Phyllis McGrady, *PrimeTime*'s executive producer, becomes a vice president at ABC News and will produce breaking news and special projects for the new *20/20*.

Still to be decided: which teams will anchor the Wednesday, Friday and Sunday editions of *20/20*. Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson now anchor *PrimeTime* on Wednesdays. Barbara Walters and Hugh Downs, who currently co-host *20/20* twice a week, will cut back to one night. Charles Gibson and Connie Chung are being added to the *20/20* anchor roster.



By Donna Svennevik, ABC
'20/20': Connie Chung will anchor.

Inside TV appears Monday through Thursday.

► Tonight's TV listings: 12D

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Turn of the Tide?

LOS ANGELES

What Congress does not do may be as important as what it does. So it was recently when the House defeated, by a vote of 249 to 171, an amendment that would have cut off Federal aid to any public college or university that considered race, ethnicity or gender in its admissions process.

That vote may have been a turning point in the struggle over affirmative action in higher education. The issue could not have been more squarely presented. The amendment would have forced an end to affirmative action, and slashed the numbers of minority students at the country's premier public universities.

Universities and race: reality takes hold.

Indeed, as originally drafted, the amendment would have applied to all colleges and universities, private as well as public. Its author, Representative Frank Riggs, Republican of California, cut it back to give it a better chance of passage.

Attacks on affirmative action have had much political success in recent years. Gov. Pete Wilson of California used it as a wedge issue, pushing the Regents of the University of California to ban all consideration of race in admissions. Then California voters adopted Proposition 209, outlawing affirmative action in all public institutions.

Yet the Riggs amendment was resoundingly defeated, and 55 House Republicans joined in the vote against it. What happened?

What happened, I believe, was that the abstract case against affirmative action collided with concrete reality. Abolition of affirmative action at public universities in Texas and California made it clear that a system of admissions based rigidly on test scores would exclude most minority students from selective institutions. And to many moderate-minded people, that seemed undesirable for American society.

The reality has changed some important minds. Representative J. C. Watts, a conservative black Republican from Oklahoma, made a big difference in the House. He joined the

liberal Georgia Democrat John Lewis in a letter to his colleagues saying, "This is not the time to eliminate the one tool we have — imperfect though it may be — to help level the playing field for many minority youth."

Prof. Nathan Glazer of Harvard was a leading academic opponent of affirmative action. But last month, in *The New Republic*, he argued the other way because we now understand the real consequences.

The top universities, Professor Glazer wrote, "have become, for better or worse, the gateways" to high positions in our society. Given the bad schools and social conditions of many black children, abolishing affirmative action in university admissions would therefore mean "the effective exclusion today of African-Americans from positions of influence, wealth and power." That result, he said, "would undermine the legitimacy of American democracy."

Texas responded politically to the newly understood reality. When the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in its radical *Hopwood* decision, outlawed any consideration of race in admission to public universities, the Texas legislature passed a bill requiring state universities to admit the top 10 percent of every high school graduating class.

The 10 percent solution may encourage Texas to improve inadequate schools. But until that necessarily slow process works, the result of such an inflexible rule may be to bring into colleges numbers of students who cannot do the work.

Abolishing affirmative action has the ironic result of excluding students who can do the work. The elite campuses of the University of California this spring rejected 800 black and Hispanic applicants with 4.0 grade point averages.

The better idea is surely to let this country's colleges and universities run their own admission systems: untidy but, as Churchill said of democracy, better than the alternatives. Private and public universities are overwhelmingly opposed to abolition of affirmative action. The president of Harvard, Neil Rudenstine, was a key figure in rallying opposition to the Riggs amendment even after it was limited to the public sector.

If the Riggs vote was a political turning point, another threat remains to realism on race in higher education. That is the possibility that other judges may follow the devastating abstractions of the *Hopwood* court. □

The New York Times

MONDAY, MAY 18, 1998

Voting for Higher Cigarette Prices

The Senate Finance Committee made a comprehensive anti-smoking bill stronger last week when it voted to increase cigarette taxes by \$1.50 per pack over three years. That hefty increase should go far to deter youth smoking, and it is not apt to encourage widespread smuggling of cigarettes as industry propaganda suggests. Indeed, such smuggling can occur on a large scale only if the industry itself allows it.

Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Republican of New York, provided a key swing vote that allowed the committee to approve the tax increase by 10 to 9. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, the committee's ranking Democrat, also voted for it.

The committee's proposal will be voted on by the Senate this week as an amendment to the tobacco bill approved earlier by the Senate Commerce Committee. The Commerce bill, drafted by Senator John McCain, would impose annual assessments on the industry that would raise per-pack cigarette prices by \$1.10 over five years. Estimates are admittedly rough, but many public health experts say an increase of at least \$1.50 is needed to cut youth smoking rates significantly, and experts convened by the National Academy of Sciences have recommended increases of \$2 per pack.

The tobacco industry is raising the specter of a new black market in cigarettes if Congress forces a steep increase in cigarette prices. But such fear-mongering is insulting given the industry's apparent complicity in the growth of international cigarette smuggling.

Investigators of the European Union are now asking the United States Government to help combat illegal trade involving billions of American cigarettes that are smuggled into Europe to evade cigarette taxes. European authorities believe

American companies knowingly sell to dealers who ship the cigarettes into the contraband pipeline, but they have been unable to get the companies to cooperate with their investigation. The companies' refusal shows they have no interest in shutting down an illicit trade that directly benefits them.

Contraband cigarettes currently in the American market are largely the result of interstate smuggling driven by vastly different levels of state tobacco taxes. A higher national tax would not add to that problem since the tax would apply to all states. Few experts believe that a black market will arise from foreign-made cigarettes because Americans are accustomed to higher-quality cigarettes than those produced in places like China.

Instead, the worry is that American-made cigarettes will be exported to avoid the new Federal tax, then smuggled back to be sold at lower prices. Just this kind of export-import operation developed in Canada after it raised tobacco taxes. Because Canada's exported cigarettes were not marked with "export only" labels, it was impossible to distinguish between contraband packs that were smuggled back and legally sold packs. Canadian officials concluded that their top domestic manufacturers, affiliated with American and British tobacco companies, were aware of and benefited from the illegal activity.

That need not happen here. Strict licensing and marking requirements can help authorities track the movement of cigarettes from manufacturers to wholesalers, distributors, exporters and retailers. Tight Federal regulations have long applied to alcohol distribution, effectively ending illegal sales of wine and spirits in this country. The Senate should ignore the scare talk and approve a strong bill that would reduce smoking by raising prices.

Nike's New Labor Practices

With his company in danger of becoming a symbol of worker exploitation, Philip Knight, the chief executive of Nike, announced some important changes in labor practices last week. While falling short of critics' demands that Nike pay a living wage and pull out of countries where workers cannot organize, the reforms set a standard other companies should match. But Nike must see that its new policies reach the factory floor.

The issue of working conditions in garment and shoe factories overseas was introduced by church and labor groups in the mid-1980's. Now it has become a popular cause with people all over the country. Grade school children write to Nike about it and the company is regularly pilloried in the comic strip "Doonesbury."

Labor groups that have investigated factories of Nike subcontractors abroad have accused them of paying less than local laws require, forcing employees to work overtime and providing unsafe working conditions. Nike has denied the charges, arguing that its own inspectors have not found such violations. But Mr. Knight apparently decided that public concern was not going away.

Mr. Knight pledged that Nike would no longer employ workers at clothing and equipment factories who are under 16. In its shoe factories, where solvents produce toxic fumes, the minimum age will rise to 18. Currently 14-year-olds work in some Nike factories. He also said Nike would develop safer solvents and adopt American standards for indoor air quality in shoe plants.

His most significant promise is that the company will use independent local organizations in addition to accounting and other firms to check on factory conditions, and will publish summaries of their findings. Most apparel companies that have agreed to monitoring use only American firms. But the local monitors, beholden to the companies and more trusted by workers, are more likely to get a true picture of factory conditions.

There is no evidence that Nike's working conditions are worse than in other shoe factories overseas. Nike has come under criticism because unlike some other manufacturers it has claimed to treat its workers better. Independent monitoring is the only way to keep good policies from getting lost on their way to the factory.

The New York Times

MONDAY, MAY 18, 1998

BUSINESS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Cendant's Share Price Tumbles 46 Percent

A week ago, when three high officials of Cendant Corp. suddenly resigned, the company told investors that all was well and that the resignations reflected normal executive suite tensions following a large merger.

Now, the story is very different. On Thursday, stock in Cendant — which was formed by the merger in December of HFS Corp. and CUC International — plunged \$16.56, or 46 percent, to \$19.06 — after the president, Henry Silverman, said "potential accounting irregularities" had been uncovered at operations that had been part of CUC. All of the officials who had quit were from CUC.

The fall reduced the combined market value of Cendant's common stock and two issues of convertible preferred stock by \$14.4 billion.

Cendant's statement said the com-

pany was considering "litigation against certain officers of the former CUC as well as other potential defendants." It did not name any of the possible defendants.

People who have talked to Cendant officials said that revenues might have been overstated, or recognized too early, and that reporting of expenses might have been incorrectly delayed.

The fall represents a huge embarrassment for Silverman, who maintained a wide following on Wall Street as he built up HFS with a strategy of acquiring brands — and licensing revenues — while having little in the way of actual assets.

It also injected an air of uncertainty regarding Cendant's pending acquisition of American Bankers Insurance Group for cash and stock valued at \$67 a share.

By FLOYD NORRIS

DOW	DOLLAR
30 Industrials	vs. Japanese Yen
9,076.57	131.79 Yen
-85.70	+2.43 Yen
OIL	BONDS
Nymex Spot	30-Year Treasury
\$15.90	5.87%
+\$0.44	-0.01

Dow Falls Off Lofty Perch

NEW YORK — Disappointing earnings from drug maker Merck, a reversal among technology stocks and a wisp of trouble in Asia helped send the stock market lower Thursday.

The crash of the stock of Cendant Corp. after it announced that accounting irregularities would force it to restate earnings also helped pull the broader market lower. Cendant, which owns or controls brands that include Avis, Howard Johnson and Coldwell Banker, tumbled 16 9/16, or 46 percent, to 19 1/16.

"The trend is positive, but we will continue to see this volatility because there is so much uncertainty" about the immediate outlook, said George Cohen at Cohen, Klingenstein & Marks, a money manager.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which set a new high Wednesday, fell 85.70 points, to 9,076.57, while the Standard & Poor's index of 500 stocks dropped 11.15 points, to 1,108.17. The Nasdaq index, which also hit a new high Wednesday, finished down 5.02 points at 1,858.24.

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

Bank Mergers Pose Challenge to Regulators

With a sudden flood of multibillion-dollar bank mergers rapidly changing the financial landscape, some legislators have begun to wonder how well equipped banking regulators are to supervise the new corporate giants.

As the new behemoths adopt the guise of enormous vending machines, spitting out everything from credit cards and savings accounts to insurance, stocks and bonds, the regulatory network that oversees them is splintered among several powerful and turf-conscious federal agencies that often butt heads when it comes to deciding who is in charge. Those turf wars are only magnified when mergers heat up in an industry like banking.

Even so, many bankers and regulators consider a fragmented regulatory system a safeguard against the possible closed-mindedness of one, all-powerful financial chieftain. But short of creating a super-regulator — an idea that has repeatedly foundered in Congress — there are still those who think the wave of mergers requires some changes in how regulatory agencies oversee financial services concerns.

Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa, chairman of the House Banking and Financial Services Committee, said Thursday he would hold hearings April 29 to address, in part, the regulatory challenges posed by the merger boom.

By TIMOTHY L. O'BRIEN

Foreigners Are Investing in Korean Bonds, Not Companies

SEOUL, South Korea — While foreigners have been buying South Korean bonds and pouring cash into the country's resurgent stock market, direct foreign investment in Korean companies remains sluggish.

Since the nation flirted with default on its international loans in December, only two outright acquisitions of South Korean companies by foreigners have been confirmed: BASF's purchase of the Daesung group's lysine business for \$600 million last month, and the impending

acquisition of Samsung Heavy Industries' construction equipment unit by Volvo for \$765 million.

While foreign investors complain about sketchy accounting and legal barriers, many of the negotiations under way here are bogged down over the fundamental issue of price. Even acutely troubled Korean companies are expensive, their ability to survive bolstered by easy availability of capital.

South Korean banks, saddled themselves with bulging nonperforming loan portfolios, are finding ways to

prop up favored corporations that are technically insolvent, and the result, in the eyes of many foreign investors, is that valuations are unrealistically high.

"There are lots of active negotiations and due diligence going on, but all are running into the very significant difference between buyers' and sellers' perceptions of value," said Gary Clinton, co-chairman of the foreign investment committee at the American Chamber of Commerce in Korea.

By STEPHANIE STROM

UNITED STATES

More Clergy Performing Same-Sex Marriages

BURLINGTON, Vt. — Religious officiation at homosexual unions, while not common, is becoming less rare. Evidence can be found across faith lines: A group of Methodist ministers declared they will perform same-sex unions, some leading Episcopalians recently called for liturgies for such ceremonies and Reform rabbis will soon consider whether to sanction the blessing of same-sex unions.

The religious debate is proceeding at the same time as legal and political battles are fought over whether gay men and lesbians should be allowed a right to civil marriage. Lawsuits filed by gay couples seeking marriages licenses have reached the supreme courts in three states, Hawaii, Alaska and Vermont, said Evan Wolfson, an official with the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York. Wolfson, a co-counsel on the Hawaii suit, said a decision is expected in that state soon.

But he also said there has been a backlash, in that 28 states have passed laws barring gay marriage over the last three years.

In the Vermont case, nearly 100 Protestant, Jewish and Unitarian clergy members recently signed a resolution supporting the three homosexual couples who are suing for marriage licenses in that state.

Many major religious bodies, following their traditional teachings, assert that homosexual activity violates God's intentions for human sexual relations. But support for the ceremonies offers evidence that some clergy members take a different view.

But same-sex ceremonies are even controversial among some gay men and lesbians, who say homosexuals should not try to re-create an historically heterosexual model for relationships.

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

Racial Divide Found on Information Highway

At a time when the Clinton administration is promoting the Internet as an engine of commerce and a tool of democracy, a new study has found that black Americans are far less likely to use the global computer network than are whites.

The sharp racial divide is especially evident among households below the median income. The study, to be published Friday in the journal *Science*, found that in households with annual incomes below \$40,000, whites were six times as likely as blacks to have used the World Wide Web in the week before the household was called for the survey.

The study documents concerns that the recent exponential growth of the Internet might further exacerbate the nation's existing social and economic disparities. Once a decidedly optional tool for entertainment or the occasional research foray, the Internet is fast becoming a crucial mechanism for communication, business and education. And while it is no surprise that Americans with lower incomes are less likely to own a computer, the study highlights for the first time what may be the more disturbing role of race in shaping who has access to digital technology.

"Anybody poor is in trouble here,"

said Donna Hoffman, a professor of management at the Vanderbilt University and an author of the study. "But if you're poor and black, you're really in trouble with respect to access."

Among blacks with incomes over \$40,000, home computer ownership is roughly equal to that of whites of comparable incomes, the study found, and blacks were even more likely than whites to have access to the Internet at work. Among households of all income levels, 44.3 percent of whites own a home computer compared with 29 percent of blacks.

But because only about one-third of black households have incomes over \$40,000, compared with about two-thirds of white households, the numbers reflect that computer access is in effect restricted to a narrow segment of blacks who are achieving at very high levels relative to whites.

Perhaps the most striking finding of the study is the racial disparity in home computer ownership among high school and college students.

The authors found that while 73 percent of white students had access to a computer at home, only 32 percent of black students had access to one. Even after adjusting for household income, the gap remained significant.

By AMY HARMON

Briefly Noted

FAA Proposes Changes for 737s

WASHINGTON — As findings from the TWA Flight 800 crash continue to ripple through aviation, the Federal Aviation Administration said Thursday that it would propose changes in wiring and in fuel vents on Boeing 737s to cut the risk of fuel tank explosions.

The proposals are similar to those made by the agency last November on 747s, the model of airplane used in the TWA 800 flight. That plane broke up shortly after takeoff from Kennedy Airport in New York on July 17, 1996, because of an explosion in the center fuel tank, killing all 230 people on board.

Black Mayors Angered by HUD

WASHINGTON — A decision by the administration's chief housing investigator to examine federal housing and economic development programs in three cities has touched off protests from black mayors around the country, some of whom called the move racially motivated.

Susan Gaffney, the inspector general of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, selected Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco as targets of the Urban Fraud Initiative, a \$9.2 million investigation financed by Congress.

The effort was born out of concern among Republican lawmakers on Capitol Hill that public housing officials in larger cities might be mispending money that the cities receive through federal housing and economic development programs.

But in making the selection, the inspector general chose cities with Democratic black mayors and black housing chiefs, overlooking much larger cities that have larger housing departments and white mayors.

Tornadoes Ravage South, Again

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — An all-day onslaught of tornadoes swept Arkansas and Tennessee Thursday, killing five people in rural areas and injuring scores in downtown Nashville.

At least one tornado cut a two-mile swath into the heart of downtown Nashville Thursday afternoon.

The roof of the state capitol was damaged, windows were blown out in downtown office towers and Nashville's tourist district on Broadway was extensively damaged.

Black-White Income Inequalities

The income gap between black and white families closed slightly between 1993 and 1996, according to the White House Council of Economic Advisers. But the gap remains huge and may have only temporarily receded. Indeed, black and Hispanic families are further behind whites today than they were 20 years ago. The yawning gaps between rich and poor and between blacks and whites are not going away anytime soon.

The typical white family earned about \$47,000 in 1996, almost twice that of blacks. Worse, the typical black household had a net worth of only about \$4,500, a tenth of the white figure. A New York Times analysis of Government data shows that American households have loaded up on stocks, doubling the equity share of their savings since 1990, as stock prices soared. But blacks have taken

virtually no part in the recent doubling of stock prices. About 95 percent of black families own no stock or pension funds.

Poverty among black children fell last year to its lowest level in decades. But at 40 percent, the level remains horribly high. Unemployment among black men fell last year to 8.6 percent, the lowest in 23 years, but nevertheless twice the jobless rate of white men.

Since 1972 black family incomes have risen less than 10 percent, at a time when white family incomes have risen almost 15 percent. Such inequality is more a problem of poor education, weak skills and the rise in single-parent families than of race. The plight of low-skilled workers has been decades in the making and will not be turned around by the temporary flush of economic recovery.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Let's work to bridge the gap in black health

B.S. 2/4/98

The Miami Herald wrote in an editorial Monday.

FOR black Americans, life in the 1990s is, to quote Charles Dickens, the best of times and the worst of times.

The good news is that African-Americans have made major advances in the past quarter-century in education, employment, housing, civil rights and other areas. The level of poverty among blacks has shrunk and the income gap between blacks and whites is getting smaller.

Disturbing trend

At the same time, some studies now show a growing disparity in the health of blacks and whites. The differences are significant enough to cause concern. For even when all measurable factors — such as diet, lifestyle and income — are considered, the rate at which blacks suffer certain illnesses and disease remains inordinately high.

That blacks die at a higher rate

than whites and have a lower life expectancy, isn't new. Doctors know that limited education, diet, drugs and violence — to all of which blacks are unduly subject — contribute to those differences.

What is surprising, however, is the higher rate that blacks contract and die from some illnesses — such as cancer, asthma, diabetes, tuberculosis and infectious diseases — and the fact that the gap between blacks and others isn't decreasing, but widening.

For instance, the number of African-Americans with diabetes rose by 33 percent between 1980 and 1994 according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. That was three times the increase for all other Americans. With cancer, the death rate for black men has risen by 62 percent since the 1960s vs. 19 percent for all men.

These data are gleaned from studies at the CDC from reports published in health journals and from other studies. In some instances, researchers found that even when they were able to con-

trol for such factors as income and genetics, racial disparities still existed. As a result, some researchers suggest that treatment regimes and possibly racial discrimination may account for some of the differences.

Drain on resources

Whatever the cause, the results are unacceptable. The country as a whole is harmed when a significant portion of its population is less healthy than it can be. In addition to the human toll, poor health creates a negative drain on the country's resources.

A focus on educating all Americans, and especially blacks, about early identification and treatment of illnesses may be what's needed to help turn the tide. Programs that teach children and young people about healthy lifestyles and habits should be broadened.

Health professionals long have advocated the proverbial ounce of prevention to avoid the pound of cure. The wisdom of that advice shouldn't be lost on any American — black or white.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Black men are 2 to 3 times more likely to die of prostate cancer than white men

Advocates say illness receives fraction of funds for AIDS, breast cancer

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — Black men are two to three times more likely to die of prostate cancer than white men, and doctors today are powerless to explain why or reduce the risks.

Calling the figures "a disgraceful tragedy," the American Cancer Society and 100 Black Men of America urged a national attack on prostate cancer yesterday — hoping to emulate activists who raised millions of research dollars to fight breast cancer and acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

At the top of the agenda is increasing federal research. The government spent about \$80 million on prostate cancer research last year, one-twelfth what is spent on AIDS research and about one-sixth the amount spent on breast cancer research and prevention — even though all three diseases kill about the same number of Americans yearly.

"This country hasn't even paid lip service to prostate cancer," said Jay Hedlund of the National Prostate Cancer Coalition, calling not for reduced spending on other diseases but for equalizing prostate money. "They are going to have to do much better and we are going to be very aggressive."

The Clinton administration plans to seek across-the-board increases in medical research spending for 1999, but gave yesterday's prostate cancer call a chilly

reception.

"We don't believe in pitting one disease against another," said Victor Zonana, a spokesman for Health and Human Services.

About 184,500 American men will be diagnosed with prostate cancer this year, and almost 42,000 will die, the American Cancer Society estimates.

Black American men have the highest risk. For every 100,000 black men, an estimated 234 will get prostate cancer this year compared with 135 of every 100,000 white men. Black men are two to three times more likely to die of

the disease. The cancer risk increases as men age and is rare under 50 — but blacks are more likely to get prostate cancer at younger ages.

Scientists cannot explain the racial disparity, although theories range from genetics to health care access and distrust of the mostly white medical establishment.

But part of the quandary is that so little is known about prostate cancer, overall, said Dr. Charles McDonald of Brown University, president-elect of the cancer society.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Black Americans Trailing Whites in Health, Studies Say

By PETER T. KILBORN

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 — A robust economy and years of Government pressure have helped move minority groups closer to the mainstream. But when it comes to health, studies show a stubborn, daunting and in some respects growing disparity between black and white Americans.

For decades, blacks have suffered higher death rates from nearly all major causes. Although life expectancy has increased for all groups, differences persist. And Government and academic research shows a widening gap between blacks and others in the incidences of asthma, diabetes, major infectious diseases and several forms of cancer.

The Federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reports that from 1980 to 1994 the number of diabetes cases rose 33 percent among blacks, three times the increase among whites. The gap in cases of infectious diseases has grown by the same magnitude.

With breast cancer, the C.D.C. reports that from 1990 to 1995 the death rate for all women fell 10 percent, from 23.1 per 100,000 to 21. But black women's higher rate did not budge from 27.5 per 100,000.

The erosion of black Americans' health in relation to Americans at large stands in stark contrast to many blacks' advances in areas like jobs, education and housing that three decades of civil rights laws have helped promote.

In the economy of the 1990's, poverty among blacks has shrunk, and gaps in income have narrowed. Sociological barriers to economic progress like a high teen-age pregnancy rate have receded, too.

But blacks often receive less, and worse, health care than whites, analysts say, meaning that they are sicker than whites and typically die at about 70, six or seven years earlier than whites.

"We have a two-tiered health care system," said Dr. Randall Morgan, an orthopedic surgeon and a former president of the predominantly black National Medical Association.

Limited education, violence and addiction remain partly to blame. But Clinton Administration officials and analysts of health systems say they are finding growing evidence that race, discrimination and social and cultural factors influence the care people receive and, consequently, their health.

The chief White House adviser on health issues, Chris Jennings, said economic status was a big source of the gap. "But even if you control for that, race is huge," Mr. Jennings said. "If you pull out education, race is still huge."

The White House is grappling with new ways to address the problem, most likely in the President's budget proposal early next month. In response to a White House request, officials of the Department of Health and Human Services and the Health Care Financing Administration said they were compiling proposals to try to eliminate the gap after 2000.

Dr. Donald M. Berwick, a pediatrician in Boston and a member of President Clinton's commission on health care quality, said: "Tell me someone's race. Tell me their income. And tell me whether they smoke. The answers to those three questions will tell me more about their longevity and health status than any other questions I could possibly ask. There's no genetic blood test that would have anything like that for predictive value."

The growth of managed care, experts said, has had little effect. "The more we hear about the problems in the health care delivery system and managed care, the more the issues of minorities stand out," said Bailus Walker, health policy director for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, which focuses on blacks.

Administrations since the 60's have been aware of the gap and have started dozens of programs, commit-

tees and conferences to tackle it.

The Department of Human Services has an Office of Minority Health, which among other activities publishes a newsletter, Closing the Gap. The department compiles ambitious annual reports on progress toward goals for 2000 to prolong healthy lives and reduce the disparities.

But the results are mixed. For many conditions that disproportionately touch blacks, including asthma, obesity, homicide, maternal mortality, diabetes and fetal alcohol syndrome, the report published in October shows the incidences not only falling short of the goals but also slipping in relation to the conditions in the late 80's and early 90's, on which the goals were based.

Dr. Morgan said Government attempts to reduce the gap were modest and subject to sporadic financing. "We get a program, and then it's over," he said. "We can't get a sustained effort. The tragic thing is it's costing America more and more every day to have the premature babies — not the ones who die — who go on to drain the health system's resources."

Public health programs begun in Mr. Clinton's tenure have made little more headway against the gap than those of prior Administrations, including Medicaid, the insurance program for the poor, and Medicare, the program for the elderly.

Programs that pay for prenatal care for mothers and nutrition and immunization for children have helped many additional children survive infancy. But deaths of black mothers in childbirth, although rare, jumped 48 percent from 1987 to 1995 (the rate soared in the late 1980's), compared with 7.6 percent for all mothers. And blacks still have two times the infant mortality rate of whites, a gap that has not changed in at least a decade.

Since the early 60's, the American Cancer Society said, black men's death rate from cancer rose 62 percent, compared with 19 percent for all American men. A gap in the incidence of prostate cancer has narrowed. But the incidence is 30 percent higher for black men, and 66 percent survive for five years, compared with 81 percent of white men.

In general, the nation has realized declining death rates from leading

An acute racial disparity in cases of asthma, cancer and infectious diseases.

killers like heart attack, stroke and cancer. But blacks still suffer those and other disabling conditions sooner than whites.

As a result, new research sponsored by the National Institute for Aging shows that blacks enjoy 56 years of reasonably good health, 8 years fewer than whites and Hispanic-Americans. In an institute survey, one-third of all blacks from 51 to 61 described their health as fair to poor, compared with one-fifth of all whites of the same ages.

Kenneth G. Manton, director of the Center for Demographic Studies at Duke University, who wrote an analysis of the survey, said: "If you look at the total population, you find a significant decline in chronic disability and institutionalization for people 65 and older. But if you break it down among blacks and whites, you find almost all the improvement is among whites."

Concern about the gap has entered White House planning for Mr. Clinton's last two years in office. It has risen with experts' doubts that the enactment last year of a five-year \$24 billion plan to provide care to half the 10 million uninsured children would help reduce the disparities.

Administration officials expect

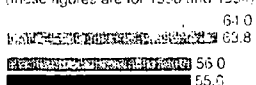
KEEPING TRACK

Race and Health: Differences Remain

Incidences of death and sickness from many diseases are subsiding, but gaps between the nation's whites and blacks persist.

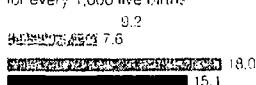
YEARS OF HEALTHY LIFE

(those figures are for 1990 and 1994)



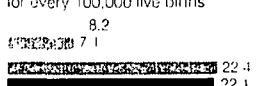
INFANT MORTALITY

for every 1,000 live births



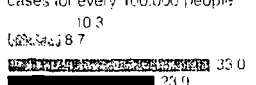
MATERNAL MORTALITY

for every 100,000 live births



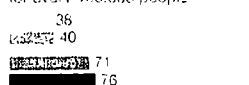
TUBERCULOSIS

cases for every 100,000 people



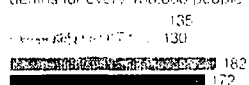
DIABETES-RELATED DEATHS

for every 100,000 people



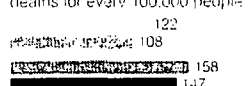
ALL FORMS OF CANCER

deaths for every 100,000 people



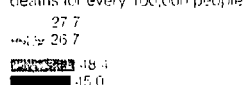
HEART DISEASE

deaths for every 100,000 people



STROKE

deaths for every 100,000 people



Source: Department of Health and Human Services

The New York Times

Mr. Clinton, in his budget message, to ask for additional money to improve minority groups' health. In addition, the officials say, he could ask for revisions of Government health programs so that additional people like nurses and physicians in minority communities join in working on the stubborn roots of the gap.

The issue is also entering other arenas. The President's advisory board on race, which has been dwelling mostly on discriminatory barriers to economic opportunity, has begun soliciting testimony on health.

Dr. Berwick said he and other members of the health commission were urging the commission to include a proposal to close the gap in the panel's final report in March.

To curry support to close the gap, the President is likely to define the issue in terms of minority health, not simply black health.

Other minority groups suffer from some diseases more than blacks. Indians have higher levels of diabetes. Hispanic-Americans tend to suffer more fatal and disabling strokes. Puerto Rican children have the highest incidence of asthma.

The C.D.C. reports that in 1996, tuberculosis among Asian-Americans was nearly 15 times higher than among whites and nearly twice the level for blacks.

But as the largest minority group and the one with the highest death rates from most diseases, blacks arouse the most concern among experts.

"There is a minority group that is very disadvantaged with respect to health, and that's African-Americans," said Samuel H. Preston, a demographer and dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. "It's not a minority problem. It's a black problem."

The intractability of the gap is stirring searches for explanations beyond the conventional one of disproportionately low income. Hispanic-Americans, too, are relatively poor and are much less likely to have health insurance than any other group. Yet the C.D.C. finds that they stay healthy longer than non-Hispanic whites, as well as blacks.

Research has shown slight, apparently genetic, predispositions among blacks for prostate cancer, sickle cell anemia and underweight births. But analysts say the major disparities arise less from inherent differences among races than from attitudes toward the races and unequal care.

A study in October in The New England Journal of Medicine sug-

gested something peculiarly American to being black and unhealthy beyond genes. For the study, two neonatologists in Chicago, Drs. James Collins and Richard David, surveyed the birth weights of all children born in Illinois from 1980 to 1995. They isolated the lowest-risk group of mothers, from 20 to 39, who were college educated, married to college-educated men, had prenatal care in their first trimesters and had no prior miscarriages or stillbirths.

The researchers found that 2.4 percent of the 12,361 American-born white mothers delivered underweight babies, compared with 3.6 percent of 608 mothers living in Illinois and born in sub-Saharan Africa, and 7.4 percent for American-born black mothers.

"These findings discredit the genetic theory of race as it applies to birth weight," the doctors said in a paper presented in November to the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association. "To understand this thing called race, we must turn our attention to the institutions and attitudes which perpetuate and justify unequal treatment of people on the basis of their physical appearance, language or culture."

In hospitals and clinics, said Sara Rosenbaum, director of the Center for Health Policy Research at George Washington University here, blacks often receive worse care than whites. "When you take black and white Americans," Ms. Rosenbaum said, "and exactly the same situation like being hospitalized for a heart attack and having the same insurance, the chance that the black patient will get the advanced care is much less than it is for the white patient. The medical system appears to treat them differently."

Analysts say solutions require attention to the health conditions of the very young, before the effects of poverty, toxic environments, bad diets, violence and untreated disease.

"Policy that only deals with people in their 50's is going to have a minor impact on eliminating differences because a series of health shocks has happened already," said James P. Smith, a senior economist at the Rand Corporation who testified this month before the race commission.

Policy goals should also change, said Dr. Berwick in Boston.

"It isn't enough to say we're going to close the gap by equalizing services," he said. "I don't think that's the heart of the problem. It's not equality of access. It's equality of result that we should seek."

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Elias Nsangou, a 20-year-old black man from Meinau, one of the most troubled Strasbourg suburbs, said the handicap of having an address there had prevented him from getting a job. "Even before they see you," he said, "when they hear you're from Meinau, they tell you they have no openings."

Heroin dealers have the run of the neighborhood after dark, he said, and the police seldom venture in.

Unemployment in Meinau and other suburban projects is higher than the French national average, now 12.4 percent, about where it has been for the past three years; in Haute-pierre, to the west of Strasbourg, it is 15.8 percent.

Looking at the drab five-story yellow buildings sprayed with graffiti crudely proclaiming something along the lines of "Down with the Police!," Patrick Winter said he could sympathize.

"These places became instant ghettos as soon as they were built," said Mr. Winter, a member of the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor in Strasbourg. "I grew up in one of them, Cité de l'III, and even before the North Africans came in the early 1960's, we were stigmatized. 'Oh, you're one of those troublemakers,' people would say. These North African kids have racism to contend with, in addition to everything else, and even with the best qualifications, few can get a job."

In self-defense, the city transit system, for which Mr. Winter works, has begun a groundbreaking program that employs 40 people from difficult neighborhoods to ride buses and Strasbourg's futuristic-looking trolleys and stop trouble before it starts.

"Most of them want to become drivers, eventually, and some of them do," said Christian Anthoni, who runs the program. "We ought to be the same color as the people who ride with us, but the system used to be pretty much closed to outsiders — white men only, hardly any people of color."

The pulsars, as the troubleshooters are called, let drivers on some of the most difficult routes feel safer, and all last year there was no wildcat strike to demand protection, an almost routine event in other cities.

"We try to talk to the kids and calm them down," said one pulsar, Christine Bauer, a 25-year-old woman with ties to the Gypsy community. "But if one of us isn't on the bus, there's trouble right away."

To Burden Of Poverty In France, Add Racism

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

STRASBOURG, France — Urban violence, high unemployment and the problem of assimilating millions of alienated North African immigrants have all been gnawing for a long time at France's self-image as a prosperous island of civilized behavior, and the image has frayed badly in the new year.

The latest malaise began on Dec. 17, after the police shot and killed a 16-year-old North African youth trying to run a roadblock near Fontainebleau. Days later, in a housing project near Lyons, an unemployed 24-year-old with a shotgun whom the police had picked up after a noisy street argument was killed when an officer fired the gun in the station.

The officer in Lyons was imprisoned on charges of homicide, but in brooding housing projects around the nation, the climate is poisoned.

On New Year's Eve in Strasbourg, where unemployment ranges as high as 35 percent, youths from the bleak housing developments set fire to 60 cars, wrecked 32 glass-enclosed bus shelters and destroyed 22 telephone booths; another 53 cars were ruined over the following week.

The orgy of destruction has reverberated around the country.

Urban violence, fueled by chronic double-digit unemployment and racial tensions, has more than quadrupled nationwide since 1993, to 15,791 incidents last year, according to the Ministry of the Interior.

"The violence is the violence of people who can't otherwise express their feelings," said Driss Ajbali, a sociologist whom Strasbourg's Socialist Mayor has put in charge of dealing with the problem here, in the capital of Alsace.

Mr. Ajbali is of Moroccan origin, and until recently he ran a cultural center in a housing project. Like those around Paris and Lyons and Lille and nearly every French city, such projects are becoming suburban ghettos of Muslims whose roots are in North Africa.

"The word 'youth' has become a synonym in France for 'North African juvenile delinquent,'" Mr. Ajbali lamented, acknowledging fears that are exploited by the rightist National Front. The front is led by Jean-Marie Le Pen, who promises to send immigrants back where they came from.

With local and regional elections later this winter, Strasbourg's Mayor, Roland Ries, has got the police, prosecutors and educators to agree on harsher treatment for vandals.

"What people feel is that the authorities do not have the problem of delinquency under control," Mr. Ries said later in a television interview. But he did not draw representatives of Strasbourg's minority communities into the discussion, and many of them feel alienated.

Black, Hispanic Admissions Plunge at 2 Calif. Campuses

By RENE SANCHEZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

BERKELEY, Calif., March 31—The University of California's two premier campuses reported today that their first undergraduate classes chosen without the use of affirmative action will have an extraordinarily low number of black and Hispanic students.

At the university's Berkeley campus, admissions offers to black and Hispanic students for next fall's freshman class have plunged by more than half to the lowest totals for each group in at least 15 years. Of the 8,000 students who were offered admission, 191 were

black, down from 562 last year. A total of 434 Hispanic students were offered admission, down from 1,045 last year.

The admissions trends are similar but not quite as extreme at UCLA. In its next freshman class, the number of black students who are being offered admission has fallen by 43 percent, and by 33 percent for Hispanics.

The numbers are down even though both campuses got more minority applications with stronger academic credentials than in previous years. And officials at both campuses said they expect the number of minority students who actually accept the offers to be

even lower, since the students who are chosen tend to get offers from many schools.

The declines match the predictions that many university leaders in the state made when the University of California's board of regents, and later California voters, approved the nation's first and most extensive ban against racial preferences in college admissions.

"These numbers are worse than what we had hoped for," said Berkeley's chancellor Robert M. Berdahl.

See CALIFORNIA, A10 Col. 1

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Tell Me Again: Why Are S.A.T. Scores So Crucial?

By Hugh B. Price

Every time I debate a foe of affirmative action on television, the conversation invariably degenerates into a heated discussion of a familiar hypothetical: why should a white student with a combined score on the Scholastic Assessment Test of, say, 1,250 be denied admission to college in favor of a black applicant who scored 100 to 200 points lower?

The answer is simple: for the very same reason that these institutions for years have admitted white applicants with lesser scores over others with more impressive results.

Even in the days when blacks and Latinos were barely in the picture, universities wanted diverse student bodies. Admissions officers have steadfastly refused to choose applicants strictly by the numbers — instead they consider a host of personal attributes, like leadership and ambition.

Hugh B. Price is president of the National Urban League.

Admissions policies should serve one master, namely the mission of the institution. Of course applicants should be qualified. Yet opponents of affirmative action have snookered people into believing that test scores are the only way to judge qualifica-

Tests may not be a particularly good predictor of later success.

tions. This is a shameless distortion of what the tests are about. In fact, experts at the Educational Testing Service, which designs the S.A.T., tell me that as a general rule, applicants who score 1,000 or better on the examination can handle the work at highly selective schools.

Thus, the S.A.T. is a valuable yardstick for assessing ability, but by no means the only valid and useful one. Admissions officers also weigh cre-

ativity, perseverance, leadership skills and determination to succeed.

A study of Harvard alumni over three decades found that the more successful alumni — defined by income, community involvement and professional satisfaction — had lower S.A.T. scores and came from blue-collar backgrounds. In other words, they were ambitious, but not the most bookish of college students.

Bates College in Maine no longer requires applicants to submit S.A.T. scores. Those who submit their scores average 160 points higher on the test than those who don't. Even so, there's no difference in the grades and graduation rates of the two groups.

Universities need not and, in fact, do not adhere slavishly to exam rankings in judging merit. With a clear conscience, they can safely admit applicants whose grades and test scores meet or exceed a minimum threshold. This way, every admitted student is deemed qualified without question. This removes the "undeserving" stigma from all applicants.

How should colleges and universities go about defining — and defending — their respective thresholds?

As with Harvard and Bates, universities have abundant data readily at hand in their alumni records. They should examine what has become of students who entered, say, 10, 20 and 30 years ago. Gather the data anonymously so that the results cannot be attacked as racially slanted. Then group the alumni according to the strength of their original paper credentials and cross-reference this data against information about their professional and civic accomplishments.

How many who entered with stellar paper credentials have fulfilled their supposed potential? How many have fallen far short? How many matriculated with modest credentials, only to blossom later and do their alma maters proud? Lastly, is there any correlation between S.A.T. scores and subsequent academic disappointment?

This analysis could guide colleges and universities in their admissions decisions. And it would most likely rebut the fallacious assertion that applicants with the highest test scores are, ipso facto, more qualified than those with lower scores.

In any case, common sense dictates that we keep the doors of high-

er education wide open for promising young African-Americans and Latinos. By 2050 they will make up nearly 40 percent of the nation's population and form the backbone of the labor force in many states.

Higher education exists to prepare successive generations of young people to help lead our country. How will we do that if we leave almost half of our population behind?

As A. Bartlett Giamatti, the late president of Yale, put it so compellingly, universities should be tributaries to society, not sanctuaries from it. □

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

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PRESERVATION

ATC 5/98

Black-White Economic Gap Is Narrowing, White House Says

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 — After two decades without progress in narrowing the economic gap between black and white Americans, the nation shows tentative signs that economic inequality between the races has been reduced in the last few years, the Clinton Administration said today.

Much of the improvement was linked by Administration economists to the economic expansion that began seven years ago and continues to rumble on. Unlike the boom of the mid-1980's, when much of the gain went to people at the top of the income scale, the current upturn has not added to overall economic inequality, they said.

Choosing selectively among a broad range of statistics, the Administration said the signs of renewed progress in narrowing the gap between the races included a rise in the median income of black families since 1993 that was larger than the increase for non-Hispanic white families, record high income for black families in 1996 and a drop in the poverty rate for black families to a record low.

"Such developments raise hope for renewed and sustained progress toward economic equality," said Janet L. Yellen, the chairman of the White House's Council of Economic Advisers.

Administration officials said they did not want to overstate the progress or minimize the economic gulf that continues to divide the races. Their findings were contained

in the annual Economic Report of the President, which the White House submitted to Congress today.

The report said that income gaps between black and white families remain as large as they were three decades ago and that the median wealth of white families may be as much as 10 times that of black and Hispanic families. And while there has been some narrowing of differences in educational attainment, which speaks for longer term gains, there were growing gaps in social indicators of economic success like the proportion of families headed by single women — 14 percent among white families last year compared to 47 percent among black families.

"Substantial disparities in economic status across racial and ethnic groups persist," Ms. Yellen said.

Private economists said the Administration's conclusions were generally in line with their own. But they said it was important to distinguish between the benefits to non-white families from the current low unemployment rate and robust economic growth, which could prove transitory when the economy next turns down, and the much slower progress in addressing the underlying social and historical causes of inequality.

"If all we're seeing is labor market improvement, that could go away the next time the Midwest goes into recession and all the good jobs go away again," said Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution, the research organization.

The Administration's report also said the nation has made some

progress in reducing poverty among children in recent years. The combination of the strong economy and Government programs like the earned-income tax credit, the report said, helped push the poverty rate among children down to 20.5 percent in 1996 from 22.7 percent in 1993, following a relatively steady rise that started in 1969.

"Despite these improvements, far too many children remain economically vulnerable," Ms. Yellen said.

The report said the nation's over-

Seeing benefits from a seven-year economic expansion.

all economic condition was the best it had been in a generation, with few problems on the horizon and little risk that even the financial turmoil in Asia will derail the expansion.

In its discussion of racial inequality, the Administration said that income differences between white and non-white Americans narrowed substantially in the decade after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but then expanded again or held steady for much of the next 20 years.

In the last few years, though, black families have closed some of the gap with their white counterparts in terms of inflation-adjusted income.

Median family incomes for blacks increased 13.4 percent between 1993 and 1996, to \$26,500, while median family income among non-Hispanic whites increased 5 percent, to \$47,100, the report said. Median incomes for Hispanic families have been declining over the past several decades due to an influx of immigrants with little education, but have turned up slightly in the last few years and stood at \$26,200 in 1996.

Family incomes tend to be driven in part by the strength of the economy. Administration officials said the narrowing of the income gap, and the general reduction in inequality during the current expansion, might also have been helped by an increase in the minimum wage and by the growing numbers of racial minorities who are completing high school. The gap between high-school completion rates for white students and black students, for example, has narrowed to seven percentage points in 1996 from 20 points in 1967.

Broader measures of economic well-being, like household wealth, represent longer-term trends. By one of two surveys used by the Government to measure household wealth, the median net worth of white households in 1993 was \$47,740, more than 10 times greater than that of black or Hispanic households. A similar survey in 1995 found median net worth was \$73,900 for non-Hispanic white households and \$16,500 for all other households. As of the 1993 survey, 95 percent of black households reported owning no stocks, compared to 75 percent of white households.

The New York Times
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1998

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Feeling That Clinton Has Said Enough

By JANET ELDER

Americans think President Clinton has said enough for now about the accusations involving Monica S. Lewinsky; in fact they want Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel, to drop the whole matter, according to several recent polls. Many people feel that Mr. Starr is conducting a partisan investigation using questionable means, the polls showed.

Mr. Clinton's job approval rating remains high. An NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll puts Mr. Clinton's job approval rating at 79 percent, while CBS News, Newsweek and Time/CNN polls all showed a rating of 66 percent. By anyone's measure, those are high numbers.

Though most Americans continue to think that Mr. Clinton was involved with Ms. Lewinsky, they also say that it is a private matter. Sixty-two percent of the 786 adults polled by CBS News on Sunday said they thought the whole matter had to do with Mr. Clinton's personal life, and was not a public issue involving his job as President.

Perhaps that is why Americans say they are content to have Mr. Clinton be silent now about the accusations. Seventy-six percent of Americans, including 67 percent of Republicans, say they are satisfied to have Mr. Clinton wait until the investigation is over before he says more, the CBS News poll

showed. Only 19 percent of all Americans and 29 percent of Republicans want the President to say more now, the poll found.

Fueling some of the support for Mr. Clinton may be disdain for Mr. Starr, his tactics and his investigation. In a poll of 753 adults conducted for Newsweek on Thursday and Friday, 52 percent said they disapproved of the way Mr. Starr had investigated the Lewinsky matter. In another measure, 54 percent said they thought Mr. Starr's inquiry was bad for the country, the poll showed.

A majority of Americans, or 56 percent, say Mr. Starr has gone too far in investigating President Clinton's sexual behavior, according to a Time/CNN poll conducted last Wednesday and Thursday with 1,023 adults.

In the NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll of 407 adults on Saturday, 64 percent said Mr. Starr was using the investigation for partisan political purposes. That poll also found that 57 percent of Americans supported the idea of Mr. Starr dropping any further investigation into any involvement Mr. Clinton may have had with Ms. Lewinsky.

The margin of sampling error for the Time/CNN poll is plus or minus three percentage points; for the CBS News and Newsweek polls it is four points, and for the NBC News/Wall Street Journal it is five percentage points.

White House Aide Questioned in Lewinsky Matter



Associated Press

Ashley Raines, center, a White House aide, talked to the independent counsel's office about Monica S. Lewinsky's alleged confidences.

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 — A young White House aide has told Federal investigators that Monica S. Lewinsky confided in her about an alleged sexual relationship with President Clinton.

Ashley Raines, who works in the White House office of administration, was interviewed by investigators for the independent counsel's office, which is examining accusations that Mr. Clinton told Ms. Lewinsky to lie about their alleged relationship.

Ms. Raines, an Arkansas native, was described by White House officials as a reluctant witness. "She's not hostile" to the President, one White House official said.

Her mother, Linus Raines of Little Rock, Ark., is the manager of the Excelsior Hotel, the location of a disputed 1991 encounter between Mr. Clinton and Paula Corbin Jones. Ms. Jones contends in a lawsuit that Mr. Clinton summoned her to his hotel room and made a sexual advance.

Ms. Jones's lawsuit brought to light allegations of an affair between Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky that touched off the White House crisis.

Ms. Raines's lawyer, Wendy S. White, declined to comment on her client's testimony.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1998

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ENTERPRISE

Gore Will Unveil Plans to Increase Aid For Black Businesses Over Next 3 Years

By MICHAEL K. FRISBY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Vice President Al Gore today will unveil plans to sharply increase government aid for African-American businesses, providing \$1.4 billion in loan guarantees over the next three years for black entrepreneurs to expand operations or start new businesses.

The program, administered by the Small Business Administration, is part of a major minority marketing and outreach strategy by the Clinton administration. Studies have shown there are 3.5 million minority-owned businesses in the U.S., but if the percentage of minority businesses were equal to the percentage of minorities in the U.S. overall, there would be 6.5 million such businesses.

In a statement, Mr. Gore cited the additional resources as the latest step in the president's race initiative. "A vibrant small-business private sector is a cornerstone to a healthy and strong community," the vice president said. "Small businesses provide employment opportunities, deliver needed goods and services and give people a stake in their community."

The outreach effort for black entrepreneurs mirrors a program announced last month to boost government aid for Hispanic-owned businesses. Loan guarantees for Hispanic entrepreneurs will total \$2.5 billion over the next three years, SBA officials said.

In the African-American outreach program, the SBA will work closely with a number of civil-rights and black business groups to publicize the effort to potential small-business borrowers. They include

the National Urban League, National Black Chamber of Commerce, National Council of Negro Women and the Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense Fund.

SBA officials said that in the 1997 fiscal year, which ended in October, loan guarantees for black-owned businesses totaled \$286 million, while the goal for fiscal year 2000 is \$588 million. The jump, officials said, continues an upward swing during the Clinton administration. The SBA approved \$132 million of loan guarantees for black businesses in fiscal year 1992.

Money for the first year of the expanded loan guarantees is within the agency's 1998 budget request, which was sent to Congress last week. The SBA will request funds to cover the rest of the increase in future budgets.

The Rev. Charles Stith, head of the Organization for a New Equality, a Boston-based civil-rights group, applauded the action. "This kind of leadership on the part of the vice president, the SBA and the administration represents a real step in enabling minorities to get economic opportunities," Mr. Stith said yesterday.

The new program resulted, at least in part, from a study Mr. Stith's group conducted last year on the relationship between minority businesses and their banks. He concluded that minority businesses have trouble getting loans. For instance, his survey found that 82% of minority small businesses—those with annual revenue of \$100,000 or less—that applied for bank loans in the previous year were turned down.

McDermott Says U.S. Granted Immunity To Some Employees

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW ORLEANS—McDermott International Inc. and J. Ray McDermott SA said the Justice Department granted criminal immunity to certain current and former employees in return for the companies' cooperation with the department's investigation into possible anticompetitive activity.

The energy-services companies also said they received subpoenas from the Justice Department's antitrust division in connection with an ongoing grand-jury investigation.

Last year, the companies told the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission that they were conducting an in-house investigation into "allegations of wrongdoing" in some of their businesses. After the disclosure last June, the SEC and the grand jury launched their own probes into McDermott's activities. McDermott said the individuals granted immunity were all officers, employees and directors at the time that the companies informed authorities that they were conducting the in-house investigation.

McDermott, which owns a majority stake in publicly traded J. Ray McDermott, said the subpoenas "primarily" target the heavy-lift business of HeereMac, formerly a joint venture of J. Ray McDermott and Heerema Offshore Construction Group Inc., and "possible anticompetitive activity" by McDermott-ETPM East Inc., a joint venture the company has with ETPM SA of France. A company spokesman said the subpoenas ask for documents but declined to elaborate.

Last December, J. Ray McDermott sold its 50% stake in HeereMac to Heerema, citing the investigation as one reason for exiting the venture. McDermott said HeereMac and one HeereMac employee pleaded guilty in December to charges that they were part of a conspiracy to rig bids in the venture's heavy-lift business in the Gulf of Mexico, the North Sea and the Far East. McDermott and J. Ray McDermott said neither they nor any of their officers were a party to the proceedings. The spokesman declined to comment on whether McDermott plans to sell its interest in McDermott-ETPM.

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Clinton's Lawyers: Clashes of Style, Ego and Power

By LUCETTE LAGNADO
And PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The Clinton sex controversy is about more than politics, morality and legal principle. For the president's attorneys, it is also about bragging rights as Washington's top legal fixer.

While publicly declaring their mutual admiration, the two wings of Mr. Clinton's outside legal team are bitterly split by differences in style and collisions of ego, according to attorneys familiar with the situation.

On one side is the boisterous, media-savvy Robert Bennett, backed by the giant New York law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom. On the other side is the usually reflective David Kendall from buttoned-down Williams & Connolly, the Washington firm built by the late Edward Bennett Williams.

As a part of the administration's fierce counterattack on Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr, Mr. Kendall uncharacteristically stepped to the microphones in recent days to lash out at what he alleged were "intolerable" leaks from the prosecutor's office. Mr. Kendall threatened to seek a contempt citation, and yesterday he made a sealed filing — presumably for that purpose — with the federal judge in Arkansas who is presiding over the Whitewater case. Mr. Starr has retorted that Mr. Kendall was elevating "mere suspicion to specific accusation without any facts."

Mr. Kendall's public statements were striking because they were exceptions to the rule. Ordinarily, it has been Mr. Bennett making flamboyant attacks on the president's enemies. When the Monica Lewinsky sex allegations broke last month, all of Mr. Clinton's lawyers were summoned to the White House. Mr. Kendall and his partner, Nicole Seligman, arrived and left by a side entrance, largely unnoticed by swarming media.

Bantering With Reporters

Mr. Bennett, by contrast, made national television, bantering with reporters outside the White House. "I smell a rat," he quipped.

To the Williams & Connolly partisans, this was typical Bennett grandstanding. The firm despises Mr. Bennett's showmanship, believing he promotes himself while exacerbating embarrassing coverage of the president.

Mr. Bennett, in turn, believes he was

hired, in part, to do sound-bite combat. He has angrily told friends that Williams & Connolly resents him because some people in Washington see him as the successor to Mr. Williams as the premier lawyer who politicians go to when they are in serious legal trouble.

As for the White House incident, Mr. Bennett has said privately that White House officials specifically instructed him to be outspoken that morning and to use the entrance he used. "I suspect that Bennett does not approve of the reserved Williams & Connolly attitude toward the press," says Plato Cacheris, a top criminal lawyer and Bennett friend.

The differences go beyond public relations. Williams & Connolly, which is primarily responsible for dealing with Mr. Starr's criminal probe, is said to blame Mr. Bennett for mishandling his assignment: the civil Paula Jones sex-harassment lawsuit. By failing to settle the suit, this view goes, Mr. Bennett allowed an opening for Ms. Lewinsky's allegations about a presidential affair and cover-up. The Williams & Connolly view is seconded by Jim Moody, the lawyer for Linda Tripp, whose tape recordings of Ms. Lewinsky ignited the sex controversy. "If you are Kendall," says Mr. Moody, "you could say, 'You, Bennett got us into this mess.'"

Alleged Squeamishness

Mr. Bennett has fired back in private conversations that he was added to the Clinton legal team because the president and Mrs. Clinton concluded that Williams & Connolly's squeamishness about the media would hinder the defense against Ms. Jones's salacious accusations.

On the questions of settlement, Mr. Bennett is said to point out that two key people have refused to come to terms: Ms. Jones and Mr. Clinton. Lloyd Cutler, the former White House counsel who approved Mr. Bennett's being hired in May 1994, says Mr. Bennett scored a "major, major" victory simply by delaying the trial until after the 1996 elections.

Mr. Kendall will say only that he doesn't talk about clients or other counsel. "But I will say that Bob is a fine lawyer, that we represent the same client on different matters, and that any allegations of personal conflict are simply untrue."

Mr. Bennett says, "I think that David Kendall is an absolutely first-class lawyer, and I have a wonderful and productive working relationship with him. And that's the truth." A White House spokesman says, "The president has full confidence in, and is comfortable with, his legal team."

Nevertheless, Messrs. Kendall and Bennett represent polar opposite approaches to big-time trouble-shooting. Mr.

Kendall exemplifies the cool of Williams & Connolly, a 145-lawyer firm that prides itself on trying cases and eschewing news conferences. Another Williams & Connolly partner, Brendan Sullivan, gained fame in the late 1980s, when he represented Oliver North before the Senate and in court in the Iran-Contra affair.

Mr. Kendall, who specializes in representing media companies, wasn't well known until he received the Whitewater assignment four years ago. The 53-year-old lawyer has kept a low profile while doggedly fending off Mr. Starr's investigation of the Clintons' real-estate deals and other matters.

'Tabloid Trash'

Mr. Kendall and other lawyers at Williams & Connolly were unhappy when the Clintons added Mr. Bennett to the defense team, because they feared he would invite attention they felt the president didn't need. True to form, Mr. Bennett promptly took his client's case to the media by, for example, calling the Jones suit "tabloid trash with a legal caption."

Williams & Connolly's resentment of Mr. Bennett goes back years. He first achieved national stature in 1990-1991, when he served as counsel to the Senate Ethics Committee's televised investigation of the "Keating Five," senators who allegedly intervened with regulators on behalf of savings-and-loan mogul Charles Keating in exchange for campaign contributions.

Later, Mr. Bennett successfully represented former Reagan Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in the Iran-Contra affair and Washington eminence grise Clark Clifford in the Bank of Credit & Commerce International scandal, among others. Mr. Bennett cultivated an image as an approachable, ordinary guy, not at all like his aloof competitors at Williams & Connolly.

The Clinton assignment confirmed the view of some in Washington that Mr. Bennett, 58 years old, was the new, media-age Edward Bennett Williams, says Jay Jaffee, a veteran law-firm consultant. Mr. Bennett has told friends that his real rivalry isn't with Mr. Kendall, but with Mr. Sullivan, who he believes resents the Bennett ascension.

"Sure it hurts them that the president calls me 10 times a week," Mr. Bennett has boasted to friends. Williams & Connolly lawyers are said to dismiss all of this rivalry talk as foolishness.

But in elite legal circles, Williams & Connolly lawyers did tell friends and colleagues that Mr. Bennett doesn't live up to his hype. Some question, for example, whether his trial skills are rusty. The Jones vs. Clinton case has a May trial date in Arkansas. But Mr. Bennett hasn't tried a jury case from start to verdict since joining Skadden in 1990.

His admirers say, however, that the stocky lawyer, a former amateur boxer, remains light on his feet and has a crack team of fellow Skadden lawyers behind him. "Bob Bennett is a first-rate trial lawyer," says Bennett friend Charles Roistacher, a Washington attorney.

The feud with Williams & Connolly has prompted a further observation from Mr. Bennett: Washington, he has reminded friends, "is a vicious, dangerous town."



Robert Bennett



David Kendall

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
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Racial Divide Drives Growing Debate Over School Names

By Ann O'Hanlon
Washington Post Staff Writer

The order came from the U.S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954: Desegregate public schools.

Starting the next day, and for the next five years, T.C. Williams, the superintendent of Alexandria city schools, fought that order. His efforts included firing a black school cafeteria worker in 1958 because her children were seeking admission to the city's all-white schools.

Today, Alexandria's lone high school, which opened in 1965 and has an enrollment that is 47 percent black, bears Williams's name. It is an irony that some people mention quietly but that no one has made a fuss over, said Principal John Porter.

For years, the names of schools have garnered little attention or interest. But recently, debates have erupted in communities across the country over which school sobriquets are

appropriate, and the issue is often related to race.

In Riverside, Calif., some white parents unsuccessfully opposed naming a new high school after Martin Luther King Jr., saying that college admissions officers might wrongly assume the school was majority-black.

A Hispanic teacher in Prince William County is fighting for the second time to get one of the system's 66 schools named for a Hispanic American.

And a 1992 New Orleans school policy decreed that any schools in the majority-black district that were named for former slave

owners or others who did not respect equal opportunity for all would be renamed. The system has since changed the names of two dozen schools, including one named for George Washington, who owned slaves.

If such a policy were applied to public secondary schools in Virginia, at least 51 of them, including T.C. Williams High School, would receive a new appellation, based upon a review of a list of school names provided by the state Department of Education. Only a small number of Maryland's schools fall in the same category.

See NAMES, B3, Col. 3

NAMES, From B1

Across the Old Dominion, the topic is hot in some districts and a non-issue in others.

"In the 23 years I've been here, I haven't heard one complaint," said William Sharbaugh, principal of Washington-Lee High School in Arlington, which is named for George Washington and Robert E. Lee.

But in Petersburg, where the student body is 98 percent black and schools are named for Civil War generals A.P. Hill, J.E.B. Stuart and Robert E. Lee, Superintendent Wallace Saval said residents questioned why no school was named for an African American.

As a result, an elementary school named after a local white businessman was renamed a year ago for Vernon Johns, a black preacher who once lived in Petersburg.

No one in Hampton's majority-black school system cared that the middle school was named for Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. But calling the school's teams the Jefferson Davis Rebels proved to be too much. So six years ago, the Rebels became the Bulldogs.

In Prince William County, Superintendent Edward L. Kelly said he has heard occasional remarks about the district's two schools named for Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, a Confederate general. Prince William NAACP President Eddie Stallworth said the names do bother "quite a few" of the county's African Americans, and he joked that "it's time to stop stonewalling everything."

Steve Constantino, the principal of Stonewall Jackson High, said the name should not offend anyone.

"My understanding of the Civil War—and I'm not a historian—was that it was about states' rights and state issues," he said. "I know that slavery certainly was an issue, but I'm not so certain that was the primary focus." To equate Stonewall Jackson, the high school, with the issues driving the Civil War makes little sense, he said.

Constantino is far from alone in that view. Numerous historians argue that flaws of character do not erase someone's achievements and should not disqualify them from being memorialized.

"The idea is to learn from history, not to obliterate those passages we don't like," said James I. Robertson Jr., a Civil War historian at Virginia Tech. "So if we're going to start changing names, I guess the first name we would change is the name of Washington, D.C."

Colonial figures James Madison and George Mason, who jointly have seven Virginia schools named after them, both opposed slavery but owned slaves. Historian Robert A. Rutland, formerly with the University of Virginia, said they should not be judged for the contradiction.

"That's hypocrisy to us," he said. "To them it wasn't. It was reality."

That is not the view of Salim Khalfani, spokesman for the Virginia NAACP. Khalfani said excuses such as the culture of the time, or the theory that the Civil War was more about states' rights than slav-

ery, are old and tired. Names do send a message, he said.

"If we really want to set an example of inclusion, we need to visit this issue," he said.

He cited a recent decision by the Richmond City Council. Two Richmond bridges undergoing renovation will lose their Confederate names—Stonewall Jackson and J.E.B. Stuart—and receive names yet to be determined by the city's Black History Museum and Cultural Center.

In Rockingham County, a high school bears the name of Confederate soldier Turner Ashby, who was known as the Black Knight. Ashby wore black to mourn the death of his soldier-brother, and he rode a white horse in battle. Thus, the school colors at Ashby High are black and white, and the school seal is the Ashby family's coat of arms.

"I don't think the school was named Turner Ashby because of any particular position that the com-

munity took with regard to which side Turner Ashby was on," said the school's principal, Delmer Botkin. "I think it's just because he's a historical figure."

In Alexandria, the same reasoning can be used in defense of T.C. Williams High School, but J. Glenn Hopkins is not convinced by it. Hopkins, who is African American, is executive director of Hopkins House, an Alexandria agency for children and families.

The high school's name, he said, should be changed.

"We use schools much in the way we use monuments—to be educational and commemorative of important historical events," he said. "And it just seems to me that to name a school after a man who fired the mom of a child seeking an equal education is outrageous."

Metro Resource Director Margot Williams contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1998

From Rockets to Aerospace

NASA Administrator's Vision for Agency Could Boost Area Technology Firms

By Peter Behr
Washington Post Staff Writer

There's a faraway look in Daniel Goldin's eye as the NASA administrator describes the future of the Goddard Space Flight Center at Greenbelt and the space agency's other installations across the country.

In Goddard's case, far away reaches out an unimaginable 100 million light-years, and to get there NASA will need much more help from the space industry and technology companies in the Washington region and nationwide.

Facing a steadily tightening squeeze on NASA's budget, Goldin wants the agency to convert itself primarily into a center of advanced, long-range research that would have powerful commercial spinoff value. It would rely on the nation's tech companies—including many in the Washington area—to launch, manage and pay for space operations in return for getting their hands on NASA's research breakthroughs.

"The new approach is NASA can't afford to do the product development for a lot of these things, and industry can't afford to do the fundamental research. We have a partnership made in heaven," said Goldin, the outspoken former TRW Inc. executive who has pushed NASA through a painful downsizing in his six years as administrator.

This shoot-for-the-stars agenda is as brash as its author, said John M. Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University.

"He's an optimist and a promoter and a visionary," said Logsdon, who ranks Goldin as one of the two most influential administrators in NASA's history, along with the late James E. Webb, who launched the Apollo program.

"It's an admirable aspiration. In principle, Goldin's approach can't be faulted. The real question is: Can you create new industries

based on advanced space technologies?" Logsdon said.

If Goldin's vision comes true, an armada of small "thinking" probes designed by Goddard will be launched early in the next century in search of life beyond earth. The mission illustrates the fundamental change at NASA that Goldin seeks, one that could profoundly alter the space agency's effect on the Washington region's economy. The area's economy receives about \$2 billion annually from NASA's salaries and the contracts it awards to about 350 area firms.

See NASA, C2, Col. 2

NASA, From C1

NASA's payroll will undoubtedly shrink. The kinds of scientists and engineers it hires will change, and it may be purchasing different hardware and services from some firms not currently on its contracting list, NASA says.

Allied Signal Corp., Hughes Aerospace, Computer Sciences Corp., Orbital Sciences Corp. and Lockheed Martin Corp. led a parade of space and technology firms that won NASA contracts in fiscal 1996 for work done in the Washington area, according to the General Services Administration. These top five contractors received more than half the \$1.2 billion in contracts to area firms that year.

In Goldin's strategy, NASA would concentrate on breakthroughs in space technologies that have important commercial applications, the carrot for the industry funding he covets. And some of his goals make a manned moon landing seem like kid stuff.

"Our goal is, in the next 10 to 15 years, to directly access earth-like planets within 100 light-years of earth," Goldin said in an interview. "When you make that statement, you are going after a set of technologies that could drive this economy 20 years from now."

On Goldin's to-do list: spacecraft that mimic the human

body; optical devices that can detect faint, distant planets; sensors and computer intelligence that would allow the space probe to make its own course corrections; and fantastic advances in data-processing speeds and energy generation.

"Many of them are being done out at Goddard," said Goldin, mindful of the protective eye kept on the space flight center by Maryland's congressional delegation, particularly Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), the top-ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that oversees NASA funding.

Goldin predicts that such space technology will be eagerly sought by U.S. companies. For instance, NASA hopes to develop systems for automating its most complex operations. "Viking, which went to Mars 20 years ago, had 1,000 people in mission operations. Pathfinder has 50. I'd like to get it down to under a dozen. Then, think of the impact [of this technology] on package-delivery systems; operating an auto plant, an airline, a power plant. Those companies that have these skills can migrate it out."

NASA also plans to build predictive models of climate, the environment, natural resources, Goldin added, "so we can have sustainable development on this planet. That's one of Goddard's jobs. They're in charge of it."

Long before such missions are flown, Goldin's initiatives will be shaking up the space agency and its contractors, analysts said.

Goddard, along with the rest of NASA, is midway through a difficult series of job cuts. NASA's total employment in the Washington area, including headquarters staff, dropped from 5,802 in 1993 to 4,272 last year, with further cuts coming. In that period, Goddard's employment has fallen from 4,012 civil servants to 3,354 and from 10,204 contractors to 8,516.

How NASA allots more than \$1 billion annually in contracts is changing, as well, as NASA buys more off-the-shelf technology from commercial firms instead of having it tailored to fit and shifts mission control operations to private firms, Goldin said.

"We're expecting to see different kinds of companies winning contracts," adds Goddard director Al Diaz. "We want to partner with the non-aerospace companies; we'd like to partner with the information companies," he said. NASA is not a place to make profit by working with government tax dollars, NASA is a place for intellectual exchange, Goldin said.

Later this year, NASA intends to contract out all of its mission control operations in a massive multiyear deal that could total \$5 million to \$10 million, industry analysts say. This could cause wholesale changes in how NASA contracts are distributed.

"They want to outsource mundane [control] activities so they can concentrate on the advanced, cutting-edge R&D," said Peter Stahl, manager of the space and high-technology group at KPMG Peat Marwick in Washington.

"We're going to have a nice battle there," Logsdon said. "Ultimately, the winner will run space operations."

"Ultimately, it will take civil servants out of the loop," Stahl said.

It isn't clear how such consolidation may reduce Goddard's current share of space flight operations control. Stahl and other analysts believe the changes will hurt Goddard.

Others predict Maryland's congressional delegation will ward off significant cuts.

"The essence of the problem is political," said one area aerospace executive who did not want to be identified. "There are huge numbers of people at these centers, both with NASA and its private contractors, many of them highly paid professional people. No senator or representative wants them to leave."

Logsdon said he is betting on Goldin: "There's going to be resistance to it, but I think he's riding a wave."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1998

Teaching Myths and History

Revolutions do not always change a country's future, but they certainly alter its past. The wave of recent political change has brought with it a sure byproduct of upheaval, the new history textbook. Textbooks in the new democracies are vast improvements over the propaganda volumes that preceded them. But they are more honest because they reflect a new, more honest orthodoxy. Even so, many are uninterested in puncturing inaccurate but cherished national myths.

South Africa's old 10th-grade history textbook explained that blacks were the workers and whites the bosses because of the white man's "higher level of civilization and his Christian religion." A widely used new textbook, "In Search of History," explains the apartheid laws and their origins. In Russia, dozens of new publishing houses are churning out textbooks with more or less accurate accounts of Soviet Communism.

But in both countries, many schools cannot afford the new books, and still use apartheid- or Soviet-era textbooks. The figure would be even higher in Russia without a project by George Soros's Open Society Institute to subsidize the publication of new history texts.

At first, many teachers in former Communist countries replaced praise of Communism with blind acceptance of capitalism. This is giving way to texts that encourage critical thinking instead of the rote learning so popular in authoritarian nations. Many texts in former Communist countries and South Africa offer varying interpretations of events as well as quizzes to ask students what they think.

But some new textbooks see their mission as building patriotism and love for national culture over teaching the truth. Russia's textbooks continue to distort the Soviet Union's participation in World War II, a sacred touchstone in a country more than 20 million of whose people died in that war. New books continue to play down Allied contributions, and, for example, give the Soviet Union undeserved credit for winning the war in the Pacific.

Another country where textbooks have changed is France. After years of ignoring France's collaboration with its Nazi occupiers, French textbooks began to deal more honestly with World War II in the mid-1970's, spurred by scholarly histories, the spread of new historical methods and the rise of a less tainted and more curious generation. The climate that created and was influenced by the new textbooks helped clear the way for recent apologies and acknowledgments of collaboration from the Catholic Church and President Jacques Chirac.

Japan's experience shows how textbooks often misrepresent less-than-glorious episodes. In the early 1960's, Saburo Ienaga wrote a high school textbook that discussed some of Japan's wartime atrocities. It was censored, and he sued in 1965. He did not win his case until last year, but Japan's supreme court also ruled that the Education Ministry could keep censoring textbooks in an "appropriate" manner. The nation's textbooks still permit only veiled or vague references to most Japanese crimes during World War II. Even by distorting history, it seems, textbooks give a true picture of the society that writes them.

Black-White Income Inequalities

The income gap between black and white families closed slightly between 1993 and 1996, according to the White House Council of Economic Advisers. But the gap remains huge and may have only temporarily receded. Indeed, black and Hispanic families are further behind whites today than they were 20 years ago. The yawning gaps between rich and poor and between blacks and whites are not going away anytime soon.

The typical white family earned about \$47,000 in 1996, almost twice that of blacks. Worse, the typical black household had a net worth of only about \$4,500, a tenth of the white figure. A New York Times analysis of Government data shows that American households have loaded up on stocks, doubling the equity share of their savings since 1990, as stock prices soared. But blacks have taken

virtually no part in the recent doubling of stock prices. About 95 percent of black families own no stock or pension funds.

Poverty among black children fell last year to its lowest level in decades. But at 40 percent, the level remains horribly high. Unemployment among black men fell last year to 8.6 percent, the lowest in 23 years, but nevertheless twice the jobless rate of white men.

Since 1972 black family incomes have risen less than 10 percent, at a time when white family incomes have risen almost 15 percent. Such inequality is more a problem of poor education, weak skills and the rise in single-parent families than of race. The plight of low-skilled workers has been decades in the making and will not be turned around by the temporary flush of economic recovery.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1998

Scenes From a Marriage

In some marriages there is no respite of privacy, notably for poets like Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes, whose now-distant intimacy has been the subject of unceasing public commentary. Ms. Plath and Mr. Hughes were wed in 1956, two young poets, one American, the other English. They were joined for eternity thereafter by Ms. Plath's suicide on Feb. 11, 1963 — a suicide, it is often alleged, to which she was driven by Mr. Hughes, who had left her, in that oddly reductive phrase, for another woman.

Later this month Mr. Hughes's new volume of poetry, "Birthday Letters," will be published, a group of nearly 90 poems written over a quarter-century. They directly address Ms. Plath and, in some cases, they answer the poems that made her famous. They also bring to an end Mr. Hughes's 35-year silence on the subject of his marriage to Ms. Plath, or rather they expand his silence into a different realm. There has been a tendency, in the literary press, to read the poems in "Birthday Letters" as though they constituted a bald, nonfiction redress or apologia. Instead they do what good poems always do. They hedge out obliquity with the language of perception.

In death, Ms. Plath has been canonized as the

embodiment — somehow impaired by Mr. Hughes — of savage femaleness. The savagery that devoured his wife is visible in the woman who inhabits his poems, but it is not the kind revered by acolytes of Ms. Plath, who, Mr. Hughes contends, 'batten / On the cornucopia / Of her body.' The savagery is no metaphor, no conceit. It is the real thing, "the death hurtling to and fro / Inside your head."

In the last poem she would ever write, finished six days before her suicide, Ms. Plath said, "The woman is perfected." It has been Mr. Hughes's fate to remain unperfected, the way the living always do. These poems are a testament not only to his life but to hers as well, even as it recedes from the only man whose witness of its imperfections matters.

Mr. Hughes, now Britain's Poet Laureate, remains uncanonized by death, but he acknowledges that even as his life continues he has been "stilled / Permanently now, permanently / Bending so briefly at your open coffin." These poems enshroud the privacy that was their marriage. They do not reveal it. But what they do reveal — what Mr. Hughes's whole career reveals — is the strength Ms. Plath saw in him the very first time they met. He is "strong enough," she wrote, "to be equal with."

Topics of The Times

New Jersey, A Destination Spot

Last week Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey announced that she was reviving the old state tourism slogan "New Jersey and You: Perfect Together." Fourteen years ago that phrase was considered so catchy that Republicans marched around with placards proclaiming that "New Jersey and Reagan-Bush Are Perfect Together." But by the early 1990's the state's promoters had moved on to "New Jersey: You Should See Us Now," implying that things might not have been all that perfect after all.

Soon that pitch too was abandoned, for "New Jersey: What a Difference a State Makes." All were arguably better than "New Jersey's Got It!" — a lively little declaration that was discarded because it tended to generate unflattering tag lines.

There may have been a time when states did not have to resort to the

hard sell. Connecticut, for example, was once known as "The Land of Steady Habits," burnishing an image of dull, solid Yankee values. That was eventually overtaken by the peppier "Better Yet, Connecticut," but the state later reverted to the more dignified "Classic Connecticut." Five years ago it shed steadiness altogether and went for the slightly ominous "Connecticut: We're Full of Surprises!"

It is only fair to note that writing slogans for states to push tourism is no easy task. New York's 20-year-old "I Love New York" is simple and brassy, and needs no exclamation mark to drive the point home. Maybe it lasts because people actually mean it when they say it.

The Senate's Judicial Farce

For nearly two years, a handful of conservative Republicans held up the confirmation of Margaret Mor-

row as a Federal district judge in California. They cited only flimsy evidence against her — snippets from speeches and articles that had been compiled by a conservative lobbying group to bolster its ludicrous charge that President Clinton was filling the courts with out-of-control judges.

But last Wednesday, when Ms. Morrow's nomination finally reached the Senate floor, Orrin Hatch, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, cut through the ideological fog. Mr. Hatch, a Republican, said he had found no evidence that Ms. Morrow, a corporate lawyer and past president of the California Bar Association, would be a "judicial activist," whatever that hazy slur means.

Ms. Morrow's chief opponents, Senators John Ashcroft of Missouri and Jeff Sessions of Alabama, were left mumbling about her potential danger on the bench. Even they did not sound very persuaded of the threat.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1998

Race Discrimination Furthers Income Inequality

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 17 editorial on black-white income inequality repeats the claim that "such inequality is more a problem of poor education, weak skills and the rise in single-parent families than of race." In fact, continuing racial discrimination plays an important role in perpetuating this inequality.

The evidence for continuing housing discrimination is strong. A 1989 national study found that blacks

were shown about 25 percent fewer housing units than were equally qualified whites, and over the last four years similar studies have found no sign of a downward trend.

Discrimination in housing restricts the access of blacks to good school districts and therefore contributes to the black-white skill differential. Housing discrimination also limits the access of blacks to neighborhoods near jobs and helps confine many black households to

high-poverty neighborhoods.

Studies of hiring practices have documented continuing hiring discrimination against young black men. Racial discrimination still has a lot to do with the black-white income gap, and anti-discrimination policy has a key role to play in bringing incomes closer together.

JOHN YINGER

Syracuse, Feb. 17, 1998

The writer is a professor of economics and public administration at Syracuse University.

Lincoln's Absolutism Could Be Relative

To the Editor:

John Patrick Diggins (Op-Ed, Feb. 16) is absolutely correct to praise Abraham Lincoln as a pragmatic yet deeply principled leader. But Mr. Diggins twists history beyond recognition when he approvingly calls Lincoln an apostle of American consensus, and describes Lincoln's opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, as a critic of consensus.

In the 1850's, Lincoln saw a fundamental moral conflict looming between slavery and freedom. Out of that conflict, he said, the nation would become either all slave or all free. Douglas, on the contrary, saw no such conflict, and imagined that the white man's democracy of the time could preserve a peaceful consensus on the slavery issue.

By suggesting that the nation could exist half slave and half free, Douglas was hardly foreshadowing modern-day relativists or multiculturalists, as Mr. Diggins claims.

Rather, Douglas was upholding the idea that a national agreement existed over the rights of Southern slaveholders — an idea that Lincoln and his anti-slavery supporters utterly repudiated. In short, on Lincoln and Douglas, conflict and consensus, Mr. Diggins has things backward.

SEAN WILENTZ

Princeton, N.J., Feb. 16, 1998

The writer is director of the program in American studies at Princeton University.

right and wrong.

While Lincoln's beliefs are comforting, they hinge upon a philosophical proposition that modern man cannot help but question — the existence of God. Lincoln's "dedication to the proposition that 'all men are created equal'" can only be philosophically understood in the context of Jefferson's argument that "all men are created equal" because "they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

Mr. Diggins might prefer we go back to a more innocent time and accept Lincoln's moral absolutism, but all he offers is nostalgia, not the philosophical tools needed to accomplish this task.

DANIEL BROOK

New Haven, Feb. 17, 1998



Stephen Savage

A Matter of Class

To the Editor:

Re "Black-White Income Inequalities" (editorial, Feb. 17): The discussion should be about class. The answers will be found with policies that address limited education, single-parent families, drug use and so on for both whites and blacks. Efforts to address blacks separately can lead only to racial tensions and an excuse to do nothing.

ABRAHAM IRWIN

Delray Beach, Fla., Feb. 17, 1998

More Vocational Schools

To the Editor:

You are correct in your Feb. 17 editorial on black-white income inequities in stating that "the plight of low-skilled workers has been decades in the making." One reason has been the declining focus on vocational education and apprenticeships.

As "shop" classes have been removed from high schools and "college is for everybody" has become the education theme, attention has been drawn away from the opportunities for steady, high-paying jobs using technological skills developed by vocational courses.

We need more education facilities like charter technical schools to prepare men and women for these jobs.

OTTA A. SILHA

Chairman, City Innovation
Minneapolis, Feb. 17, 1998

The New York Times

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1998

A Man of Compromise

To the Editor:

John Patrick Diggins's real subject in "Lincoln the Absolutist" (Op-Ed, Feb. 16) is not Lincoln but that demon of the moralizing conservatives: relativism. But Lincoln makes an awkward poster boy for absolutism, for a politician must be judged by his actions and resulting consequences, and not merely by his purported philosophy and campaign speeches. By definition, absolutism does not compromise, yet Lincoln repeatedly compromised with cunning aim when it served his ambitions.

It was the Southern slaveholder who claimed the moral high ground, for his fundamentalist faith gave scriptural authority to his cause. The morally relativist Lincoln rejected the slaveholders' biblical absolutism, believing that their convictions were not immune to change in a modern era.

JONATHAN BAKER
New York, Feb. 17, 1998

Required: Belief in God

To the Editor:

John Patrick Diggins (Op-Ed, Feb. 16) writes that in our age of moral relativism we can learn much from Lincoln's "unswerving" belief in "natural rights" and in absolutes of

Jefferson on Equality

To the Editor:

John Patrick Diggins marks his otherwise fine article on Lincoln (Op-Ed, Feb. 16) by repeating a standard falsehood about the Founders. Jefferson, he says, "hesitated to apply" the idea of equality "to blacks and women."

Jefferson was convinced of the equal natural rights of both. He wrote: "The [Indian] women are submitted to unjust drudgery. This I believe is the case with every barbarous people. With such, force is law."

"It is civilization alone," Jefferson continued, that restores to women "the enjoyment of their natural equality." He thought the weaker sex should never be compelled to do work more appropriate for the stronger.

On blacks, Jefferson wrote: "Whatever may be the degree of talent it is no measure of their rights. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others." THOMAS G. WEST

Irving, Tex., Feb. 16, 1998
The writer is a professor of politics at the University of Dallas.

Statistics Can Deceive

To the Editor:

"Black-White Income Inequalities" (editorial, Feb. 17) clearly illustrates why the Government should cease racial statistics, or make them more complete.

If there are 100 white billionaires, and 100,000-plus white millionaires, what is the effect on the statistical average for whites? It must surely be a distortion. What is the income rate for various white ethnic subgroups? Black Americans are a fairly homogenous group, while white Americans are not. True statistics should break down the white category as well.

There are certain white ethnic groups and regions of the country where opposition to black progress is more pronounced. These groups and regions are suffering, perhaps, because they are camouflaged in the "affluent" category of "white" statistics.

Only black Americans tolerate being disparaged by negative statistics. As long as poverty is defined as black, America will never resolve that issue.

JOHN A. JONES
New York, Feb. 18, 1998

Monitor Bosnian Aid

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 16 news article on Western governments' fear that their funds aid hard-liners in Bosnia raises questions about the Clinton Administration's latest initiative to provide aid to the Bosnian Serbs.

The new Bosnian Serb Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, indeed represents one of the most hopeful developments since the end of the war. We should, however, avoid falling head over heels for him. The United States has given millions to the Bosnian Serb entity during the last year, yet virtually no minority refugees have been allowed to return to their homes. Moreover, Mr. Dodik has appointed to key positions individuals who are closely linked to Gen. Ratko Mladic and Slobodan Milosevic, the two individuals perhaps most responsible for the genocide.

The Clinton Administration should be asked what steps it is taking to place clear conditions on aid to the Bosnian Serb republic and to avoid inadvertently assisting indicted war criminals or those who protect them.

STEVEN W. WALKER
Director, Balkan Institute
Washington, Feb. 17, 1998

To the Editor:

In your Feb. 16 news article on aid to Bosnian Serbs, a senior United States aid official claims that American money "is disbursed without a close check" on companies that receive it. That statement is not true.

Every business loan from the Agency for International Development must go through a rigorous screening process before approval. This includes a thorough credit analysis by American bankers and a complete business diagnostic evaluation by industry consultants.

Each borrower is further monitored by a hierarchy of American and Bosnian audit, banking and project-management professionals who oversee the flow and proper use of the loan funds. The names of the principal officers of companies are sent from the field to Washington for an interagency check before disbursement.

DON PRESSLEY
Acting Assistant Administrator
United States Agency for
International Development
Washington, Feb. 18, 1998

Not All Campaign Contributors Expect Access

To the Editor:

I was amazed at the brazenness — even for a politician — of former Deputy Attorney General Philip B. Heymann (Op-Ed, Feb. 19) in dismissing the curious coincidences that make up part of the allegations surrounding Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, Harold M. Ickes, the former deputy White House chief of staff, and an Indian gaming casino.

Mr. Heymann writes: "the sale of access has become the bread and butter of American politics. After all, what did many of those who gave \$2.2 billion to the Republicans and Democratic political campaigns in 1996 believe they were buying?"

In the 1995-96 campaigns, more than 10 times as many individuals contributed less than \$200 as contributed more than \$750. Most individuals didn't contribute money expecting access or favors in return. Most gave what they could to help a favored candidate or party spread a message they agreed with.

It is the job of the Justice Department to prevent the purchasing of

our public servants. It is a sad state of affairs when a former Justice employee can think of no other reason for a citizen to participate in the political process than to purchase access to the people and institutions their taxes pay for.

KEVIN KRETZ
New Brunswick, N.J., Feb. 19, 1998

Vanishing Stethoscopes

To the Editor:

Whatever modifications are made to the stethoscope ("Helping Doctors Keep Their Distance," Science Times, Feb. 17), the instrument has become a relic of clinical medicine.

Once diagnosticians used the device to detect abnormal heart, lung and even abdominal sounds; the majority of newer physicians cannot discern even the more classic heart murmur. This personal diagnostic tool has been replaced by the (far more expensive) ultrasound machine.

Today the stethoscope functions only as a membership badge in the medical club.

LEE SATALINE, M.D.
Cheshire, Conn., Feb. 18, 1998

Officers' Privilege

To the Editor:

Re "The Army on Trial" (Op-Ed, Feb. 17): What's new about there being different standards for officers and enlisted personnel? When I was in the Navy during the Vietnam War, enlisted men (there were no women aboard ship then) got gonorrhea, but officers always got nonspecific urethritis, which didn't go on medical records.

Enlisted men were routinely dishonorably discharged for homosexual activities; officers were transferred to another duty station. Enlisted men were frequently court-martialed for drunkenness. I never knew an officer to receive any chastisement for similar behavior. The Uniform Code of Military Justice is far from uniform.

CHUCK MCCULLAGH
New York, Feb. 17, 1998



The New York Times Company

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POLITICS & POLICY

As States End Racial Preferences, Pressure Rises To Drop SAT to Maintain Minority Enrollment

By JUNE KRONHOLZ
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The SAT is a 1,600-point test of verbal and math reasoning that helps determine who packs for the Ivy League each fall and who commutes to community college. But that isn't all. Now, it is also at the center of the debate over affirmative action.

As court rulings and public opinion turn steadily against using racial preferences, colleges and universities are turning back just as steadily to grades and test scores to help them decide whom to admit. But the SAT holds little good news for minorities.

Nationwide, African-Americans and Latinos score well below whites and Asian-Americans, and in a decade that gap hasn't narrowed.

So, to keep minority enrollment strong, Eugene Garcia, dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley, has proposed an idea: Drop the SAT. "Many of our kids aren't getting the best education, so they are scoring poorly" — and, he reasons, are then excluded from the nation's better universities.

But that argument sounds like a poor excuse to other people, who say the SAT is the only way to measure how students are doing from school to school and state to state. "The SAT is bringing us a message that we don't want to hear, that the system is broken," says David Murray, director of research at the Statistical Assessment Service, a nonprofit group that researches public policy. Instead of listening to it, Mr. Murray adds, "they want to shoot the messenger."

That may be, but after a federal court ruled last year that Texas universities couldn't consider race in their admissions decisions, the Texas legislature passed a law that admits the top 10% of the students from every high school in Texas to the state university they choose — whatever their SAT scores. The idea is that students from inner-city and largely black or Hispanic schools would have the same chance as white students from the suburbs.

While Texas is the first state to question the SAT, it isn't likely to be the only one. predicts the College Board, the nonprofit organization that administers the exam to about 1.2 million students every year. Last year, it says, bills to limit affirmative action were introduced in 11 state legislatures. Court challenges to affirmative action in college admissions are pending in at least three states. Moreover, there is an effort in Washington state to get an initiative outlawing racial preferences onto the ballot, and Ohio voters may be asked to vote on a constitutional amendment on affirmative action.

"Any time you start looking at affirmative-action issues in admissions, it puts the spotlight on the SAT," says Irene Spero, director of federal and state relations for the College Board. "If you want to maintain racial balance, eliminating the test appears to be an easy way."

Gretchen Rigol, who heads the SAT program at the College Board, blames the lagging performance by blacks and Latinos on the inferior high schools many attend and on academic "tracking" that channels them away from college-prep courses. That supports the claim of opponents that the test is more a measure of family income and experience than of merit or ability — suburban students and kids whose parents went to college score better than inner-city children whose parents went only to high school.

But Ms. Rigol also blames the gap on the fact that minorities take fewer tough courses that would prepare them for the test. "This is not an issue of SATs," Ms. Rigol says. "It's an issue of academic preparation."

It is also an issue of who gets into the best universities, though, and that is the problem. The Statistical Assessment Service's Mr. Murray argues that the role of a university is "to generate and transmit knowledge," so the smartest and ablest students should be admitted — and what better measure is there than the SAT?

But test opponents say that universities have other roles, too, including developing future leaders and giving youngsters from hardscrabble backgrounds a better chance. Top universities often feed into professional and graduate schools, or into lucrative careers through old-boy networks. Those avenues would be closed to even more minority students if universities began to rely more heavily on the SAT.

Nowhere is that argument being made more urgently than in California, where about 80,000 Latinos graduated from high school last year, but only about 1,000 went to the University of California's select Berkeley or Los Angeles campuses. That number will drop further, to about 600 this year, when Proposition 209, the voter initiative that precludes racial preferences, is applied to undergraduate admissions for the first time, predicts the Latino Eligibility Task Force. The task force was set up by the University of California system to study minority enrollment, and among its recommendations was to drop the SAT.

As it is, a California high-school student who has a 3.3 grade point average and takes the SAT — whatever the score — is eligible to attend the nine-campus University of California system. But Berkeley's Mr. Garcia, who headed the Latino task force, says that just the requirement that students take the test excludes thousands of minorities who either never heard of it or just neglect to take it. Many can't afford the increasingly popular SAT-preparation courses, he says, adding: "Would you send your kid to take the SAT without an SAT-prep course?" (College Board President Donald M. Stewart, who is African-American, says his children never took a prep course.)

As a result, only 3.8% of California's Latino high-school graduates and 2.8% of blacks were eligible for the University of California last year. If the SAT requirement were dropped, Mr. Garcia says, that percentage would double. But the College Board says the pool of eligible whites and Asian-Americans would increase even more.

Moreover, to keep to California's master plan, which says that only the top 12.5% of students can attend the University of California system, the grade-point average would have to be raised to 3.65, says Keith Widaman, a psychology professor who heads the faculty committee that sets admission standards. Raise the grade-point average, he says, and Latino and black eligibility fall back where they were. Even so, says Mr. Widaman, the California Board of Regents, which has the final word on admissions, has taken an interest in the task-force proposal.

Meanwhile, the College Board, which administers 15% of all its tests in California, is warning of the dangers of substituting grades and class rank for the SAT: grade inflation; dumbed-down courses; and students who take easy classes as a way to keep their grades high, then enter college unprepared.

Texas A&M University in College Station, which in September will admit its first class under the state's so-called 10% solution, says it has accepted more minority students and hasn't seen much change in the quality of its students since it began the new selection system. But not everything is running smoothly, says Gary Engelgau, the admissions director: Already, some high schools are reporting that 25% of their students are in the top 10% of the class.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1998

Gore Supports Democrats' Tough Antismoking Bill

By JEFFREY TAYLOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Vice President Al Gore expressed support for a tough Democratic antismoking bill but said the administration still wants to see a bipartisan approach to tobacco legislation.

"President Clinton strongly supports this bill and would gladly sign this bill if Congress puts it on his desk," Mr. Gore said at a news conference with 11 Democratic senators, including the bill's author, Kent Conrad of North Dakota.

The bill would raise cigarette prices a \$1.50 a pack over three years while denying the tobacco industry most of the relief it has been seeking from a wave of suits.

Mr. Gore added that the Clinton administration is still seeking legislation that members of both parties will support. "I hope Republicans will join us on this bill or on others that meet the president's" criteria for fighting underage smoking.

The administration is closely watching a bipartisan bill now being written by Democratic Sens. Tom Harkin of Iowa and Bob Graham of Florida and Republican Sen. John Chafee of Rhode Island. The bill is expected to include some of the legal protections the industry wants, while taking steps to raise cigarette prices and otherwise curb underage smoking.

At a Democratic caucus Tuesday, some senators, such as John Kerry of Massachusetts, backed the Conrad plan, arguing that only uncompromising steps such as the ones it contains will be effective in reducing teen smoking. Mr. Harkin disagreed, saying that giving the industry some civil-liability protection would allow it to restrict its advertising and marketing and take other steps it agreed to in its proposed \$368.5 billion settlement with state attorneys general and health groups.

Sens. Harkin and Chafee teamed up in September on a measure to spend \$34 million to fight the sale of cigarettes to underage smokers. Yesterday, Sen. Chafee said the Conrad bill "isn't going to get the job done" because it doesn't enjoy support from any Republicans. "What is needed . . . is a bipartisan approach," he said.

The Clinton administration has said it can accept "reasonable" limits on the tobacco industry's legal liability in exchange for a strong antismoking bill. But it also says it would rather have a bill without the liability protections, if possible.

Sen. Conrad's bill contains no such protections. The senator said his bill would raise about \$500 billion over 25 years, far more than the \$368.5 billion envisioned in the proposed settlement. The bill would confirm the Food and Drug Administration's right to regulate nicotine in cigarettes, seek a two-thirds reduction in youth smoking and impose stiff penalties on the industry for failing to meet that goal, and sharply restrict tobacco marketing aimed at children in the U.S. and abroad.

U.S. Signing of Global-Warming Treaty Faces Delay of at Least a Year, Aide Says

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration will delay signing the global-warming treaty for a year or more while it mounts a "full-court diplomatic press" to persuade major developing nations to adhere to the pact voluntarily, Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said.

Mr. Eizenstat, who led the U.S. team negotiating the treaty in Kyoto, Japan, last December, also told skeptical Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday that the administration will soon release its long-awaited economic analysis of the treaty. The study will show how the pact will create high-technology jobs for the U.S. by developing overseas markets for energy-efficient technology and will be "dramatically different" from industry studies showing a major loss of U.S. jobs, he said.

Mr. Eizenstat acknowledged that it will be a "real stretch" to line up enough support from China, India and other major developing countries within the next year to satisfy a Senate resolution requiring those nations to commit to the treaty's goals of reducing so-called greenhouse gas emissions as a condition for Senate ratification.

The treaty, which covers only industrial nations, opens for signatures next month. Beginning in 2008, the pact will require industrial nations to curb their emissions of carbon dioxide and five related gases that are believed to be warming the planet by trapping more of the sun's heat.

Calling the treaty "a work in progress," Mr. Eizenstat said the U.S. will

also cooperate with industrial nations this year to work out rules for complying with the treaty and for international trading of emissions credits that weren't detailed in Kyoto.

Sen. Chuck Hagel (R., Neb.), the Senate's chief critic of the treaty, called for President Clinton to submit it to the Senate promptly. "Until this treaty is ratified by the Senate, there should be no action taken by the administration to implement [its] obligations," he said.

Both Democrats and Republicans on the panel agreed there isn't enough support in the Senate for ratification. But based on the panel's discussions, supporters' ranks appeared to have grown some since last summer, when 18 Democrats joined 47 Republicans to sponsor what was thought to be a treaty-stopping resolution.

One reason for the improvement was Mr. Eizenstat, who took over treaty talks at the last minute and whose skills were praised by Sen. Hagel and other treaty critics.

Mr. Eizenstat said that the emissions-trading plan will be one of the main tools to attract developing nations' support for the treaty. In emissions trading, a cap is imposed on the level of a pollutant, and major polluters are issued certificates that let them emit a portion of that cap. A polluter that cuts more than its share of pollution can sell excess certificates to polluters that exceed their share. The plan also will allow U.S. companies cheaper ways to reduce emissions by rewarding them for helping developing nations come up with more-efficient energy systems and better forestry practices.

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Law groups to ask high court to hire more minorities

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Minority leaders in the legal profession will seek a meeting with the Supreme Court to urge justices to hire more nonwhite law clerks.

"We cannot have a branch of the government aloof from the people," says Randy Jones, president of the National Bar Association, a 17,000-member black lawyers' group. "The perception of the administration of justice is not equal."

Jones spoke after a meeting here Friday of the Coalition of Bar Associations of Color, at which the issue of Supreme Court law clerks was discussed for the first time. The coalition includes groups representing Hispanic, Native American and Asian- and Pacific-American lawyers.

The focus on Supreme Court clerks was in response to the first-ever demographic study of the high court's law clerks, published March 13 in USA TODAY. The report found that of the 394 clerks hired by the current justices during their tenures, fewer than 2% were African-American; 1% were Hispanic; and 4% were Asian-American. None were Native American. Four of the nine justices have never hired a black law clerk.

Justices hire up to four clerks each year for the important behind-the-scenes role of screening incoming cases and drafting the court's rulings. Critics say the dominance of white males among the clerks leads the court to exclude minority perspectives.

"It is crucial to have Hispanics there as law clerks, especially when the court is considering so many issues of crucial importance to us," says Gregory Vega, president of the Hispanic National Bar Association, which represents 22,000 lawyers and law students. He notes that the court often considers issues such as immigration, welfare reform, affirmative action and English-only laws.

The coalition agreed to write the court to seek a meeting and



National Bar Association

Jones: Supreme Court justices need to do some outreach

urge the court to make it clear to law schools and lower court judges, who often recommend potential law clerks to the justices, that it is seeking out applications from qualified minority members.

"They need to do some outreach," Jones says. A special effort should be made, he says, to recruit clerks from historically black law schools, which have produced only one Supreme Court clerk.

"If we can make a big enough stink about this, maybe we can exert some pressure on the court," Jones says.

But one Supreme Court expert says the court is unlikely to respond favorably to the pressure and may not even agree to meet with the minority bar groups.

"The problem with this court is that it is way too insular," says David O'Brien, a University of Virginia political scientist who has examined the role of the court in politics. "The petition of these groups would probably fall on deaf ears, especially given the court's views of affirmative action."

Recent court decisions have come down against affirmative action programs.

The minority law groups plan to ask the justices to widen their searches for qualified clerks. The USA TODAY study found that nearly 40% of clerks come from two law schools, Harvard and Yale.

Order causes little turbulence

Few delays for major operations

By David Field
USA TODAY

Boeing's 737 comes as close to being a universal airplane as there is, but Sunday's Federal Aviation Administration order of immediate inspections of the oldest of the twin-engine jets delayed almost no major U.S. airline operations.

"We have no problems here," Continental Airlines ticket agent Carlos Ramos said at Reagan Washington National Airport.

Nationwide, fewer than 1% of Continental's 1,346 scheduled flights were canceled by late Sunday afternoon, spokesman David Messing said. United Airlines had to cancel 54 flights Sunday as its older 737s were inspected. But the airline said it would have all the jets in the air by today.

"This is not impeding our operation anywhere near the level a severe-weather condition would at Denver or Chicago O'Hare" when the airline would cancel as many as 200 flights, United spokeswoman Mary Jo Holland said. Denver and Chicago are United's two major hub airports.

Phoenix-based America West Airlines had finished its inspections by Sunday afternoon and had no extra cancellations, spokeswoman Patty Nowack said.

Because the inspections can be done by mechanics as part of routine maintenance, they can be done quickly, she said.

But small airlines may have a worse time than large ones. Greensboro, N.C.-based Eastwind Airlines, which flies three Boeing 737-200s up and down the East Coast, was hoping to arrange charter flights with other airlines.



Two-hour delay: Karen Khoo waits at Reagan National Airport near Washington with her children for a friend to arrive from Chicago. The friend was late because her United flight on a 737 was grounded.

Eastwind was attracted to the 737 for the very reasons that have made it, in all its forms, the world's most widely used and best-selling jet.

When designed in the mid-1960s, the 737 suited airline needs for a efficient model that could link cities such as Houston and Chicago. Later models added the range to fly from New York to Denver nonstop.

Of 3,884 of the 737s ordered by Jan. 1, 1998, 2,975 have been delivered around the world since the first delivery in 1967.

But the FAA's order applies only to older 737s, those that have flown 50,000 or more hours, which limits it to 297 U.S. planes.

European airlines such as Lufthansa, with 65 older 737s, British Airways, with 35, and Sabena, with 15, use 737s on routes within Europe.

Although authorities overseas do not have to accept FAA orders, they have been briefed on the most recent findings in this case. They are expected to

Urgent inspection biggest since '79

The Federal Aviation Administration's inspection of Boeing 737-100s and 737-200s is the FAA's largest immediate inspection order since 1979. That's when the entire McDonnell Douglas DC-10 fleet in the USA was grounded after an accident at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. The 737-100s and -200s affected by Thursday's FAA inspection order:

Airline	Base	737s
Alaska Airlines	Seattle	2
America West	Phoenix	5
Continental	Houston	21
Delta	Atlanta	2
Eastwind	Greensboro, N.C.	3
Frontier	Denver	5
Southwest	Dallas	30
United	Chicago	44
US Airways	Washington	2
Vanguard	Kansas City, Mo.	7
Others ¹	Various	31

¹ - Includes foreign-operated 737s leased from U.S. sources

Source: Federal Aviation Administration

adopt the order, said Tom McSweeney, FAA director of aircraft certification services.

The FAA action is unusually rapid for the often-criticized agency. The independent Na-

tional Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) praised the FAA Sunday for its "aggressive" action.

But some critics were angry. "The FAA has known since the

early 1980s that wiring can be a problem in the 747s, and the 1996 TWA Flight 800 explosion investigation should have given them a greater sense of urgency," Air Travelers Association President David Stempler said.

A public interest group's report due out today faults the FAA for not reacting sooner to military aircraft wiring problems found the last decade by Defense Department inspections. "The military has known about wiring problems since the 1980s," Project On Government Oversight spokesman Marcus Corbin said. He called for immediate action toward a larger look at jets' wiring.

Recent problems have made wiring "a whole new aspect of the study of aging aircraft," says aviation attorney and former NASA engineer Mike Slack of Austin, Texas.

The problem also brings up again the 737's record. The 737 has a mystery in its past: two unexplained crashes. NTSB investigators say neither of the accidents was caused by an explosion that a wiring problem could have caused.

The first took place near Colorado Springs in March 1991. A United Airlines 737-200 nosedived into the ground, and all 25 on board were killed. In September 1994, a USAir 737-300 approaching Pittsburgh International Airport also nosedived. All 132 on board were killed.

In both cases, investigators suspect that the plane's rudder system malfunctioned. The FAA since has ordered Boeing-designed repairs on 737 rudders, and the repairs have been done.

More recent production problems on the newest 737s have not revealed any safety-related problems, although the crash in December of a 10-month-old Singapore-owned jet in Indonesia is under investigation.

Contributing: Maria Puente
► **Jets grounded, 1A**

USA TODAY • MONDAY, MAY 11, 1998

Black firms see growth

Revenue of top company drops because of sale

By David Field
USA TODAY

The 200 biggest black-owned businesses brought in \$13.2 billion and provided more than 57,000 jobs last year as government efforts boosted African-American communications and auto-supply firms.

But 1997 was the first year in which black businesses tracked by *Black Enterprise* magazine saw a drop — 6.5% — in overall revenue. That's largely due to the decision by Loida Lewis, CEO of TLC Beatrice, to sell one of its largest units, a French food-distribution business.

The magazine's 26th annual survey of the top black-owned businesses is in its June issue.

The TLC sale puts the top slot on the *Black Enterprise* list of 100 industrial/service companies in play next year. Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling, which saw a 9% increase in revenue in 1997, is poised as a contender.

But "I wouldn't be surprised to see TLC grow or make enough acquisitions to retain the first place," says *Black Enterprise* publisher and editor Earl Graves.

The magazine's separate list of 100 auto dealers was led by Mel Farr Automotive Group in Oak Park, Mich., with revenue of \$573.1 million.

The federal government has helped some black-owned businesses grow, says Alfred Edmond Jr., *Black Enterprise* executive editor. Federal Communications Commission policies encourage minority ownership of broadcast outlets. And the Clinton administration persuaded Detroit's Big Three automakers to increase purchases from minority-owned parts suppliers.

Among *Black Enterprise*'s top auto suppliers:

► The Bing Group, a Detroit firm that makes automotive interiors and trim. It had revenue of \$183 million last year and won the *Black Enterprise* Company of the Year award.

► The Bartech Group, a Detroit-area staffing agency, may go public because of its growth, founder Jon Barfield says. Its revenue was \$62 million last year.

► Engineered Plastics, which had revenue of \$28.7 million, is beefing up its injection-molding plants to supply plastic interior trim for the new Corvette and Dodge Dakota truck.

But the growth by auto suppliers contrasts with revenue decreases by *Black Enterprise* auto dealers. "At least eight car dealers sold their franchises and so are no longer black-owned," Edmond says. Among them was Alvin Smith Chevrolet Oldsmobile of Brighton, Colo., which had revenue of \$388 million in 1996.



Lewis: Her company led survey.

At top of 'Black Enterprise' list

- 1. TLC Beatrice International Holdings.** CEO: Loida Lewis. Business: manufactures and distributes grocery products. Revenue: \$1.4 billion.
- 2. Johnson Publishing.** CEO: John Johnson. Business: publishing, broadcasting, TV production, cosmetics and hair care. Revenue: \$361.1 million.
- 3. Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling.** CEO: J. Bruce Llewellyn. Business: soft-drink bottling. Revenue: \$357 million.
- 4. Active Transportation.** CEO: Charlie Johnson. Business: transportation services, hauling vehicles to dealers. Revenue: \$250 million.
- 5. The Bing Group.** CEO: Dave Bing. Business: steel processing. Revenue: \$183 million.
- 6. Granite Broadcasting.** CEO: W. Don Cornwell. Business: sells ad time. Revenue: \$181.1 million.
- 7. BET Holdings.** CEO: Robert Johnson. Business: cable programming, magazine publishing. Revenue: \$170 million.
- 8. H.J. Russell & Co.** CEO: Herman Russell. Business: construction, property management, airport concessions. Revenue: \$155.3 million.
- 9. Pulsar Data Systems.** CEO: William Davis Sr. Business: computer system sales. Revenue: \$151 million.
- 10. Anderson-Dubose.** CEO: Warren Anderson. Business: food, paper products distribution. Revenue: \$138.7 million.
- 11. World Wide Technology.** CEO: David Steward. Business: distribution of computer services. Revenue: \$135 million.
- 12. Mays Chemical.** CEO: William Mays. Business: distribution, inventory of raw materials. Revenue: \$123 million.
- 13. Midwest Stamping.** CEO: Ronald Thompson. Business: metal stamping. Revenue: \$121 million.
- 14. Barden Cos.** CEO: Don Barden. Business: casino gaming, interactive training, real estate development. Revenue: \$110 million.
- 15. Simeus Food International.** CEO: Dumas Simeus. Business: custom food manufacturing. Revenue: \$105 million.
- 16. Essence Communications.** CEO: Edward Lewis. Business: magazine publishing, entertainment. Revenue: \$104.8 million.
- 17. Spiral.** CEO: Reggie Fowler. Business: supplies, services to grocery stores. Revenue: \$100 million.
- 18. Soft Sheen Products.** CEO: Terrie Gardner. Business: hair-care products manufacturing. Revenue: \$95 million.
- 19. Wesley International.** CEO: Delbert Mullens. Business: coatings and castings. Revenue: \$95 million.
- 20. Thomas Madison.** CEO: Gerald Dodd. Business: metal fabricator. Revenue: \$90 million.
- 21. Digital Systems International.** CEO: Willie Woods. Business: information technology and marine services. Revenue: \$89.4 million.
- 22. Fuci Metals USA.** CEO: A. Demetrius Brown. Business: importer. Revenue: \$86.5 million.
- 23. Stop Shop Save Food Markets.** CEO: Henry Baines Sr. Business: groceries. Revenue: \$86.5 million.
- 24. La-Van Hawkins Urban City Foods, Burger King.** CEO: La-Van Hawkins. Business: restaurants. Revenue: \$86.4 million.
- 25. Calhoun Enterprises.** CEO: Gregory Calhoun. Business: supermarket, warehousing. Revenue: \$79.8 million.

Mars' 'face' a pile of rocks? Many insist it doesn't wash

By Paul Hoversten
USA TODAY

Whether carved by aliens or sculpted by nature, the famous "face" on Mars continues to stir up a cosmic controversy.

Never mind that NASA's Mars Global Surveyor spacecraft made three sweeps near the planet last month and sent back photos to debunk notions that an ancient civilization carved the face.

"This is ancient, ruined architecture we're seeing," insists Richard Hoagland, author of *The Monuments of Mars* and the loudest voice for the theory that aliens built the face.

NASA says Surveyor's pictures provide ample evidence that the mile-long mesa on the Martian plain Cydonia is just a naturally occurring pile of rocks. Surveyor's camera is 10 times more powerful than the one aboard the Viking probe, which in 1976 first sent back pictures of the mesa and other strange rock formations.

But on Internet sites, in calls to talk radio programs and in UFO conferences, the cry is growing for more and better pictures from different angles. The Cydonian formation has galvanized Mars buffs and the ET crowd in ways few other phenomena have.

Some believers accuse the government of hiding evidence that would "prove" that Cydonia contains too many strange architectural shapes for them to have formed naturally. The outcroppings, they say, could have taken shape only by design.

Hoagland says NASA has photographs confirming his theory but won't release them because they could so shock Earth that civilization might collapse.

"They are seeing things they did not expect. That's why they're not showing all the data," Hoagland says.

NASA says it has released everything it has on Cydonia and, for that matter, everywhere else on Mars. Officially, the agency declines to take a position on the origin of Cydonia. But some scientists note privately that Hoagland is keeping the controversy alive to push his book, videotapes, posters and speeches.

Scientists on the Surveyor mission say there's a simple explanation for why Cydonia's features appear the way they do. The same natural forces that shaped the rocks there can be found on Earth.

"The area is geologically very interesting," says Arden Albee, project scientist at the California Institute of Technology. "It looks like there were a number of layers of material laid down in the planet's formation with different hardnesses. These layers then eroded, so you get craters which are perched up in the air sort of like on a pedestal. We've seen these elsewhere on Mars."

But that assessment is not enough to keep others from joining the fray. Geologists, photography experts and architects are downloading Surveyor's pictures from the Internet and analyzing them.

Even members of Congress are taking new interest in briefings from the Planetary Society in Pasadena, Calif., on the Cydonia images and other missions to Mars.

"Those of us who have studied it are unanimous that it's artificial," says Tom Van Flandern, an astro-

mer and former head of celestial mechanics at the U.S. Naval Observatory.

Van Flandern, who runs a Washington, D.C.-based group called Meta Research that investigates celestial anomalies, doesn't buy into the theory of a government cover-up or that "UFO pilots" built monuments on Mars.

But because the Martian region has so many odd patterns and shapes, he puts the odds at a billion to 1 that all of them occurred naturally.

Van Flandern says he hopes NASA can be persuaded to take more photographs of the formation while it can.

NASA would have to race against time. On Sept. 11, Surveyor's orbit will be adjusted so it won't pass over

Cydonia every nine days, as it is now. The maneuvers are necessary to lower the spacecraft into a tight circular orbit so it can begin its primary mission of mapping the planet starting in March 1999.

No more pictures are coming anytime soon. Mars now is in solar conjunction, which means that it is behind the sun as

seen from Earth. That makes it hard for controllers to exchange transmissions with Surveyor. The cameras have been turned off, and they won't be back on until May 26, when the conjunction period ends.

At that point, the camera will take pictures as the science warrants, says Mike Ravine, advanced projects manager at Malin Space Science Systems in San Diego, which built the

camera. "We're not going to be targeting specific things. We already took the picture of the face, and I don't care what Hoagland says, it's a good picture."

As Ravine sees it, even if Surveyor takes photos only of Cydonia, it will

not be enough to satisfy believers. "I don't believe these people are going to be happy no matter what we do. The idea that I would play some willing role to suppress information that some alien civilization exists is just ridiculous."

"There is no conspiracy."

To Hoagland, the controversy will be settled only with more data.

"If we don't get it, all we'll have for the next 20 years to argue about are just these three images. That would be a tragedy."