

Schools urged to press for diversity in court clerkships

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

For years Thomas Brennan, president of the nation's fourth-largest law school, has fumed as he watches Supreme Court clerkships, the most prestigious positions a young lawyer can have, pass his students by.

Most of the clerkships go to graduates of Harvard, Yale or a handful of other elite law schools. Meanwhile, Thomas Cooley Law School in Lansing, Mich., with 1,581 students and an incoming class that is 34% minority, gets none.

"Unless the law schools object to the kind of discrimination going on at the Supreme Court, we can't complain," says Brennan, founder of the school and a former Michigan Supreme Court justice.

Brennan is complaining, sparked in part by a report in USA TODAY this spring that detailed the lack of diversity in the ranks of the powerful Supreme Court law clerks. Only

one of the nine justices, John Paul Stevens, has ever hired more than one black law clerk during his or her court tenure.

An outcry by law school deans is needed, Brennan says, to get the court to change. Brennan may suggest development of an exam, which any law student could take, to develop a broader list of potential clerks.

Brennan's frustration is shared by other leaders of the legal profession, who see danger in the court's narrow law clerk selection process and the subsequent homogeneous makeup of the clerks. Today, leaders of the minority bar groups are meeting in Washington to figure out ways the clerk jobs can be diversified. And a committee of the American Bar Association is pushing to bring more minorities into clerkships at all judicial levels.

Critics say the dominance of white males from elite law schools in the ranks of the law clerks may influence the type of cases the court accepts and



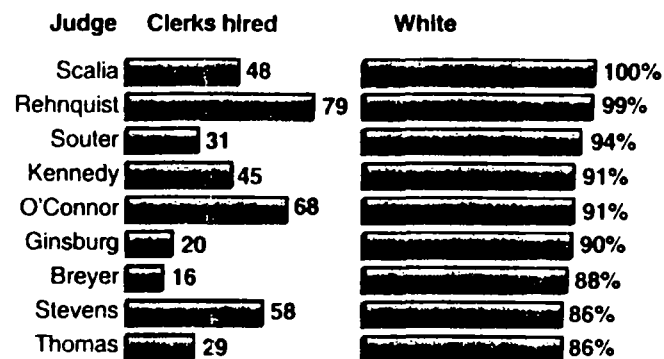
Jones: Justices choosing clerks 'who look and think like them.'

how its opinions are written. Those are the two areas in which the clerks hold the most sway, powers some say have grown too great.

In addition, the prestige of clerking at the nation's highest court means former clerks can command the best salaries at the USA's best law firms.

Most court clerks white males

Supreme Court justices can have up to four law clerks per term. Of the 394 clerks picked by the current nine justices during their tenures, three out of four have been men and the vast majority have been white. Each justice's law clerk hiring record:



Source: USA TODAY research

USA TODAY

"The justices are picking only people who look and think like them," says Randy Jones, president of the National Bar Association. "There are qualified African-Americans."

Each justice has complete discretion to hire three or four law clerks annually. Most of the clerks are one year out of law school.

Justices often depend on for-

mer clerks or trusted law professors and lower court judges to recommend potential clerks from among the hundreds of applications they receive.

Richard Willard, a Washington, D.C., lawyer who assists Justice Anthony Kennedy and other justices in their law clerk searches, says the low numbers of minorities is more the fault of law schools than the justices. The top ranks of the top law schools include few minorities.

"The justices are anxious to have clerks who are minorities, if their academic records show they are qualified," Willard says. "To the extent that these numbers are low, they may reflect what is happening at the law schools."

Officials of Harvard and Yale offered no comment. But several lawyers say that explanation for the lack of diversity among clerks is inadequate. Qualified minority clerks can be found, if only the justices would seek them out.

"The justices are not (discriminating) consciously, but they are also not putting forward any extra effort to find clerks of color," says Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer, who has led American Bar Association efforts to increase minorities in the legal profession.

Michigan Judge Benjamin Logan, heading the ABA effort to increase the number of minority law clerks, says minority lawyers feel discouraged from applying for clerkships.

"If you make it clear you don't want me at your house, I'm not going to keep knocking on your door," Logan says.

Jones says the court should take a number of "affirmative steps" to seek out qualified minorities, including recruitment at historically black law schools. Only one clerk in the court's history, a graduate of Howard University, has been a graduate of one of the four black law schools.

► Pressuring the court, 1A

Tomb's remains to be exhumed

Testing set for Vietnam Unknown

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

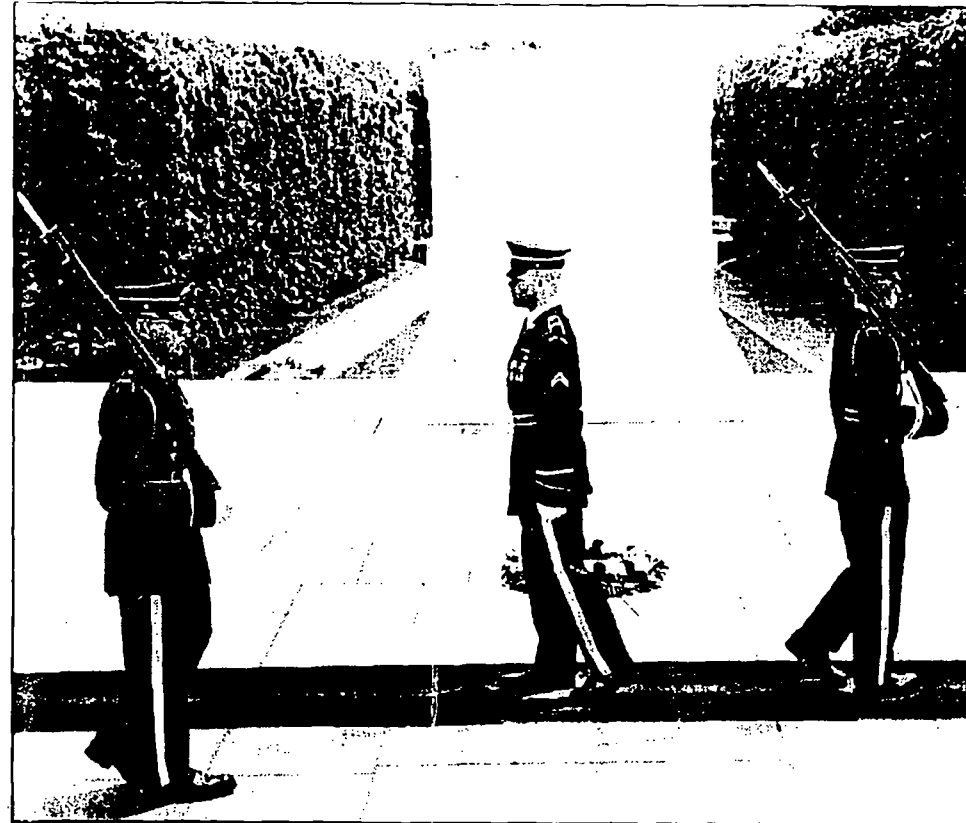
ARLINGTON, Va. — Defense Secretary William Cohen, as expected, ordered the remains of the Vietnam serviceman in the Tomb of the Unknowns Thursday to be exhumed next week for DNA testing that could determine his identity.

"If we can identify the remains now, we have an obligation to try," Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said. He said Cohen weighed the sanctity of the Tomb against the need to account for every American lost in combat.

The type of testing to be used looks for mitochondrial DNA, a genetic marker found in cells. MtDNA testing had not been developed when the remains were interred on Memorial Day 1984. This Memorial Day, they will likely sit on an examination table at the military's Washington forensics lab.

The remains, contained in a steel casket inside a concrete crypt beneath a marble and granite plaza, are scheduled to be disinterred next Thursday. Cohen is expected to attend a brief public ceremony.

Arlington National Cemetery superintendent Jack Metzler said an 8-foot privacy fence will be erected to shield the exhumation. It will require a crane and cost \$20,000. He said the "delicate work" involves taking care not to disturb the unknowns from World War II and



Exhumation is next week: DNA testing could help determine the identity of the Vietnam serviceman buried in the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington, Va.

By Chris Kleponis, Reuters

Korea, who rest on either side of the Vietnam Unknown.

Metzler said the shrine, visited by millions each year, will be returned to normal as soon as the casket is removed.

The Tomb's 24-hour military honor guard will continue uninterrupted. It will patrol on the other side of the marble sarcophagus that holds the Unknown of World War I.

Cohen's unprecedented decision comes a week after a Pentagon working group recom-

mended opening the Tomb. The panel was formed at the urging of the family of Air Force 1st Lt. Michael Blassie, which believes his remains were interred there.

Blassie, 24, a pilot, was shot down near An Loc, South Vietnam, on May 11, 1972. Searchers later found remains with Blassie's identification card and parts of an ejection seat, parachute and life raft from his A-37 jet. The ID card was later lost.

The Tomb remains were at first labeled "believed to be" Blassie because of the ID card. But after forensic tests, now considered less than reliable, pointed away from Blassie, the remains were reclassified "unidentifiable." They were later selected for the Tomb.

Cohen's decision "takes us one step closer to bringing Michael home," said his sister, Pat Blassie. "We believe the results of the MtDNA test will finally answer all the questions."

But Blassie also said her family would seek outside consultants to verify test results. POW/MIA activists have accused the Pentagon of bowing to political pressure and rushing to inter a Vietnam Unknown before all identification efforts were exhausted.

After the disinterment, a hearse will take the remains to Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington. Forensic anthropologists will study the bones to develop a "biological profile" that would include the person's age, sex, race and estimated height.

They will then extract samples of the four ribs, part of a pelvis and an upper arm bone interred 14 years ago. Scientists say there is a better than 50% chance the remains contain enough MtDNA for testing.

The samples will then be sent to the Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory in Rockville, Md. Since 1991, the lab has used MtDNA testing to identify 93 sets of remains, including 72 from Southeast Asia, three from Korea, 15 from World War II and three from the Civil War.

Unlike nuclear DNA, which changes from one generation to another because it is inherited from both mother and father, MtDNA remains very similar over time because it is passed down only through the mother. And MtDNA can remain in bones for centuries.

Scientists will ask the maternal relatives of nine missing fliers lost near An Loc around the same time as Blassie to submit blood samples for comparison. Among them is Army Capt. Rodney Strobbridge, 30, a helicopter pilot whose height, age and blood type appear to match the remains.

Intensive Care, Intensive Battle: HMOs' Unpaid Bills

By DAVID S. HILZENBATH
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Jacqueline Lee of Bethesda fell off a 40-foot cliff in the Shenandoah Mountains while hiking in the summer of 1996 and was taken by helicopter to a Virginia hospital with fractures of her skull, arm and pelvis. Her HMO, Optimum Choice Inc., refused to pay the hospital, saying it failed to obtain "pre-authorization."

More than a year later, after the hospital sued her for \$10,238.08, Lee sought help from the Maryland Insurance Administration. Optimum Choice partly relented in January, agreeing to pay \$5,353 of emergency room and air ambulance charges.

But Maryland Insurance Commissioner Steven B. Larsen said that wasn't good enough. Last week, he fined the HMO \$1,000 and ordered it to pay the entire bill.

The injured hiker's case illustrates the latest struggle that hospitals and doctors in the mid-Atlantic region say they are facing in their long-running battle with HMOs and other health plans: getting paid.

Increasingly, health plans are delaying and denying payment for care that has already been delivered, hospital executives in Maryland and Virginia say. Insurance executives, for their part, say they are becoming more adept at spotting inappropriate bills.

The controversy has become an issue in the Maryland legislature, where some lawmakers have proposed tightening regulation of medical payments and increasing penalties for violators.

In many instances, doctors say, Maryland health plans have refused to pay emergency room charges for medical emergencies—visits that insurers are obligated to cover under a 1993 Maryland law.

Instead, health plans have left Lee and other patients responsible for the bills, doctors say.

Optimum Choice's corporate parent, Mid Atlantic Medical Services Inc. of Rockville, has even boasted to Wall Street of its success in finding reasons to invalidate medical claims it has already paid. The company sought at least \$12 million in refunds from

See INSURERS, A14, Col. 1

INSURERS, From A1

health care providers last year. Returning the disputed amounts is not necessarily a matter of choice: In mailings to doctors, MAMSI said it would dock future payments if they failed to comply.

"Probably the brightest spot in our operations is the improvement in our claims-auditing capability," MAMSI Chief Financial Officer Robert E. Foss said in a recent conference call with stock analysts. "We have identified and taken advantage of significant opportunities to reduce current and future medical expenses by more closely challenging the contractual and medical appropriateness of claims received."

The tug of war over payments is another front in the conflict between health care providers and cost-cutting insurance plans. Previously, the two groups have clashed over issues such as health insurers' efforts to shorten hospital stays, restrict access to medical specialists, limit patients' choices of doctors and hospitals, and require advance approval for tests and procedures.

As formerly passive insurers become strict disciplinarians, much of the health care system finds itself tied in bureaucratic knots.

Health care providers say payment denials and delays have intensified as health plans struggle to improve their profitability. Hospitals say the unpaid bills make it harder to serve the public.

Among Maryland hospitals, the frustration is so widespread that "every one of our acute care hospitals... have agreed that they will participate in a coordinated appeal to the [state] insurance administration," said Nancy Fiedler, spokeswoman for the Maryland Hospital Association. The hospitals plan to cite Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Maryland, MAMSI and possibly others, Fiedler said.

MAMSI Vice Chairman Thomas P. Barbera said he was unaware of their grievances but welcomed a review of the facts. "It's very difficult for us to fix it if they don't show us it is broken," he said. "If in fact we can improve, we will."

Blue Cross Administrative Director Kevin C. O'Neill said his company is examining bills more closely to ensure "that we're not paying for things needlessly or inappropriately." Even so, he said, the volume of denied charges is "minuscule" in relation to overall payments to hospitals.

Both companies said they pay promptly except when they have reason to question a bill.

Some of the loudest complaints have come from physician groups that staff Maryland emergency rooms. They have asserted that many charges are being rejected outright or "downcoded" to

amounts that do not reflect the extent of the care provided.

A recent study of MAMSI's payments for emergency care at five Maryland hospitals found that it rejected physicians' charges in 29 percent of cases over several months. In those instances MAMSI paid only a "screening fee," the minimum payment required by law in non-emergencies (typically \$20 for MAMSI), according to Reimbursement Technologies Inc., the doctors' billing agency.

Maryland law prohibits HMOs from requiring prior authorization for treatment of emergencies. In addition, Maryland was the first state to mandate that health plans pay for emergency room visits when a patient has reason to believe he or she is experiencing a medical emergency, such as a heart attack—even if the pain is later diagnosed as simple heartburn. Now, some emergency doctors and firms that process their bills say the laws aren't working as intended.

HMOs have denied as non-emergencies visits by an insulin-dependent woman whose husband found her "pale, sweaty and unconscious" and a patient with a cardiac history who suddenly developed "crushing chest pain," emergency doctor L.D. Romane, treasurer of Emergency Physician Associates in Frederick, wrote in a November letter to a legislator.

Columbia Medical Plan, a Blue Cross HMO, disputed charges for a 76-year-old woman whose doctor sent her to the emergency room with a broken arm, Romane said. The HMO agreed to pay the full amount only after the case was referred to the Maryland Insurance Administration, he said in an interview.

In a letter last week, the agency told Columbia Medical Plan that "we strongly disagree" with the HMO's position that several other cases on appeal were not medical emergencies.

Maryland Blue Cross officials said they could not comment on specific cases, citing patient confidentiality. But Robert Sheff, president of the company's HMOs, said, "We apply the statute in the very best and most honest way we can."

MAMSI sees only the final diagnosis—not the patient's symptoms—when it receives an emergency claim, making it hard to evaluate the merits, MAMSI Senior Director Elizabeth Sammis recently told a Maryland House committee.

Hospital executives say health plans are often justified in rejecting claims. But they contend that health plans are rejecting many valid claims by applying arbitrary standards and ignoring the complexities of individual cases.

"There are many aspects of this denial of payment situation which are, to put it simply, unfair and wrong," three executives of Northwest Hospital Center in

Randallstown, Md., said in a letter to legislators.

In some cases, hospitals kept patients longer than necessary because they were waiting for the health plan to authorize transfer to a nursing home or because no beds were available at rehabilitation facilities on the health plan's approved list, executives said.

Often, bills are rejected with only perfunctory explanation, as a Feb. 2 rejection letter from Blue Cross and Blue Shield of

Maryland to the Randallstown hospital illustrates.

"Our decision has been rendered by experienced clinical staff based upon recognized medical criteria for acute inpatient care which are applied to all BCBSMD members," the letter said.

The patient, a retired state employee, had been hospitalized because an accumulation of fluid in his abdomen was impairing his breathing, physician Ira Copeland said. Northwest was ready to send the man to a nursing home on Dec. 24, but Blue Cross did not give its approval until Dec. 28, when its offices reopened after the holiday weekend, Copeland said.

"What are we supposed to do? Put him on the street? It's ridiculous," Copeland said.

Blue Cross's O'Neill said the company keeps "normal business hours" and "there is some substance to" criticism that approvals could be hard to get on weekends.

In other disputed cases, hospitals admitted people for evaluation of serious symptoms but doctors failed to diagnose a serious illness. Doctors and hospital executives say they lack the benefit of hindsight when deciding how to treat such patients.

That was the trouble last April when Washington County Hospital in Hagerstown admitted a woman with "severe excruciating abdominal pain which did not respond well to narcotic pain medication," according to a pending complaint to the Maryland insurance commissioner by physician Allen W. Ditto. Though the pain virtually disappeared and the patient was sent home within 48 hours, the doctor said in an interview that he thought she might have been suffering from appendicitis or a ruptured ovarian cyst.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1998

1/2

For Computer Have-Nots, A Web of School Problems

Educators Struggle to Make Machines Available

By DAVID NAKAMURA
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

When Tiffany Johnson gets a major homework assignment, she starts calling her friends to see if one of them will let her come over. It's not companionship she's after. It's a computer.

When that doesn't work, she sometimes will do her homework in the school's computer lab, even though it means skipping lunch or a class. The year that she took a computer course, she often ignored what the other students were doing and used the machines to type her English papers.

Hunting down a computer is always a hassle, said the senior at Montgomery's Paint Branch High School. But the alternative—trying to do research without the

Internet and turning in papers that are poorly typed and lack eye-catching graphics—is practically unthinkable, she said.

"It's totally impossible to function without a computer now for school," said Johnson, 17, an honors student who said her parents cannot afford one. "It's a big handicap not to have one at home."

With children now doing homework on computers as early as the first or second grade, students such as Johnson are at a huge disadvantage, educators say.

And although falling computer prices have made the machines more affordable for many families, Johnson is not so unusual. A recent survey by Montgomery school officials found that 25 percent of the district's students did not have a home

computer. "The assignments required a lot of research that she did on the Internet. If she didn't have a computer, I don't know how she would have been able to do her work."

Eleanor Toth, a third-grade science teacher at Hyattsville Elementary School in Prince George's County, said she wasn't expecting anyone to use a computer when she asked her students to do research on the human digestive system. While most of the class turned in hand-drawn diagrams, one boy submitted charts, graphs and drawings that he had downloaded on his computer.

"The difference in the presentation was shocking," Toth said. She said she still hasn't decided whether to give the student extra credit for the work.

School officials say that computer inequities in the home, although worrisome, are difficult to address and that their main priority in technology spending is to install more computers and Internet hookups in school buildings.

Some schools have tried to tackle the problem by keeping their computer labs open before and after school. But officials at many schools say that they can't afford to pay their staff overtime and that they have trouble finding teachers who are willing to volunteer their time to monitor the labs.

"It's rare that schools will make computers available on a regular basis after hours—it's an issue of cost," said Joseph Hawkins, a Montgomery school administrator who helped conduct the district's recent technology survey. "Generally, kids can use the computer labs during school hours but not after school or on weekends."

A few schools have tried lending laptop computers to students. Officials at Sligo Middle School in Montgomery, for example, reserved 25 laptops for students who had no computer at home. But the experiment was short-lived.

"It helped—we did get some families into using computers," said Robin Lupia, Sligo's assistant principal. "But we ran into problems. They were old computers. We had a lot break down."

The development of new lower-cost computers offers the best hope for such students, most school officials agree. The price of a desktop computer with Internet access has already fallen to about \$1,300, including the cost of the monitor, printer and modem.

The parents of Frank Cobey, a sixth-grader at Hyattsville Elementary, say that's still more than they can afford. Frank's mother works in the school's cafeteria, and his father puts up signs for the state highway department.

Frank, 11, said he sometimes imagines what it would be like to have a computer at home. "They'd probably have books on the computer I could read, math problems I could practice," he said.

His mother, Donna Hanna, said she realizes that a computer would help him. "I think the computer would make learning more enjoyable for him," she said. "Children learn quickly on the computer, and I think they like working on it better than going to a library and looking through books."

Sergio Blanco, 15, a sophomore at Herndon High School, said he routinely goes to the public library to work on research papers while many of his classmates are looking up the information on the Internet in far less time. Twice a week, the high school's computer lab stays open an extra hour after school, but those computers often are all taken, Blanco said.

"Sometimes I try to use the library computers, but you can only use them for half an hour," he said. "That's not enough time."

Daryush Assar, a Herndon High freshman, said he has trouble finishing his biology homework because the teacher requires that it be typed. Sometimes he asks his cousin if he can borrow his computer, but usually he has to do the work on an old typewriter.

"It takes longer because you can't move things around and do stuff you can do with better computers," he said.

There is a downside to relying on a computer to do one's homework, educators say. Downloading information on the Internet is so easy that it can breed laziness, and teachers say they sometimes find students using material that they have not understood or analyzed.

Nonetheless, the student without Internet exposure is missing out on a powerful learning tool, teachers say. Dave Campbell, a world studies teacher at Herndon High, said he considers it essential to teach Internet research habits to his students and always requires them to do a project that involves collecting information from different Web sites.

He concedes that this makes it hard on students who can't get on the Web from home. On the other hand, he said, the assignment is good for them because it forces them to spend more time on a computer.

"The students who don't have computers might have to use the computers in the [school] media center before or after school or at lunch," he said. "They can get it done, but they might have to sacrifice something else."

Hawkins, the Montgomery County administrator, said his school system needs to do more to help such students. Montgomery and other Washington area districts should follow the example of places such as San Francisco and Union City, N.J., where businesses have donated computers to students, Hawkins said. He also said the county itself should spend money to buy computers for the most needy children.

"There's not a serious systemwide agenda to address the issue," Hawkins said.

As for Tiffany Johnson, she is competing against classmates like Erin Washington, who owns a Hewlett-Packard PC.

"I'd spend two or three hours in the library," Washington said, recalling the days before she had the machine. "Now I get information on the Internet in a matter of minutes. And I can hook up to the library from my computer. If they have a book, I call them and ask them to hold it for me and I go pick it up."

Johnson's mother, Jacqueline, is a telephone interviewer for a radio ratings company, and her father, Edward, is an assistant manager at a mattress store. Jacqueline Johnson said they hope to help their daughter buy a computer soon.

Tiffany Johnson said she's working at a pizza restaurant to earn money toward that goal and hopes to have her computer before she enters Howard University this fall.

"That's my goal," she said. "From what I hear, you really need one in college."

See COMPUTERS, A11, Col. 1

COMPUTERS, From A1

computer, let alone an Internet connection.

A Washington area survey last August by Scarborough Report Corp., a market research company, reported similar findings: 71 percent of area households with children ages 12 to 17 had a computer, and only 45 percent had a computer with a modem. Nationwide, 60 percent of households with children have a computer, according to a report this week by Computer Intelligence, another market research firm.

The gulf between students who have a home computer and those who don't is one of the most troubling inequities in the education system, teachers and school administrators say. It isn't just that the have-nots are forced to turn in work that is less polished. They also are falling behind in computer skills they will need in college and in the job market, and they are unlikely to be exposed to as many facts and ideas as classmates who can deftly navigate the Internet, educators say.

The differences in computer equipment from one home to another have put teachers in a bind when deciding what assignments to make and how to assess students' work. Many teachers say they feel compelled to assign homework that will help their pupils discover the Internet's potential, although they know that those who can't access it from home will have trouble completing the work.

"My daughter was in a government class last year, and what the teachers expected just blew me away," said Maryann Barton, who teaches computer classes at Fairfax's Her-

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1998

FEDERAL DIARY

Mike Causey

Attack on Open Season Meets Fierce Foes

The Clinton administration drive to kill this year's July-December pension plan open season was dealt a powerful—maybe fatal—blow yesterday.

In effect, the Republican and Democratic traffic cops, who control the flow of civil service legislation in the House, said they will fight any effort to deny 1 million federal workers the right to switch pension plans. The open season is law. But the White House wants to kill it, something that would require help from the Republican leadership.

During the open season, federal employees covered by the regular Civil Service Retirement System (mostly people hired before 1984) and those under the "offset" Civil Service Retirement System could switch into the newer Federal Employees Retirement System. FERS employees would not be allowed to return to the CSRS program. This would be the first open season in a decade and would probably be the last chance workers will have to switch plans.

The Clinton administration said Congress acted in haste, approving the open season almost overnight and without hearings or considering added costs to the taxpayers of any massive pension plan switch. Under FERS, employees contribute less to their federal retirement plan, but they can invest much more tax-deferred money (with a government match) in the federal 401(k) plan.

But since the CSRS-to-FERS switch was proposed by Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), chairman of the Appropriations Committee, it is unlikely the Senate would vote to reverse itself and kill the open season.

Leaders who control the House civil service turf slammed the door yesterday—and tried to block all emergency exits—on any effort to kill off the open season on the House side.

Rep. John L. Mica (R-Fla.), the chairman, and Rep. Elijah E. Cummings (D-Md.), the ranking minority member of the House civil service subcommittee, said in a letter that it would be unfair and unwise to deny workers the chance to change retirement plans. They said workers under the CSRS program have learned a lot about FERS (especially its more generous 401(k) option) since the last open season, when only 4 percent of eligible employees changed plans.

The letter from Mica and Cummings was signed by Reps. Constance A. Morella (R-Md.), Harold E. Ford Jr. (D-Tenn.), Pete Sessions (R-Tex.) and Mike Pappas (R-N.J.) and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.). It urged the Appropriations and Budget committees to reject any White House attempt to slip an open-season-killer amendment into any must-pass

appropriations bill in this short session of Congress. It's important, the letter said, "for Congress to dispel any uncertainty as to its position on this open season. . . . We will not support legislation to repeal the provision in law that was enacted last year."

The administration has told agencies not to advertise the open season while it is trying to squash it. But yesterday's bipartisan pitch, although not the last word, will make it tougher for the White House to slip a pension-plan-killer bill through Congress.

Managers to Meet

The Federal Managers Association's seminar on challenges facing managers will be March 23 at the Sheraton Premiere at Tysons Corner.

Speakers scheduled for the session include Lawrence J. Korb, former assistant secretary of defense, and Kenneth Duberstein, who was chief of staff to President Ronald Reagan. For registration, call 703-683-8700.

Retiree Session

Al James Golato, vice president of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees, will speak at a luncheon of the association's Gaithersburg chapter March 24 at Asbury Methodist Village. For details, call Roma Diehl at 301-869-7348.

New Political Team

The American Postal Workers Union and the Communications Workers of America (which includes the Newspaper Guild) have set up a joint political action alliance.

CWA President Morton Bahr and APWU President Moe Biler met last month at APWU headquarters to work out details of a program that will let the two AFL-CIO unions decide which of their political friends get PAC donations and endorsements.

Financial Management Conference

The Joint Financial Management Improvement Program will have its annual conference March 25 at the Washington Hilton.

Scheduled speakers include General Services Administrator David Barram, presidential assistant John Koskinen and G. Edward DeSeve, acting director of the Office of Management and Budget. For conference details, call Isabelle Howes at 202-314-3417.

Thursday, March 12, 1998

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1998

TRENDLINES

Closing the Income Gap

The War on Poverty May Be a Limited War

By STEVEN PEARLSTEIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Thirty years ago, President Lyndon Johnson boldly declared the government's determination to eliminate poverty in the United States. Lots of programs were launched but enough of them were ineffective that many Americans came to the conclusion that the Great Society was nothing more than a pipe dream.

Now a new study from the liberal Center on Budget and Policy Priorities shows that the war on poverty has not been in vain. The center found that, despite years of budget cutting and a steady decline in wages at the bottom of the income ladder, the government's social safety net remains an effective tool in raising people above the official poverty line.

The accompanying chart shows that, after taking into account the beneficial effects of current government programs, it would now take only \$61 billion more to bring the incomes of all poor Americans up to the poverty line. That's less than 1 percent of the country's total annual output, the gross domestic product. And \$61 billion is about what some private analysts now expect the federal budget surplus to be this year or next.

Is it possible that the government already has the financial resources to make good on Lyndon Johnson's pledge to wipe out poverty in

Once some sort of income guarantee is announced, for example, the "gap" that needs to be closed will immediately become bigger as some people decide to work less (or claim to). In other cases, people will decide to respond to the prospect of government aid by shirking parental responsibility, reducing retirement savings or donating less to charities or family members.

"The \$61 billion poverty gap is a description of the problem, not a description of the solution," Primus said.

Indeed, part of the current dilemma for those looking to finish the war on poverty is that the poverty most easily solvable by government check-writing has already been done.

Because the earning power of the elderly or the handicapped is often quite low, for example, monthly payments from Social Security or Supplemental Security Income have proven pretty effective in

reducing poverty without serious negative impact on work incentives.

Similarly, providing unemployment insurance or issuing food stamps seems to be a successful anti-poverty strategy for those who fall temporarily below the poverty line because of a job loss or divorce or medical problem—an overwhelming majority of the non-elderly poor.

But according to Northwestern University sociologist Susan Mayer, once those groups have been taken care of and a minimal level of welfare benefits are provided to mothers with children, providing any additional funds probably won't do much to eliminate the poverty that remains.

In a controversial new book entitled, "What Money Can't Buy," Mayer played out a little thought experiment. What would happen, she asked, if the government magically doubled the income of Americans in the bottom fifth of the income scale without having any negative

impact on work incentives of the poor or the tax rates of the middle class? And how would that extra money improve the long-term prospects of children in poor families?

Not much, Mayer concluded after analyzing the results of dozens of earlier studies. Whether measured by out-of-wedlock births or future wages or high school drop-out rates or incarceration rates, the impact of extra household income is likely to be very small, she found.

"The truth of the matter is that once you get the poverty rate down to 10 percent of the population," said Mayer, "then you have to start looking at a range of difficult problems ranging from personality disorders and alcoholism to plain old laziness and sloth. And none of these is going to be easily solved by sending a bigger check."

In some cases, Mayer said, government might be able to reduce poverty over the long term by providing a job to someone who has been chronically unemployed, or providing higher-quality day care to a working mother. Other households might benefit more from drug treatment programs or something so mundane as training parents to be better parents. But figuring out which kind of assistance is best for which households, Mayer concedes, is tricky and is probably beyond the reach of government bureaucracies.

"It is a great embarrassment to those of us who look at these things that we can't tell you, with any certainty, what would be the best way to spend the next million dollars if you wanted to reduce long-term poverty," said Mayer, a liberal Democrat who herself was once a struggling single mom.

If there is a simple message here, it may be this: It's a lot easier to reduce poverty than it is to eliminate it altogether.

See TRENDLINES, D4, Col. 1

TRENDLINES, From D1

America?

Alas, no, says Wendell Primus, a former official at the Department of Health and Human Services and one of the authors of the center's study.

Primus and other experts say that if we've learned anything since the Great Society, it is that social programs can and do have perverse effects on the economy and on the behavior of people both above and below the poverty line.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1998

COURTLAND MILLOY

Returning Clinton's Embrace

After the State of the Union address last week, several members of the Congressional Black Caucus rushed to hug President Clinton—apparently unfettered by the sex scandal that has engulfed him.

As some other lawmakers were fleeing the Capitol chambers, Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) could be seen on television embracing the president, his richly expressive face pressed tightly against Clinton's shoulder. It was the personification of a unique emotional quid pro quo that many African Americans have with this man.

And now it was our turn to feel *his* pain. "Before the speech, I asked my mother, who is 84 and lives in rural Alabama, what she thought of Clinton, and she said she supports him," Lewis explained later. "She said, 'You all should leave the president alone and let him do his job.' She thinks those who are doing the criticizing ought to look in their own closets."

Lewis's mother is not alone.

According to a Washington Post poll taken Wednesday through yesterday, more than 85 percent of African Americans, compared with 63 percent of whites, continue to approve of Clinton and think he has the honesty and integrity to do the job.

Even more striking, 68 percent of blacks say they "strongly approve" of Clinton's performance, compared with only 38 percent of whites. And 74 percent of African Americans say the alleged Clinton sex scandal is much ado about nothing. Only 58 percent of whites feel that way.

This outpouring of black support for Clinton comes in part because he, unlike so many presidents in the past, actively reaches out to African Americans.

See MILLOY, B5, Col. 5

MILLOY, From B1

It was a nice touch, for instance, for him to invite the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson to the White House, where the two men prayed and watched the Super Bowl together. And many applauded the uncommon sensitivity that Clinton showed during the State of the Union speech, when he singled out Army Sgt. Michael Tolbert, an African American, for heroism in Bosnia—and did not use a black woman as his example for welfare reform.

Yet a survey of African Americans taken last year by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies suggests that at the root of this support is something of a phenomenon—reflecting, perhaps, a fundamental difference in the way many blacks and whites see the world.

"Blacks tend to view the economy, especially issues around jobs and unemployment, as a top priority, while whites surveyed do not see that as the most important issue facing the country today," said Ron Lester, a Democratic pollster who analyzed the Joint Center findings. "Blacks are more concerned about racism, poverty, crime and drugs than whites, who seem to be more interested in 'moral decline,' taxes and the national debt. Blacks see Clinton addressing their issues. And they really like his style because he seems to recognize that African Americans, because of a unique history and culture, are not just white people painted black."

According to the Joint Center survey, black people give Clinton an unprecedented 90 percent approval rating—making him the most beloved public figure in black America. (Jesse Jackson got a 86.6 percent approval rating; Colin Powell, 69.7 percent; Al Gore, 67.8; and Louis Farrakhan, 40.1).

We like Clinton, the polls say, because black unemployment has been cut in half during his term in office. We appreciate the fact that he did not wait for a race riot to recognize that racism is

still a problem in America. When Clinton goes to black churches, he sings gospel songs without using a hymnal. We notice that he actually knows the words, and we like what we see.

"Black people see the contrast between Clinton and [House Speaker] Newt Gingrich, who opposed health care [and was against] expanded child immunization and better school lunch programs," Lester said. "And they saw Clinton stop Gingrich in his tracks. To us, he is our last line of defense."

None of this is to suggest that blacks turn a blind eye to wrongdoing. Quite the contrary. What seems to distinguish many blacks and whites is the degree to which some wrongs appear worse than others.

"If you want to talk about morality and sin, and what is the greater sin, most black people agree with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.—having so many poor people in this land of plenty is immoral," Lewis said. "Having 40 million people without health insurance is a sin. Sending children to bed hungry and to school hungry, that's not right. When you have a media that pays no attention to the plight of people in Appalachia, to the desperate straits of Native Americans on those reservations, to the poverty-stricken in southwest Georgia and in the Mississippi Delta, but goes overboard with rumor, allegation and sleaze, it makes people sick to their stomach."

For many African Americans, public officials—especially white ones—are not looked to for moral leadership. They are expected to help find ways to bring more of us into the mainstream of American life. Period. Clinton is head and shoulders above the rest on this score.

Moral guidance, many blacks believe, comes from having a right relationship with God. Once established, it becomes possible to see Clinton, as Lewis's mother does, for who he is—a good, but imperfect man, in need of redemption, like everybody else.

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1998

Blacks and Hispanic Americans Face Greater Risk of Alzheimer's

CHICAGO, March 10 (AP) — Blacks and some Hispanic Americans have a puzzling, additional risk factor that makes them much more susceptible than whites to Alzheimer's disease, researchers say.

It has been known since 1992 that people with a certain gene have a greatly elevated risk for developing the disease. Now, researchers say that even without that suspect gene, blacks and a group of Hispanic Americans mainly from the Caribbean have been found to be at much greater risk than whites for Alzheimer's.

"We think it's another biological factor, another gene or genes that account for this," said Dr. Richard Mayeux, a neurologist at Columbia University who is an author of a study being published on Wednesday in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*.

About 25 percent of the total population has the apolipoprotein E-4 gene, or apo E-4, which is known to be closely associated with the disease, although its exact role remains unknown.

The survey of 1,079 elderly men and women found that blacks who lacked the gene were four times more likely than whites to get the disease. The risk to Hispanic Americans was double that of whites. Dr. Mayeux said the Hispanic Americans in the study did not identify themselves as white or black. In both cases, the influence of age, sex, education, hypertension and family history of dementia was ruled out.

About 10 percent of the white population lacking the gene would be ex-

pected to get the disease, Dr. Mayeux said. Blacks and Hispanic Americans were known to have higher rates of the disease, although the exact numbers are not firm and have been disputed, he said.

Other researchers not associated with the study said the results suggest that being black may be one of the strongest risk factors for Alzheimer's disease yet observed. The results are "provocative and exciting" because they suggest new approaches to fully understanding the causes of the disease, Dr. Walter A. Kukull and Dr. George M. Martin wrote in an editorial accompanying the research. Dr. Kukull and Dr. Martin are associated with the Alzheimer's Disease Research Center at the University of Washington.

An estimated four million Americans have Alzheimer's and 100,000 die of it every year.

The 1,079 subjects of the survey were Medicare recipients living in New York City. At the start of the study, none was found to have Alzheimer's. Symptoms of the disease later developed in 221 of the subjects.

With the apo E-4 gene, the rate of Alzheimer's disease was about 30 percent across racial and ethnic lines, Dr. Mayeux said. "The surprise came in people without the gene," he said.

The researchers who conducted the survey, led by Dr. Ming-Xin Tang of Columbia University, said the next step was to zero in on what caused the elevated risk in blacks and Hispanic Americans.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1998

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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-1980s, 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 7.5 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.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Kerner Prophecy on Race Relations Came True, Report Says

Despite Progress, Foundation Finds 'Separate and Unequal' Societies More Deeply Rooted

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer

Thirty years after a presidential commission declared "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal," that dire warning has become reality, according to a report to be released today.

The Kerner Commission's prophecy has come to pass, states the report from the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation, a group founded to continue the work of the commission, which was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to probe the causes of rioting in urban America in the 1960s.

The new report notes that substantial racial progress has occurred in the three decades since the Kerner Commission released its groundbreaking report. The black middle class has grown to unprecedented levels, black business has expanded and the number of black elected officials continues to increase. But even with those gains, inequalities with troubling racial dimensions are becoming more deeply rooted in American society, the report concludes.

"The rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer and minorities are suffering disproportionately," said the report, co-written by Eisenhower President Lynn A. Curtis and former senator Fred R. Harris (D). The report lists an array of racial and economic statistics to back its bleak conclusions. While the American economy booms, most adults in many inner cities do not work in a typical week. The top 1 percent of Americans have more wealth than the bottom 90 percent, the report says, placing the United States first in the world among industrialized nations when it comes to wealth inequality.

In addition, 40 percent of minority children attend urban schools, where more than half of the students are poor and fail to reach even "basic" achievement levels. With 1.5 million prisoners, the United States incarcerates more people than any nation in the world, and one in

three young African American men are in prison on parole or probation.

The private market has failed the inner city. The prison system is a symbol of discrimination. A class and racial breach is widening again as we begin the new millennium, the report said.

The report's conclusions parallel those of two other reports issued by the Eisenhower Foundation that update the Kerner Commission's work. It calls for the expansion of initiatives it says have the proven ability to close the nation's economic and racial gaps, including Head Start, well-structured after-school programs, targeted job training and community-sensitive police strategies.

"The private market has failed the inner city. The prison system is a symbol of discrimination. A class and racial breach is widening again as we begin the new millennium."

— Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation Report

"The main phrase that we use is replication [of programs] on a scale that is equal to the scale of the problem," Curtis said in an interview. "There is a lot of stuff that works. All we have to do is fully fund it. It is not like there is a lot of magic involved in this."

Critics, however, called the report pessimistic and dismissed its central findings as out of sync with the nation's increasingly complex social and racial realities.

"At the core of the Kerner report is this notion that blacks are trapped in the inner city

and poverty and whites are in the suburbs. But here, there is no mention of the fact that you have had a massive movement of blacks from inner cities to suburbs since 1968," said Stephen Thernstrom, a Harvard University professor who is co-author of "America in Black and White," which charts the nation's racial progress over the past half century.

"If you look at social contact, it has increased markedly. Interracial dating is up. Interracial marriage, the same," Thernstrom continued. "Whatever the fault lines are in our society, the idea that it is the old-fashioned black and white seems to me fairly simplistic."

Jim Sleeper, whose book "Liberal Racism" argues that many advocates overstate the continued significance of race, called the report's findings self-serving. While acknowledging that wide economic gaps continue to exist in society, he said, the reasons have less and less to do with race.

"We have a race industry in this country. They downplay the good news because they feed on the bad. They draw their funding and moral cache from the bad," Sleeper said. "It is almost as if people want it to be 1963 over again. It is almost like people take their moral bearing by fixing the old coordinates of racism firmly in place."

But Harris, who served on the original Kerner panel, said the report merely reflects some sad realities of American society.

"Race and poverty are intertwined, and each makes the other worse," he said, pointing out that poverty levels have worsened in the past 30 years and that the nation's poor are disproportionately black and Hispanic. "You can't argue with the facts."

Harris credited affirmative action, civil rights laws and anti-poverty programs with fueling the expansion of the black middle class and professional ranks in the three decades since the original Kerner report was written. But the progress we've made on race and poverty really stopped toward the end of the 1970s, he said. "Then we began in many ways to go backward."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

South's Prosperity Fails to Cut Child Poverty

MEMPHIS, May 4 (AP) — The percentage of Southern children living in poverty is about the same as in 1969, even though most states in the South have robust economies and budget surpluses, the Children's Defense Fund said today.

Equally disturbing is the fact that the rest of the nation is catching up with the South, said Marian Wright Edelman, president of the fund, a nonprofit child advocacy group based in Washington.

In 1996, the West matched the South in the percentage of poor children — 22.9 percent — the first time

another region equaled the South in child poverty, the group said in a report issued at the beginning of a two-day strategy meeting.

The fund placed the poverty line at \$12,516 for a family of three and \$16,036 for a family of four. It said that in 1996, 5.5 million children in the 16-state South, including the District of Columbia, were poor and 2.6 million lived in extreme poverty, with incomes of about \$120 a week for a family of three.

In 1969, 22.3 percent of children in families in the South were poor. In 1996, 22.9 percent of all Southern

children — including those in foster care, living on their own or with a non-relative adult — were living in poverty. The Midwest had the lowest regional percentage of impoverished children, 11.5 percent, followed by the Northeast with 19.2 percent.

Since 1969, the South has seen a slight rise in the percentage of poor white children — to 16 percent from 13 percent — and a decline in the percentage of poor black children to 40 percent from 49 percent.

Nationwide, 20.5 percent of children, or almost 14.5 million, were classified as poor in 1996. That was

up from 14 percent in 1969.

The fund and other child advocacy groups are gearing up for a new push for more Federal and state help to reduce child poverty. They want a commitment from Congress for \$20 billion in the next five years for early childhood education, child care and other such programs.

The majority of these children live in working families, so ending welfare as we know it, which has been the political cry in this country, will not help them, Ms. Edelman said. The children can be helped, she said, if their families can get decent jobs, health care and child care.

Eight-four of the 100 counties with the highest percentages of children in poverty are in the South, the study

said. At the top of the list is Owsley County, Ky., where 65 percent of children lived below the Federal poverty level in 1993, the latest year available for county figures. Shannon County, S.D., was the only non-Southern county among top 10 worst counties, with a child poverty rate of 58.7 percent.

In addition to Owsley County, the counties with the highest percentages of children in poverty, based on 1993 figures, were these: East Carroll Parish, La., 62.3; Holmes County, Miss., 62.2; McCreary County, Ky., 61.4; McDowell County, W.Va., 60.4; Starr County, Tex., 59.3; Shannon County, S.D., 58.7; Lee County, Ark., 58.3; Orleans Parish, La., 56; and Clay County, Ky., 55.8.

Gang Injunction Sought

LOS ANGELES, May 4 (AP) — In a continuing effort to free downtown neighborhoods from crime, prosecutors are seeking an injunction against a street gang to stop its members from hanging out together.

The injunction is the third being sought against factions of the 18th Street gang, which the police say controls drugs, extortion and other criminal activity in downtown neighborhoods. It names 92 reputed gang members and asks that they be prevented from appearing in public with any other named defendant or known 18th Street gang members — except for high school classes.

Speaking on behalf of hate-crime victims

Howard panel faces
those convicted
of biased actions

By DEL QUENTIN WILBER
SUN STAFF

Jacques Fein, 59, whose parents died in the Nazi Holocaust, stood before two teen-agers convicted of spray-painting swastikas on Ellicott City streets. He tried to explain how one small act could spark a reign of terror.

It was more speech than confrontation, said organizers of a new panel designed as a sentencing alternative for those convicted of hate-bias crimes.

"I told them whatever they do, good deeds or bad, have an effect on others," said Fein, a Columbia resident. "It's difficult to compare the Holocaust to their actions, but I tried."

The two boys were the first to experience the 90-minute program — held in private because of their age



NANINE HARTZENBUCH/SUN STAFF

that experts say is an innovative and unique approach to dealing with such crimes.

Besides Fein, panel members included a lesbian doctor and an African-American who grew up in segregated Washington, speaking of the damage of bias.

Designed by Howard County Police Cpl. Paul Steppe, the program is modeled after similar panels that confront convicted drunken drivers with victims of drunken driving, including

family members of those killed in fatal accidents.

"This panel is a way to get the community involved in these crimes," Steppe said. "Hate crimes don't just affect one person, they hurt everybody."

Said Juvenile Master Bernard Raum, who sentenced the two teen-agers to attend the panel: "This will show what impact these crimes have on society and the victims."

Last sum (See Hate, 4B)

Panelist:
Jacques Fein told two teens convicted of painting swastikas: "Whatever they do, good deeds or bad, have an effect on others. It's difficult to compare the Holocaust to their actions, but I tried."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Howard Co. panel speaks for victims of hate crimes

(Hate from Page 1B)

mer, after reviewing county statistics for 1996, which showed a 22 percent increase in hate-bias incidents over the previous year. Steppe began searching for ways to combat the crime.

On the Internet, the corporal found details about Mothers Against Drunk Driving panels and began building his proposal, soliciting help from schools, the county human rights agency, prosecutors and judges.

Without Steppe, panel organizers say, the program never would have materialized.

"Paul has the most ingenuity of any police person I've met," said Robert Johnson, vice chairman of the Howard County Commission on Human Rights, who chaired the impact committee's panel. "This first panel was just outstanding."

Police and the FBI define hate crimes as criminal acts motivated by race, religion, ethnic background, sexual orientation or disability. Offenses on the rise in Maryland and nationally, according to statistics.

FBI data show 431 hate-motivated offenses in Maryland during 1996.

Anti-Semitic incidents rose

The Anti-Defamation League recently released statistics that showed anti-Semitic incidents rose 13 percent statewide last year to 79.

David Friedman, director of ADL's Washington region office, says the Howard County panel is the first of its kind.

"It just sounds fantastic," he said. "It's very important for criminals to hear from victims about the pain they caused. There's a lot of potential there."

Baltimore County prosecutor Howard Merker says he would consider asking judges in that county to sentence racists and bigots to the Howard County sessions or push to establish a similar panel there.

Another resource

"When the criminal is finished with jail, no question, we'd think about asking a judge [to sentence] him as part of probation," Merker said. "I certainly see this as another resource, another tool the courts can use."

Chief Judge Martha F. Rasin of the District Court of Maryland said she hoped her judges would examine the program as a sen-

tencing option.

"Our judges should certainly be aware of the panel, of its technique and mission," Rasin said. "After seeing how the drunk driving panels work, it seems that something can be created to deal with hate crimes."

Next year, schools might invite panel members to share their experiences with children, said Eileen Woodbury, psychologist for human relations with Howard County public schools and the system's liaison to the panel.

A pro-active tool

"We'd like to make this an even more pro-active tool," Woodbury said. "And schools and students are important to reach."

On the day last month when the two 17-year-old boys heard from Fein about the Holocaust, they also watched a video about a synagogue struggling with anti-Semitic graffiti and listened to panel members' stories about the pain inflicted by bias.

Mixed results

Afterward, the boys evaluated their experience. One expressed some remorse for spray painting swastikas in April. The other swore his participation was only a joke, according to the panel's organizers.

Despite the mixed results, organizers said they were happy with the outcome.

"We didn't want this to be confrontational," said Mary Campbell, an investigator with the Howard County Office of Human Rights, which has helped run the panel. "We did this as an educational tool to reach these people. I think we did that."

Object of hate is real

Though experts and panel organizers doubt a racist can be transformed in 90 minutes, Steppe said the program should be given a chance.

Sitting at his cubicle at the Howard County police station, Steppe, the department's lone warrior against hate crimes, eyed a photograph hanging on his wall.

It shows a young girl clad in Ku Klux Klan attire gently touching an African American state trooper, who's resting on his riot shield during a Klan rally.

"That photo says so much," Steppe said. "Maybe that girl is finally experiencing the group that her parents hate. Our goal is to show people the object of their hate is real."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hate Groups in U.S. Are Growing, Report Says

By KEVIN SACK

ATLANTA, March 2 — With a boost from the Internet, white power rock-and-roll music and even the approach of the millennium, the number of organized hate groups in the United States has continued to increase, a research group has concluded in a new report. The increase comes despite a robust economy, which experts contend typically discourages the proliferation of such organizations.

The report, to be issued on Tuesday by the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala., says 474 hate groups and their chapters were involved in racist behavior last year.

The law center, which tracks and monitors hate groups and paramilitary groups, used a new method this year in its annual count of hate groups. That makes it impossible to compare last year's number with the tally from previous years. But if the center's old methodology had been used, the number of hate groups in 1997 would have represented a 20 percent increase from the year before, according to a new edition of the group's quarterly Intelligence Report.

The increase comes mostly from growth in the number of chapters of pre-existing groups like the Ku Klux Klan and in the number of churches belonging to the Christian Identity movement, which cites biblical foundations for white supremacy and anti-Semitism.

On one level, the findings are surprising because sociologists and experts on hate groups typically argue that such groups are nourished by economic hardship.

"It really is remarkable growth for a year in which the economy is steaming right along," said Mark Potok, the editor of the report.

But Mr. Potok said the proliferation of hate-group Internet sites and of racist rock music seemed to be fueling the increase. Those developments are particularly alarming, he said, because they provide new ways

*Technology and a
new millennium fuel
the fire of ill will.*

to recruit young people.

"The hate movement in the United States has done very poorly in recruiting young people, by and large, and it may be turning the corner," Mr. Potok said.

Less than three years after a Klan member named Don Black created the first neo-Nazi site on the World Wide Web, there are now 163 Web sites advocating racial hatred, according to the report. Mr. Potok also estimated that hate-oriented music labels each year were selling 50,000

copies of recordings by groups like No Remorse and Bound for Glory that use incendiary lyrics to advocate violence against minorities.

A third factor, Mr. Potok said, is the approach of the millennium.

"Many of these groups really do see the year 2000, if not literally as Armageddon, then as the coming of the end times, and they feel that they must go to war," he said.

In 1996, 8,759 bias-motivated crimes were reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation by state and local law-enforcement agencies, compared with 7,947 in 1995. But because many police departments are just starting to quantify hate crimes as a distinct category, the F.B.I. cannot determine whether the increase is real or a matter of improved reporting, said Debbie J. Weierman, a spokeswoman for the agency.

James Cavanaugh, the special agent in charge of the Birmingham, Ala., office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which is investigating the Jan. 29 bombing of an abortion clinic in that city, said he also thought that the splintering of organizations was responsible for some of the increase in hate groups. But he agreed that the Internet was also generating new interest.

"Just as it has helped Wall Street and the media industry, it has also helped hate groups," Mr. Cavanaugh said. "Before they were more isolated. Now it's easier for them to see like-minded bigots. The country has shrunk."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Revisiting Kerner: slows progress, problems

By CLARENCE PAGE

WASHINGTON — Thirty years ago, after the historic Kerner Commission predicted a deepening racial divide in the United States, an offshoot group is lamenting how true that prediction turned out to be.

That's a mistake, in my humble view. I think they should be celebrating how wrong the prediction turned out to be.

The Kerner Riot Commission was created by President Lyndon B. Johnson and headed by former Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner during a period when the nation was having about 100 civil disturbances a year. The commission famously predicted, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

The latest follow-up comes from the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation, a private-sector project that includes some Kerner veterans and was formed to continue the commission's work.

This month, the foundation released its latest report and, like its predecessors, it argues the gap is not only real but getting worse.

Reaction to the report from blacks and whites across the nation has been a huge, collective yawn.

The reaction mostly has fallen into two major camps: those who say they don't believe it, and those who say they knew it all along.

A third party

I fall into a third camp — the realistic one. It is the camp that says we are doing better and worse at the same time. So we should celebrate our successes and learn from our mistakes.

Not everybody wants to hear this. It is easier for many of my friends, particularly the liberal black ones, to argue that we haven't made any progress, so they can more easily justify aggressively race-specific (meaning blacks only) remedies.

And it is easier for many of my other friends, particularly the conservative white ones, to argue that we blacks have made all the progress that anything but our own bootstraps can help us make,



Discrimination still dogs the black middle class, but most of it is a minor nuisance compared to the oppression so many of us have overcome.

which absolves them of any responsibility.

The Eisenhower group pretty much falls into that first liberal group. Its last report was released five years ago, a year after the 1992 Los Angeles riots. We Americans felt pretty divided during those days of Rodney King and Reginald Denny, for good reason.

But take a closer look. Unlike the riots in the 1960s, most of those arrested in Los Angeles in 1992 were not black, and many black-owned businesses were burned right along with white- and Asian-owned businesses.

What's that about one divide? Obviously, we have several. Some

are racial, but most are economic.

On this question, even the Kerner veterans practice a bait-and-switch technique. Their report announces a racial divide but speaks mostly of a class divide. In a short paragraph, it acknowledges the tremendous economic and political progress the new black middle class has made, then it goes on for the rest of its 200 pages to tell us what most of us already know, that the plight of today's black poor is worse than it was for the black poor of 30 years ago.

Economically, the gap between poor blacks (about a third of black Americans fall below the poverty line) and better-off blacks has been

widening faster than the gap between poor and better-off whites.

Politically, the Democrats have become a "blacker" party over the past 30 years, as the Republicans have become the white-flight party. During the same period, black mayors and other black elected officials have grown from nearly zero to several thousand. Black political power has grown. Its next challenge is to break out of its ghetto and become properly represented in both major parties.

Social changes

Socially, whites have detribalized in many ways over the past 30 years, welcoming such black icons as Oprah Winfrey, Bill Cosby and Colin L. Powell into their hearts. At the same time, many blacks have retribalized, looking inward to strengthen black institutions and offer aid and counseling to those underprivileged African-Americans whom the civil rights revolution left behind.

Discrimination still dogs the black middle class, but most of it is a minor nuisance compared to the oppression so many of us have overcome.

The biggest divide in this nation today is between the movers and shakers and those who get moved and shaken. Over the past 30 years, many of us have begun to move up from the underclass to the upper class. The biggest defining economic difference is education. The better educated we as African-Americans are, the more choices we have.

In this regard, the new Kerner follow-up report is right on target. It advises us to invest more heavily in programs that work, such as Head Start, Job Corps and enriched after-school programs.

But we also need something the report, which is heavily focused on government action, fails to address.

We need a spiritual revival. Those of us who escaped poverty kept going in our relentless pursuit of education and success because our families and communities infused us with a relentless optimism.

We had hope. We need to spread it around.

Clarence Page is a syndicated columnist.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Race Board's Focus Turns to Economic Gap

Range of Explanations Offered for Disparity

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHOENIX, Jan. 14—After spending months struggling to get organized and then hosting two sessions focused on education, the president's race commission today turned its attention to the complicated issue that lies at the heart of the nation's modern racial conflict: the economic gap that separates whites and most everyone else.

In their first meeting outside of the Washington area, members of the advisory board sifted through a range of explanations for why whites are financially better off than minorities. Some blamed continued racism, others educational disparities, and still others claimed the problem was rooted in "cultural differences" that make some groups—particularly African Americans—less competitive in the workplace. Others blamed all three.

Each explanation offers vastly different implications to the advisory board, which is charged with making policy recommendations to President Clinton later this year. Members of the panel and Clinton administration officials agreed that closing the economic gap between the races is essential to easing the racial animosity that divides many Americans.

"We really can't expect racial unity without economic equity," said Labor Secretary Alexis M. Herman.

After substantially narrowing during the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, the economic gap between blacks and whites has diminished little in the past two decades. The median weekly earnings of blacks, at \$387, is roughly three-quarters that of whites, and the net worth of African Americans is roughly one-tenth that of whites.

In addition, the economic status of Hispanics, relative to whites, is lower now than in the early 1970s—a fact largely attributable to the rapid immigration that has caused the nation's Hispanic population to double since 1980.

For Asian Americans, median family income levels are comparable with whites, but a greater proportion of them live below the poverty level.

James Smith, a senior economist at the Rand Corp., said that while the economic status of third-generation Hispanics and Asians typically mirrored that of whites, blacks lag stubbornly behind. The disparity, he said, is linked to the history of slavery and the government-sanctioned discrimination that ended in many parts of the nation only three decades ago.



Janet L. Yellen, head of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, speaks on labor and market issues at race advisory board's meeting in middle school auditorium in Phoenix.

"Over time, the wage disparity between blacks and whites is much more pronounced than it is for the other minority groups," Smith said. "There is something quite different going on there," which requires a separate policy response.

Smith's assertion drew sharp retorts from Asian and Hispanic members of the panel, who pointed out that both groups also have endured their own painful histories of discrimination in America.

"I'm disturbed by your declaration that this is a black and white issue," said Angela Oh, an advisory board member who several months ago differed with board chair John Hope Franklin over a similar issue. "The issue is just who is an American."

Glenn Loury, a Boston University economist and a conservative social commentator, said the economic disparity between minorities and whites is caused by limited opportunity, disparities in job skills and "behaviors," particularly among blacks, that he said make them undesirable on the job market.

"Employer suspicion [and the reluctance to hire blacks] is driven to some degree by these distinctions," said Loury. He added that the skills gap could be addressed by what he called "developmental affirmative action," which would extend training opportunities to underskilled people on some type of nonracial basis. But he urged the board not to gloss over the "social" factors that contribute to the gap.

Other experts pointed out that blacks—and to a lesser extent other minorities—continue to face significant discrimination in the workplace.

"It is clear that American employers are more reluctant to hire blacks than any other group," said Harry J. Holzer, a Michigan State University economist.

Claudia Withers, executive director of the

Fair Employment Council of Greater Washington, said her group has tested for discrimination by sending equally qualified minority and white "testers" to apply for jobs. "Twenty to 25 percent of the time we find the minority candidate has been treated less well," she said.

In those cases, she said, minorities were not called back for interviews. When they were, she said, they frequently were offered lesser jobs at lower pay than their white counterparts, who on paper had identical qualifications.

Today's advisory board meeting came on the second day of a two-day visit to this sun-drenched southwestern city. Officials said they now plan to hold monthly meetings in cities across the country.

Today's meeting was sparsely attended as an audience of about 100 filled fewer than half the seats in the middle school auditorium where it was held. Likewise, Phoenix Mayor Skip Rimsza was the only local elected official whose presence was announced at the session.

On Tuesday, members of the advisory board visited two companies that were held up as places that exhibited the broad racial diversity that is going to make increasing moral and economic sense as the nation's minority population continues to grow into the next century. Board members also visited with participants in job training programs that have had success placing people in productive jobs.

Later, board members held a meeting with Native American leaders, who complained that their reservations neither receive the respect they deserve as independent governments nor the financial aid they need to make reservations economically viable.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

White House Suspect Won't Give Identity

By Toni Locy
Washington Post Staff Writer

A woman accused of vandalizing the White House's historic Blue Room with spray paint during a group tour on Tuesday allegedly had an eight-inch screwdriver in her purse when a uniformed Secret Service officer arrested her in the executive mansion.

The woman, who was called Jane Doe during a hearing in U.S. District Court yesterday, has refused to reveal her identity to authorities. She was carrying no identification when she was arrested early Tuesday afternoon after a Secret Service officer saw her spraying paint on two sculptures and part of a wall in the Blue Room.

U.S. Magistrate Judge Alan Kay yesterday ordered her to undergo psychiatric testing to determine if she is competent to participate in legal proceedings against her. She is charged with destroying government property.

It remains unclear how she managed to pass through a White House security checkpoint—including a metal detector and a random bag check—before going on two separate tours of the White House on Tuesday.

Lisa Risley, a Secret Service spokeswoman, refused to comment on how a screwdriver and two containers in the woman's purse—one holding rust-colored paint, the other hair spray—failed to set off any alarms. "You are getting into the facts of the case, and we are not going to comment," Risley said.

According to a court affidavit by Secret Service agent Brian J. Morgan, the woman entered the Blue Room about 11 a.m. and lingered for an hour before the trouble began. During that time, she asked a uniformed Secret Service officer about the curtains and the ceiling's gold trim, the affidavit said. At noon, the affidavit said, the officer, Greg Crouse, saw her spraying rust-colored paint near the main entrance of the Blue Room and restrained her. By then, she allegedly had damaged early 19th-century busts of Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus and part of the wall and a doorjamb next to the Blue Room's entrance.

After the arrest, Secret Service officers searched the woman's purse and a plastic bag she was carrying, according to the affidavit. They found the screwdriver, a can of hair spray and a pink White House ticket for Tour 2, which began about 10:10 a.m.

Initially, the woman identified herself as Lisa Jones, of Buffalo, but later denied it. She apparently does not have a criminal record since routine checks, such as fingerprint comparisons, have failed to turn up a match, investigators said. The woman, who wore jeans and a white cardigan sweater over a dark shirt, is charged with a felony count of destruction of government property. If convicted, she faces up to 10 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

The woman, who appears to be in her thirties, did not speak during the hearing but whispered briefly to assistant public defender Jennifer Blunt, who requested the psychiatric testing. "I have a reasonable basis," Blunt said, "based on discussions with my client, that this is necessary."

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To see a photograph of the Blue Room on the White House Web site, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

Bill Frelick

The Haves And the Have-Nots

Double standards make bad policy. When applied to refugees, they reveal the hypocrisy and self-serving motives that often underlie governments' humanitarian pronouncements. Invariably, the most vulnerable become the outcasts; the well-connected enjoy protection.

As was the case with the star Cuban baseball player, Orlando "Duque" Hernandez, the celebrity may, in fact, be a refugee and deserving of protection. But for every Orlando Hernandez, countless anonymous asylum seekers languish in camps or are in imminent danger of being returned into the hands of their persecutors.

Duque and two of his boat mates—another baseball player, Alberto Hernandez (no relation), and Duque's girlfriend—were referred to as "defectors." Five others on the same boat were called "illegal migrants" or, worse, "alien smugglers." While the defectors pondered their options—whether to enter the United States immediately or pursue a more lucrative way to enter the Major League free agent market—the other five had no choices. If the Bahamian government had decided to return them to Cuba, it wouldn't take a vivid imagination to guess what reception they would have received. The Cuban authorities would have regarded them as having aided and abetted the defection of two of Cuba's most celebrated athletes.

How are such persons treated? Look no further than Orlando Hernandez himself. He was punished—banned from baseball for life, watched and harassed—in retaliation for the 1995 defection of his half-brother, Livan, last year's World Series MVP for the Florida Marlins.

The notoriety of the case itself saved the other five. Advocates both inside and outside the Cuban American community—including, to his credit, Orlando Hernandez—spoke up on their behalf. The five may not have achieved their ultimate dream, a new life in the United States, but, having been offered asylum by Costa Rica and Nicaragua, they are no longer in danger of being forcibly returned to Cuba.

Many others are not so fortunate. Consider "Rafael," whom the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees recognized as a refugee and called upon the Bahamas to provide asylum. By coincidence, within hours of the arrival of the baseball players in Freeport, the Bahamian authorities quietly, but forcibly, returned Rafael to Cuba. UNHCR charged that the Bahamas had committed *refoulement*, the forced return of a refugee, an act prohibited by international law. When pressed, the Bahamian authorities said it was an accident. If Rafael could have thrown a 99 mph fastball, the White House would have intervened, and such a mistake doubtless would not have occurred.

The Bahamian government is not acting in isolation. The U.S. Coast Guard, ever on the lookout for rafters in the Caribbean, located Orlando Hernandez's group shipwrecked on a



BY KENT GILBERT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



ASSOCIATED PRESS

tiny island belonging to the Bahamas and brought them to Freeport. U.S. officials in the Bahamas decided which of the rafters warranted offers of humanitarian parole and which did not—no mystery to figuring that one out.

U.S. refugee policy in the Caribbean has long been skewed in a way that has created two broad sets of refugee haves and have-nots. For decades, this was based overwhelmingly on nationality. All Cubans were the haves—any who risked their lives on rafts were accepted as refugees. Haitian boat people, on the other hand, were the have-nots—all were considered to be economic migrants. After military goons overthrew Haitian President Aristide and imposed a brutal reign of terror, the discrepancy in the treatment of Haitian and Cuban asylum seekers became obvious to even the most casual observers.

Rather than raise the standard for the Haitians, the Clinton administration "solved" the problem by adopting the lowest common denominator—treating Cubans as badly as Haitians. At first, the Cubans, like the Haitians, were detained at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, on Cuba's southeast coast. Predictably, that policy failed, as the Cubans could not be warehoused indefinitely.

After months of mixed messages, the Clinton

administration paroled most of the Cubans at Guantanamo into the United States, but it crafted a policy to prevent the recurrence of a boat exodus. That policy held that interdicted Cubans would no longer be granted parole automatically but would be subjected to ship-board screening. Those found not to have credible refugee claims would be returned forthwith to Cuba; those found to have credible claims would be taken to safe-haven facilities outside the United States. The September 1994 policy explicitly called upon the Cuban government to "take effective measures in every way it possibly can to prevent unsafe departures." This, on its face, violated human rights precepts on the right of persons to leave their country. The government announced that 20,000 Cubans per year would be admitted directly from Cuba to the United States through orderly procedures.

Now Cubans interdicted in international waters are read a statement telling them of the availability of processing for refugee admission from the U.S. Interests Section in Havana and then, still aboard ship, are screened for possible refugee status by the same official. What could be more absurd than telling a refugee who has managed to escape his country of persecution that he should return to that country in order to prove his claim of a well-founded fear of persecution if returned? Yet this absurdity lies at the very heart of our Cuban refugee policy.

And what of the Haitians? Today, the Clinton administration continues, essentially unchanged, the Reagan administration's practice of interdicting Haitian boat people and summarily returning them to Haiti without even the cursory screening afforded Cubans. The double standard is back in place; only the gap between the treatment of the two nationalities is narrowed, as Cubans, generally, are treated worse than before, the only exception being those with potential to contribute to our national pastime.

The writer is a senior policy analyst for the U.S. Committee for Refugees.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

Richard Cohen

Savagery In Algeria

Some time ago, I came across pictures taken in an Algerian village after one of that country's all-too-frequent massacres. Villagers had been tossed in a well, some of them after having been shot or had their throats slit. One of those killed was a young boy, maybe 8 years old. His body was fetched from the well and photographed just as it was brought to ground level. He had been nearly decapitated.

What could an 8-year-old have done to warrant such a death? What could have been his crime, his ideology, his belief, his threat—and his threat to whom? What explains the murder of a child? Whatever the answer, it must be applied over and over again. The killing of children is an Algerian staple. In some villages, they have been hurled against walls.

So, too, is the killing of women and the aged—and, of course, of men. These people don't seem to be politically involved; nor are

What explains the murder of a child?

they members of the military or the police. They are nothing more than peasants and yet they have been murdered by the thousands, often in ways so gruesome as to be incomprehensible. In the first week of January, as many as 1,000 people were killed in villages about 150 miles from Algiers. The savagery is such that you cannot believe human beings—as opposed to animals—are responsible.

It has been easy enough to ignore Algeria. Ever since the army in 1991 abrogated the results of an election that would have installed a *Muslim-fundamentalist* government, the country has been bleeding from terrorism. Had the fundamentalists stuck to killing pro-Western figures—journalists, and the like—the world, particularly Europe, might have paid keener attention. But the terror soon moved to the countryside and the peasantry. By now, as many as 100,000 people may have been killed. No one really knows.

And no one—at least no one outside of Algeria—can quite explain what is happening in that country. The slaughter is supposedly being carried out by the Armed Islamic Group. Its goals, though, are not clear. Its victims, after all, are not its enemies.

As for the government, it decries what is happening, but some of the massacres have taken place suspiciously close to military installations. Why the soldiers remained in the barracks while civilians were being slaughtered is yet another question that lacks an answer. Maybe it thinks continued terror justifies its continued military rule.

Whatever the case, Algeria is not some place on the other side of the moon where none of the rules of civilization apply. The mere mention of the term "Islamic fundamentalists" does not mean that the situation is inexplicable—just those people doing their thing. There has to be a reason for the killings, an explanation of how the killers are able to get from village to village without being caught. Amnesty International reports two instances last year in which villagers, attempting to escape a massacre, were turned back by the army.

As of this moment, though, the government has told other countries to mind their own business. When France, Algeria's former colonial master, suggested an international investigation (so did the United States), Algiers responded by saying, "Algeria, the sovereign state, renews its categorical rejection of any attempt to interfere in its internal affairs." France, understandably a bit shy when it comes to Algeria, backed off. Germany is now suggesting a role for the European Union.

But the massacre of children is not in my book an "internal affair." It would be one thing if there was no suggestion of official complicity in the massacres, but there is. And even if the charges are baseless—Why, after all, would the government condone such hideous killings?—it cannot hurt the government to have an international team of experts look into the situation. The fact remains that either the government is an accomplice or it is simply inept. Either way, innocent people are dying by the score.

It's folly, of course, to talk of any sort of interference by Europe in Algeria. The French, for one, fought one war there and have no desire for a return engagement. Nonetheless, Europe and the United States have an urgent moral obligation to keep the spotlight on that country and to demand—as the Germans rightly insist—that something be done. The first step—and maybe the only one for the moment—is to recall that boy in the well, his throat a gash of crimson—and not look away. We owe him—we owe all the victims—our attention.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

Clinton Race Panel Hears Emotional Tales at Phoenix Forum

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

PHOENIX, Jan. 14 — President's Clinton's advisory board on race made its first foray outside the Washington area today and was subjected to two sides of the national conversation on race: erudition and emotion.

After listening to a sometimes dry and academic discussion by a panel of experts about the reasons for disparities in employment, income and poverty between whites, six of the seven panel members later heard from ordinary citizens, many of whom wanted to vent their frustrations over acts of discrimination they said they had suffered.

A late afternoon forum held at a middle school near downtown featured a long line of speakers who, among other things, urged the board to help maintain affirmative action, investigate police brutality, and recommend the spending of Federal money for whites to undergo psychological counseling to rid themselves of racism.

All of the speakers, including the chairman of the Arizona Democratic Party, could be described as political liberals, or at least supporters of affirmative action or other policies for helping minorities. No one spoke out against such programs.

Members of the advisory board said they had tried to entice people with more conservative views to attend the forum. None showed up.

Those who spoke instead poured out emotional tales of personal travails of what they described as instances of discrimination. A Federal worker showed the advisory board a sheet of paper that included a racist message that she said she had found in her desk drawer at work. Many complained that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission did not enforce laws against job discrimination. One waved pictures of her elderly parents who she said were beaten by police officers evicting them from their home.

"Please listen to my story," said Darlene Lopez Spahn, who is part Hispanic. "If you don't, nobody will. God sent you."

While many said they supported the advisory board's work, some expressed skepticism that it would amount to much.

"I pay taxes," said Wade Henry, a black real estate agent from Phoenix. "I want value for my dollar. I appreciate you being here, but I want something done. If not, then stop wasting my money."

A number of recent racial incidents have taken place in the Phoenix area, setting nerves on edge and, perhaps, contributing to the emotion of the late afternoon session.

In October, at a trial involving a discrimination suit filed by Jesus Torres, a Scottsdale police officer who was dismissed from the force, Mr. Torres testified that he had overheard some white police officers dis-

cuss the imposition of a zone barring blacks in a wealthy section of the city. Mr. Torres said any black or Latino found in that section of town after dark would be searched.

Scottsdale police officials deny that such a policy had been established.

The State Attorney General's office also found fault with some sweeps conducted by the local police in Chandler, a nearby suburb, and Federal immigration officers. During the sweep, officers stopped several American citizens of Hispanic origin and demanded that they provide proof of citizenship.

Several of the local residents speaking in the late afternoon session referred to the two incidents.

"There are pockets of bigotry and there are pockets of hate," said Ruben Noel, a white public relations specialist from Phoenix who referred to the Chandler police as "jack-booted street thugs."

The site of the first of a series of sessions to be held by the race panel nationwide, Phoenix was chosen because the board hoped the region's large Hispanic and American Indian population would permit more of a discussion of issues involving them.

The late afternoon session was a marked contrast from the board's morning program, which featured racial issues in the workplace. Much of that session revolved around of how much the lagging performance of black and Hispanic people was the result of discrimination or a gap in the level of education and skills.

"It's clear that American employers are more reluctant to hire blacks than any other ethnic group in the United States, especially black men, especially younger black men," said Henry J. Holzer, a white professor of economics at Michigan State University. "That's true even when people have comparable credentials, education, comparable work experience and the like."

James Smith, a white economist at the Rand Corporation, urged the panel to concentrate on the disparities between blacks and whites.

"If you look at the aggregate data, you do not see large wage difference in all these other ethnic groups with the white majority, except for blacks," he said. "There is something quite different going on here."

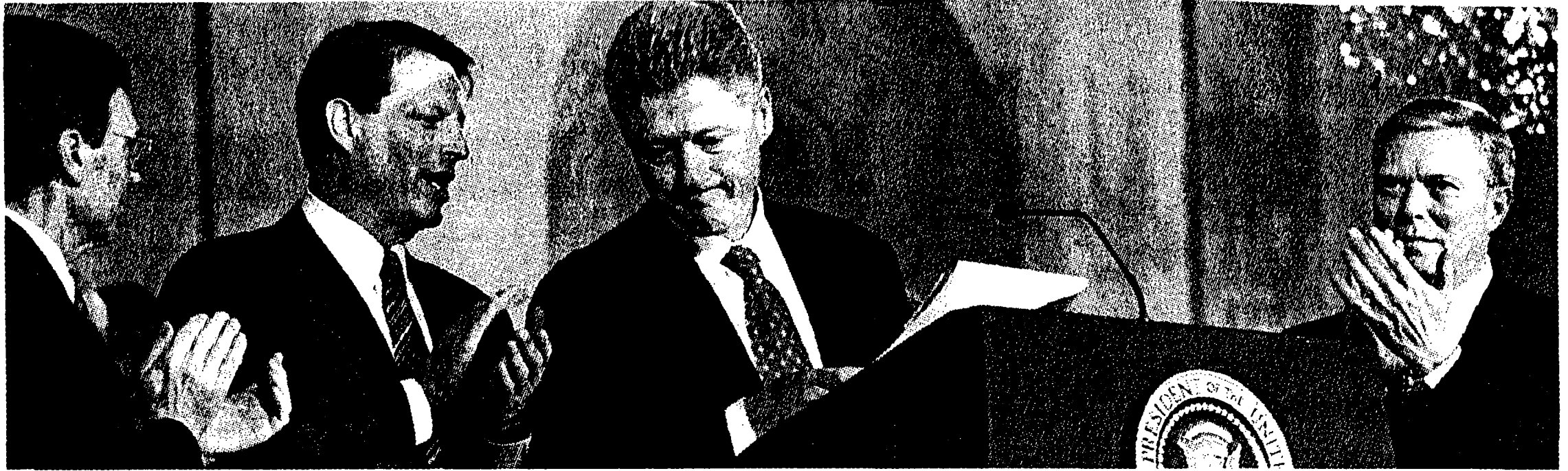
But others challenged that notion.

"The best way to get the high-paying job as a lawyer in Texas is to be born white," said Jose Roberto Juarez Jr., who is Hispanic and the associate dean for academic affairs at St. Mary's University Law School in San Antonio.

"It doesn't matter how well you did in school. The best predictor I can give you for your achieving a high salary is to happen to be born white. Those are the realities."

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Democratic Leaders Show Unity

President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore were joined yesterday at the White House by the Senate minority leader, Tom Daschle, left, and the House minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt, in a show of Democratic support for the idea of a bill of rights for patients in managed-care plans.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

First Lady Recalls Early Taste of Ethnic Tension

New England Group on Racial Harmony Hosts Discussion With Youth in Arena's Upbeat Setting

By Peter Baker

Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, Dec. 9—The chill in the air prompted her to say something to a stranger, but the chill in the response would stay with her for a lifetime.

During a junior high school soccer game, a teenage Hillary Rodham turned to the goalie from the other team and remarked, "Boy, it's really cold." The other girl snapped, "I wish people like you would freeze." Stunned, the future first lady asked how she could feel that way when she did not even know her. "I don't have to know you," the goalie shot back, "to know I hate you."

More than 35 years later, Hillary Clinton recalled the pain of that childhood encounter today as she discussed the combustible issue of race in a sports arena filled with 11,000 teenagers from throughout New England. The first lady used the tale as an object lesson about the need for understanding during her appearance at the Fleet Center here, the latest chapter in President Clinton's year-long campaign to start a national conversation on race relations in America.

Only later in an interview did she say that the goalie was white, but Clinton said that the girl was of Eastern European descent and resented what she apparently considered "some sort of uppity, wealthy, white-bread" girl.

The forum was a very different scene from her husband's inaugural town hall meeting on race in Akron, Ohio, last week. Where his was C-SPAN, hers was MTV. With the lights turned down and music from U-2 blaring from the speakers, today's meeting had the atmospherics of a rock concert. The discussion, too, seemed livelier and less structured than the Akron town hall—although, like that dialogue, it was dominated by a chorus of people who agreed with each other.

Wearing matching white and blue T-shirts, mobs of excited eighth-through 11th-graders filled most of the home of the Boston Celtics for the fourth annual such gathering organized by a group calling itself the Team Harmony Foundation.

One of the foundation's co-founders, former Celtics assistant coach Jon Jennings, began working this fall as a White House fellow. The first lady was invited as part of a day of activities at the gathering, which featured sports



BY VICTORIA AROCHO—ASSOCIATED PRESS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to high school senior Claudy Paul relate his first experience with racism.

figures such as basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and Red Sox player Mo Vaughn, several musical groups and the stars of MTV's "Real World."

Hillary Clinton sat on stage with 32 teenagers and talked about their experiences. Claudy Paul, an African American high school senior, recalled an encounter at a bus stop when he interrupted another student who angrily dismissed him by saying, "You listen, nigger, this ain't no Dorchester," referring to a predominantly black area in Boston.

"I felt so stunned, I started in tears," Paul said. "From that moment, I felt like my dreams were all shattered."

Amy Coran, a Jewish high school student, remembered the time some boys told antisemitic jokes. The most hurtful, she said, asked the difference between a Jew and a pizza: "A pizza doesn't scream in the oven."

Other students told of swastikas in bathrooms, self-segregation on buses and racially inspired fights. And several said they took their problems to school authorities only to see nothing done.

Yet much as in Akron, these youngsters were the converted. No one who spoke up today expressed any prejudices of their own. Instead, they recited in unison the "Team Harmony Pledge," which started, "I pledge from this day onward to do my best to interrupt prejudice and to stop those who, because of hate, would hurt,

harass or violate the civil rights of anyone."

Clinton said the gathering will help make bias unacceptable among the next generation. "If we stick with it, we will change minds," she told the youngsters. "Not everybody's. There are still going to be people who are so unhappy inside, so resentful of anybody else's success that they just won't be able to accept other people." But those people should be countered "with our own respect and love so they are rendered as harmless as possible."

During a question-and-answer phase, the first lady said she was of two minds on the effect of affirmative action in the United States. "Affirmative action has helped on the one hand because it has given opportunities to many people to prove themselves, which they have done," she said. "But I think it has hurt because I believe it has been misconstrued and misunderstood and used in a negative way."

Asked by a student if she had experienced discrimination, she mentioned the soccer incident and later elaborated during her plane ride home. Although she grew up in an all-white neighborhood, she said, her school was riven by divisions among Poles, Slavs, Italians and other ethnic groups. "There was a lot of tension because of that," she said. "Some corridors you couldn't walk down without feeling unsafe, uncomfortable."

That experience, she said, demon-

strates that the race initiative needs to focus on animosities among people, although she added "the black-white issue has to be the focus because it's the unfinished business of America."

As it attempts to energize its race initiative, the White House has dispatched a variety of prominent administration figures throughout the country to hold discussion groups, including one today in Petersburg, Va., led by Secretary of the Cabinet Thurgood Marshall Jr. and another scheduled for Monday in Baltimore with Education Secretary Richard W. Riley.

One such session backfired last week when Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater met with only other black leaders behind closed doors in Dallas, a move that was repudiated by the White House as a mistake.

The first lady said she "can understand" critics who believe the race campaign has been unfocused, but said conversations are a "good end in and of themselves." She was impressed by someone who told her today that her husband should urge Americans to do little things to reach out, such as going to lunch with a co-worker of another color. "I'm going to tell Bill that was a really good suggestion," she said. "You can't take for granted these really small steps that people can do on their own."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton, Jackson Urge New Wall Street Investment

Securities Industry Should Reach Out to Minorities for Its Own Good, President Says

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Jan. 15—President Clinton lent his voice to Jesse L. Jackson's campaign to pressure Wall Street into providing more opportunities for minorities today, telling business executives that it is in their self-interest to "bring opportunity to the people and places left behind."

The relationship between Clinton and Jackson has gone through seasons of intimacy and distance over the years, with the two Democrats alternately supporting each other and making no effort to conceal mutual suspicion. They were on the same script this afternoon high above Manhattan, where Jackson had taken over the famous Windows on the World restaurant atop the World Trade Center for his Wall Street Project.

The effort is aimed at shining a spotlight on the world of high finance, which critics and even those within the investment world have said remains a heavily male, heavily white bastion.

Jackson has said he came to "Wall Street, the capital of capital" to convince business leaders that it is in their "enlightened self-interest" to hire more minorities, to put more money in urban areas that are starved for investment and to do more to encourage minority customers.

In a blunt acknowledgment that the tactics he has used for much of his three-decade career as a civil rights leader have clear limits, Jackson said that appeals to "morality" may cause business to "move an inch or two." Boycotts of racist companies "may move them two or three inches more," as will relying on government enforcement of discrimination laws. But he said he has become convinced that business will "move in a more sustained way" only when it sees profitability.

Jackson said that because Wall Street has failed to establish links with minority communities, many minorities put their money in savings accounts rather than invest in the markets. "Wall Street will choke on conservatism," he said.

While avoiding that sort of sharp

rhetoric, Clinton also endorsed the idea that there are limits to what government can do. "There is not enough government money in America to put everybody to work in New York City, much less in every city and every rural area that has been left behind," Clinton said.

The president said the administration has tried to create better conditions for private investment with the tax incentives of "empowerment zones" that have been established in many cities and through increased environmental spending to clean up polluted "brownfields" in urban areas, encouraging businesses to move in on previously uninhabitable land.

Clinton also invoked the concept of enlightened self-interest, applying it to the current turmoil in Asian financial markets. "There is a web of mutuality, and it actually pays dividends to be a good neighbor," Clinton said. "That's why we've taken a leadership role in addressing the current turbulence in Asia and in strengthening the institu-

tions of the international financial system."

While Clinton often becomes impassioned when speaking to minority audiences, his appearance today was low-key throughout. The White House made no effort to draw attention to the appearance by offering a policy announcement, and Clinton spoke in a quiet, subdued fashion.

Jackson assembled an influential roster. In addition to Clinton, Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin addressed the conference this morning. Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt Jr. are scheduled for Friday. In addition such business leaders as Sanford I. Weill, chief executive of the Travelers Group, and Richard Grasso, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, participated.

The Securities Industry Association, a trade group, applauded the event. Spokesman James D. Spellman said the group's studies, based on federal statistics, support Jackson's contention that there are large pools of wealth held by



Jesse L. Jackson points to the audience as he and President Clinton take the stage at the first annual conference of Jackson's Wall Street Project.

demographic groups who are poorly represented in Wall Street firms. There are an estimated 783,000 U.S. households headed by minorities or women with incomes over \$100,000. These people have an estimated \$400 billion in annual buying power, Spellman said.

"It's the right thing to do but there is also a strong business case," he said.

But Daniel Berger, a New York attorney who has represented clients in several discrimination cases against

business, said he doubted that bully-pulpit efforts like the Wall Street Project could do much. The securities industry, he predicted, will move when it has no choice.

"There's been a lot of moral suasion applied over the years and I don't know that it's had much success," Berger said. "This is one of the last remaining old boy's clubs. ... This is an industry that's going to have to change or be on the receiving end of litigation."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Clinton Plans Judicial Offensive

President, Aides Will Pressure Senate to Act on Nominees

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

A

President Clinton plans to escalate the simmering struggle over judicial appointments into a full-scale political confrontation later this month. His aides are preparing a strategy that accuses conservative GOP senators of applying unfair ideological litmus tests, holding up women and minorities and preventing court action on Social Security and veterans benefit cases.

But in doing so he will be attacking head-on an entrenched core of conservatives who could like nothing more than to wage a pitched battle over what they see as overly liberal, activist federal judges.

Beginning just before Congress returns to business Jan. 27, Clinton officials say they will launch a sustained rhetorical assault on the president's Senate adversaries, in radio addresses, on the stump and possibly in his State of the Union speech. He has assigned Ann Lewis, White House communications director, to develop themes and messages, and deputy chief of

staff John Podesta to develop a strategy for dealing with Congress.

"It's going to be much more aggressive," Lewis said, describing the new drive. "The Congress has the right to advise and consent, but not to duck and delay, and what they have effectively done by a delaying process is causing some courts almost to grind to a halt."

Until now, Clinton has played down the issue of the Senate's reluctance to approve his district and circuit court nominees, and even his allies have accused him of contributing to the problem through his own delays and deference to Republican senators. There are 82 vacancies, about 10 percent of the total judiciary.

"He was so slow and he was so timid, he never made it a priority," one supporter said. "He gave out signals: 'This guy is easy, all you have to do is say boo and this guy will cut and run.'"

Early this month, though, the White House was galvanized by an unexpectedly sharp critique of Senate inaction by conservative Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. Those remarks, See JUDGES, A10, Col. 1

JUDGES, From A1

which have been amplified by others such as conservative columnist Bruce Fein, have, in the view of Clinton strategists, given the president far stronger footing to take on the judicial issue without appearing to be a liberal Democrat.

Fein, who helped select judicial candidates during the Reagan administration, said the judicial opponents are violating "the informal rules in the game of fairness" that are essential in constitutional government.

Capitalizing on Rehnquist's warning that "vacancies cannot remain at such high levels without eroding the quality of justice," Clinton aides have been preparing a campaign on the theme of "justice delayed equals justice denied."

The administration has gathered examples of delayed cases involving the elderly seeking Social Security and veterans benefits. In one, an appeals court opinion in a sexual harassment case, the judges declare that court vacancies have contributed to nearly a 10-year delay even though the female plaintiffs suffered "irreparable" harm, "humiliation and degradation."

Clinton is also planning to charge that the GOP's stalling tactics are most damaging to women and minorities: "The Republican Senate has only confirmed 11 of the women or minorities the president has nominated, stranding 23." Of the 14 nominees who have waited longest for a

vote, 12 are women or minorities, according to the administration.

In trying to build grass-roots momentum, administration officials have lined up the support of the Fraternal Order of Police and will use its demand for more judges to make a case for quick action when they send as many as 20 more nominees to Congress. "We want good, tough law-and-order judges, and we want them now," FOP President Gil Gallegos said. "The Senate should vote—that's their constitutional responsibility."

The conflict has broad implications, touching on such high-voltage areas as Clinton's growing concern with the legacy of his presidency, the competition for the GOP 2000 presidential nomination, conservative fund-raising tactics and the battle over the ideological composition of increasingly influential circuit and districts courts.

Clinton will be going to war against a band of deeply conservative junior senators led by John D. Ashcroft (R-Mo.), a prospective presidential candidate whose opposition to liberal "activist" judges has boosted his credentials on the right. A number of conservative interest groups such as the Free Congress Foundation and The Project on the Judiciary have recognized that the fight is a fund-raising gold mine from which they can profit no matter what the outcome.

Both sides make statistical claims to justify their position. The Clinton forces cite data compiled by the Congressional Research Service showing that the Senate confirmed 36 of 79 nominees in 1997—at 45.6

percent the lowest level by far in the past 20 years. Conversely, Clinton's adversaries have produced a graph showing that the overall vacancy rate on the federal bench in the 1990s has been lower since Republicans took control of the Senate in 1995 than it was in the years before that.

But whatever the merits, the tactics will increasingly become political—such as one recent conservative fund-raising appeal based on attacking a judge appointed by President George Bush.

The cases of two female jurists are likely to lead the way. Frederica Massiah-Jackson, a black state jurist in Philadelphia, and Margaret Morrow, a white lawyer in Los Angeles, are emerging as reluctant stars in the judicial drama.

The Clinton administration and its allies on Capitol Hill hope to use the Morrow nomination to a California district court seat as a case study of Republicans using questionable litmus tests to oppose a centrist corporate lawyer appointed by a Democrat.

Morrow, who was president of the California and Los Angeles County bar associations, faces charges by Ashcroft that she has shown "disrespect for the sovereignty of voters" because she has been critical of the California initiative process.

Ashcroft cited a 1988 article Morrow wrote in *The Los Angeles Lawyer*: "The fact that initiatives are presented to a 'legislature' of 20 million people renders ephemeral any real hope of intelligent voting by

a majority." Ashcroft has been joined by Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) and such groups as the Eagle Forum and the National Rifle Association in battling Morrow, although other GOP sources suggest she is likely to win Senate approval.

If Morrow becomes the administration's prime case study of Republican excess, Ashcroft and others are expected to counter with the Massiah-Jackson district court nomination which is, according to Senate and administration sources, potentially in trouble.

Ashcroft intends to accuse Massiah-Jackson of liberal activism, charging that she has "demonstrated disdain for the work of police officers and is prone to assess light punishments." He cited the opposition of two Democratic Pennsylvania district attorneys, including Philadelphia prosecutor Lynne Abraham.

Abraham said of Massiah-Jackson: "This nominee's judicial service is replete with instances of demonstrated leniency toward criminals, an adversarial attitude toward policy, and disrespect and a hostile attitude toward prosecutors unmatched by any other present or former jurist with whom I am familiar." In addition, Ashcroft is exploring police allegations that Massiah-Jackson focused public attention in open court on two police undercover agents, a charge she has denied.

Staff writer Joan Biskupic and staff researcher Ben White contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Straight Talk on Race in D.C.

Mayor's 2nd Annual 'Day of Dialogue' Draws 80 to Discuss Issues

By Hamil R. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

Mary Burgess is white, and she rarely crosses the Anacostia River into Washington's black neighborhoods.

"I know if I go in certain wards of the city, I am not welcome," she said yesterday.

Antoinette Pitter, 16, lives in one of those neighborhoods east of the river and says she feels uncomfortable waiting for the subway at a station in a white part of the city.

"If you ask white people something, they won't say anything," Pitter said. "They won't pay you any attention. They just keep walking."

Mayor Marion Barry told an audience that included Burgess and Pitter: "This city is too divided, not just racially but geographically. Most people in [white] Ward 3 don't even talk to residents in [black] Ward 8."

Tough talk and sad realities were all part of the mayor's second annual "Day of Dialogue" on race that was held yesterday to coincide with the Rev. Martin Luther King's 69th birthday.

Barry came up with the idea for an annual day of racial dialogue last year, when the event drew members of the D.C. Council and leaders from the Jewish community and the Nation of Islam.

Yesterday, Barry sat on stage with plenty of empty
See RACE, C3, Col. 2

RACE, From C1

chairs as the only elected official present. He had anticipated a crowd of more than 1,000 at the University of the District of Columbia, but about 80 showed up.

"I am disappointed, but not discouraged, that as serious as this problem is, this auditorium is not full," he said.

Ayo Bryant, director of the mayor's office of diversity, said the goal of the program was to find "common themes" so that the city can become one community.

Burgess, of the Chevy Chase section of Northwest Washington, moved to the city from Houston seven years ago to take a position with the D.C. government. She came to the conference

because she said black and white residents in the city must do more to work together.

"It is like an invisible wall," Burgess said. "We are afraid to step into another world. It is like visiting another world to see how other people live and operate."

Burgess took part in an exercise intended to introduce her to a stranger of a different race. She and Charletta Adams, an instructor at Howard University, were surprised that they had so many things in common. Both placed a high priority on education and had children in private schools.

"When you don't deal with people on an individual basis, you come up with concepts and prejudices," Adams said. "My biggest issue is institutional racism. I think there is a quota system in

this city. We have educational institutions that are predominantly black and those that are white."

Pitter and a group of black students from Dunbar High School talked about the prejudices they feel they face when they venture into white sections of the city.

Geoffrey Lee, a 10th-grader, said he favors baggy clothes and a red bandanna.

"Some white women, when I walk past them, they will grab their pocketbooks," Lee said, "and if I speak to them, they will give me a mean look and keep walking."

"The whites don't look at you at all," said Pitter, a student with 3.5 grade-point average who said she wants to become a lawyer. "It makes you mad."

They only see you as people from Southeast Washington, but Southeast is no worse than Northwest."

Frances Cress Welsing, a black psychiatrist and Howard University professor, said that much of the time racism has a foundation in fear.

"Any time you get down to the truth, there is a foundation for establishing an improved relationship," Welsing said.

But Brenda Jones, the executive director of Parklands Community Development Center in Southeast Washington, who is black, said: "Everybody is not meant to talk to everybody all of the time. It doesn't have to be a love fest if people respect each other."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Wisconsin Court to Address Regulation of 'Issue Advocacy' Ads

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

In one of the first legal tests growing out of the explosion of "issue advocacy" advertising during the 1996 campaign, a Wisconsin court is poised to rule on whether the state can regulate ads that attack particular candidates but do not explicitly call for their defeat.

The case, to be heard in a state court today, concerns a \$350,000 advertising campaign launched by a Wisconsin business group that wanted to help elect Republican state legislators. But it has national implica-

tions for the ability of states and the federal government to regulate "issue advocacy" ads, a tactic that burst on the scene in 1996 and seems set to continue and even expand in the 1998 election.

As with scores of similar "issue advocacy" commercials deployed by interest groups across the political spectrum during the 1996 campaign, the Wisconsin ads—run in the last two weeks of the election—never explicitly asked viewers to vote against the targeted politicians.

Wisconsin, like many states and the federal government, does not allow corporations or labor unions to contribute directly to political candidates and requires disclosure of contributions to their campaigns or spending on their behalf. But because the ads did not directly urge the election or defeat of particular candidates, the business group, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, claimed it could pay for them with corporate funds and did not need to file disclosure reports.

Now, the state has gone to court, accusing the group of violating Wisconsin election law in what legal experts said appears to be the first effort by a state to crack down on issue advocacy advertising. The Wisconsin case may offer an important test of how—or even whether—Congress and the states can regulate such ads.

The decision could have significant implications for other attempts to grapple with "issue ads," including the McCain-Feingold campaign finance legislation set to come up for a Senate vote in March. Under McCain-Feingold, commercials that name a federal candidate within 60 days of an

election would be subject to federal reporting requirements and contribution limits.

The Wisconsin case turns on exactly what the Supreme Court meant in 1976, in *Buckley v. Valeo*, when it said the First Amendment prohibits regulation of political speech that does not "in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." In a footnote, the court gave examples of such communications, including words like "vote for," "elect," "support," "cast your ballot for," "Smith for Congress," "vote against," "defeat" and "reject."

Wisconsin officials and their supporters say that even though the WMC ads didn't use such "magic words," they amounted to express advocacy because they were clearly intended to support or oppose particular candidates. They say that requiring such ads to comply with campaign finance rules is critical to prevent issue advocacy advertising from making a mockery of election law.

"The importance, fundamentally, is whether the state can have any meaningful election finance laws," said Wisconsin Attorney General James E. Doyle, a Democrat, whose office is arguing the case against the business group.

"The heart of this issue," Doyle said, "is if you run an ad that any reasonable person who looks at it recognizes to be a political ad, just before an election, in which you call a particular person names, and use phrases such as 'send a message' to that person but do not use the magic words 'vote for' or 'vote against,' whether you can then avoid all the basic campaign finance laws that we have in the state."

On the other side, WMC and its allies say such regulation would squelch their freedom of speech in contradiction of *Buckley* and two decades of later Supreme Court rulings. Congressional Republicans opposed to McCain-Feingold have seized on the case to highlight what they say are the dangers of regulating issue ads.

"This is a real live case in which a business group is literally being prosecuted by the state for engaging in issue advocacy in the period immediately preceding an election," said WMC lawyer Brady Williamson.

Williamson said allowing regulators to decide which commercials crossed the "express advocacy" line would be "leaving to government to decide who gets to speak, how they get to speak and when they get to speak, and that, quite simply, is antithetical to the First Amendment."

WMC is not coy about the fact that its advertising campaign was intended to affect the election. Indeed, it stipulated in court that the commercials had a "political purpose." Said WMC spokesman Jim Pugh, "Yeah, we wanted people, when they went into the voting booth, to have the best information available about what they were doing when they cast their ballot. . . . We wanted there to be a pro-business majority."

One TV ad, against Democratic state Sen. Chuck Chvala, noted his votes for high taxes and asked: "Is he: A, a liberal? B, a big spender? C, out of touch? Or D, all of the above? If you said 'D, all of the above,' you made the right call. Make another right call to Chuck Chvala. He never met a tax he didn't like."

Another target of the ads, former

Democratic state senator Lynn Adelman, recalled that when WMC weighed in with spots in his heavily Republican district, "It was very scary, and that's why I felt so strongly . . . \$100,000 of negative TV in the last week—that could do me in."

Chvala and Adelman filed a separate lawsuit against WMC and actually succeeded in knocking its ads off the air shortly before the election. Other groups that ran issue ads in Wisconsin, including the Sierra Club, Americans for Limited Terms and Wisconsin Right-to-Life, are also in court over their activities.

The WMC commercials were "no more egregious than what a lot of others have done but it is the picture perfect model of why we need to address this murky line," said Joshua Rosenkranz of the Brennan Center for Justice, which is representing Chvala and Adelman. "The bottom line is if it waddles, quacks and smells like a campaign ad, it's a campaign ad."

But WMC and others argue that a long line of cases shows that the courts want to use a "magic words" test in order to ensure that political speech is not suppressed.

Indeed, even the lawyer for the Wisconsin elections board cautioned in an internal memorandum that it would be a hard sell to convince courts that the ads constituted express advocacy.

"Express advocacy was intended by the Supreme Court to be a clear standard . . . like pregnancy or death, for either of which there are no degrees," he wrote, "not a description like pornography which no one can define but everyone knows when they see it."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

E. J. Dionne Jr.

When King Led the Struggle

Among the virtues of having a holiday in honor of Martin Luther King Jr. is that it impels us, every year, to revisit a time in our national life that changed the country as fundamentally as the Revolution or the struggle over slavery.

Any honest look at that history dispels the myths that those times were easy for social reformers or that most Americans found the moral choices of the era simple. It took huge courage on the part of sharecroppers, domestic servants, clergy, pharmacists, doctors, students and other largely unsung folk to break a system of injustice that the country took for granted. Respectable opinion was decidedly skeptical of the agitation King and his lieutenants unleashed.

Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), one of the brave souls who got his head beaten in during the early 1960s, said that many "people of goodwill," people seen as "moderate or progressive," were fearful of what King and the younger people in SNCC—the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—were doing.

"They felt we were moving too fast," Lewis recalled in an interview this week. "These were people who said: We have peace, we have order, we have good race relations, don't disturb things." Many in the black community as well "didn't readily take to the idea of massive, nonviolent protest."

Thanks to Taylor Branch's fine new book, "Pillar of Fire," the second volume in his trilogy on the King years, we can see how difficult the civil rights

Both the federal government and ordinary Americans of goodwill were less robustly on the side of civil rights than we now remember.

battles were and how close the movement came to defeat during its heyday, 1963 and 1964.

Branch portrays the federal government, in the initial years of the struggle especially, as being less robustly on the side of civil rights than we now remember.

Washington had to be pushed hard by ordinary black people who risked harm simply by standing in line to register to vote. Branch details the ambivalence of the Kennedy administration—including Robert Kennedy's fateful decision to let J. Edgar Hoover's FBI wiretap King.

Branch also reminds us of an oppression we'd like to forget—and not simply the famous pictures of police dogs biting into the legs of little children or fire hoses turned on peaceful marchers. The more subversive outrage was less photogenic: the extent to which the legal system in some southern states was turned on people trying to exercise their basic democratic rights.

If you wonder why the slogan "states' rights" still makes so many so nervous, recall that "states' rights" once meant judges who tossed people into jail simply because they expressed a desire to vote, and governments that seized the property of activists to intimidate them. It meant prosecutors who obstructed investigations of murders if the crimes were against black protesters, or white juries that ignored the facts and set murderers free. It meant police who raided the homes of sharecroppers willing to lend a bed for the night to civil rights workers.

We don't like to think about such things happening in our country, because we have a different picture of ourselves. That picture, of a free and open society willing to reform itself, was vindicated when we embarked on the great legislative achievements of the civil rights era in 1964 and 1965.

But it's worth recalling that we would not have taken these steps had we not been pushed hard by people viewed as agitators, radicals and malcontents. We honor King and the members of his movement because what he and they did was hard, not easy, and because the obstacles they faced were enormous. Some were created not by cops wielding clubs and hoses but by good and decent people who didn't want to disturb things too much.

Branch, speaking in an interview from his home in Baltimore, said that if one myth about the 1960s exaggerated the ease of the struggle, another writes off the entire era "as a time of indulgence." On the contrary, he said, "what's striking is the discipline of these people in the face of all they had to endure."

But the movement's biggest hurdle confronts us today. "The hardest step for the early civil rights movement was to imagine that ordinary people could make a difference in the public sphere."

The task then and now, said Branch, is "to rekindle a sense of public optimism about what you can accomplish together." That King achieved that in the face of so many trials suggests it ought not be beyond our reach to do so again.

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Charles Krauthammer

He Negotiates by the Rules

The peace camp avoids facing its disappointment with its Arafat gamble by heaping abuse on Netanyahu.

"1997—The Year of Hating Bibi." That is the title of a remarkably searching, self-critical article by a member of Israel's "peace camp" on the unnatural hostility—"a psychosis of hatred"—of Israeli liberals toward Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. Even more remarkably, the article appeared in Israel's leading liberal newspaper, Ha'aretz.

The author's point is that as the bitter fruits of "peace" have become apparent—unprecedented levels of terrorism, endemic insecurity, an unending string of broken Palestinian promises—the peace camp has found a way to avoid facing its disappointment with its Arafat gamble by heaping abuse on Netanyahu.

Heaping abuse on Bibi is not, however, just a specialty of Israeli liberals. It has become a hobby of their U.S. branch, which, for example, finds it congenial to liken Likud to the Communist Party of Russia and to join the State Department's disgraceful blaming of (who else?) Bibi for the administration's failure to keep Saddam in check. (That was last November. Now that Saddam is acting up again, how do they pin this one on Bibi?)

With Netanyahu coming to Washington to see President Clinton next week, the propaganda machine has started up again. The theme? That Netanyahu has cooked up yet another clever ruse to derail the peace process. The ruse? That as a condition for Israel's next West Bank withdrawal, the Palestinians must fulfill the commitments they made exactly one year ago (in return for Israel's last withdrawal, from Hebron) and have since ignored.

There is no better illustration of the comical one-sidedness of the peace process: Israel's demand for Palestinian compliance with its own written obligations is deemed a form of sabotage.

What are these demands?

(1) Change the Palestinian National Covenant to remove the clauses that call for Israel's destruction.

(2) Fight terror and prevent violence. This includes extraditing terrorists; confiscating illegal firearms; and preventing hostile propaganda, like that from Palestinian officials and official media that accuses Israel variously of injecting Palestinians with AIDS, poisoning their food, planning to destroy the Al-Aqsa Mosque ("with the creation of artificial earthquakes") and propagating the fiction known as the Holocaust.

(3) Reduce the size of the Palestinian police force, now more than 12,000 above the level allowed under the Oslo accords.

(4) Close Palestinian Authority offices in Jerusalem.

These commitments are contained in the official "Note for the Record" drawn up by the United States at the completion of the Hebron accord a year ago.

Sound sensible? Not to Bibi-phobes. Take the New York Times. Its front-page lead story on Wednesday reports that these demands are essentially Netanyahu inventions. "In fact," writes



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

correspondent Serge Schmemmann triumphantly, "the 'Note for the Record' signed by Warren Christopher—who was secretary of state at the time—included none of these requirements."

But there is no "Note for the Record" signed by Christopher. And the official American "Note for the Record" (authored and signed by U.S. Middle East envoy Dennis Ross) contains, under the heading "Palestinian Responsibilities," every single measure cited above: "The Palestinian side reaffirms its commitments to the following measures. . . . (1) Complete the process of revising the Palestinian National Charter. (2) Fighting terror and preventing violence . . . preventing incitement and hostile propaganda . . . transfer [extradition] of suspects . . . confiscation of illegal firearms. (3) Size of Palestinian Police will be pursuant to the Interim [Oslo] Agreement," etc.

The Times' false front-page report (subject of a correction the following day) is typical of its tendentious treatment of Netanyahu. It echoes the PLO line that Netanyahu's demand for reciprocity is nothing but a ploy. But how can any fair-minded observer consider reciprocity anything but an unobjectionable, indeed essential, condition for a peace process?

Netanyahu was elected by a majority of Israelis not because he promised a jihad against the Arabs but because he promised peace with security. How? Through reciprocity: You give, we give; you renege, we stand firm. No more one-way street.

The Hebron agreement was to be the hallmark of reciprocity: Netanyahu got Likud, for the first time in its history, to agree to a withdrawal from part of the Land of Israel, a very significant part—in return for several Palestinian commitments, every one of which has since been violated.

It is now up to President Clinton. The United States brokered the Hebron deal, enshrining these Palestinian obligations in the "Note for the Record." If Clinton treats his own Hebron agreement as a dead letter—an Israeli withdrawal to be pocketed, Palestinian commitments to be ignored—what possible confidence can Israel have that the next withdrawal will not be yet another sham, another betrayal?

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Jackson, Wall Street Have Their Big Day, But Will It Fuel Minority Opportunities?

By CHARLES GASPARINO
And JOSEPH N. BOYCE

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Where do Jesse Jackson and Wall Street go from here?

The civil rights leader's three-day Wall Street diversity conference that ends today has galvanized the securities industry as never before around the sensitive issue of minority hiring. The high-profile event brought President Clinton to New York's financial district yesterday and has drawn about \$500,000 in support from the very same financial firms Mr. Jackson says aren't doing enough for workplace diversity.



Jesse Jackson

But as the conference winds down today with appearances by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt, the question remains whether Mr. Jackson and his new Wall Street allies can turn a remarkable two-month fund-raising and public-relations effort into a concrete program that expands opportunities for minorities on Wall Street.

Though some statistics indicate that a little more than 20% of Wall Street employees are minorities — comparable to society in general — the representation among the executive ranks is clearly much lower. No major Wall Street brokerage firm is run by an African-American.

Many of the Wall Street firms that provided Mr. Jackson with financial assistance haven't gotten around to asking exactly what their donations will be used for. "Merrill Lynch is comfortable in making a contribution and leaving it up to the organization," said spokeswoman Bobbie Collins. Merrill contributed \$50,000 to the diversity project. "We're comfortable with Rev. Jackson making a decision on how the money will be used."

Mr. Jackson, for his part, says he has a plan in the works. If nothing else, he has had already had some immediate impact on Wall Street. The civil rights leader was one of the people who objected last year when the New York Stock Exchange continued its policy of not shutting down for the Martin Luther King holiday, instead observing a moment of silence. This year, it, and other U.S. stock markets, will be closed when the holiday is observed on Monday.

Mr. Jackson has also caught the attention of the White House. Yesterday, speaking at the conference, President Clinton

Please Turn to Page C23, Column 2

Continued From Page C1

said the government and the private sector have roles to play in expanding economic opportunities. Mr. Clinton said his budget will include more spending for enterprise zones and minority job training. He also called on Wall Street to do its part.

"Whether ensuring that companies on the Big Board draw on the talent and diversity of all our people, or investing in communities long bypassed by capital but full of potential, businesses can and must help us to build the one America we all need for the 21st century," he said.

Mr. Clinton added: "We have to bring the world of gleaming office towers and dark shadows together because the people who live in them are all Americans."

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, in remarks after a separate speech at the conference, appeared to pour cold water on one of Mr. Jackson's pet projects, the proposed use of pension money for inner-city investments. Mr. Rubin said that "prudence, safety and rate of return" should be the criteria for pension-fund investments. "If you take that approach, you're not going to wind up with pension funds as social investments."

Mr. Jackson told the conference yesterday that in the weeks ahead his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition will hold conferences throughout the country. His Wall Street office, created last year, will push the financial industry to address a range of issues from employment practices to opportunities for investment firms owned by women and minorities.

In interviews, Mr. Jackson was a bit more specific about the future. He said the money raised from Wall Street will defray the cost of this week's conference, estimated at close to \$100,000. The rest of the money will be spent "to increase our research capacity, strengthen our staff capability. People call us when they face discrimination in hiring, contracts and promotions. We have to have an office with the capacity to service that," he said. Without being specific, Mr. Jackson added that he's also planning a program that would raise the level of sophistication of black investors.

There have been a few bumps on the road during the planning for this week's

conference. For instance, Mr. Jackson last week shifted where the money raised on Wall Street is going, from the political Rainbow/PUSH Coalition to his educational nonprofit group, Citizenship Education Fund. That move was the result of pressure from the SEC's Mr. Levitt, who felt an educational group was a more appropriate repository for the donations. Mr. Jackson says he actually wanted money to flow to a nonprofit group all along, and was persuaded by Wall Street officials to use Rainbow/PUSH.

While making a splash on Wall Street this week, it's clearly up to Mr. Jackson and the financial industry to forge long-term changes. Over the years, Mr. Jackson has been criticized for failing to follow through on high-profile projects. But New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, who is moderating a panel during the conference on how government can help minority firms, said: "I like to take the view that people grow, mature and learn from the past."

Mr. McCall said he believes the project "will take off in ways that have nothing to do with Jesse, such as the contacts and relationships that will be developing. I don't think you can expect Jesse to do the whole thing. Other people can pick up the slack. What Jesse does with his money is something I'm not concerned about."

As for Wall Street, the future will tell whether the financial firms are doing more than giving lip service to a politically correct cause. Indeed, a number of companies, including Salomon Smith Barney, say they already have diversity programs in place.

"If they believe their employment practices are fair, it's a mystery why Wall Street is cooperating the way they are," said Stephan Thernstrom, co-author of "America in Black and White: One Nation Indivisible," a book critical of racial preferences. "It's a way of preventing bad public relations. They think if Jesse Jackson wanted to picket major brokerage houses, it would make them look bad. This is a way of buying social peace and it's not terribly unusual behavior for corporations these days."

—Michael K. Frisby
contributed to this article.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

News Corp. Set to Appoint Spokesman Who Was Tobacco Industry Lobbyist

By JOHN LIPPMAN
And SUEIN L. HWANG

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES — Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. is expected to hire away one of the tobacco industry's top troubleshooters, political strategist Thomas C. Griscom, as the Australian media conglomerate struggles to burnish its image.

Mr. Griscom, currently a tobacco lobbyist with R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., a crucial player in the industry's settlement efforts, is about to join News Corp. in a newly created post to oversee public relations and corporate affairs, people familiar with the matter said. The 48-year-old Mr. Griscom is a former White House communications director in the Reagan administration and has strong Republican ties.

The hiring is seen as a move by News Corp. President Peter Chernin to polish the company's image, which frequently takes a drubbing in Washington and the media over everything from Fox's TV programming to Mr. Murdoch's outspoken conservative politics.

News Corp. in the past has never been very interested in having a "media strategy." Although the company is one of the world's biggest newspaper publishers and broadcasters, it rarely has sought publicity on behalf of its businesses and executives. On most big issues, Mr. Murdoch himself has been the spokesman.

Part of Mr. Griscom's mission apparently will be to convince the public that News Corp. isn't any longer the one-man show under Mr. Murdoch that it is widely regarded to be. Mr. Chernin's own appointment as president of News Corp. last year was meant as a signal to Wall Street that Mr. Murdoch is increasingly delegating authority to subordinates.

But Mr. Griscom isn't expected to have a significant role in News Corp.'s relations with investors. Those affairs will continue to be handled by Chief Financial Officer David DeVoe, who reports directly to Mr. Murdoch, and Bill Sorenson, who is the liaison to News Corp.'s banks and bondholders.

The departure of Mr. Griscom, who is widely acknowledged as the most experienced political veteran in the tobacco camp, comes at a critical time for Reynolds and the rest of the \$45 billion tobacco industry. It's been more than six months

since the cigarette makers signed the historic settlement proposal, and the tobacco camp has had to acknowledge that the process of getting the deal through Congress has been more difficult than expected. Mr. Griscom, who was executive vice president of external affairs, is also the second person from the RJR camp to leave the company this month. Last week, Robert F. Sharpe, Jr., the company's general counsel, left Reynolds's parent RJR Nabisco Holdings Corp. to become general counsel of PepsiCo Inc. However, people familiar with the situation said the departures don't reflect any change in the industry's strategy. They also pointed out that if the tobacco settlement were signed into law, it would naturally diminish the role of lobbyists and lawyers. "This says to me they didn't see a bright future in this industry," said one person familiar with the matter. A spokesman said Mr. Griscom will be succeeded by Tommy J. Payne, 40, former vice president of federal government affairs at Reynolds. While Mr. Payne, now senior vice president of external affairs, lacks the experience of Mr. Griscom, he is considered a more-than-able lobbyist.

Tyson Official And a Lobbyist Are Indicted

By BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A federal grand jury indicted a Tyson Foods Inc. vice president and the company's Washington lobbyist on criminal charges of giving gratuities to former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy.

The 15-count indictment charged that Archie Schaffer, Tyson's chief spokesman and legislative strategist, and lobbyist Jack Williams conspired to defraud the public of its right to Mr. Espy's "honest services" as a Clinton cabinet member.

Both men were charged with violating the 1907 Meat Inspection Act, which prohibits meat and poultry companies from bestowing gifts and favors on Agriculture Department inspectors and other officials. If convicted, they would face a mandatory prison sentence of one to three years.

As for gratuities, Mr. Schaffer was indicted specifically for his alleged role in arranging Mr. Espy's trip with a former girlfriend to Arkansas for Senior Chairman Don Tyson's May 1993 birthday, and for providing Mr. Espy with four \$1,500 tickets to a Clinton inaugural dinner in January 1993. Mr. Williams was indicted for allegedly helping arrange a January 1994 trip for Mr. Espy and his girlfriend to attend a Dallas Cowboys football game. The company picked up much of the tab for both trips, spending \$4,827 on lodging, limousine rides, Cowboys skybox tickets and the woman's air fare.

Messrs. Schaffer and Williams couldn't be reached for comment. They have repeatedly denied any wrongdoing.

Yesterday's indictment marked the beginning of the end of Independent Counsel Donald Smaltz's three-year investigation

into Mr. Espy's dealings with agribusiness interests. While winning 15 guilty pleas and verdicts, the prosecutor has collected more than \$10.6 million in criminal fines, civil penalties and costs from five major companies. At this point, he still has three cases to try.

At every turn in Mr. Smaltz's probe, Mr. Espy has insisted on his innocence. The former Mississippi congressman is due to go on trial March 30 on charges of accepting more than \$35,000 in gifts and other gratuities from Tyson Foods and other companies with regulatory issues pending at the Agriculture Department.

Mr. Smaltz is appealing a federal judge's decision to dismiss three Meat Inspection Act counts against Mr. Espy. The law's obscure prohibition against giving, or accepting, "things of value," he has contended, should apply to all department employees — including the agriculture secretary — rather than just USDA inspectors in slaughterhouses and processing plants.

Under a plea bargain last month, Tyson Foods pleaded guilty to providing Mr. Espy with \$12,000 in illegal gratuities, including a \$1,200 Tyson Foundation scholarship for his former girlfriend. The company agreed to pay \$6 million in fines and investigative costs and was put on probation for four years.

Neither Mr. Tyson nor his son, John, the company's vice chairman, was charged in the plea agreement. Instead, under grants of immunity from prosecution, they will testify against Mr. Espy.

Yesterday's indictment also alleged that Mr. Schaffer committed mail and wire fraud in connection with the birthday-party trip, and that Mr. Williams committed wire fraud in connection with the scholarship and the Dallas Cowboys game. It also accused Mr. Williams of paying for a University of Arkansas basketball ticket and an airline ticket upgrade to first class for a former senior Agriculture Department official in February 1994.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Clinton awards 15 Medals of Freedom

By Craig Wilson
USA TODAY

She came through a blizzard in Wyoming and sleet in Washington, but there Mardy Murie was Thursday in the White House East Room, receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Clinton.

Long considered "the matriarch of the conservation movement," Murie at 95 remains "an inspiration for so many," says Earth Day founder Gailor Nelson.

The first woman to graduate from the University of Alaska, in 1924, and the author of three books, Murie played key roles in the fights to pass the Wilderness Act and the Alaska Lands Act. She and her husband, biologist Olaus Murie, made dozens of research trips to the remotest regions of Alaska in the 1920s, '30s and '40s. Some of that research led to the establishment of what is today called the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in northeastern Alaska.

Other recipients of the Medal of Freedom:

► **Arnold Aronson**, the founder of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an umbrella lobbying organization for civil rights groups.

► **Brooke Astor**, a philanthropist who financed the revitalization of the New York Public Library.

► **Robert Coles**, a psychologist who has researched children's experiences with racism.

► **Justin Dart Jr.**, an advocate for the rights of the disabled whose work resulted in the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act.



By Dennis Cook, AP
Mardy Murie: Honored in Washington

► **James Farmer**, a civil rights activist who founded the Congress of Racial Equality.

► **Frances Hesselbein**, an expert on not-for-profit groups; led a revitalization of the Girl Scouts of America.

► **Fred Korematsu**, whose legal challenges to civil-

ian exclusion orders during World War II helped spur the redress movement for Japanese-Americans.

► **Sol Linowitz**, ambassador-at-large for Middle East negotiations under President Carter.

► **Wilma Mankiller**, twice elected to head the Cherokee Nation, worked to reduce infant mortality, improve health among Cherokees.

► **Mario Obledo**, a Latino rights advocate, co-founder of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

► **Elliot Richardson**, who held four Cabinet positions — secretary of health, education and welfare; attorney general; secretary of defense; and secretary of commerce — under presidents Nixon and Ford.

► **David Rockefeller**, a former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, co-founder of International Executive Service, through which U.S. executives lend expertise to developing nations.

► **Albert Shanker**, honored posthumously for his work at the helm of the American Federation of Teachers for more than 20 years.

► **Admiral Elmo "Bud" Zumwalt Jr.**, former chief of naval operations, who issued directives to end discrimination in the Navy; now an advocate for compensation for the health problems of Vietnam veterans.

Clinton: Close 'opportunity gap'

By Bill Nichols
and Lorrie Grant
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — President Clinton called Thursday for increased investment by Wall Street in minority communities and struggling urban areas.

"This is America's opportunity to close the opportunity gap," Clinton told a three-day conference convened by Jesse Jackson and attended by, among others, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin.

Jackson says Wall Street and Corporate America are missing a potentially lucrative market by not wooing minority clients and diversifying their workforces to relate to an increasingly diverse population.

African-Americans, Hispanics and Asians represent 26% of the population, but each minority group makes up just 2%

of those selling stocks, bonds, mutual funds and other securities on Wall Street.

"If Wall Street supports growth, then it supports diversity," Jackson says.

Leaders at prominent investment firms agree, saying recruiting and retention of minority and female workers makes good business sense.

The global economy is increasingly competitive and people of all ethnicities are an important part of it, notes Joe Grano, president of PaineWebber. "If we don't take advantage of (those markets), someone else will."

The conference, which ends today, was timed to commemorate the birthday of civil-rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

On Monday, the New York Stock Exchange is closed in honor of the King holiday for the first time.



By Mark Lennihan, AP
Jackson



By Mark Lennihan, AP
Clinton

College loans for low-income students will be scaled back

By Mary Beth Marklein
USA TODAY

A college loan program for low-income students won't be dropped from President Clinton's budget proposal for fiscal year 1999, administration officials assured angry higher education leaders Thursday.

But it will be scaled back, and that's not good enough, say supporters of the Federal Perkins Loan Program.

"We are going to push for the same level of funding" as last year, said Laura Wilcox, of the Washington-based American Council on Education, one of several groups alarmed by reports Wednesday that Perkins

loans might be eliminated.

Last fall, Education Department officials said they would support the 30-year-old program, which this year benefits 700,000 students, most with family incomes below \$30,000.

Thursday, administration officials suggested the funding proposal for Perkins would be closer to half of this year's \$135 million contribution. Along with matching funds and revenue from student loan repayments, about \$900 million flows to students at 2,700 colleges.

"We heard their concern and we're responding to the extent that is possible," said David Longanecker of the Education Department.

At 77, Glenn will get chance to show his stuff

By Paul Hoversten
USA TODAY

Showing that septuagenarians still have "the right stuff," 76-year-old U.S. Sen. John Glenn will fly again in space this fall.

NASA Administrator Dan Goldin will announce today that Glenn will take a seat as a mission specialist aboard space shuttle Discovery for a 10-day science mission. The flight is scheduled for Oct. 8.

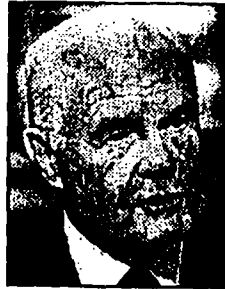
Glenn, D-Ohio, will be 77 by then — the oldest person ever to fly in space.

Though some have criticized the flight as a stunt, NASA says there are good scientific reasons for flying some-

one that old. Scientists hope to better understand how older astronauts fare with bone and muscle loss in weightlessness — symptoms that also affect elderly people on Earth.

"They need to make a plausible case that there is some valid science being done and they're ready to do that," says John Logsdon, space policy director at George Washington University.

Glenn "understands the risks involved and NASA has assessed the political risk of doing this," says Logsdon.



Glenn: Shuttle flight set for October

"The mission's going to go anyway, it's not going to cost that much more because he's on it and it has high symbolic value. It also sends a message that NASA is doing research that's important to a large part of the population."

A former Marine combat pilot and one of the original Mercury astronauts, Glenn last flew in space 36 years ago.

He became the first American in orbit on Feb. 20, 1962, when he flew Friendship 7 for three orbits that lasted 4 hours and 55 minutes. He has been a

U.S. senator since 1974 and is retiring this year.

He has lobbied NASA for more than a year for another spaceflight.

NASA has barred civilians from space since the January 1986 Challenger accident that killed teacher Christa McAuliffe and six other astronauts.

Glenn's participation doesn't mean NASA is lifting the ban on civilians. But it does signal that the space agency is broadening the definition of who can become an astronaut.

"They're waffling nicely on it," says Logsdon. "What you'll see is that they'll say we'll have people fly as a trained astronaut that meet different criteria than in the past."

On Day to Honor Dr. King, Some Pause as Others Shop

A1

By BARRY BEARAK

Continued From Page A1

Yesterday was a time to reflect on the fight for racial justice, and many in New York and elsewhere did just that, recalling what was accomplished with marches along dusty Southern roads and sit-ins at the lunch counters of segregated five-and-dimes.

Many people, however, commemorated a great man's dream by sleeping late.

Once an annual spark for national debate, Martin Luther King Jr. Day now seems to have passed some dubious threshold of acceptance. On one hand, it has become a common timeout for both government and business, with even Wall Street for the first time shutting down the tickers of high finance.

On the other hand, the holiday seems to be joining Presidents' Day, Memorial Day and Labor Day as customary if not especially meaningful pauses on the calendar, celebrated by many for being a paid day off.

"I'm waiting for my wife to get out of the Pottery Barn," said Mark McGovern, 33, a bond broker, describing the extent of his holiday observance at the Westchester Mall in White Plains. "It's an extra day to shop."

Craig Jackson, 25, of Newark, spent his day at 34th Street and Broadway in Manhattan, handing out free tickets for HBO's "Def Comedy Jam." There, he said, he saw little sign that people were taking the holiday seriously.

"They think it's a day for recreation, part of a three-day weekend," he said. "It surprises me. After everybody fought for it, there's a day of observance and nobody observes it."

That would be an overstatement, for there were political speeches, events at schools, fire and brimstone from pulpits across the country. In Washington, President Clinton helped paint a classroom, while in Atlanta, Vice President Al Gore said the Government planned to increase spending next year to enforce civil rights laws. [Page A19.]

Decidedly, the day seemed more

hallowed to blacks than whites. At Prospect High School in Brooklyn, about 600 people listened to the winning poems and essays of students who were paying homage to a hero.

"In my life, 'We shall overcome' means that I shall overcome my fears in my school and outside my school," said Justin Manning, 10, a student at Public School 279. "I want to overcome my fear of gang violence, stray bullets and peer pressure. I'd love to go to school without worrying about these things."

In Harlem, turning the corner from 125th Street at St. Nicholas Avenue, G. H. Dursoy, 44, a retiree, said, "I spent a couple of hours this morning thinking about Reverend King, the things he did and the things he would've done if he had survived."

At the Brooklyn Botanical Garden, Tyrin and April Venning brought their daughter Amber, 5, to hear dramatic readings about Dr. King's life.

"To me, Martin Luther King symbolized black pride," said Mr. Venning, 39. "He was a representative of our people's hopes, our people's dreams. He's someone whose character and intelligence you want to emulate. We want our daughter to understand why we are celebrating this man's existence."

Much has changed in 15 years, since President Ronald Reagan signed into law a bill that declared a national holiday in Dr. King's memory.

Mr. Reagan had long resisted the proposal. At the ceremony at which he signed the legislation, he observed that Dr. King might have been a Communist. "We'll know in about 35 years, won't we?" the President said, referring to F.B.I. files sealed in the National Archives until 2027.

In New York, Mayor Edward I. Koch refused to extend the holiday to city workers in 1985, arguing that the cost of the holiday, which he put at \$17 million, was too high and the matter was better suited to collective bargaining. He ordered an audit of City Council President Carol Belamy's payroll because most of her staff had taken the day off.

Some politicians still find the day a ticklish business. In what has become an annual squabble with the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani was not expressly invited to the group's major commemora-

tion at the Convent Avenue Baptist Church at 135th Street. He said last weekend that he was relieved to have been overlooked. At the same event last year, Mr. Giuliani was met with a mixture of boos, heckles and applause as he spoke about the need for racial harmony.

"He was not denied," said the Rev. Charles Kenyatta of the ministers' conference. "This is a church. Maybe he was looking for a special invitation."

Instead, the Mayor went to Brooklyn for a ceremony at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. There, he pointedly declared, "It's great to be back in Brooklyn, at the largest and the oldest of the city's tributes to Martin Luther King."

Politics and the King holiday also overlapped yesterday at a forum arranged by the Rev. Al Sharpton. There, several gubernatorial and senatorial candidates linked their names with Dr. King's.

"The dream is a job," said City Council Speaker Peter Vallone, a candidate for governor. "And everyone should have equal opportunity to get a job, and the way to get it is education, and everyone should have equal opportunity to get an education."

Presiding over the forum, Mr. Sharpton looked out at an audience of about 400 and a back wall decorated with photos of heroes of the civil rights struggle, Mr. Sharpton's picture slightly more than twice the size of Dr. King's.

United States Representative Charles B. Rangel, Harlem's Congressman, was also in attendance. In an interview, he said the key to keeping Dr. King's message alive rested with the schools. "We have to remind people that this is more than a good weekend for shopping," he said.

The Congressman might have been discouraged to hear Michael Bruno and Jonathan Drewes, two high school freshmen from New Rochelle, N.Y., who were shopping for CD's at the Westchester Mall. They said that while "they used to emphasize" Martin Luther King Jr. in elementary school, the practice had not continued into the later grades.

"We just know it's a three-day weekend," said Michael, 14. "On the 'X Files' last night, though, they did a show about Martin Luther King being shot along with J.F.K. That was cool, but I don't know how real it was."

The New York Times

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

President Seeks More Money to Enforce Rights Laws

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19 — Seeking increased Federal action to back up the President's calls for racial reconciliation, the Clinton Administration announced today that it would request a 16 percent increase in spending next year to enforce civil rights laws.

The planned increase, which is to be included in President Clinton's budget proposal, amounts to \$86 million and, if approved by Congress, would bring total Federal spending for civil rights enforcement to \$602 million.

Mr. Clinton, who commemorated the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday today by helping volunteers paint a high school classroom here, left it to Vice President Al Gore to disclose the proposal, in a speech in Atlanta. Mr. Gore called it "the largest single increase in the enforcement of our civil rights laws in nearly two decades."

Speaking at Ebenezer Baptist Church, from the pulpit where Dr. King preached, Mr. Gore said he and the President were seeking the additional money as part of Mr. Clinton's yearlong initiative to encourage racial reconciliation.

As recently as last week, in a meeting at the White House, leaders of civil rights groups urged the President to increase spending on civil rights enforcement, particularly with affirmative action programs under fierce criticism. Opponents of affirmative action, the reasoning goes, would be uncomfortable obstructing efforts to fight discrimination by better enforcement of existing laws.

"It puts the opponents of affirmative action in a position where they have to put their money where their mouth is," said Charles Kamasaki, vice president of the National Council of La Raza, the Hispanic advocacy group. "Politically, it's a wise move on the part of the Administration."

Mr. Kamasaki called the proposed increase modest, but said it was nevertheless "welcome and significant."

Of the proposed new spending, \$37 million would go to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, mostly to reduce its backlog of 64,000 unresolved employment discrimination cases, and \$22 million to the anti-discrimination programs run by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In a feisty speech filled with references to hymns and the Old Testament as well as to Dr. King, Mr. Gore ridiculed as "modern apostles of apathy" those people who believe that affirmative action is unnecessary because the United States has be-



Paul Hasefras/The New York Times

President Clinton helped paint a classroom at Cardozo High School in Washington yesterday where 400 volunteers and Americorps members marked the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. by renovating the school.

come a color-blind society.

"They fail to recognize that the taproot of racism is almost 400 years long," the Vice President said.

The annual ecumenical service at Ebenezer Baptist was the highlight of Atlanta's weeklong celebration of what would have been Dr. King's 69th birthday. Elsewhere in Atlanta, groups of volunteers spent much of the day working on construction and cleanup projects in inner city neighborhoods.

Mr. Clinton stayed away from such provocative topics as affirmative action today, instead focusing in brief public remarks on encouraging volunteerism. In 1994, he signed legislation designating the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday a day of national service.

"We will never be able to bridge the racial and other divides in this country unless we decide we're not only going to work together and learn together but we're going to serve together," Mr. Clinton said, in remarks in the cafeteria at Cardozo High School here.

Dressed in cowboy boots, blue jeans and a gray T-shirt, Mr. Clinton spent about 45 minutes with a roller and white paint, helping repaint a classroom at Cardozo. In all, about 400 members of the Americorps service program, people from the community, and White House staff helped today to paint 27 rooms, which had not received a fresh coat in 15 years. The work, to cover up damage caused by a leaky roof, began a week ago, and is expected to take another week.

Mr. Clinton, who helped volunteers repaint a wall in Philadelphia last April during a national summit meeting on volunteering, gave the students and others advice on how to apply a second coat. "He was a real pro at it," said Jen Brindisi, 23, an Americorps volunteer from Struthers, Ohio. "He gave us some pointers. He really worked at it."

As part of its proposal for spending on civil rights enforcement, the Administration would increase financing of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by 15 percent to \$279 million next year. More than a third of that increase would go to finance efforts to mediate employment disputes, bypassing the lengthy process of investigation and litigation.

As its mandate has expanded to include fighting discrimination against people with disabilities, the commission has developed an enormous backlog of cases. The Administration said today that it would set a target to reduce that backlog to 28,000 cases by the year 2000, from the present level of 64,000.

For the anti-discrimination programs at the housing department, the Administration is seeking an increase of 70 percent, to a total of \$52 million. The department would use \$10 million of that money for paired testing, in which otherwise identical applicants of different races are dispatched to real estate agents and landlords to see if they are treated differently.

For the civil rights division of the Justice Department, the Administration is proposing a 10 percent increase, to \$71.6 million.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

Gore Makes Civil Rights Pledge

Vice President Outlines Plan to Sharply Increase Enforcement Funding

By Terry M. Neal
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

ATLANTA, Jan. 19—From the pulpit of the church once led by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Vice President Gore marked the commemoration of the slain civil rights leader's birthday today by announcing steps to strengthen enforcement of civil rights laws.

The plan, a part of President Clinton's proposed budget for next year, calls for the largest increase in civil

rights enforcement funding in two decades, administration officials said. The president will propose a 16 percent increase, from \$516 million to \$602 million, in spending by the various civil rights enforcement agencies and offices. Most of the increase would target agencies charged with enforcing fair housing and employment laws and appear to follow through on promises Clinton has made in recent months.

In a half-hour speech at Ebenezer Baptist Church, before a multiracial

audience of several hundred people, Gore defended affirmative action and other programs to redress racial and ethnic discrimination. And he denounced those who would abolish such programs to promote "color-blind society."

"These people who now call for the end of policies to promote equal opportunity say there's been so much progress that no more such efforts are justified," said Gore, a former divinity student at Vanderbilt University, speaking in the lilting and pitched cadences of the southern

See GORE, A10, Col. 1

GORE, From A1

preacher. "But they fail to recognize that the tap root of racism is almost 400 years long."

During a brief interview on Air Force 2, Gore said he had been working on the speech for weeks, and his aides said that he received minimal input from speech writers. The crowd loved it, giving Gore a several-minute ovation. Many waved and shouted "We love you."

Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) a King confidant and a hero of the civil rights movement, pronounced Gore's speech "a great statement. A profound statement. I think the vice president showed he has a heart and a soul." Lewis also praised the announcement that the administration would increase spending on civil rights enforcement. Even though Clinton remains very popular among African Americans, some civil rights activists have accused the president of failing to pay enough attention to the interests of minorities in recent years.

Gore's announcement marked the third time this month that the administration has proposed expansions of social services that appeal primarily to the left flank of the party, which has grown disenchanted with the president's shift to the center.

Clinton, who will deliver his State of the Union address Jan. 27, has already laid out proposals to expand Medicare and child-care programs.

The centerpiece of the proposal Gore announced today is an increase in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's budget. Critics have long argued that agency's huge backlog of cases has made it largely ineffectual.

According to details released by Gore aides, Clinton will propose a \$37 million, or 15 percent, increase in the EEOC's budget. Much of that money would be used to expand a mediation program to settle discrimination complaints brought by workers against employers. The agency would increase the number of new cases handled through mediation—rather than investigation or litigation—by 20 percent next year.

The administration predicted it would reduce the average time it takes to resolve complaints from 9.4 months to six months and the backlog of cases from 68,000 to 28,000 by the year 2000.

The president also will propose a \$22 million increase for the Department of Housing and Urban Development to expand a program to investigate housing discrimination. HUD would expand its use of "paired testing," in which couples of different races, but otherwise identical backgrounds, approach landlords or real estate agents for housing.

Gore, who did not give details in his

speech, received rousing applause when he announced that "President Clinton and I are proposing, as a part of his initiative on race, the largest single increase in the enforcement of our civil rights laws in two decades. Through new reforms and through heightened commitment to enforcement, we will seek to prevent discrimination before it occurs, and punish those who do discriminate in employment, in education, in housing, in health care, in access for those with disabilities."

Clinton is popular among African Americans. Year after year, polling by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a D.C.-based black think tank, shows him among the most admired Americans, regardless of race. Some in the audience today saw Gore's speech as an attempt to build a similar reputation.

Ebenezer member Oliver Huff, who knew King, told reporters walking out of the church: "What do I think? I think he's putting himself in a position to benefit from Clinton's popularity in the black community. I liked what he had to say, but Clinton has a way of speaking to people that he really doesn't have."

Gore was flanked by Coretta Scott King and Dexter King, the wife and one of the sons of the slain civil rights leader. Also on hand were Georgia Sens. Paul Coverdell (R) and Max Cleland (D), Gov. Zell Miller, Atlanta Mayor William Campbell, Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater, Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D-Ga.), John Hope Franklin, who heads the president's race commission, and other local politicians and foreign dignitaries.

At a later event, Coretta King called Gore a "leader of exceptional integrity, intelligence and compassion."

"Republicans will want to take a hard look at this proposal," Republican National Committee spokesman Clifford May said, "to see if the spending will actually benefit the state of civil rights in America—or whether it's only intended to benefit Al Gore's presidential campaign."

But a leading civil rights group said the White House initiative would add much-needed muscle to the nation's anti-discrimination effort.

"Vigorous enforcement of the nation's civil rights laws is the single most important step the administration can take to achieve the promise of one America for all," said Wade Henderson, director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of groups representing racial and ethnic minorities, the disabled and homosexuals.

Staff writer Joby Warrick in Washington contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998



BY RIC FELD—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Coretta Scott King called Vice President Gore a "leader of exceptional integrity, intelligence and compassion."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

Through the Cold and Drizzle, Thousands Sing, Paint and March

By Michael Powell
and Scott Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writers

Luther Lacy was standing bowl-in-hand at a Washington soup kitchen when someone stuffed the birthday announcement into the pocket of his tattered coat.

He took a look: City officials were celebrating the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday at a nearby library. Lacy, 25, put down his soup and walked through the rain to get there.

"His words have always meant so much to me," Lacy said as the sweet strains of a youth choir echoed through the Martin Luther King Memorial Library. "I wasn't born when he died, but I do know he died for people like me. . . . I needed to be here."

Thousands of Washington area residents felt a similar urge yesterday, flocking to libraries and churches, and marching through drizzling cold rain, to officially celebrate King's birthday. He would have turned 69 last Thursday.

See KING, B3, Col. 3

KING, From B1

In Washington, a majority-black city whose leadership has long considered the civil rights movement its political and emotional touchstone, more than 500 men, women and children—among them Mayor Marion Barry and Camille C. Barnett, the city's new chief management officer—came to the Martin Luther King library to sing and listen to gospel music and political oratory. Hundreds more gathered in Southeast Washington for an annual parade to mark the birth of the slain civil rights leader.

President Clinton donned a Stanford University T-shirt and cowboy boots and joined 400 volunteers in a marathon painting session at Cardozo High School, a place set high on a hill with a majestic view of the Capitol and the federal city. He emphasized that King had visited the same neighborhood 31 years ago and urged people to "engage in citizen service."

In Prince George's County, a majority-black county with a vibrant African American middle class, residents marked the day with pomp and celebration. Color guards, marching bands and drill teams, some donning earmuffs and gloves against the cold, paraded along a two-mile stretch of Martin Luther King Jr. Highway while a few hundred spectators braved steady wet snow to watch. Cars tooted horns in support.

Huddled near the parade's end, Ray Riley said he came from his Capitol Heights home to stand in the rain because King's "is not just a cultural legacy, but a universal legacy."

"He is more than a symbol; he is a way of life," said Riley, wearing a necklace of cowrie shells to honor his African heritage. "This day should not just be one of fun and games. It has to carry on his cause."

Not all the remembrances were so buoyant. In Howard County, blacks and whites, Christians and Jews gathered in St. Peter's Episcopal Church to talk about race and its continuing divides. It was a second annual meeting in an affluent county with a small African American population, and the discussion was often raw and emotional.

The morning began with prayer and meditation, then turned to the showing of the film "Sankofa," a haunting story with graphic depictions of the slave trade. As the movie flashed to a scene of a woman being branded, white and black alike shook their heads and lowered their faces into the palms of their hands.

Bessie Fletcher, a disabled Columbia resident, seemed not a little bitter. Sitting with her husband, James, while he flipped through the employment ads, she said that "a service like this is good, and a lot of people can benefit, but the lower and middle class don't seem to benefit at all. They voice their opinions and don't do a thing about them."

Alan Rubinstein, 43, also expressed disappointment as he looked at the 30 or so people in attendance. A counselor in local high schools and a cantor at Bolton Hill Synagogue in Baltimore, he came to the meeting with his wife, Karen, and their 16-month-old son, Michael.

"For this community, which is very multi-ethnic, multi-religious, the need for opportunities to sit down and talk are essential," Rubinstein said. "It would be nice if more people participated."

Threading throughout the birthday celebrations was another concern: that 30 years after the tumult and pain that marked King's passing, those who remember him are graying. The immediacy of the civil rights movement and its accomplishments are yielding to the haze of hagiography and history books.

That sense of a flesh-and-blood hero

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

1/2

slipping into history's embrace drew many parents and their children to the Martin Luther King library in Washington. Anita Staton, of Bowie, stood in the cavernous lobby and listened as her 9-year-old daughter, Arielle, recited King's accomplishments.

"I wanted Arielle to get some sense of King and his meaning to people," Staton said. "Even for me it seemed like a long time ago."

Scott McCartney, 30, of Alexandria, was there as well, with his wife, Kim, and their two little daughters, Alexis, 6, and Jade, 1. The New York native recalls his father telling him stories of the civil rights marches on Washington, of battles waged and won. He's in the military now, itself a testament to the sea change that integration has wrought on a government institution, and he wants his children to have an understanding of this history.

"Reverend King affected so many of my people, I felt an obligation to come here," he said as Alexis clung tightly to his hand in the cold gray morning.

Amid all the remembrances, it was also clear that King retains his potency as a political symbol, and more than a

democracy from you and me. . . . We ought to be outraged about that."

Norton, whose position on the control board is rarely fixed, took the occasion of King's birthday to sound a similar, impassioned plea.

"King fought for democracy," she said. "And yet it is democracy in the capital . . . that is absent. The country needs to hang its head low for this celebration of King's birthday."

Norton earned warm applause. But outside, several parents offered opinions that seemed to reflect the changed times, in the nation and in Washington.

"I kind of disagree with the political leaders," said Jerome Turner, whose son, Spencer, and daughter, Chelsea, had sung at the celebration. "I grew up here, and I've watched city services deteriorate to the point that something had to be done. I don't know how Dr. King would react to this."

Staff writers Gabriel Escobar and Hamil R. Harris contributed to this report.

few politicians invoked his memory to add fire to their chosen causes yesterday.

President Clinton, who has made citizen service a theme of his administration, urged people to mark the slain civil rights leader's birthday by volunteering. And in a day-long painting regimen, Clinton and others accomplished what it would have taken a smaller paint crew weeks to do.

"He was a hard worker, focused on painting the whole time," said Julia Butler, 23, of Lawrence, Kan., one of about 100 volunteers from AmeriCorps, the national service program Clinton established. "He knew exactly what to do. He just got his roller wet with paint and went right to work."

Mayor Barry and Eleanor Holmes Norton, the District's delegate to Congress, claimed King's legacy for another effort: deposing the D.C. control board and restoring home rule to Washington.

"He believed in protesting against unjust laws, unjust laws," Barry told the assembly at the library. "Last summer [the Senate and Congress] took

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

2/2

Students Stir Crowd With Dream Oratory

By Ann O'Hanlon
Washington Post Staff Writer

They commanded the stage like preachers, broke into song and poetry in mid-speech and roused an audience of about 1,200 to cheers and gospel-like outbursts of "All right," "Tell me, sister," and "Go to work, son."

The six speakers at yesterday's Martin Luther King Jr. Day event in Prince William County had all the marks of professionals, except for their age. The youngest, who took the audience by storm, was 11 and a seventh-grader. The eldest was 17.

Each of the students in the oratory contest was assigned to write and deliver remarks on the theme "A View From the Mountaintop," based on the speech King gave on the eve of his assassination 30 years ago.

Angenia Toodle, 13, an eighth-grader at Marsteller Middle School, refused to be cowed by a malfunctioning fire alarm that screamed out early in her speech.

Dressed in a black suit with leopard lapels, the youngster

drove on through the clamor: "Somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly," she bellowed. "Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech." Onward she went, excerpting King's famous words, until the alarm ended, just as she said, "We are going on."

The audience loved it, so much that the judges gave her the "Best Before the Audience" award.

Each of the six spoke for about 10 minutes, inspiring the audience in his or her own way. Some were somber, saying they were not sure what mountaintop the Nobel Peace Prize winner had spoken of, given the prevalence of drugs, poverty and youth violence in the African American community today. Others brought the audience to cheers by recapping King's dream. Da-

Shondra Jenkins, 11, from Godwin Middle School, was one of those, describing what she believed King saw from the fabled mountaintop.

"First of all, everyone looks the same: no blacks, no whites, no Asians, no Hispanics, just people," she said. "That's what Dr. King saw from his view—a peaceful and tranquil nation."

See STUDENTS, B3, Col. 4

STUDENTS, From B1

The finalists, four boys and two girls, were all African American.

They were chosen from 30 semifinalists a week ago, one from each middle school and high school in Manassas, Manassas Park and Prince William.

The semifinalists included a few white and Asian students.

Judges determined which six would address yesterday's crowd and awarded two prizes in each of two age categories—best before the judges, determined a week ago, and best before the audience, based on yesterday's delivery.

The eighth annual event, which includes a youth choir of 250 students, has grown so popular that it was moved a

few years ago from a high school to the Hylton Memorial Chapel, a building that seats 3,500. It is sponsored by the county's chapter of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority and funded largely by the Prince William Education Foundation, which awards each semifinalist a \$100 savings bond.

Many students said the message of the contest was not to forget history, or the roads that King and others paved for black youth today. Osbourn Park senior Matthew Shalamar Moore, 17, cited in his remarks Harriet Tubman, Fanny Lou Hamer, King and his own grandfather.

"When I stand on the mountaintop," he said, "I stand on the shoulders of all who have gone before me. . . . I stand on all of your shoulders." Other finalists included Thomas Jefferson High junior Janelle Haynes, 16; Osbourn High sophomore Renee Douglas, 15; and Fred Lynn Middle School eighth-grader Daniel Brown, 14.

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

An Assist for Gulf Veterans

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Good news on the federal job front for veterans of the Persian Gulf War. The Defense Authorization Act signed into law last year gives preference to all eligible veterans of the Gulf War.

A veteran in this case is anyone who served on active duty between Aug. 2, 1990, and Jan. 2, 1992. That will be welcome news for many people in the area, making it somewhat easier for them to get—and keep—a federal job. At a time when agencies are downsizing, and layoffs are always a possibility, veterans preference protection is welcome for those who have it.

During the Gulf War, a number of reserve and National Guard units—including many from this area—were called to active duty. Some never left the United States. Others were deployed in the Persian Gulf region or to Bosnia and other locations.

Because the government is one of the nation's most reserve-friendly employers—encouraging workers to belong and not charging them vacation time for summer training—many members of Guard and reserve units are federal or postal workers. That is especially true in the D.C., Maryland and Virginia National Guards and in local reserve units. But being in the military doesn't automatically entitle individuals to veterans preference, which can help them when being considered for employment and give them added job protection during layoffs.

Officials are still working out details of the extension of veterans preference. But the Office of Personnel Management's official explanation to federal personnel directors says the new law "means that anyone who served on active duty during the Gulf War for even one day, regardless of location, is entitled to preference if otherwise eligible. This applies not only to candidates seeking [federal] employment but to federal employees who may be affected by reduction-in-force as well."

Meetings

Mark Roth, top lawyer for the American Federation of Government Employees union, is the speaker at today's Society of Federal Labor Relations Professionals luncheon. The session is at the Hunan Gourmet in Georgetown. For details, call Russ Davis at 703-836-3215.

The Congressional Briefing Conference for Presidential Management Interns is scheduled for Feb. 23-26. It is sponsored by Georgetown University's Government Affairs Institute. For times and location, call 202-333-4838.

Departures

Sandra Raynes Weiss is retiring from the Department of Health and Human Services after 28 years of federal service. She is special assistant to the administrator of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Before joining HHS/HEW, she worked with the Department of Transportation and the General Accounting Office.

Joyce D. Miller has left the Labor Department to be head of Social Policy Initiatives, a Washington-based consulting firm. She was an AFL-CIO official before joining the department, where she served as executive director of the "Federal Glass Ceiling Commission."

Time to Convert?

Federal agencies are gearing up to help provide employees with information about the coming pension plan open season. Later this year, more than a million federal workers in the old Civil Service Retirement System will have the opportunity to switch to the newer Federal Employees Retirement System. The CSRS-to-FERS conversion is a one-way street. FERS employees cannot move into the old retirement system, which many consider to be the best retirement program in the nation.

Tomorrow we will show you the results of a computer run that shows whether the "typical" fed under the old CSRS system should stick, or switch to FERS.

Tuesday, Jan. 20, 1998

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1998

Setting the record straight on the president's race initiative

By John Hope Franklin

The Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, which I have the honor to chair, took its oath of office on July 14, 1997, and held its first meeting on that day. In a brief opening statement, the subject of which was "Let the Dialogue Begin," I called for all groups to join in the quest for a means to end the racial divide. During that first week, I met with several major groups, including the Congressional Black Caucus and with Advisory Board member Robert Thomas, President and CEO of Nissan USA and his staff in California. The Nissan group outlined a remarkably comprehensive program to increase diversity there and to develop their program into the first of our series of "Promising Practices."

Within the first month, every member of the advisory board was busily engaged in promoting our work. I addressed a joint session of the North Carolina State Legislature, gave several interviews to representatives of the media, and spoke to six different national groups. My colleagues engaged in similar activities, many of which they reported at the next meeting of the advisory board on August 15. By that time, our offices were set up, a staff of some 20 people, including the executive director, Judith Winston, had been appointed, and our relations with the White House staff had been regularized.

Also by that time we were clear that the major areas in which we would work would be education, the workplace, health, housing and the

administration of justice. At no time did we, while recognizing its historical significance, consider confining our consideration of race to the black-white paradigm. In his June 14 address at the University of California at San Diego, the president underscored the importance of the significant demographic shifts that were taking place. The board took full cognizance of this by giving attention to the increase in the Asian, African and Latino components in our population. Likewise, the board is also giving attention to

diversity. I never closed the door to Mr. Connerly or anyone else. I was merely giving the rationale for constructing that particular panel.

Reporters called Mr. Connerly, and he was understandably outraged because, on the basis of subsequent media reports, he had been grievously misinformed about what I said. Indeed, the word spread all over the nation that I had closed off debate and would listen to only one side. Not only was that a gross misrepresentation of my position, but it was antithetical to the position I

I never closed the door to Mr. Connerly or anyone else. I was merely giving the rationale for constructing that particular panel.

the issues that have plagued the Native American community for so long. This is reflected in the subject matter under consideration at the regular meetings of the advisory board as well as in the activities of the members in their travels, in participation in conferences and in their public statements.

Two incidents have received considerable attention from the media. One occurred at a press conference during the board's meeting of November 19. During the morning session, three university presidents, a professor and a student spoke on the subject of increasing diversity on college and university campuses. At the press conference following that session one reporter asked about affirmative action. I replied that this session was devoted to increasing diversity and I did not see what opponents to affirmative action, such as Ward Connerly, could contribute to a discussion of

have held throughout my life. Thus, just a few days ago a reporter called and asked me if I continued to hold the view that I should listen to only one side in the discussion of race. It was as if he had asked me if I continued to beat my wife. Under the circumstances, it scarcely deserved a reply, although I replied as fully and as graciously as I could that I had never held such a view.

The advisory board held its meeting in Fairfax, Va., three days after my discussion of the board's work on a television program with William Bennett, the former secretary of education, who can hardly be described as a supporter of affirmative action. As the meeting was devoted to Education K-12, it was fitting that one of the most experienced people in the field moderate the panel. The obvious choice was our executive director, Judith Winston, former general counsel in the Department of Education and for-

mer acting undersecretary of education. She was not given the assignment "rather than Dr. Franklin" as one miserably uninformed reporter wrote, apparently in the effort to discredit me instead of appreciating the logic of choosing Ms. Winston.

Toward the end of the discussion a person in the audience went to a microphone and began to yell at the people on the stage. From where I sat, much of what he said was unintelligible, but I heard him remark that we were engaged in a monologue and there were not enough white people on the stage. As calmly as I could, I sought to tell him that there would be ample time during the afternoon discussion for him to express his views. Indeed, that is why the microphones were already in place. He shouted a few more sentences and then gathered his belongings and left, with most of the representatives of the media following him.

One reporter wrote, "some black leaders said afterwards that he should have been heard." Those persons were obviously not present when I pleaded with him to remain and speak at the next session. I did not call him "a fool," as was reported, although a member of the afternoon panel used that word to describe him.

We are all exploring uncharted territory in our attempt to conduct the national dialogue on race for which the president called. Our strategies may not always have been the wisest, but I have never attempted to stifle or suppress the views with which I may disagree. Nor have I muzzled speakers who have attended our board meetings. At Fairfax, we went over our scheduled time in order to hear from everyone in the audience who wished to speak.

I shall continue to carry out the president's mandate to search for ways to ease the pain of racial conflict. I do not think that in doing so we have constituted a "cheering squad" for the president, as one citizen described us to a reporter. We only cheer the American people as they assist us in helping all of us.

John Hope Franklin is chairman of the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race.

The Washington Times
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Christ

The many advantages of talking to Iran

By Geoffrey Kemp

Iranian President Mohammed Khatami's remarkable exercise in public diplomacy on CNN Jan. 7 comes at a propitious moment for the Clinton administration, whose Middle East policy is in disarray. A thaw in relations with Iran has clear strategic benefits for the United States.

First, it would be a bold way for the U.S. to outmaneuver Saddam Hussein and avoid the consequences of continued paralysis at the United Nations. Iraq is presently a much greater direct threat to our interests than Iran. Without more support from allies, or a new strategic alignment in the Middle East, Saddam Hussein may indeed live to fight another day, next time with biological weapons.

Second, it will reduce the pressures on the U.S. government to invoke American laws that call for sanctions against our allies who do business with Iran's energy sector. Under the provisions of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act any foreign company doing more than \$20 million worth of business in the energy sectors of either country is liable to U.S. unilateral sanctions.

The European Union has categorically rejected the legitimacy of this law and will retaliate if it is invoked against European companies. This could lead to a most public and divisive trans-Atlantic quar-

rel that could jeopardize the World Trade Organization.

Third, it would permit us to strengthen our position vis-a-vis Russia in the high-stakes competition for Caspian Basin energy. Our efforts to keep Iran out of the Caspian pipeline deals, while having had limited success in the short-run, hurt our long-term strategic interests, which are to nurture multiple energy routes. Continued con-

frontation with Iran adds immeasurably to the problems that the vulnerable energy-producing countries — Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan — face in trying to break out from the Russian stranglehold and export their oil and gas to markets in Europe and Asia.

Fourth, better U.S.-Iran relations might improve the climate for Arab-Israeli negotiations by putting pressure on Iran's close ally Syria to show more flexibility on the terms of an agreement with Israel. Ulti-

mately, it could pave the way for an eventual *modus vivendi* between Teheran and Jerusalem. Of course Iran will have to change some of its more offensive policies if a thaw is to be meaningful. And just how much can we rely on the wisdom and political clout of President Khatami? Since last spring when Mr. Khatami first emerged as a contender for the Iranian presidency, he has been consistently underestimated both by his opponents in Iran and by outside specialists who follow Iranian politics.

He was elected last May with an overwhelming majority, dumbfounding his critics. His next challenge was the appointment of his cabinet. There was widespread belief that he would have great trouble persuading the conservative parliament to accept his list of nominees, who were considerably more liberal than those currently occupying key positions in government.

Yet they were all approved. By then the conventional wisdom was that it was too early for him to take bold steps on foreign policy since this was the purview of Ayatollah Khamenei. Mr. Khatami's mandate was for domestic change, and this is what he would focus on. We were all wrong again.

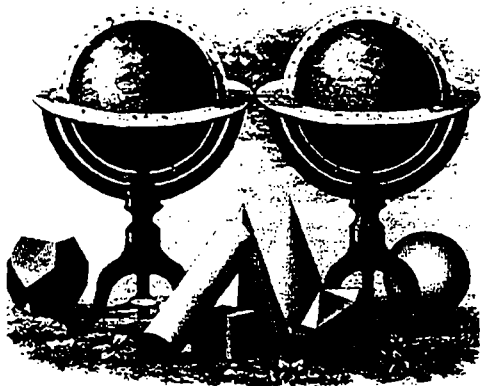
During the fall, Mr. Khatami

undertook a series of initiatives culminating with a public call for dialogue with the United States and hosted a successful meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in December.

In addition, an overlooked but important initiative also took place that month when Iran became a full-fledged signatory to the Chemical Weapons Convention. Its importance lies in the fact that as a new signatory, this month Iran will have to submit an initial declaratory list of its past chemical weapons activities. If this list is considered bona fide, it will be an important signal that Iran is taking its international responsibilities seriously, unlike its next-door neighbor, Iraq.

Dozens of problems remain to be resolved, and the list of grievances that the United States and Iran hold against each other is well known. But if both countries insist that these problems be resolved before a rapprochement is possible, nothing will happen.

The experience of two recent Republican presidents suggests that the risk of missing an historic opportunity sometimes outweighs the dangers of exploring what may turn out to be a dead end. If Ronald Reagan had waited for Mikhail Gorbachev to end all the unacceptable practices of the Soviet Union before the warming of U.S.-Soviet relations in the late 1980s, the opportunity for change could have died before we could recognize its full potential. Likewise, President Nixon would have never gone to Beijing if his precondition was certainty that China would change its foreign policy.



frontation with Iran adds immeasurably to the problems that the vulnerable energy-producing countries — Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan — face in trying to break out from the Russian stranglehold and export their oil and gas to markets in Europe and Asia.

Fourth, better U.S.-Iran relations might improve the climate for Arab-Israeli negotiations by putting pressure on Iran's close ally Syria to show more flexibility on the terms of an agreement with Israel. Ulti-

Geoffrey Kemp is director of Regional Strategic Programs at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom.

LINDA CHAVEZ

A Chicago scientist has once again inflamed the debate on human cloning with his outrageous — and improbable — claim that he will soon begin attempts to clone a human embryo. Richard G. Seed, a 69-year-old entrepreneur with a Ph.D. in physics, is probably more publicity seeking crank than 1998 version of Dr. Frankenstein.

Nonetheless, Mr. Seed's announcement was enough to provoke President Clinton to push harder for five-year moratorium on human cloning and others to call for an all-out ban on the procedure. "Scientific advancement does not occur in a moral vacuum," Mr. Clinton said Saturday on his weekly radio address in which he announced he'll ask Congress to move quickly on proposed legislation when it returns later this month. He's right, but it may be too late to make that case when it comes to human fertility.

The president's problem, and Congress' if it decides to enact a human cloning ban, may well be a series of Supreme Court decisions granting constitutional protection to individuals when it comes to reproductive decisions. In 1964, the Supreme Court said in *Griswold vs. Connecticut* that states could not deny couples' access to contraception, thereby recognizing a couple's constitutional "right to privacy" over reproductive matters. In 1973, the court went even further, giving women a virtual carte blanche over abortion decisions, at least through the early stages of pregnancy.

Harvard Law professor Laurence Tribe argues that these decisions protect the rights of those who may want to clone themselves,

Cloning conundrum



thus limiting the right of the government to interfere with human cloning experiments. He may well be right on the law — if not the morality — of the issue.

It is hard to imagine a judicial decision consistent with current Supreme Court interpretations of abortion law that would uphold the right of the government to outlaw cloning. Congress could prohibit the use of federal money to fund such experiments, as it does now with respect to funding for both abortion and human fetal tissue experiments. But an outright ban on human cloning experiments no doubt would face tough opposition in the courts.

The chief arguments against human cloning are moral and religious ones, precisely the kind of arguments the courts have been loathe to recognize when it comes to human reproduction. Implicit in *Griswold* and subsequent decisions on birth control is a court-recognized "right" not only to prevent conception but to conceive — a right that has been upheld for unmarried heterosexuals and homosexuals as well as married couples.

What's more, if *Roe vs. Wade* gave a woman the right to abort a fetus that is genetically distinct from herself, what legal prohibition consistent with that right could prevent a woman from hav-

ing an embryo implanted in her body that is genetically identical to her?

President Clinton said he believes human cloning "raises deep concerns, given our cherished concepts of faith and humanity." Indeed it does, but these concerns are hardly different from those raised in the abortion debate: What constitutes human life? When does human life begin? Does a woman have an absolute right to choose what to do with her own body? When does a woman's right interfere with the rights of the fetus? Similar questions could be asked with respect to cloning.

The president — indeed, all who support abortion as a constitutional right — want to protect the absolute prerogative of autonomous individuals (in this case, women only) to do with their bodies as they choose, at least throughout the early stages of pregnancy. But the logic applies equally to cloning. If the issue is reproductive freedom, why place sanctions against the methods to create a human life when we have so few against ending that life?

According to published reports, Richard Seed has rarely succeeded at any of his grandiose scientific or business schemes, and he's not likely to be able to carry out his plan for 200,000 human clones a year. But his "modest proposal" may just spark a serious debate on the current state of law and policy on reproductive freedom. And we can't tackle the cloning issue without taking a hard look at current abortion law.

Linda Chavez is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Straight Talk on Race in D.C.

Mayor's 2nd Annual 'Day of Dialogue' Draws 80 to Discuss Issues

By Hamil R. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

Mary Burgess is white, and she rarely crosses the Anacostia River into Washington's black neighborhoods.

"I know if I go in certain wards of the city, I am not welcome," she said yesterday.

Antoinette Pitter, 16, lives in one of those neighborhoods east of the river and says she feels uncomfortable waiting for the subway at a station in a white part of the city.

"If you ask white people something, they won't say anything," Pitter said. "They won't pay you any attention. They just keep walking."

Mayor Marion Barry told an audience that included Burgess and Pitter: "This city is too divided, not just racially but geographically. Most people in [white] Ward 3 don't even talk to residents in [black] Ward 8."

Tough talk and sad realities were all part of the mayor's second annual "Day of Dialogue" on race that was held yesterday to coincide with the Rev. Martin Luther King's 69th birthday.

Barry came up with the idea for an annual day of racial dialogue last year, when the event drew members of the D.C. Council and leaders from the Jewish community and the Nation of Islam.

Yesterday, Barry sat on stage with plenty of empty

See RACE, C3, Col. 2

RACE, From C1

chairs as the only elected official present. He had anticipated a crowd of more than 1,000 at the University of the District of Columbia, but about 80 showed up.

"I am disappointed, but not discouraged, that as serious as this problem is, this auditorium is not full," he said.

Ayo Bryant, director of the mayor's office of diversity, said the goal of the program was to find "common themes" so that the city can become one community.

Burgess, of the Chevy Chase section of Northwest Washington, moved to the city from Houston seven years ago to take a position with the D.C. government. She came to the conference

because she said black and white residents in the city must do more to work together.

"It is like an invisible wall," Burgess said. "We are afraid to step into another world. It is like visiting another world to see how other people live and operate."

Burgess took part in an exercise intended to introduce her to a stranger of a different race. She and Charletta Adams, an instructor at Howard University, were surprised that they had so many things in common. Both placed a high priority on education and had children in private schools.

"When you don't deal with people on an individual basis, you come up with concepts and prejudices," Adams said. "My biggest issue is institutional racism. I think there is a quota system in

this city. We have educational institutions that are predominantly black and those that are white."

Pitter and a group of black students from Dunbar High School talked about the prejudices they feel they face when they venture into white sections of the city.

Geoffrey Lee, a 10th-grader, said he favors baggy clothes and a red bandanna.

"Some white women, when I walk past them, they will grab their pocketbooks," Lee said, "and if I speak to them, they will give me a mean look and keep walking."

"The whites don't look at you at all," said Pitter, a student with 3.5 grade-point average who said she wants to become a lawyer. "It makes you mad.

They only see you as people from Southeast Washington, but Southeast is no worse than Northwest."

Frances Cress Welsing, a black psychiatrist and Howard University professor, said that much of the time racism has a foundation in fear.

"Any time you get down to the truth, there is a foundation for establishing an improved relationship," Welsing said.

But Brenda Jones, the executive director of Parklands Community Development Center in Southeast Washington, who is black, said: "Everybody is not meant to talk to everybody all of the time. It doesn't have to be a love fest if people respect each other."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Wisconsin Court to Address Regulation of 'Issue Advocacy' Ads

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

In one of the first legal tests growing out of the explosion of "issue advocacy" advertising during the 1996 campaign, a Wisconsin court is poised to rule on whether the state can regulate ads that attack particular candidates but do not explicitly call for their defeat.

The case, to be heard in a state court today, concerns a \$350,000 advertising campaign launched by a Wisconsin business group that wanted to help elect Republican state legislators. But it has national implica-

tions for the ability of states and the federal government to regulate "issue advocacy" ads, a tactic that burst on the scene in 1996 and seems set to continue and even expand in the 1998 election.

As with scores of similar "issue advocacy" commercials deployed by interest groups across the political spectrum during the 1996 campaign, the Wisconsin ads—run in the last two weeks of the election—never explicitly asked viewers to vote against the targeted politicians.

Wisconsin, like many states and the federal government, does not allow corporations or labor unions to contribute directly to political candidates and requires disclosure of contributions to their campaigns or spending on their behalf. But because the ads did not directly urge the election or defeat of particular candidates, the business group, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, claimed it could pay for them with corporate funds and did not need to file disclosure reports.

Now, the state has gone to court, accusing the group of violating Wisconsin election law in what legal experts said appears to be the first effort by a state to crack down on issue advocacy advertising. The Wisconsin case may offer an important test of how—or even whether—Congress and the states can regulate such ads.

The decision could have significant implications for other attempts to grapple with "issue ads," including the McCain-Feingold campaign finance legislation set to come up for a Senate vote in March. Under McCain-Feingold, commercials that name a federal candidate within 60 days of an

election would be subject to federal reporting requirements and contribution limits.

The Wisconsin case turns on exactly what the Supreme Court meant in 1976, in *Buckley v. Valeo*, when it said the First Amendment prohibits regulation of political speech that does not "in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." In a footnote, the court gave examples of such communications, including words like "vote for," "elect," "support," "cast your ballot for," "Smith for Congress," "vote against," "defeat" and "reject."

Wisconsin officials and their supporters say that even though the WMC ads didn't use such "magic words," they amounted to express advocacy because they were clearly intended to support or oppose particular candidates. They say that requiring such ads to comply with campaign finance rules is critical to prevent issue advocacy advertising from making a mockery of election law.

"The importance, fundamentally, is whether the state can have any meaningful election finance laws," said Wisconsin Attorney General James E. Doyle, a Democrat, whose office is arguing the case against the business group.

"The heart of this issue," Doyle said, "is if you run an ad that any reasonable person who looks at it recognizes to be a political ad, just before an election, in which you call a particular person names, and use phrases such as 'send a message' to that person but do not use the magic words 'vote for' or 'vote against,' whether you can then avoid all the basic campaign finance laws that we have in the state."

On the other side, WMC and its allies say such regulation would squelch their freedom of speech in contradiction of *Buckley* and two decades of later Supreme Court rulings. Congressional Republicans opposed to McCain-Feingold have seized on the case to highlight what they say are the dangers of regulating issue ads.

"This is a real live case in which a business group is literally being prosecuted by the state for engaging in issue advocacy in the period immediately preceding an election," said WMC lawyer Brady Williamson.

Williamson said allowing regulators to decide which commercials crossed the "express advocacy" line would be "leaving to government to decide who gets to speak, how they get to speak and when they get to speak, and that, quite simply, is antithetical to the First Amendment."

WMC is not coy about the fact that its advertising campaign was intended to affect the election. Indeed, it stipulated in court that the commercials had a "political purpose." Said WMC spokesman Jim Pugh, "Yeah, we wanted people, when they went into the voting booth, to have the best information available about what they were doing when they cast their ballot. . . . We wanted there to be a pro-business majority."

One TV ad, against Democratic state Sen. Chuck Chvala, noted his votes for high taxes and asked: "Is he: A, a liberal? B, a big spender? C, out of touch? Or D, all of the above? If you said 'D, all of the above,' you made the right call. Make another right call to Chuck Chvala. He never met a tax he didn't like."

Another target of the ads, former

Democratic state senator Lynn Adelman, recalled that when WMC weighed in with spots in his heavily Republican district, "It was very scary, and that's why I felt so strongly . . . \$100,000 of negative TV in the last week—that could do me in."

Chvala and Adelman filed a separate lawsuit against WMC and actually succeeded in knocking its ads off the air shortly before the election. Other groups that ran issue ads in Wisconsin, including the Sierra Club, Americans for Limited Terms and Wisconsin Right-to-Life, are also in court over their activities.

The WMC commercials were "no more egregious than what a lot of others have done but it is the picture perfect model of why we need to address this murky line," said Joshua Rosenkranz of the Brennan Center for Justice, which is representing Chvala and Adelman. "The bottom line is if it waddles, quacks and smells like a campaign ad, it's a campaign ad."

But WMC and others argue that a long line of cases shows that the courts want to use a "magic words" test in order to ensure that political speech is not suppressed.

Indeed, even the lawyer for the Wisconsin elections board cautioned in an internal memorandum that it would be a hard sell to convince courts that the ads constituted express advocacy.

"Express advocacy was intended by the Supreme Court to be a clear standard . . . like pregnancy or death, for either of which there are no degrees," he wrote, "not a description like pornography which no one can define but everyone knows when they see it."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Jackson, Wall Street Have Their Big Day, But Will It Fuel Minority Opportunities?

By CHARLES GASPARINO
And JOSEPH N. BOYCE

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Where do Jesse Jackson and Wall Street go from here?

The civil rights leader's three-day Wall Street diversity conference that ends today has galvanized the securities industry as never before around the sensitive issue of minority hiring. The high-profile event brought President Clinton to New York's financial district yesterday and has drawn about \$500,000 in support from the very same financial firms Mr. Jackson says aren't doing enough for workplace diversity.



Jesse Jackson

But as the conference winds down today with appearances by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt, the question remains whether Mr. Jackson and his new Wall Street allies can turn a remarkable two-month fund-raising and public-relations effort into a concrete program that expands opportunities for minorities on Wall Street.

Though some statistics indicate that a little more than 20% of Wall Street employees are minorities — comparable to society in general — the representation among the executive ranks is clearly much lower. No major Wall Street brokerage firm is run by an African-American.

Many of the Wall Street firms that provided Mr. Jackson with financial assistance haven't gotten around to asking exactly what their donations will be used for. "Merrill Lynch is comfortable in making a contribution and leaving it up to the organization," said spokeswoman Bobbie Collins. Merrill contributed \$50,000 to the diversity project. "We're comfortable with Rev. Jackson making a decision on how the money will be used."

Mr. Jackson, for his part, says he has a plan in the works. If nothing else, he has had already had some immediate impact on Wall Street. The civil rights leader was one of the people who objected last year when the New York Stock Exchange continued its policy of not shutting down for the Martin Luther King holiday, instead observing a moment of silence. This year, it, and other U.S. stock markets, will be closed when the holiday is observed on Monday.

Mr. Jackson has also caught the attention of the White House. Yesterday, speaking at the conference, President Clinton

Please Turn to Page C23, Column 2

Continued From Page C1

said the government and the private sector have roles to play in expanding economic opportunities. Mr. Clinton said his budget will include more spending for enterprise zones and minority job training. He also called on Wall Street to do its part.

"Whether ensuring that companies on the Big Board draw on the talent and diversity of all our people, or investing in communities long bypassed by capital but full of potential, businesses can and must help us to build the one America we all need for the 21st century," he said.

Mr. Clinton added: "We have to bring the world of gleaming office towers and dark shadows together because the people who live in them are all Americans."

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, in remarks after a separate speech at the conference, appeared to pour cold water on one of Mr. Jackson's pet projects, the proposed use of pension money for inner-city investments. Mr. Rubin said that "prudence, safety and rate of return" should be the criteria for pension-fund investments. "If you take that approach, you're not going to wind up with pension funds as social investments."

Mr. Jackson told the conference yesterday that in the weeks ahead his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition will hold conferences throughout the country. His Wall Street office, created last year, will push the financial industry to address a range of issues from employment practices to opportunities for investment firms owned by women and minorities.

In interviews, Mr. Jackson was a bit more specific about the future. He said the money raised from Wall Street will defray the cost of this week's conference, estimated at close to \$100,000. The rest of the money will be spent "to increase our research capacity, strengthen our staff capability. People call us when they face discrimination in hiring, contracts and promotions. We have to have an office with the capacity to service that," he said. Without being specific, Mr. Jackson added that he's also planning a program that would raise the level of sophistication of black investors.

There have been a few bumps on the road during the planning for this week's

conference. For instance, Mr. Jackson last week shifted where the money raised on Wall Street is going, from the political Rainbow/PUSH Coalition to his educational nonprofit group, Citizenship Education Fund. That move was the result of pressure from the SEC's Mr. Levitt, who felt an educational group was a more appropriate repository for the donations. Mr. Jackson says he actually wanted money to flow to a nonprofit group all along, and was persuaded by Wall Street officials to use Rainbow/PUSH.

While making a splash on Wall Street this week, it's clearly up to Mr. Jackson and the financial industry to forge long-term changes. Over the years, Mr. Jackson has been criticized for failing to follow through on high-profile projects. But New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, who is moderating a panel during the conference on how government can help minority firms, said: "I like to take the view that people grow, mature and learn from the past."

Mr. McCall said he believes the project "will take off in ways that have nothing to do with Jesse, such as the contacts and relationships that will be developing. I don't think you can expect Jesse to do the whole thing. Other people can pick up the slack. What Jesse does with his money is something I'm not concerned about."

As for Wall Street, the future will tell whether the financial firms are doing more than giving lip service to a politically correct cause. Indeed, a number of companies, including Salomon Smith Barney, say they already have diversity programs in place.

"If they believe their employment practices are fair, it's a mystery why Wall Street is cooperating the way they are," said Stephan Thernstrom, co-author of "America in Black and White: One Nation Indivisible," a book critical of racial preferences. "It's a way of preventing bad public relations. They think if Jesse Jackson wanted to picket major brokerage houses, it would make them look bad. This is a way of buying social peace and it's not terribly unusual behavior for corporations these days."

—Michael K. Frisby
contributed to this article.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

News Corp. Set to Appoint Spokesman Who Was Tobacco Industry Lobbyist

By JOHN LIPPMAN
And SUELN L. HWANG

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES — Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. is expected to hire away one of the tobacco industry's top troubleshooters, political strategist Thomas C. Griscom, as the Australian media conglomerate struggles to burnish its image.

Mr. Griscom, currently a tobacco lobbyist with R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., a crucial player in the industry's settlement efforts, is about to join News Corp. in a newly created post to oversee public relations and corporate affairs, people familiar with the matter said. The 48-year-old Mr. Griscom is a former White House communications director in the Reagan administration and has strong Republican ties.

The hiring is seen as a move by News Corp. President Peter Chernin to polish the company's image, which frequently takes a drubbing in Washington and the media over everything from Fox's TV programming to Mr. Murdoch's outspoken conservative politics.

News Corp. in the past has never been very interested in having a "media strategy." Although the company is one of the world's biggest newspaper publishers and broadcasters, it rarely has sought publicity on behalf of its businesses and executives. On most big issues, Mr. Murdoch himself has been the spokesman.

Part of Mr. Griscom's mission apparently will be to convince the public that News Corp. isn't any longer the one-man show under Mr. Murdoch that it is widely regarded to be. Mr. Chernin's own appointment as president of News Corp. last year was meant as a signal to Wall Street that Mr. Murdoch is increasingly delegating authority to subordinates.

But Mr. Griscom isn't expected to have a significant role in News Corp.'s relations with investors. Those affairs will continue to be handled by Chief Financial Officer David DeVoe, who reports directly to Mr. Murdoch, and Bill Sorenson, who is the liaison to News Corp.'s banks and bondholders.

The departure of Mr. Griscom, who is widely acknowledged as the most experienced political veteran in the tobacco camp, comes at a critical time for Reynolds and the rest of the \$45 billion tobacco industry. It's been more than six months

since the cigarette makers signed the historic settlement proposal, and the tobacco camp has had to acknowledge that the process of getting the deal through Congress has been more difficult than expected. Mr. Griscom, who was executive vice president of external affairs, is also the second person from the RJR camp to leave the company this month. Last week, Robert F. Sharpe, Jr., the company's general counsel, left Reynolds's parent RJR Nabisco Holdings Corp. to become general counsel of PepsiCo Inc. However, people familiar with the situation said the departures don't reflect any change in the industry's strategy. They also pointed out that if the tobacco settlement were signed into law, it would naturally diminish the role of lobbyists and lawyers. "This says to me they didn't see a bright future in this industry," said one person familiar with the matter. A spokesman said Mr. Griscom will be succeeded by Tommy J. Payne, 40, former vice president of federal government affairs at Reynolds. While Mr. Payne, now senior vice president of external affairs, lacks the experience of Mr. Griscom, he is considered a more-than-able lobbyist.

Tyson Official And a Lobbyist Are Indicted

By BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A federal grand jury indicted a Tyson Foods Inc. vice president and the company's Washington lobbyist on criminal charges of giving gratuities to former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy.

The 15-count indictment charged that Archie Schaffer, Tyson's chief spokesman and legislative strategist, and lobbyist Jack Williams conspired to defraud the public of its right to Mr. Espy's "honest services" as a Clinton cabinet member.

Both men were charged with violating the 1997 Meat Inspection Act, which prohibits meat and poultry companies from bestowing gifts and favors on Agriculture Department inspectors and other officials. If convicted, they would face a mandatory prison sentence of one to three years.

As for gratuities, Mr. Schaffer was indicted specifically for his alleged role in arranging Mr. Espy's trip with a former girlfriend to Arkansas for Senior Chairman Don Tyson's May 1993 birthday, and for providing Mr. Espy with four \$1,500 tickets to a Clinton inaugural dinner in January 1993. Mr. Williams was indicted for allegedly helping arrange a January 1994 trip for Mr. Espy and his girlfriend to attend a Dallas Cowboys football game. The company picked up much of the tab for both trips, spending \$4,827 on lodging, limousine rides, Cowboys skybox tickets and the woman's air fare.

Messrs. Schaffer and Williams couldn't be reached for comment. They have repeatedly denied any wrongdoing.

Yesterday's indictment marked the beginning of the end of Independent Counsel Donald Smaltz's three-year investigation

into Mr. Espy's dealings with agribusiness interests. While winning 15 guilty pleas and verdicts, the prosecutor has collected more than \$10.6 million in criminal fines, civil penalties and costs from five major companies. At this point, he still has three cases to try.

At every turn in Mr. Smaltz's probe, Mr. Espy has insisted on his innocence. The former Mississippi congressman is due to go on trial March 30 on charges of accepting more than \$35,000 in gifts and other gratuities from Tyson Foods and other companies with regulatory issues pending at the Agriculture Department.

Mr. Smaltz is appealing a federal judge's decision to dismiss three Meat Inspection Act counts against Mr. Espy. The law's obscure prohibition against giving, or accepting, "things of value," he has contended, should apply to all department employees — including the agriculture secretary — rather than just USDA inspectors in slaughterhouses and processing plants.

Under a plea bargain last month, Tyson Foods pleaded guilty to providing Mr. Espy with \$12,000 in illegal gratuities, including a \$1,200 Tyson Foundation scholarship for his former girlfriend. The company agreed to pay \$6 million in fines and investigative costs and was put on probation for four years.

Neither Mr. Tyson nor his son, John, the company's vice chairman, was charged in the plea agreement. Instead, under grants of immunity from prosecution, they will testify against Mr. Espy.

Yesterday's indictment also alleged that Mr. Schaffer committed mail and wire fraud in connection with the birthday-party trip, and that Mr. Williams committed wire fraud in connection with the scholarship and the Dallas Cowboys game. It also accused Mr. Williams of paying for a University of Arkansas basketball ticket and an airline ticket upgrade to first class for a former senior Agriculture Department official in February 1994.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

PAUL GREENBERG

It was a little after 11 o'clock on a Tuesday morning, and David Pryor had invited a few of us to his office in downtown Little Rock's Tower Building. His purpose: to give "my side of the story" about his no longer unpublicized chat with a federal judge about Susan McDougal.

Mrs. McDougal needs no introduction by now. She is, depending on your prejudices, the celebrated Whitewater witness who is either (a) a much-martyred Prisoner of Zenda being held by the enemies of all that is just and right, namely Kenneth Starr's federal storm troopers, who doubtless use black helicopters; or (b) another convicted felon who isn't squealing to any grand jury.

David Pryor, who needs no introduction in Arkansas, is the former senator who knows everybody in the state. His popularity is legendary, his charm and courtesy undeniable. He's on a first-name basis with a whole state. But why he thought it perfectly all right to walk into a federal judge's chambers last month and start arguing Susan McDougal's case before Her Honor is inexplicable.

He still asserts that his little visit was perfectly proper. This is remarkable even in a man of David's carefully cultivated naivete. "I don't hold myself out for a lawyer." For a fellow who claims not to be representing a client, he is remarkably eager to present her case to the public. At least now.

As for the other character in this little drama, the Tower Building itself, it's shrouded in fog this morning. Looking out the 12th-floor windows of David Pryor's spacious office full of a senator's memorabilia, you can't even make out the

The ex-senator and the judge

outline of the nearby buildings. And after the coffee is served and all the rites of hospitality more than duly observed by our always gracious host, you realize the fog is pretty heavy inside the office, too.

David Pryor seems to have no idea why anyone would object to his going to see an old personal acquaintance about a case in her court. After all, he's known Susan Webber Wright for years, for decades. "I knew her when she used to work for John Paul H a m m e r - schmidt," he explains, citing the name of a long-retired congressman. It's not as if he'd gone to see a stranger.

His voice rises with conviction as he emphasizes his ties to this judge. It wasn't as if she were someone he didn't know. What kind of person did we think he was? Someone who would barge in on a stranger?

He doesn't mention that he supported the judge's nomination to the federal bench when he was in office, testifying on her behalf before the Senate Judiciary Committee. But he does emphasize that he and Susan Webber Wright go back a long way before she was Judge Wright. And he does so with an innocence as impressive as it is confessional. He doesn't seem to realize that his having known the judge for so long makes his visit to her chambers to discuss a case before her worse, not better.

In short, David Pryor doesn't appear to have an inkling of a glimmer of a clue why his little tete-a-tete with the judge would reinforce all the Whitewater conspiracy theories that have become a national

industry, obsession and bore. It's kind of touching and appalling and sad and funny all at once.

If he's playing dumb, David Pryor seems born for the role. It never occurred to him, he assures us, that anyone would construe his simple mission of mercy, his humanitarian effort to help a damsel in distress, as anything else.

Before the conversation is over, he has compared what's been done to Susan McDougal with stories about Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela, and at one point, he even drags in the Holocaust. There are some rhetorical appeals so disproportionate one can only respond with an embarrassed silence.

Mr. Pryor does mention in passing that the prosecutors aren't after Susan McDougal so much as hoping to use her testimony against one Clinton or another. Yet he denies — he almost hoots at — the suggestion that her case is of great national interest.

Yet the former senator is not entirely oblivious to the presidential stakes in whether Susan McDougal will talk to a grand jury and, if so, what she'll say. But he professes not to see what was wrong with his intervening on her behalf. After all, he knew the family years back in Camden, Ark., his home town.

The former senator makes his quiet visit to the judge sound not like an attempt to influence the court, but just the kind of friendly networking that goes on all the time in Arkansas. He even uses that unavoidable phrase and defense, "Arkansas is a small state." One suppresses a groan. Like the size of a state makes familiarity with a judge acceptable, or at least unavoidable.

Our host does confess to half a second thought about his actions: He'd do it all over again, he says, except maybe he'd let the press in on his informal appeal to the judge.

Which is what he's doing now.

But why didn't he do it a month ago and dispel a little of the suspicions he stirred? Because, he said, he didn't want to "jeopardize" Susan McDougal's chances for a hearing that might free her. So he had to be aware on some level of how this all looked, and looks.

Maybe he's not just in a fog, but in a time warp — back in the Arkansas of Faubuses and Fulbrights, when it was not done to question any of the state's institutions, whether segregation, a senator, the state's one party or even the informal way the laws of the United States were being enforced — or not being enforced.

David Pryor seems genuinely innocent of how all this appears — to the extent of revealing that he's been in touch with Susan McDougal's defense lawyer, that he proceeded to argue her case before the judge for as long as she would let him and that, at one point, Judge Wright got him the text of an earlier opinion of hers to ponder.

None of that would have been remarkable in open court. In a meeting with a judge in chambers, it all should have sent off alarm bells louder than the Titanic's. And it did. Not for the first time the question occurs: *What were the senator and the judge thinking?*

Throughout his long and popular career in Arkansas politics — in the Governor's Mansion, in the U.S. House and Senate — cynics were tempted to suspect David Pryor was putting on that innocent act, that no seasoned politician could be as naive as he appeared.

But if David Pryor was telling the truth in the middle of all that fog Tuesday morning, and he seemed to be, then all those cynics over the years have been sadly mistaken.

Paul Greenberg is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998



Collective child care

The Republican dream of a balanced federal budget, not to mention a budget surplus, is already turning into a nightmare. The projected budget surpluses are going to do far more harm than the deficit ever did.

President Clinton is already throwing \$15 billion in new money at education and setting up new entitlements. His opening bid to subsidize commercial child care for working moms is \$21 billion. The two programs alone would add \$36 billion annually to federal expenditures and do a good job of taking care of the surplus. Any remaining surplus will serve to bail out Medicare and Social Security for 10 more years and thus frustrate necessary reforms to the two most expensive entitlements.

All this will happen despite the overwhelming evidence of study after study that federal spending programs and entitlements do more harm than good. For example, every one now knows that the main effect of Social Security is to push up the cost of labor while simultaneously reducing the productivity of labor. This is the worst possible combination in today's globally competitive economy. Financing retirement with an intergenerational transfer payment undermines the saving rate, investment and the growth of income.

Social Security is a crackpot idea from start to finish, and now that demographics have turned against the system, the government is reneging on its promises by taxing Social Security retirement income and raising the retirement age.

Federal aid to education has served to bureaucratize and union-

ize public education. The decline in educational standards goes hand-in-hand with the rise in federal subsidies to education. Everyone knows Catholic schools do a far better job of educating with a far lower per capita expenditure. Money has never been the answer. Today the main effect of federal aid to education is to force the closure of men's sports programs. Federal money

means federal control, and the feds insist on gender balance in sports activities. The most visible result of federal spending on education is the reduction in career opportunities for male athletes.

But Republicans are too afraid of social issues to take measures to stop the damage inflicted by federal spending. For example, innumerable studies show commercial child care has adverse emotional, behavioral, psychological and intellectual effects on children and heightens feelings of guilt and anxiety in a large percentage of the moms. Maggie Gallagher in the Jan. 26 issue of *National Review* and Andrew Peyton Thomas in the Jan. 8 issue of the *Wall Street Journal* review the extensive literature documenting the damage done children by "child care."

Yale University child development expert Edward Zigler calls day care "psychological thalidomide." It doesn't take kids long to figure out that their feminist, career-oriented mothers had rather be at the office than with them. When moms find the frustrations and demands of careers less stressful than child-rearing, it doesn't take much imagination to picture the quality of care kids are receiving from biological strangers. If moms can't provide quality care

for one or two kids out of love for their own flesh and blood, money can't motivate strangers to provide quality care for a roomful of someone else's crying brats.

If the Clintons gave a hoot for children, they would be abolishing the marriage tax penalty and lowering the family tax burden generally. With more resources kept inside the family, moms might not have to work, and grandma and Aunt Agatha could be kept close at hand to help out those moms who feel compelled to compete in the rat race.

But the Clintons are fund-raisers and networkers. They are political buddies with commercial operators of day care centers. Throwing their contributors \$21 billion in federal tax dollars is just good politics for Bill and Hillary. Republicans can't say anything about it because feminists will blast them for oppressing women and trying to keep them at home.

The New Deal collectivized retirement and disability. Postwar presidents and Congresses collectivized medical care for the elderly and the poor. Now Bill and Hillary and the Republican Congress are going to collectivize child care. It takes a village, that is, a commercial day care center funded by tax dollars.

It is astonishing. No American would think of collectivizing agriculture. But here we are about to collectivize child care. With the collectivization of child care, the family will have no social responsibility left.

As collectivization advances, the family and the individual shrink. The question before us is: How can a people, who are not responsible for their retirement incomes, their medical bills and the education and care of their children, hold on to self-rule?

Paul Craig Roberts is a columnist for *The Washington Times* and is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1998

Race Board's Focus Turns to Economic Gap

Range of Explanations Offered for Disparity

By Michael A. Fletcher
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHOENIX, Jan. 14—After spending months struggling to get organized and then hosting two sessions focused on education, the president's race commission today turned its attention to the complicated issue that lies at the heart of the nation's modern racial conflict: the economic gap that separates whites and most everyone else.

In their first meeting outside of the Washington area, members of the advisory board sifted through a range of explanations for why whites are financially better off than minorities. Some blamed continued racism, others educational disparities, and still others claimed the problem was rooted in "cultural differences" that make some groups—particularly African Americans—less competitive in the workplace. Others blamed all three.

Each explanation offers vastly different implications to the advisory board, which is charged with making policy recommendations to President Clinton later this year. Members of the panel and Clinton administration officials agreed that closing the economic gap between the races is essential to easing the racial animosity that divides many Americans.

"We really can't expect racial unity without economic equity," said Labor Secretary Alexis M. Herman.

After substantially narrowing during the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, the economic gap between blacks and whites has diminished little in the past two decades. The median weekly earnings of blacks, at \$387, is roughly three-quarters that of whites, and the net worth of African Americans is roughly one-tenth that of whites.

In addition, the economic status of Hispanics, relative to whites, is lower now than in the early 1970s—a fact largely attributable to the rapid immigration that has caused the nation's Hispanic population to double since 1980.

For Asian Americans, median family income levels are comparable with whites, but a greater proportion of them live below the poverty level.

James Smith, a senior economist at the Rand Corp., said that while the economic status of third-generation Hispanics and Asians typically mirrored that of whites, blacks lag stubbornly behind. The disparity, he said, is linked to the history of slavery and the government-sanctioned discrimination that ended in many parts of the nation only three decades ago.



BY JEFF TOPPING—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Janet L. Yellen, head of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, speaks on labor and market issues at race advisory board's meeting in middle school auditorium in Phoenix.

"Over time, the wage disparity between blacks and whites is much more pronounced than it is for the other minority groups," Smith said. "There is something quite different going on there," which requires a separate policy response.

Smith's assertion drew sharp retorts from Asian and Hispanic members of the panel, who pointed out that both groups also have endured their own painful histories of discrimination in America.

"I'm disturbed by your declaration that this is a black and white issue," said Angela Oh, an advisory board member who several months ago differed with board chair John Hope Franklin over a similar issue. "The issue is just who is an American."

Glenn Loury, a Boston University economist and a conservative social commentator, said the economic disparity between minorities and whites is caused by limited opportunity, disparities in job skills and "behaviors," particularly among blacks, that he said make them undesirable on the job market.

"Employer suspicion [and the reluctance to hire blacks] is driven to some degree by these distinctions," said Loury. He added that the skills gap could be addressed by what he called "developmental affirmative action," which would extend training opportunities to underskilled people on some type of nonracial basis. But he urged the board not to gloss over the "social" factors that contribute to the gap.

Other experts pointed out that blacks—and to a lesser extent other minorities—continue to face significant discrimination in the workplace.

"It is clear that American employers are more reluctant to hire blacks than any other group," said Harry J. Holzer, a Michigan State University economist.

Claudia Withers, executive director of the

Fair Employment Council of Greater Washington, said her group has tested for discrimination by sending equally qualified minority and white "testers" to apply for jobs. "Twenty to 25 percent of the time we find the minority candidate has been treated less well," she said.

In those cases, she said, minorities were not called back for interviews. When they were, she said, they frequently were offered lesser jobs at lower pay than their white counterparts, who on paper had identical qualifications.

Today's advisory board meeting came on the second day of a two-day visit to this sun-drenched southwestern city. Officials said they now plan to hold monthly meetings in cities across the country.

Today's meeting was sparsely attended as an audience of about 100 filled fewer than half the seats in the middle school auditorium where it was held. Likewise, Phoenix Mayor Skip Rimsza was the only local elected official whose presence was announced at the session.

On Tuesday, members of the advisory board visited two companies that were held up as places that exhibited the broad racial diversity that is going to make increasing moral and economic sense as the nation's minority population continues to grow into the next century. Board members also visited with participants in job training programs that have had success placing people in productive jobs.

Later, board members held a meeting with Native American leaders, who complained that their reservations neither receive the respect they deserve as independent governments nor the financial aid they need to make reservations economically viable.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

White House Suspect Won't Give Identity

By Toni Locy

Washington Post Staff Writer

A woman accused of vandalizing the White House's historic Blue Room with spray paint during a group tour on Tuesday allegedly had an eight-inch screwdriver in her purse when a uniformed Secret Service officer arrested her in the executive mansion.

The woman, who was called Jane Doe during a hearing in U.S. District Court yesterday, has refused to reveal her identity to authorities. She was carrying no identification when she was arrested early Tuesday afternoon after a Secret Service officer saw her spraying paint on two sculptures and part of a wall in the Blue Room.

U.S. Magistrate Judge Alan Kay yesterday ordered her to undergo psychiatric testing to determine if she is competent to participate in legal proceedings against her. She is charged with destroying government property.

It remains unclear how she managed to pass through a White House security checkpoint—including a metal detector and a random bag check—before going on two separate tours of the White House on Tuesday.

Lisa Risley, a Secret Service spokeswoman, refused to comment on how a screwdriver and two containers in the woman's purse—one holding rust-colored paint, the other hair spray—failed to set off any alarms. "You are getting into the facts of the case, and we are not going to comment," Risley said.

According to a court affidavit by Secret Service agent Brian J. Morgan, the woman entered the Blue Room about 11 a.m. and lingered for an hour before the trouble began. During that time, she asked a uniformed Secret Service officer about the curtains and the ceiling's gold trim, the affidavit said. At noon, the affidavit said, the officer, Greg Crouse, saw her spraying rust-colored paint near the main entrance of the Blue Room and restrained her. By then, she allegedly had damaged early 19th-century busts of Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus and part of the wall and a doorjamb next to the Blue Room's entrance.

After the arrest, Secret Service officers searched the woman's purse and a plastic bag she was carrying, according to the affidavit. They found the screwdriver, a can of hair spray and a pink White House ticket for Tour 2, which began about 10:10 a.m.

Initially, the woman identified herself as Lisa Jones, of Buffalo, but later denied it. She apparently does not have a criminal record since routine checks, such as fingerprint comparisons, have failed to turn up a match, investigators said. The woman, who wore jeans and a white cardigan sweater over a dark shirt, is charged with a felony count of destruction of government property. If convicted, she faces up to 10 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

The woman, who appears to be in her thirties, did not speak during the hearing but whispered briefly to assistant public defender Jennifer Blunt, who requested the psychiatric testing. "I have a reasonable basis," Blunt said, "based on discussions with my client, that this is necessary."

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To see a photograph of the Blue Room on the White House Web site, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

Renewed Sense of Purpose For Clinton Panel on Race

Dialogue Develops After Months of False Starts

A1

By STEVEN A. HOLMES and JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 — It has been seven months since President Clinton promised to lead the nation for a year in a "great and unprecedented conversation about race" — and most of that time has been spent by his advisers figuring out precisely what the President wants to talk about, and how.

But after struggling to overcome poor planning, an uncertain mandate and wariness from some White House aides toward what they saw as a politically risky undertaking, the initiative on race has turned a corner, Administration officials maintain.

Five months into the effort, Erskine B. Bowles, the chief of staff, summoned senior White House aides to his office and ordered them to stop carping about the race initiative and start helping. The initiative was one of the President's highest priorities, he told them at the November meeting, a matter not just of official and political importance but personal importance as well.

Mr. Bowles moved to correct obvious deficiencies, like the lack of an official on the staff of Mr. Clinton's race advisory panel with enough experience and clout at the White House to draw on its considerable resources.

But some panel members lament the time lost, and Mr. Clinton has suggested he may extend the initiative past the one-year deadline. "We're at a point now we probably should have been three months ago," said former Gov. Thomas H. Kean of New Jersey.

These days, meetings on race held by the President or his advisory panel have become crisper and more provocative, presenting a broader array of views. Racial dialogues have sprung up in towns and cities nationwide, and the race panel has gathered more than 200 specific suggestions for improving race relations from across the country. Today, the panel's seven members began a two-day session in Phoenix, meeting with business and labor leaders and heads of American Indian tribes.

But while the initiative is better organized, fundamental questions over its objectives remain. Even within the White House, some officials are unsure of how to make it work.

"Nobody wants to see this fail," said Judith A. Winston, the initiative's executive director. But, Ms. Winston added, "There are very few people who can articulate confidently what they think it takes to make it succeed."

One White House aide said officials still differed over what they were trying to solve, racism or poverty. "There is no consensus that the issue is fundamentally about race, or about equality of opportunity and education," the aide said.

At a meeting with President Clinton at the White House on Monday evening, several civil rights leaders and Congressmen praised him for taking on racial issues, but urged him to narrow the initiative's focus. The conversation demonstrated how fluid the definition of the initiative remains.

"We really, unfortunately, aren't able to really talk about race because, again, it's like saying, let's talk about America," Representative

Continued on Page A12

Continued From Page A1

tive Robert T. Matsui, Democrat of California, said at the White House meeting. "We will have to narrow this issue because certainly if we don't, we're going to be criticized, and obviously, it may just kind of wither away." The White House provided a transcript of the 100-minute conversation today.

Stewart Kwok, president and executive director of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California, warned Mr. Clinton, "Right now, I see it as people are waiting and they're watching, but they have not heard from you on what they should do."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

1
2

For his part, Mr. Clinton bemoaned the difficulty of getting Americans to pay attention. "It's very hard to pierce through the public consciousness and to do a sustained public education campaign in the absence of some great conflict," he said.

The race initiative has clearly gotten through to White House staff, whose members say they have revised some of their own views.

The President's meeting in December with conservatives in the Oval Office, one official said, changed some liberal aides' opinions of the possibility of finding common ground in the affirmative action debate. They "have suddenly realized that some of the people who are opposed to affirmative action are not wearing white sheets," this official said.

After Mr. Clinton announced his initiative in a speech in June, little happened for three months. The President selected Ms. Winston to be the executive director in July, only a few days before the panel's first meeting. But Ms. Winston, who was general counsel at the Department of Education, could not relinquish her duties there until early August.

She then had the unenviable task of assembling a staff when most of official Washington, including the President, was on vacation.

On the Saturday after Labor Day, members of the advisory board staff met with more than 20 aides from the White House in the Old Executive Office Building, hoping to get a clearer idea of what they would do. Instead, much of the time was taken up by minority members of the White House staff talking about personal experiences with racism.

"We got a recantation of why it was important to have the initiative, rather than what the initiative was supposed to do," said one participant, who asked not to be identified.

In addition, a split soon developed within the White House. Minority and more liberal white aides felt the initiative should recommend specific race-related actions to the Administration. More centrist aides, however, believed that the goal was merely to spur talk about race. Mr. Clinton is now trying to do both.

As the advisory board staff began work, it found that it was woefully ignorant of White House workings. That ignorance was matched by distrust among some White House aides of the political instincts of the initiative's staff.

When the panel "holds meetings or makes statements, it reflects upon

the President," said one Clinton aide. "I don't think there was sufficient appreciation of that from initiative staff in the first few months."

As a result, some in the White House were reluctant to become too involved in the initiative's work. "We did a lot of reaching out," said one member of the advisory board's staff. "Not that many people seemed that interested in reaching in."

At the same time, members of the advisory board were confused about their role. "It took me six months to realize that I could pick up the phone and call the White House," said Angela Oh, a board member from Los Angeles. The panel, which is racially mixed, includes religious and labor leaders, academics and former politicians.

The panel's low point, several officials said, came in November at a

Despite progress, fundamental questions about a panel's objectives.

meeting it held at the University of Maryland at College Park.

There, the board spent hours listening to desultory testimony from like-minded academics. When he spoke to reporters during a break, John Hope Franklin, 82, the distinguished historian who is the panel's chairman, dismissed the notion of hearing from opponents of affirmative action, saying they had nothing to contribute. Conservatives reacted angrily to the comment.

It was two days after the College Park event that Mr. Bowles held his previously scheduled meeting to put some life into the race initiative.

"I felt that I hadn't done an appropriate job of integrating the initiative with the other departments at the White House," Mr. Bowles said. "I dropped the ball there." Now, he said, "we function more as a team."

Mr. Bowles appointed Richard Socarides, Mr. Clinton's senior adviser for public liaison, to coordinate the White House staff with the advisory panel. Unlike anyone on the panel's

ISSUES OF DIVERSITY ON TWO FRONTS

Jesse Jackson is seeking a bigger role for minorities and women on Wall Street. *Business Day*, page D4. Minority graduate enrollment fell after a ban on preferences at the University of California. Page A17.

staff, Mr. Socarides knew, for example, that Fred DuVal, the deputy director of intergovernmental affairs at the White House, had lived for years in Phoenix and had managed Mr. Clinton's 1992 campaign in Arizona. So when the advisory panel wanted to meet in Phoenix, Mr. Socarides said, "Pick up the phone and call Fred and he can tell you everything you need to know."

Similarly, Mr. Socarides had the clout to convene three of Mr. Clinton's top image-makers to help plan the advisory panel's meeting in Fairfax County, Va. in December, viewed as its most successful one to date. One of them, Sidney Blumenthal, suggested that a local television news anchor moderate a morning session on education. Then Mr. Blumenthal prevailed on a newswoman he knew, Kathleen Matthews of Channel 7 here, to do the job.

Now, the initiative's staff meshes well with the White House, according to officials in both camps. Ms. Winston attends the daily senior staff meetings held by Mr. Bowles. And when the President jots notes about race on articles or memos, he generally scribbles "J. Winston," so they will be forwarded to her. Sylvia Mathews, the deputy White House chief of staff with day-to-day responsibility for overseeing the race initiative, is the other usual recipient of Mr. Clinton's thoughts on race.

But for all the progress in organizing the President's race initiative, some obstacles remain.

For example, when more than two members of Mr. Clinton's advisory board get together for lunch, dinner or even a drink, the conversation is friendly, but devoid of talk of race. By law, members of the panel may speak together about race only if the public can watch and listen, and they must publish a notice of their meeting in the *Federal Register* at least two weeks in advance.

"We talk about our families, our children, our work — anything but race," Ms. Oh said.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

2
2

A LONG RIDE'S REWARD

James Farmer's Civil Rights Role Is Often Overlooked. Today Will Be Different.

By Peter Carlson
Washington Post Staff Writer

In his glory days, back in the early '60s, when James Farmer was a civil rights general leading nonviolent guerrilla raids on the bastions of segregation, a sympathetic FBI agent called him with some scary news from Louisiana.

"The Klan met yesterday in Bogalusa," the agent told him, "and decided that next time you come down there, you're going to be killed."

"How do you know that?" Farmer remembers asking.

"We've infiltrated the Klan," the agent said. "We had a man there."

This news was of more than academic interest to Farmer. He was due in Bogalusa the next day. Still, he managed to crack a joke. "Tell me," he said, "were there any dissenting votes?"

Farmer always did have a good sense of humor. He still does. His legs are gone now, amputated a couple of years ago, lost to diabetes. His eyesight is gone, too. When he receives the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House today, the man who led America's first civil rights sit-in won't be able to see the medal or the president or the 14 other recipients. But at 78, he's still got that sense of humor, even when he's talking about his own mortality.

"Last time I was in the hospital, I almost died," he says. "I couldn't breathe and my heart stopped and they had to bring in the life-support system to bring me back. People ask me, 'Did you see a tunnel?' " He smiles. "I've heard stories of people seeing a tunnel and seeing the light at the end of the tunnel and Saint Peter there. I tell them I saw a tunnel but I didn't see lights at the end. I saw fire. *Flames!* And when I got through the tunnel, there was Lucifer. He said, 'Who are you?' And I said, 'James Farmer.' And he said, 'Oh, my God, don't let this N-word in! He'll organize a resistance movement and try to put out my fire!'"

See FARMER, B2, Col. 1

FARMER, From B1

He laughs. "So I came back," he says. "Next time, I'll try Heaven."

He laughs again. It's a big, deep, booming laugh, a surprisingly strong sound coming from a man lying flat on his back in bed. His head is propped on a pillow. Plaid sheets cover what's left of his body. A black patch covers his right eye. He stares sightlessly toward the ceiling.

He's in the bedroom of his house, which is set on a pond in the woods outside Fredericksburg, Va. On the floor sits a wheelchair and an oxygen tank. To his right is a bird cage containing two parakeets that Farmer hopes will soon produce a baby. To his left is a green street sign: "James Farmer St." It's a reproduction of a sign from Marshall, Tex., his home town.

"A couple years ago, they named a street for me, and I went down there in my wheelchair," he says. "It felt good. The people who initiated the campaign to get the street named for me were high school students. I was encouraged by that because they were black and white students in an integrated high school."

Farmer enjoys the honors, no matter how small. He feels he deserves them, and he's not too shy to say that they're long overdue.

"That's why I'm so pleased at receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom—it's acknowledgment that I exist." He lets out another of those booming laughs. "I say that in jest. It's a recognition of my work. I have been ignored for a long time. I suppose it's partially because of the shadow of Dr. [Martin Luther] King. But I do not completely understand why when civil rights leaders are listed, they usually ignore James Farmer and list the others."

The Road Less Traveled

By all rights, Farmer deserves a place on any list of civil rights giants. "He's one of the true heroes of that period of history," says Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), his old movement comrade, who lobbied hard to persuade President Clinton to award Farmer the medal, which is the country's highest civilian honor. "I really think he should be looked upon as one of the founding fathers of the new America."

Born in 1920, Farmer was raised among the academic aristocracy of black America. His father, James L. Farmer, was a preacher and professor of religion, and young James grew up as a faculty brat at various Southern black colleges. When he graduated from Howard University in 1941 with a theology degree, his father assumed he'd become a minister. Farmer had other plans.

"What are you going to do?" his father asked.

"Destroy segregation," Farmer replied.

That was a challenging task, to put it mildly, but Farmer had a plan. He'd studied Gandhi in theology class, and he was determined to use the Mahatma's techniques of nonviolent resistance to fight segregation. Deferred from the draft, Farmer became an organizer for a pacifist group called the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Soon he founded CORE—the Congress of Ra-

cial Equality—and began leading non-violent protests against segregation in Chicago. In May 1942 Farmer organized the first civil rights sit-in in American history at a Chicago doughnut shop called Jack Spratt's. At the time, Martin Luther King Jr. was a 13-year-old schoolboy in Atlanta.

CORE grew slowly, organized some demonstrations and won a few victories, mostly in the North. But after a decade, Farmer had failed in his dream to build a Gandhian mass movement against racism. He was working as a labor organizer in New York in December 1955 when blacks in Montgomery, Ala., led by King, organized a boycott to desegregate the city's buses. Farmer was thrilled—and, he admits, a littlealous.

"Of course, I was," he says. "How could it be otherwise? I had been laboring in the vineyards of nonviolence for 14 years, dreaming of the day when we'd have a movement of nonviolence. Now, here was the movement, but I was not the leader. Of course, I was jealous."

But victory in Montgomery sparked action across the South and soon Farmer was in the thick of it. In 1961 he organized the Freedom Ride—a bus trip through the deep South, designed to desegregate interstate buses and bus terminals. Farmer and 12 other Freedom Riders—including John Lewis—rode through Virginia and the Carolinas without too much trouble, but in Alabama mobs of racists were waiting for them. They beat several Freedom Riders bloody—including Lewis—and firebombed one of the buses. The photo of the burning bus ran on newspaper front pages around the world. In Montgomery, another mob trapped the Freedom Riders, along with King, inside a church. Only the presence of federal marshals prevented a blood-bath.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy called the church and asked the Freedom Riders to postpone the rest of their trip indefinitely—a "cooling-off period," he called it. Farmer refused. "We have been cooling off for 350 years," he said.

Two days later Farmer, who was 41 then, and the other Freedom Riders

rode into Mississippi. They were promptly arrested for violating segregation laws and sentenced to 60 days in jail. They did hard time at the infamous Parchman Farm prison, but they'd succeeded in rallying public opinion and dragging the reluctant Kennedy administration into the civil rights movement.

The Freedom Ride was Farmer's finest hour, but when he tells the story, he likes to emphasize how frightened he was, how he wanted to quit in Montgomery, but the younger Riders shamed him into continuing.

"I was scared," he says. "I don't have great physical courage."

Lewis sees it differently. If Farmer was more frightened than anybody else, he didn't show it. "In a time of

crisis, Jim could be relied on to say something funny or sing a song to relieve the tension," Lewis recalls. "He had a great sense of humor and a strong baritone voice, and during the difficult times in the Freedom Ride, he'd sing folk songs, labor songs. I remember him singing 'Which Side Are You On?'—making up the words as he went along."

The next five years were wild ones for Farmer. He traveled across the country, making speeches, lobbying presidents, leading demonstrations, sitting in, getting busted. He missed the March on Washington in 1963 because he was in jail in Plaquemine, La. State troopers on horseback had charged a crowd, beating demonstrators with nightsticks and zapping them with electric cattle prods. Released from jail,

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

1/2

The TV Column

TV COLUMN, From B1

"ER," the medical drama that has been a cornerstone of its blockbuster Thursday night lineup for four seasons.

Robert Daly, chairman of Warner Bros., said in an interview with Post reporter Paul Farhi yesterday that negotiations with his company were unaffected by the NFL talks. NBC wrapped up the "ER" deal Monday night, while still in the running for the "Monday Night Football" contract won by ABC.

However, Daly said, Jerry Seinfeld's decision last month to end production of his sitcom did cause NBC to step up the pace of negotiations over "ER."

The \$13-million-per-episode license fee more than doubles the previous industry record: NBC pays some \$5 million for each episode of "Seinfeld." That show is produced by Castle Rock, which like Warner Bros. is a subsidiary of Time Warner.

Both Daly and NBC West Coast President Don Ohlmeyer said the license fee for "ER" accurately reflected the show's value, particularly in view of recent public comments by other network executives (notably of CBS and Fox) indicating they were willing to negotiate with Warner Bros. if NBC decided to pass.

"NBC made an enormous profit on 'ER' over the years," Daly said. "Warner Brothers lost money producing the show in years 1, 2, 3 and 4"—production companies typically produce network series for more than their license fee, hoping to earn profits from syndication reruns and foreign sales of a program. "We said to NBC, 'It's time for the bill to be paid.'"

Despite seeing its cost for the one-hour drama rise from \$2 million per episode, Ohlmeyer declared, "We will make a profit on the show." Asked if "ER" would raise network fees for other prime-time programs, the blunt-spoken Ohlmeyer offered, "It raises the market for any show that is doing a 35 to 40 [audience] share in its fifth season," which is what "ER" regularly attracts.

If the deal had failed, NBC risked not only losing the big "ER" audience, but also engendering the perception that it is an ailing network, something that could have had a ripple effect in the Hollywood creative community.

"We're in a tough business," Ohlmeyer said. "I'm not foolish enough to view this with rose-colored glasses. This business has changed more in the past 24 months than it has in the past 24 years. ... Every one of us is struggling with reinventing ourselves."

"If you've got a program that has developed an extraordinary bond with the audience, you damn well have to do everything you can to keep it."

In Other News

ABC News has informed Archer Daniels Midland, longtime sponsor of "This Week," that it will no longer carry the ADM ad campaign featuring David Brinkley, creator and longtime moderator of the Sunday morning network program. ...

The initial Jan. 4 appearance during the program of Brinkley as a spokesman for the giant agribusiness caused a small storm among some media critics who deplored his role as a pitchman. Many claimed Brinkley, who after 15 years with his name in the title of the show had retired from the program and ABC News in November, had seriously damaged his reputation as a newsmen. ...

That very public criticism apparently figured only indirectly in the ABC decision. News president David Westin said yesterday that ADM "had assured us that the series of ads with David were also to appear on the other major public affairs programs. That didn't happen, and for David to be solely on our program could be a potential for confusion among our viewers" ...

Westin said that when in recent weeks he hadn't seen the Brinkley commercials on NBC's "Meet the Press," CBS's "Face the Nation" or "Fox News Sunday," he asked the ABC sales department to look into it. ...

When the ad series debuted, an ADM spokesman said the campaign also would be seen regularly on CNN's "Money Line" and "Reliable Sources" programs and on John McLaughlin's "One on One," but only in the Washington market. ...

The spokesman said neither CBS nor Fox had ever carried ADM commercials, but soon after the debut, ADM said it was still waiting to place the commercials on "Meet the Press." However, one NBC News executive in early January said the network had already turned them down because "we had the feeling the ads were potentially confusing; it wasn't immediately clear Mr. Brinkley was speaking as a spokesperson" ...

The Brinkley campaign, which was to replace previous ADM campaigns, consists of seven "institutional" ads, six of them of one-minute duration, the seventh a 30-second spot. ...

Calls to ADM were not returned yesterday. ... ABC correspondent Cokie Roberts, who was expected to have a big role in the network's coverage of the pope's visit to Cuba next week, broke her foot Tuesday night in an accident at home. Her status on the trip is currently "up in the air," according to one ABC executive. ...

Gregg Kelley, who has been vice president and general manager of Fox-owned Channel 5 here for the past year, is returning to Massachusetts and Fox-owned WFXT in Boston with the same two titles. ...

No replacement has been named. ... Kelley, a Boston native, was general sales manager at WLVI (Channel 56) in Boston when Fox picked him to replace Gene McHugh, who took over a Fox station in Atlanta a year ago. He had also been general sales manager for WFXT (Channel 25) when that station was purchased by Fox. ...

Mitchell Stern, president and COO of the 22-station Fox Television Stations group, said, "Gregg is a superb station manager and leaves WTTG as the number one station in Washington. I am pleased Gregg is continuing with Fox in his native home town and look forward to the knowledge he will bring [to the] Fox brand in this important market" ...

Though a UHF outlet, WFXT is in the sixth-largest U.S. market (Washington is seventh). ...

Tammy Haddad, who helped create CNN's "Larry King Live" and "Late, Late Show With Tom Snyder," has been named executive producer of Universal Television Group's new Maury Povich show. ...

The current version of "The Maury Povich Show" (Channel 7 at 9 a.m.) is produced by Paramount and will continue to be through the summer. But next fall Universal Television will begin producing the syndicated show under the same title. ...

Some 90 percent of the current customers for the Povich show have renewed for the new version next fall. Povich and Paramount had been linked for six years but parted amicably before an expected deal with DreamWorks to produce a weekday show starring Povich and wife Constance Chung fell through. So Maury moved to another studio. ...

Haddad will begin work in April, she said yesterday. The new series will eventually tape a week's output over three days in New York. ...

ABC News, CBS News, NBC News and a documentary produced for Bethesda-based Discovery Channel were among 11 winners of Silver Batons at the annual Alfred I. duPont-Columbia Awards yesterday. ...

PBS's documentary series "Frontline" took the Gold Baton, the highest honor of the awards. ...

The series was cited for four programs and praised by Columbia University President George Rupp for its "remarkable quality and sustained commitment to controversial and sensitive stories, investigative reporting and political coverage" on PBS. ...

Among the network winners of Silver Batons at ceremonies in New York were ABC News's "PrimeTime Live," for its investigative report called "Debt Reckoning" ...

NBC News and Scripps Howard News Productions won for the documentary "Why Can't We Live Together?," about race relations in a Chicago suburb. ...

CBS News won for "Enter the Jury Room," about winning the right to videotape the process of jury deliberation in several Arizona cases. ...

Blowback Productions won for "CIA: America's Secret Warriors," a three-hour series that aired on the Discovery Channel. ...

And Jon Else, Sandra Iltkoff and Marc Reisner won for "An American Nile," the story of the trials and tribulations of the Colorado River that aired on PBS. ...

NBC has pulled the Jenny McCarthy sitcom "Jenny" from its schedule after its 10 episodes failed to attract viewers on either Sunday or Monday nights. ...

Variety says that all 22 episodes will have been shot by the end of February but it was unclear whether, when or on what night "Jenny" might return. She currently ranks 79th in the season-to-date standings. ...

And Tim Allen says he will return to ABC's "Home Improvement" for an eighth season. ...

In October, Tim agreed to a salary of \$1.25 million per episode for next season, so his decision was not unexpected. ...

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

Farmer was nearly killed by a lynch mob that ransacked the church where he was hiding. He took refuge in a black-owned funeral home and ended up sneaking out of town in the back of a hearse.

"One of the brothers in the funeral home handed me a loaded .45," he says. "I ripped it open and emptied the bullets out and handed him the empty gun. I told him, 'I can't use this. If they bust open the front door, I might be able to take two or three of them with me, but then what? They'll kill half the people in here.'"

By the late '60s, Jim Crow was dead and Jim Farmer was back in New York. In 1968, he ran for Congress in Brooklyn, nominated by both the Liberal and Republican parties. He lost, but he caught the attention of Richard Nixon, who was elected president that year. In 1969, Nixon named Farmer an assistant secretary at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It was an unlikely match and it didn't last long. Farmer quit after 22 months.

"I learned a lot," he says, "but the frustrations were too great."

A Time to Teach

In the '70s, Farmer worked in the labor movement, nursed his wife, Lula, during her long, horrible illness and death from Hodgkin's disease, and raised their two daughters. In the early '80s, he went looking for a quiet place on a little pond to write his memoirs. He found it in Fredericksburg. He called the autobiography "Lay Bare the Heart," which is appropriate. It's a personal and moving book, particularly when he writes of Lula, the woman he loved, a woman who happened to be white.

When the book was published in 1985, officials at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg asked Farmer to teach a class on civil rights. He's still teaching it, sitting in his wheelchair, telling his stories to students he can't see.

"Most of the students, black and white, know very little about the movement," he says. "They know there was a man named Martin Luther King and

he had a dream and he made a speech and he got killed. That's about it. They never heard of me."

By the end of his course, they know a lot more. "They know there was a movement and they know it was touch-and-go for a while and they know that we carried our lives in our hands," he says. "They get a feeling for it."

For years, Farmer taught 250 students a semester. Lately, his health has forced him to reduce that number to about 100. A student aide reads him their term papers and writes down the comments that he dictates. It's a tough way to teach, but somehow Farmer makes it work.

"The students are really fascinated with him," says Porter Blakemore, chairman of the history department at Mary Washington. "There are a lot of students clamoring to get into his class. My job is to make sure there aren't more than the room can hold."

The semester that starts next week might be Farmer's last. The congestive heart disease that nearly killed him last fall has persuaded him to contemplate retiring. "I do enjoy teaching," he says, "but I think I'll give it up in May."

On Dec. 23, not long after his most recent brush with death, Farmer got the call he'd been awaiting: A White House staffer informed him that he'd been chosen to receive the Medal of Freedom.

"My reaction was: *At last!*" he says. Then he unleashes that big laugh again.

He wasn't just sitting around hoping for this award, he says. He was working for it. "I was urging people to write letters in, because I thought I deserved it." It may have been the old organizer's final campaign.

Now, Farmer is basking in the hoopla that surrounds the medal. "The press has been bombarding me since last week," he says. The Associated Press "sent out a story with pictures. Channel 5 put a big show on. They photographed me in my wheelchair rolling by the pond. And they photographed my daughter and my granddaughter. I'm pleased. It's like the old days when I was a civil rights leader and I was in the news—very much in the news."

After today's ceremony, there will be a couple more days of hoopla and then Farmer's life will return to normal—or, as normal as life gets for a 78-year-old blind man with no legs.

"What do I do?" he says. "Well, I can't read and I haven't gotten accustomed to listening to books on tape. I listen to music. I enjoy music—jazz, blues and classical music."

"He loves the pond," says Caroline Cotton, one of the people who take care of Farmer. "We recently got him some ducks for the pond, and he can hear them quacking when they come up on the patio. He likes that. And he's quite the singer. He's got a great voice. You ought to hear him sing the song that he wrote in jail."

She turns to Farmer. "Come on, sing it," she says.

He doesn't need much coaxing. "All right," he says, "I'll sing it."

He's lying on his back in the bed. He sucks in a huge draft of air and starts to sing:

*Come all you freedom fighters
Good news to you I'll tell
Of how the good old Freedom Ride
has come in here to dwell.*

The voice coming out of the old battered body is surprisingly strong, a deep baritone. The song is a variation of the old labor standard "Which Side Are You On?" It's the song Lewis remembers Farmer improvising during the Freedom Ride.

*Don't Tom for Mr. Charlie.
Don't listen to his lies.
Us black folks haven't got a chance
Unless we organize.*

"Wonderful!" Cotton says when he finishes. "Oh, Mr. Farmer, that was beautiful! You bring tears to my eyes."

Farmer's eyes stare upward into the perpetual darkness that surrounds him. He is smiling brightly.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998

2/2

Tune In, Turn On?

Public Television Viewers Lead National Sex Survey

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maybe it's all those wildlife documentaries.

People who watch a lot of public television have more sex than those who don't.

Same with people who work more than 60 hours a week.

But, according to a study in the February issue of *American Demographics* magazine, Americans with the most education are having the least sex.

The findings, compiled by two researchers based on a national survey of nearly 10,000 people, show that, for the most part, there's a lot less sex going on than you might guess. On average, people reported 58 sexual "episodes" a year, just more than one a week.

But all Americans are not equal when it comes to sexual activity. Indeed, just 15

See SURVEY, B4, Col. 5

SURVEY, From B1

percent of adults are having half of all the sex.

The study by John Robinson of the University of Maryland and Geoffrey Godbey of Pennsylvania State University is drawn from the General Social Survey, a comprehensive set of interviews conducted annually by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

The interviews show that, in general, sexual activity correlates highly with age and marriage. Married people have more sex because they have a constant, available partner. But married or not, people have significantly less sex as they get older.

Robinson and Godbey report that the frequency of sex declines in the late thirties. "Sexually active senior citizens are the exception, not the rule," according to the article.

Edward Laumann, a sociologist at the University of Chicago and co-author of an earlier study of sexual practices, said this and other research confirms that very few adults in this country have highly active sexual lives with multiple partners.

"The vast bulk report they are fairly satisfied with moderate levels of activity," he said.

Some of the findings, he argues, are not so surprising.

Those who spend many hours at work are more likely to have frequent sex because they are generally healthy, active people, Laumann said.

And the statistic that shows highly educated people have less sex is largely driven by women with graduate school degrees, who have deferred marriage and relationships to concentrate on their studies, he believes. That is less true of men, he said, because they feel less obligation to juggle household duties and their studies, often relying on their partners to do those tasks.

Still, the authors don't know what to make of some of the results—including the finding that PBS watchers have more sex than those who like prime-time drama.

"Who would have thought that National Geographic specials or Ken

Burns's history of baseball could get people in the mood?" they wrote.

Also, jazz fans have more sex. After accounting for age and race, the researchers found that people who say they have a strong preference for jazz are 30 percent more sexually active than the average American. Not so for rock and rap.

Catholics are more sexually active than Protestants, but neither group is as active as Jews and agnostics.

And those who describe themselves as political liberals have more sex than moderates and conservatives. Self-described "extreme liberals" have the most sex, but "extreme conservatives" are more sexually active than average.

It seems, the authors wrote, "people who are passionate about politics are also passionate about other things."

The Sex Files

Other findings from the survey on sexual practices among Americans:

- The richest Americans have the most sex, but only about 5 percent more than the average.

- Sexual activity is most frequent among people with some college education, but declines for college graduates and those who have attended graduate school.

- Sexual activity is higher among people who attend concerts and sporting events and among those who own guns.

- People who smoke and drink report having almost twice as much sex as those who do neither.

- People expressing lack of confidence in the presidency have more than the average amount of sex.

Source: General Social Survey, *American Demographics*.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1998



Salma, 1965: With behind-the-scenes detail, Branch chronicles the movement that changed America

BOOKS

The Middle of the Journey

Taylor Branch's grand civil-rights history rolls on

BY JON MEACHAM

JAN. 6, 1964, WAS A LONG DAY FOR Martin Luther King Jr. He spent the morning seated in the reserved section of the Supreme Court, listening as lawyers argued *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, a landmark case rising out of King's crusade against segregation in Alabama. The minister was something of an honored guest: Justice Arthur Goldberg quietly sent down a copy of King's account of the Montgomery bus boycott, "Stride Toward Freedom," asking for an autograph. That night King retired to his room at the Willard Hotel. There FBI bugs reportedly picked up 14 hours of party chatter, the clinking of glasses and the sounds of illicit sex—including King's cries of "I'm f—ing for God" and "I'm not a Negro tonight!"

The contrasting scenes—the public King of glory and gravitas, the private man in an unguarded moment, under secret surveillance—vividly dramatize the complexities of the age chronicled in Taylor Branch's new book *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (746 pages, Simon & Schuster, \$30). The juicy sex details are a tiny part of this sweeping sequel to Branch's Pulitzer Prize-winning "Parting the Waters"; at heart, "Pillar of Fire" is a magisterial history of one of the most tumultuous periods in postwar America. (A third volume will take King to his death in 1968.)

Everyone is here: a scheming J. Edgar Hoover, the grieving Robert Kennedy, an insecure but brilliant Lyndon Johnson, the mercurial Malcolm X. Most important, Branch's painstaking research makes clear that nothing about the movement was inevitable—a fact that is increasingly difficult to grasp as the '50s and '60s, from Montgomery to Memphis, recede into sepia-toned myth. Anyone who thinks the story of civil rights is familiar or straightforward doesn't understand what Branch, a Southerner, knows in his bones: that history is less about grand, inexorable forces and more about the men and women who had to make real decisions in real time.

At the center is King, still improbably young. The action opens as the crisis mounts in Birmingham, where nonviolent marches provoked Bull Connor's dogs and beatings. Those images, along with the emotions unleashed by JFK's assassination, ultimately helped pass the civil-rights bill in mid-1964. But even that epochal law did not relieve the trouble on the ground, from the murder of three civil-rights volunteers in Neshoba County, Miss., to upheaval in St. Augustine, Fla.

For King, there were constant pressures. Convinced the preacher was a subversive, Hoover harassed him in ways

small and large. One broadside, in an attempt to smear King after he won the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent him a "suicide package" of embarrassing wiretaps with a letter suggesting that King kill himself or face exposure.

According to Branch, King felt the loss of the four girls killed in the September 1963 bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church "as deeply as most Americans felt the tragedy of Dallas"—and was furious that the Kennedys had responded merely by sending a retired football coach to Alabama as a "mediator." But King, who wanted to keep his lines to the White House open in the larger interests of the movement, could not express his anger publicly—so Hoover was delighted when the FBI's bugs picked up an uncharacteristic outburst. Watching a rerun of Jacqueline Kennedy kneeling before her husband's casket, King said, "Look at her—ing him off one last time." The director made sure Robert Kennedy got that report, but RFK, who came to admire King,

saw beyond the slur. By the end of "Pillar of Fire," so do we: King's greatness trumps his passing moments of human weakness.

The book was nine years in the making; "Parting the Waters" took six. Branch attributes the long haul on "Pillar of Fire" in part to time lost unsuccessfully trying to get the first volume made into a movie and to research he had to do on the Nation of Islam. That work was particularly worth the wait. Branch has fresh reporting on the feud between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad and on the role of Louis X, later Farrakhan, in the campaign against Malcolm.

Branch's scholarship is strong, his storytelling colorful. The only quibble is that the detail can be overwhelming, but even in that vice there is a virtue: the trilogy will stand as a definitive history of the movement's politics, personalities and theology. The last volume is to be called "At Canaan's Edge"—just short of the Promised Land. In

September 1964, The New York Times reported that a majority of whites favored the civil-rights bill but quoted some complaints that blacks expected "everything on a silver platter." The country still wrestles with precisely thativalence about race. Reading Branch, it is easier to see why even the most remarkable revolutions are never complete. ■



100 pages
50 cents

The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

TWO-PART HARMONY



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO BY DAVID J. PHILLIPS

Claude Paul, one of 30 panelists at the Team Harmony gathering of students from throughout New England celebrating diversity and tolerance, joked with Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the FleetCenter. B-2.

In divorce court can have serious effects on children

PANIC PREVENTION

Perfect gifts
for finicky friends

LIFESTYLE: PAGES 18-19

ECK OF A GUY

Newest Red Sox
here to help

GIULIOTTI: BACK PAGE



BOSTON HERALD



50 cents

★★★

Wednesday, December 10, 1997

WEATHER: Rain or snow. High 41. Page 16 LOTTERIES: Page 17

Park and slide

City ignores T worker ticket violations

By JOE BATTENFELD

City officials have dismissed or ignored tens of thousands of dollars in fines for MBTA workers who parked illegally at bus stops,

fire hydrants, handicapped zones and even on sidewalks, documents show.

At least four T employees have received more than 140 tickets each over the past three years, but

the city has waived them or failed to collect the fines, according to records obtained by the Herald.

One T car, assigned to the agency's safety department as a pool vehicle, has racked up 187

tickets totaling \$6,850 in fines and penalties since June 1995. Most of the fines were for violations at bus stops and no stopping zones.

State and city officials — after reviewing parking records re-

quested by the Herald — say they are taking action to stop the abuse.

"That's something we're going

Turn to Page 31

TEENS PUT HARMONY FIRST



Charlestown High School senior Claude Paul shares the FleetCenter stage with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the Team Harmony youth rally. More than 10,000 Bay State teenagers gathered to share their stories and hope for combating discrimination in the nation. For more on the fourth annual event, see Page 4.

Court rules divorced dad can't teach kids his religion

By ANDREA ESTES

The state's supreme court yesterday ruled that a father who divorces his wife and remarries cannot teach his children his own beliefs to his children.

Calling it a "religious question," the Supreme Judicial Court overturned a probate court report that as part of Jeffrey and Patricia Kendall's 1991 divorce agreement, Jeffrey Kendall agreed to raise his three children as Catholics.

Jeffrey, 40, is a member of the Church of Christ, a small, fundamentalist Christian sect. He is a member of the Church of Christ, a small, fundamentalist Christian sect. He is a member of the Church of Christ, a small, fundamentalist Christian sect.

Jeffrey's children, ages 10, 12 and 14, are members of the Church of Christ. Jeffrey's children, ages 10, 12 and 14, are members of the Church of Christ. Jeffrey's children, ages 10, 12 and 14, are members of the Church of Christ.

Turn to Page 26

Hillary urges teens: Fight racism

By STACEY URICH

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton urged more than 10,000 teens yesterday and discussed solutions for combating discrimination at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally.

Clinton fielded questions from 32 students from around Massachusetts and offered advice as the highlight of the daylong event at the FleetCenter.

"We can learn a lot from each other if we respect each other," Clinton said.

During the hourlong discussion, many students admitted they were unaware of racism's reach until it invaded their lives in the form of other children's comments.

Amy, a Sharon student, was at a school soccer game when a group of boys from the opposing team's school began taunting her because of her Jewish heritage. She told Clinton that what troubled her more than the boys' insensitivity was the lack of action from adults.

Clinton said she realized how difficult it was for teenagers who have adults in their lives that don't support all races and religions, but urged them to keep fighting for equality.

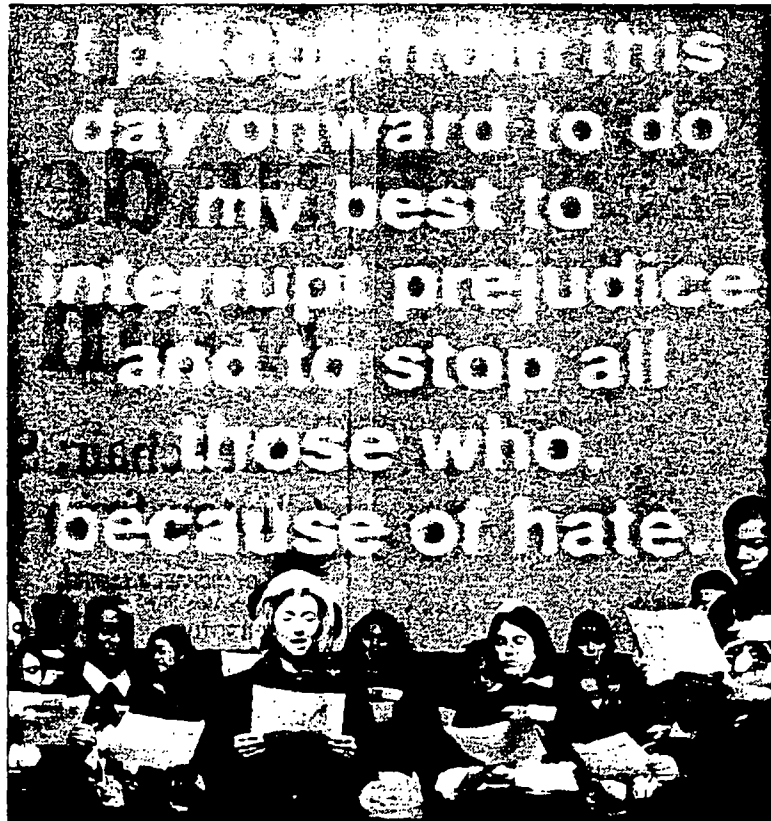
"It has to be a joint effort of younger and older people together," she said.

"I actually think this is one situation where you people can be the leaders by showing the way."

Red Sox star Mo Vaughn, who helped raise a tribute flag and Jackie Robinson's No. 42 into the rafters of the FleetCenter, credited the groundbreaking black player for opening doors for today's sports heroes.

"I feel that if (Robinson) can get out there and go through all the trials and tribulations, then we as young people can do the same thing," Vaughn said.

The idea for Team Harmony came from the late Boston Celtics captain Reggie Lewis and former Celtics director of basketball development Jon Jennings as a way to combat the discrimination and bigotry that often lead to violence in Massachusetts schools. After Lewis' death, Jennings joined Leonard Zakim, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of New England,



WORDS TO LIVE BY: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and a group of students take the Team Harmony pledge during yesterday's youth rally at the FleetCenter.

to make Team Harmony an annual Boston event.

"Reggie did not live to see this become a reality, but Reggie and I believed that we can all make a difference," said Jennings, who is now a liaison to President Clinton's Initiative on Race.

The first lady developed an interest in the

Team Harmony program while researching her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us."

She said the program was exactly what she and President Clinton were encouraging communities to emulate through town meetings on race relations, the first of which was held last week in Akron, Ohio.

Achieving unity high on youths' agenda

By STACEY URICH

Teenagers at yesterday's Team Harmony conference at the FleetCenter proved they were doing more than just talking the talk when it came to fighting hatred in their communities.

In response to racist, anti-Semitic and sexist actions they have seen in their communities, many of the teens have joined together to organize multicultural projects and stand up for their fellow students.

"We've started a diversity club, and this year we're having a 50-minute assembly on Dr. Martin Luther King and other black leaders and a dance, and everyone's invited," said Chinedu Anadi, 15, of the River School in Weston.

"We have a unity week at my school to show different backgrounds. We have dances for different cultures and play different music from ethnic backgrounds on the intercom between classes," said Kathy Sayaphat, 17, of Woonsocket, R.I.

At Braintree High School, students organized a club called HEAR — or Help Erase American Racism — to combat bigotry in their school and community.

"We changed our student handbook to change the school's attitude about discrimination," said Danielle Bonomo, 17, the club's vice president.

Students admitted that racism is not as positive at every school.

But students have taken the first small steps toward stopping discrimination in their hallways.

"In our grade, there's wicked cases of homophobia," said Mara Boudry, 11, of Hawthorne Middle School in Townsend.

"Everybody calls people lesbians and stuff. But what if they are lesbians? Who cares? I tell them to stop it so that they should really grow up."

Aysia Abreu, 15, said ignorance and insecurity are usually the reasons for discrimination, and credited her fellow students' diverse makeup as a barrier against racism at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School.

"There's just so many different kids and different cultures at my school, that we try not to let people put each other down. We're like a big handful," she said.



TAKING A STAND: More than 10,000 teenagers pack the FleetCenter to join first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, seated front right, in discussing solutions for combating racism at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally yesterday.

Staff photos by Jennifer Meehan

Mrs. Clinton gets frank talk on racism from Boston youths

BOSTON (AP) — Conceding that "we don't have all the answers" for ending bigotry, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday talked about racism with high school students and spoke openly of her own encounters with prejudice.

For about an hour, Mrs. Clinton sat onstage at the Fleet Center sports arena with 32 teen-agers, listening as they told stories of racism with the type of candor President Clinton had hoped to elicit a week ago in Akron, Ohio.

When asked about her own experiences, Mrs. Clinton said as a teen-ager she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied: "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze."

Mrs. Clinton said she told the goalie she shouldn't dislike her because she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

The first lady told the crowd of middle and high school students that the best way to handle racist behavior is to refuse to respond and still treat that person with respect.

"It doesn't always work to stand there and yell and trade insults," Mrs. Clinton said. "We do not have all the answers on how we can live peacefully and productively together. But we should never give up on anyone."

The event was convened by Team Harmony, an initiative begun by Boston-area professional sports teams in 1994 to help middle and high school students combat bigotry.

As the president did in leading a discussion at the University of Akron, Mrs. Clinton focused her dis-



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to a student panel on racism yesterday in Boston. AP

cussion on attitudes among young people. She listened intently as the students talked freely about painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

"I felt so stunned. I feel my dream was shattered by racism," said Claudy Paul, a senior at a majority-white high school who told Mrs. Clinton a schoolmate used a racial slur one day as he boarded a school bus.

"Did you ever try to sit down and talk with that young man?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

"Yes, I did," the student replied. "He said 'I'm sorry,' and 'Some of my best friends are black.' My mom was telling me how racist the school was. I did not want to be-

lieve her. Then that happened to me. From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered."

Thao Tran said she didn't think much about race until she noticed that black students, white students and Asian students divided into factions aboard their school bus. Subsequently, fights began to break out.

"I look at things a little differently now," she said. "I say, 'I'm different, too.'"

Mrs. Clinton joined professional athletes, local bands and the cast of an MTV program before 10,000 students.

Mr. Clinton gathered last week with 67 college students and community leaders onstage before an audience of about 2,000 at the University of Akron in a forum televised by C-SPAN.

For 90 minutes, Mr. Clinton struggled to pull frank responses to his often-evocative questions. He extended the discussion for a half-hour in hopes of drawing a lively exchange, with little success. White House officials acknowledged later that participants probably were intimidated by the president's presence and said they would consider changes to the format, such as longer sessions, to encourage rousing dialogue.

Judith Winston, executive director of the president's dialogue effort, said Mrs. Clinton heard more honest sentiments possibly because the audience was younger.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

Mrs. Clinton gets frank talk on racism from Boston youths

BOSTON (AP) — Conceding that "we don't have all the answers" for ending bigotry, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday talked about racism with high school students and spoke openly of her own encounters with prejudice.

For about an hour, Mrs. Clinton sat onstage at the Fleet Center sports arena with 32 teen-agers, listening as they told stories of racism with the type of candor President Clinton had hoped to elicit a week ago in Akron, Ohio.

When asked about her own experiences, Mrs. Clinton said as a teen-ager she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied: "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze."

Mrs. Clinton said she told the goalie she shouldn't dislike her because she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

The first lady told the crowd of middle and high school students that the best way to handle racist behavior is to refuse to respond and still treat that person with respect.

"It doesn't always work to stand there and yell and trade insults," Mrs. Clinton said. "We do not have all the answers on how we can live peacefully and productively together. But we should never give up on anyone."

The event was convened by Team Harmony, an initiative begun by Boston-area professional sports teams in 1994 to help middle and high school students combat bigotry.

As the president did in leading a discussion at the University of Akron, Mrs. Clinton focused her dis-



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to a student panel on racism yesterday in Boston.

cussion on attitudes among young people. She listened intently as the students talked freely about painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

"I felt so stunned. I feel my dream was shattered by racism," said Claudy Paul, a senior at a majority-white high school who told Mrs. Clinton a schoolmate used a racial slur one day as he boarded a school bus.

"Did you ever try to sit down and talk with that young man?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

"Yes, I did," the student replied. "He said 'I'm sorry,' and 'Some of my best friends are black.' My mom was telling me how racist the school was. I did not want to be-

lieve her. Then that happened to me. From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered."

Thao Tran said she didn't think much about race until she noticed that black students, white students and Asian students divided into factions aboard their school bus. Subsequently, fights began to break out.

"I look at things a little differently now," she said. "I say, 'I'm different, too.'"

Mrs. Clinton joined professional athletes, local bands and the cast of an MTV program before 10,000 students.

Mr. Clinton gathered last week with 67 college students and community leaders onstage before an audience of about 2,000 at the University of Akron in a forum televised by C-SPAN.

For 90 minutes, Mr. Clinton struggled to pull frank responses to his often-evocative questions. He extended the discussion for a half-hour in hopes of drawing a lively exchange, with little success. White House officials acknowledged later that participants probably were intimidated by the president's presence and said they would consider changes to the format, such as longer sessions, to encourage rousing dialogue.

Judith Winston, executive director of the president's dialogue effort, said Mrs. Clinton heard more honest sentiments possibly because the audience was younger.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

Drug overpayments by Medicare targeted

President Clinton again will push Congress to curb Medicare overpayments to doctors and clinics for prescription drugs, White House aides said Tuesday. The Department of Health and Human Services found \$447 million in overpayments last year for 22 of the most common drugs covered by Medicare. Clinton wants to peg reimbursement to the actual cost of the medications. Reimbursement now is based on the average wholesale price, which often is significantly higher than what doctors pay, allowing them to pocket the difference. Clinton sought similar changes this year, but lobbyists for doctors who treat cancer limited the reduction, so payments are 95% of the average wholesale price.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue with Republican congressional leaders over appointing a chairman to the bipartisan commission to reform Medicare. Clinton's preference is Sen. John Breaux, D-La.

— Bill Nichols



Cohen: Wants to be available

TRIP NIXED: For the second time in a month, Defense Secretary William Cohen has canceled a foreign trip because of questions about weapons inspections in Iraq.

"The situation in Iraq remains unsettled at a time when we are maintaining a significant force in the Gulf area and demands continued monitoring," he said in a statement. The statement also cited Cohen's desire to be available for consultations with President Clinton on pending decisions on a possible new NATO-led military force in Bosnia next June and whether it should include U.S. troops.

Cohen was to leave Saturday on a six-day trip to Egypt, Jordan and Israel. He canceled a trip to Asia on Nov. 10.

Cohen says he's "not being held hostage" to the crisis over U.N. inspectors' access to Iraq's weapons facilities. "Tensions have eased, but they could intensify," he said.

ASIAN-AMERICANS: The Census Bureau says that the nation's 9,653,000 Asians and Pacific Islanders, when compared with other Americans, tend to be younger, better educated, more likely to live in cities and in the West and less likely to be divorced. About 3.7% of the population is Asian-American. Just 3.8% are currently divorced, compared with 3.9% of all Americans 15 and over. The figures are based on a March 1996 Current Population Survey.

PEACE PLAN: The world's five declared nuclear powers should take their atomic weapons off alert and set about dismantling them, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict says. The nations that acknowledge having nuclear weapons are the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France. The three-year study by the 16-member commission, co-chaired by former secretary of State Cyrus Vance, also recommends an international registry be set up to disclose all experiments with chemical and biological agents that could be made into weapons.

WHITewater: A top aide to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified to a Whitewater grand jury in Washington. Melanne Verreen, who this year became Hillary Clinton's chief of staff after four years as deputy, declined to comment after her testimony. The grand jury is believed to be investigating possible obstruction of justice concerning the Whitewater probe, which began with accusations of wrongdoing in connection with the Clintons' private business deals in the 1990s, when Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas.



Bliss: Got help from high places

of an American jailed in Russia on espionage charges. Richard Bliss, formerly of Longview, Wash., was released Saturday but must stay in Russia for questioning. Igor Smirnov, a Russian government spokesman, said a phone conversation Friday between Gore and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin "helped invigorate the two countries' diplomatic efforts and facilitate Russia's decision to release Bliss from custody." Bliss, 29, is a field technician for Qualcomm Inc., a San Diego firm working with a Russian firm to install a cellular phone system in the Rostov-on-Don region. He's accused of surveying sensitive sites using satellite receivers brought into Russia illegally.

ALSO . . .

YUGOSLAVIA SANCTIONS: President Clinton extended economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the remaining republics of the former Yugoslavia. Clinton said a U.S.-brokered settlement of the ethnic war in Bosnia has not been completely implemented. Sanctions are seen as a way to pressure Serbia to promote the settlement terms.

THOMAS GETS CUSTODY: Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and his wife, Virginia, have legal custody of his sister's grandson, 6. They signed the papers and picked up the boy in Georgia last month. *The Washington Post* said Thomas had criticized his sister in the 1980s for taking welfare while she cared for her four children and an aunt. Thomas has a grown son from a previous marriage.



By Victoria Aronson

Boston race forum: Claudy Paul tells Hillary Rodham Clinton about his first experience with racism.

First lady, students talk about race

Hillary Rodham Clinton took her husband's race initiative to Boston for a discussion with middle- and high-school students about bigotry and their painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

Claudy Paul, a senior at a white-majority high school, said he was stunned when a classmate used a racial slur as he boarded a bus. "From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered," Paul said.

The first lady said that as a teen-ager, she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied, "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze." Mrs. Clinton said she urged the goalie not to dislike her since she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

President Clinton held his first town meeting in his campaign for racial dialogue in Akron, Ohio, last week.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

I Tried an
assortment
of different
shade

VOLUME 252 • NUMBER 163

100 pages
50 cents

The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

CLAWED RAINS

Today: Rain, mixed; 40
Tomorrow: Snow, upper 30s
High tide: 7:23 a.m., 7:56 p.m.
Full report: Page B7

Page 1

TWO-PART HARMONY



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / DAVID L. RYAN

Claude Paul, one of 30 panelists at the Team Harmony gathering of students from throughout New England celebrating diversity and tolerance, joked with Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the FleetCenter. B2.

11,000 students find harmony to applause of Hillary Clinton

By Joe Ryan
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

A discussion of racism in schools came to a hush yesterday for Hillary Rodham Clinton and about 11,000 students at the FleetCenter when a Charlestown High student spoke.

"About three years ago, a classmate threatened me and said, 'Listen you little nigger, this is not Dorchester, get out of my way,'" said Claude Paul.

"May I ask what you did about the incident?" Clinton asked.

"I confronted him on it and today we are friends," said Paul, one of 30 panelists who joined Clinton at the fourth annual Team Harmony event of the Anti-Defamation League of New England. The event brings together middle- and high-school students from New England to celebrate diversity and tolerance.

Clinton, who referred to Team Harmony as a model to replicate across the country in her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us," took questions from students and led a discussion

'About three years ago, a classmate threatened me ... I confronted him on it and today we are friends.'

CLAUDE PAUL
Charlestown High student

with the panelists.

Leonard P. Zakim, executive director of the ADL of New England and cofounder of The Team Harmony Foundation, called the event "the largest interracial gathering in the country."

Others at the daylong event included Red Sox player Mo Vaughn, the musical groups Blessed Union of Souls, Voices N' Blue, and the Lawrence Girls Ensemble.

Five student teams received the 1997 Fleet Bank Team Harmony

Awards for the development of innovative student-based anti-prejudice programs. The teams were from North Attleborough High School; Old Colony Regional Vocational Technical in Rochester; Kiley Middle School, Springfield; Wakefield High School; and Drury High School in North Adams.

Youth groups from Boston Latin Academy, Roxbury Latin School, New Jewish High School of Waltham, and Fontbonne Academy in Milton were honored with the Lewis/Jennings Award for having "crossed the barriers of race, religion and ethnic backgrounds to come together ... and make a difference in the lives of others."

The award honors the friendship between the late Boston Celtics captain Reggie Lewis, who died in 1993 at age 27, and former Celtics assistant coach Jon Jennings, who is now a White House Fellow. The Team Harmony concept grew out of that friendship, Zakim said.



PANIC PREVENTION

Perfect gifts
for finicky friends

LIFESTYLE: PAGES 48-49

ECK OF A GUY

Newest Red Sox
here to help

GIULIOTTI: BACK PAGE



ONLY
IN GREATER
BOSTON

25¢

BOSTON HERALD



50 cents

★★★

Wednesday December 10, 1997

WEATHER: Rain or snow. High 41. Page 46 LOTTERIES: Page 77

Park and slide

City ignores T worker ticket violations

By JOE BATTENFELD

City officials have dismissed or ignored tens of thousands of dollars in fines for MBTA workers who parked illegally at bus stops,

fire hydrants, handicapped zones and even on sidewalks, documents show.

At least four T employees have received more than 140 tickets each over the past three years, but

the city has waived them or failed to collect the fines, according to records obtained by the Herald.

One T car, assigned to the agency's safety department as a pool vehicle, has racked up 187

tickets totaling \$6,856 in fines and penalties since June 1995. Most of the fines were for violations at bus stops and no stopping zones.

State and city officials — after reviewing parking records re-

quested by the Herald — now say they are taking action to stop the abuse.

"That's something we're going

Turn to Page 31

TEENS PUT HARMONY FIRST



Charlestown High School senior Claude Paul shares the FleetCenter stage with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the Team Harmony youth rally. More than 10,000 Bay State teenagers gathered to share their stories and hope for combating discrimination in the nation. For more on the fourth annual event, see Page 4.

Staff photo by George Marini

Court rules divorced dad can't teach kids his religion

By ANDREA ESTES

The state's high court yesterday waded into a battle over religious freedom, ruling a divorced parent can be barred from teaching his own beliefs to his children.

Calling it a "close question," the Supreme Judicial Court upheld a probate court order that as part of Jeffrey and Barbara Kendall's 1996 divorce agreement, Jeffrey Kendall cannot take his three children to church for Sunday services or religious school.

He is a member of the Boston Church of Christ, a fundamentalist group. Barbara is an Orthodox Jew. The couple is from Sharon.

"The children . . . have Jewish names and a Jewish cultural identity . . . (and) are experiencing emotional distress because of their exposure to Jeff's religion, which teaches them that in order to be 'saved' they must accept Jesus Christ," wrote the mother's lawyer, David Cherny.

"These teachings contradict their Jewish ethnicity, force them to regard their mother as some-

Turn to Page 26

First Lady Recalls Early Taste of Ethnic Tension

Celtics' Arena Hosts Youthful New England Group on Racial Harmony in Upbeat Setting

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, Dec. 9—The chill in the air prompted her to say something to a stranger, but the chill in the response would stay with her for a lifetime.

During a junior high school soccer game, a teenage Hillary Rodham turned to the goalie from the other team and remarked, "Boy, it's really cold." The other girl snapped, "I wish people like you would freeze." Shunned, the future first lady asked how she could feel that way when she did not even know her. "I don't have to know you," the goalie shot back. "I know I hate you."

More than 35 years later, Hillary Clinton recalled the pain of that childhood encounter today as she discussed the combustible issue of race with a sports arena filled with 11,000 teenagers from throughout New England.

The first lady used the tale as an object lesson about the need for understanding during her appearance at the Fleet Center here, the latest chapter in President Clinton's year-long campaign to start a national conversation on race relations in America.

Only later in an interview did she say that the goalie was white, but Clinton said that the girl came from Eastern European descent and resented what she apparently considered "some sort of uppity, wealthy, white-bread" girl.

The forum was a very different scene from her husband's inaugural town hall meeting on race in Akron, Ohio, last week. There his was C-SPAN, here was MTV. With the lights turned down and music from U-2 blaring from the speakers, today's meeting had the atmospherics of a rock concert. The discussion, too, seemed livelier and less structured than the Akron town hall—although, like that dialogue, it was dominated by a chorus of people who agreed with each other.

Wearing matching white and blue T-shirts, mobs of excited eighth-through 11th-graders filled most of the home of the Boston Celtics for the fourth annual such gathering organized by a group calling itself the Team Harmony Foundation.

One of the foundation's co-founders, former Celtics assistant coach Jon Jennings, began working this fall in Marshall's office as a White House fellow. The first lady was invited as



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to high school senior Claudy Paul relate his first experience with racism.

part of a day of activities at the gathering, which featured sports figures such as basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and Red Sox player Mo Vaughn, several musical groups and the stars of MTV's "Real World."

Hillary Clinton sat on stage with 32 teenagers and talked about their experiences. Claudy Paul, an African American high school senior, recalled an encounter at a bus stop when he interrupted another student who angrily dismissed him by saying, "You listen, nigger, this ain't no Dorchester," referring to a predominantly black area in Boston.

"I felt so stunned, I started in tears," Paul said. "From that moment, I felt like my dreams were all shattered."

Amy Coran, a Jewish high school student, remembered the time some boys told anti-Semitic jokes. The most hurtful, she said, asked the difference between a Jew and a pizza: "A pizza doesn't scream in the oven."

Other students told of swastikas in bathrooms, self-segregation on buses and racially inspired fights. And several said they took their problems to school authorities only to see nothing done.

Yet much as in Akron, these youngsters were the converted. No one who spoke up today expressed any prejudices of their own. Instead, they recited in unison the "Team Harmony Pledge," which started, "I pledge from this day onward to do my best to

interrupt prejudice and to stop those who, because of hate, would hurt, harass or violate the civil rights of anyone."

Clinton said the gathering will help make bias unacceptable among the next generation. "If we stick with it, we will change minds," she told the youngsters. "Not everybody's. There are still going to be people who are so unhappy inside, so resentful of anybody else's success that they just won't be able to accept other people." But those people should be countered, "with our own respect and love so they are rendered as harmless as possible."

During a question-and-answer phase, the first lady said she was of two minds on the effect of affirmative action in the United States. "Affirmative action has helped on the one hand because it has given opportunities to many people to prove themselves, which they have done," she said. "But I think it has hurt because I believe it has been misconstrued and misunderstood and used in a negative way."

Asked by a student if she had experienced discrimination, she mentioned the soccer incident and later elaborated during her plane ride home. Although she grew up in an all-white neighborhood, she said, her school was riven by divisions among Poles, Slavs, Italians and other ethnic groups. "There was a lot of tension because of that," she said. "Some

corridors you couldn't walk down without feeling unsafe, uncomfortable."

That experience, she said, demonstrates that the race initiative needs to focus on animosities among people, although she added "the black-white issue has to be the focus because it's the unfinished business of America."

As it attempts to energize its race initiative, the White House has dispatched a variety of prominent administration figures throughout the country to hold discussion groups, including one today in Petersburg, Va., led by Secretary of the Cabinet Thurgood Marshall Jr. and another scheduled for Monday in Baltimore with Education Secretary Richard W. Riley.

One such session backfired last week when Transportation Secretary Rodney K. Slater met with only other black leaders behind closed doors in Dallas, a move that was repudiated by the White House as a mistake.

The first lady said she "can understand" critics who believe the race campaign has been unfocused, but said conversations are a "good end in and of themselves." She was impressed by someone who told her today that her husband should urge Americans to do little things to reach out, such as going to lunch with a co-worker of another color. "I'm going to tell Bill that was a really good suggestion," she said. "You can't take for granted these really small steps that people can do on their own."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

WASHINGTON

Drug overpayments by Medicare targeted

President Clinton again will push Congress to curb Medicare overpayments to doctors and clinics for prescription drugs, White House aides said Tuesday. The Department of Health and Human Services found \$447 million in overpayments last year for 22 of the most common drugs covered by Medicare. Clinton wants to peg reimbursement to the actual cost of the medications. Reimbursement now is based on the average wholesale price, which often is significantly higher than what doctors pay, allowing them to pocket the difference. Clinton sought similar changes this year, but lobbyists for doctors who treat cancer limited the reduction, so payments are 95% of the average wholesale price.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue with Republican congressional leaders over appointing a chairman to the bipartisan commission to reform Medicare. Clinton's preference is Sen. John Breaux, D-La.

— Bill Nichols



Cohen: Wants to be available

TRIP NIXED: For the second time in a month, Defense Secretary William Cohen has canceled a foreign trip because of questions about weapons inspections in Iraq.

"The situation in Iraq remains unsettled at a time when we are maintaining a significant force in the Gulf area and demands continued monitoring," he said in a statement. The statement also cited Cohen's desire to be available for consultations with President Clinton on pending decisions on a possible new NATO-led

military force in Bosnia next June and whether it should include U.S. troops.

Cohen was to leave Saturday on a six-day trip to Egypt, Jordan and Israel. He canceled a trip to Asia on Nov. 10.

Cohen says he's "not being held hostage" to the crisis over U.N. inspectors' access to Iraq's weapons facilities. "Tensions have eased, but they could intensify..." he said.

ASIAN-AMERICANS: The Census Bureau says that the nation's 9,653,000 Asians and Pacific Islanders, when compared with other Americans, tend to be younger, better educated, more likely to live in cities and in the West and less likely to be divorced. About 3.7% of the population is Asian-American. Just 3.8% are currently divorced, compared with 8.9% of all Americans 15 and over. The figures are based on a March 1996 Current Population Survey.

PEACE PLAN: The world's five declared nuclear powers should take their atomic weapons off alert and set about dismantling them, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict says. The nations that acknowledge having nuclear weapons are the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France. The three-year study by the 16-member commission, co-chaired by former secretary of State Cyrus Vance, also recommends an international registry be set up to disclose all experiments with chemical and biological agents that could be made into weapons.

WHITEWATER: A top aide to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified to a Whitewater grand jury in Washington. Melanne Verveer, who this year became Hillary Clinton's chief of staff after four years as deputy, declined to comment after her testimony. The grand jury is believed to be investigating possible obstruction of justice concerning the Whitewater probe, which began with accusations of wrongdoing in connection with the Clintons' private business deals in the 1980s, when Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas.



Bliss: Got help from high places

Bliss, 29, is a field technician for Qualcomm Inc., a San Diego firm working with a Russian firm to install a cellular phone system in the Rostov-on-Don region. He's accused of surveying sensitive sites using satellite receivers brought into Russia illegally.

SPY CASE: Vice President Gore is credited with helping win the release of an American jailed in Russia on espionage charges. Richard Bliss, formerly of Longview, Wash., was released Saturday but must stay in Russia for questioning. Igor Shabdrul'sulov, a Russian government spokesman, said a phone conversation Friday between Gore and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin "helped invigorate the two countries' diplomatic efforts and facilitate Russia's decision to release Bliss from custody."

ALSO ...

YUGOSLAVIA SANCTIONS: President Clinton extended economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the remaining republics of the former Yugoslavia. Clinton said a U.S.-brokered settlement of the ethnic war in Bosnia has not been completely implemented. Sanctions are a seen as a way to pressure Serbia to promote the settlement terms.

THOMAS GETS CUSTODY: Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and his wife, Virginia, have legal custody of his sister's grandson, 6. They signed the papers and picked up the boy in Georgia last month. The Washington Post said Thomas had criticized his sister in the 1980s for taking welfare while she cared for her four children and an aunt. Thomas has a grown son from a previous marriage.



By Victoria Aronch, AP

Boston race forum: Claudy Paul tells Hillary Rodham Clinton about his first experience with racism.

First lady, students talk about race

Hillary Rodham Clinton took her husband's race initiative to Boston for a discussion with middle- and high-school students about bigotry and their painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

Claudy Paul, a senior at a white-majority high school, said he was stunned when a classmate used a racial slur as he boarded a bus. "From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered," Paul said.

The first lady said that as a teen-ager, she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied, "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze." Mrs. Clinton said she urged the goalie not to dislike her since she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

President Clinton held his first town meeting in his campaign for racial dialogue in Akron, Ohio, last week.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

BOSTON HERALD, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

Hillary urges teens: Fight racism

By STACEY URICH

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton joined more than 10,000 teens yesterday and discussed solutions for combating discrimination at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally.

Clinton fielded questions from 32 students from around Massachusetts and offered advice as the highlight of the daylong event at the FleetCenter.

"We can learn a lot from each other if we respect each other," Clinton said.

During the hourlong discussion, many students admitted they were unaware of racism's reach until it invaded their lives in the form of other children's comments.

Amy, a Sharon student, was at a school soccer game when a group of boys from the opposing team's school began taunting her because of her Jewish heritage. She told Clinton that what troubled her more than the boys' insensitivity was the lack of action from adults.

Clinton said she realized how difficult it was for teenagers who have adults in their lives that don't support all races and religions, but urged them to keep fighting for equality.

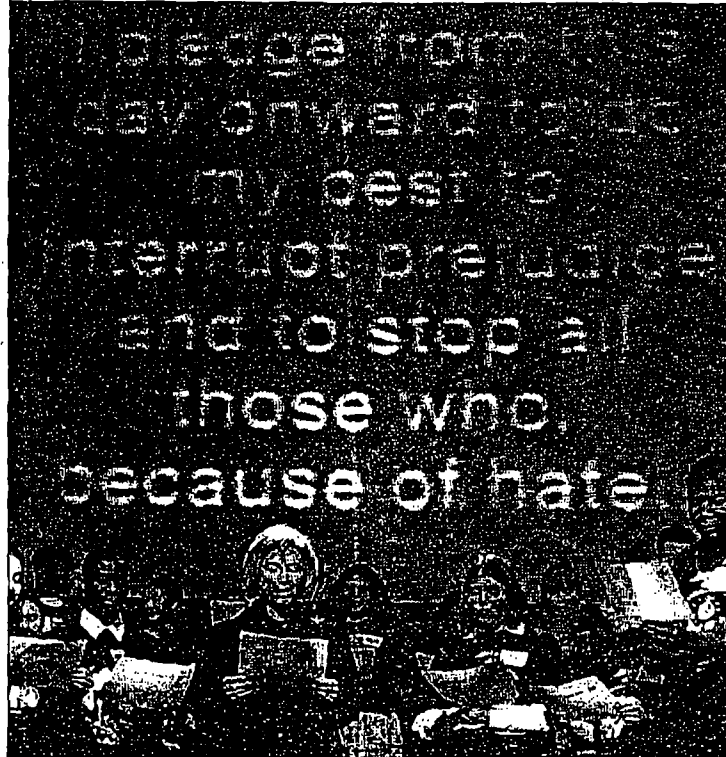
"It has to be a joint effort of younger and older people together," she said.

"I actually think this is one situation where you people can be the leaders by showing the way."

Red Sox star Mo Vaughn, who helped raise a tribute flag and Jackie Robinson's No. 42 into the rafters of the FleetCenter, credited the groundbreaking black player for opening doors for today's sports heroes.

"I feel that if (Robinson) can get out there and go through all the trials and tribulations... then we as young people can do the same thing," Vaughn said.

The idea for Team Harmony came from the late Boston Celtics captain Reggie Lewis and former Celtics director of basketball development Jon Jennings as a way to combat the discrimination and bigotry that often lead to violence in Massachusetts schools. After Lewis' death, Jennings joined Leonard Zakim, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of New England,



WORDS TO LIVE BY: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and a group of students take the Team Harmony pledge during yesterday's youth rally at the FleetCenter.

to make Team Harmony an annual Boston event.

"Reggie did not live to see this become a reality, but Reggie and I believed that we can all make a difference," said Jennings, who is now a liaison to President Clinton's Initiative on Race.

The first lady developed an interest in the

Team Harmony program while researching her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us."

She said the program was exactly what she and President Clinton were encouraging communities to emulate through town meetings on race relations, the first of which was held last week in Akron, Ohio.

Achieving unity high on youths' agenda

By STACEY URICH

Teenagers at yesterday's Team Harmony conference at the FleetCenter proved they were doing more than just talking the talk when it came to fighting hatred in their communities.

In response to racist, anti-Semitic and sexist actions they have seen in their communities, many of the teens have joined together to organize multicultural projects and stand up for their fellow students.

"We've started a diversity club, and this year we're having a 50-minute assembly on Dr. Martin Luther King and other black leaders and a dance, and everyone's invited," said Chinedu Anidi, 15, of the River School in Weston.

"We have a unity week at my school to show different backgrounds. We have dances for different cultures and play different music from ethnic backgrounds on the intercom between classes," said Kathy Sayaphat, 17, of Woonsocket, R.I.

At Braintree High School, students organized a club called HEAR — or Help Erase American Racism — to combat bigotry in their school and community.

"We changed our student handbook to change the school laws about discrimination," said Danielle Domenic, 17, the club's vice president.

Students admitted that the news is not as positive at every school.

But students have taken the first small steps toward stopping discrimination in their hallways.

"In our grade, there's wicked cases of homophobia," said Mara Boundy, 14, of Hawthorne Middle School in Townsend.

"Everybody calls people lesbians and stuff. But what if they are lesbians? Who cares? I tell them to stop it and that they should really grow up."

Aysia Abreu, 15, said ignorance and insecurity are usually the reasons for discrimination, and credited her fellow students' diverse makeup as a barrier against racism at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School.

"There's just so many different kids and different cultures at my school, that we try not to let people put each other down. We're like a big family," she said.



TAKING A STAND: More than 10,000 teenagers pack the FleetCenter to join first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, seated front right, in discussing solutions for combating racism at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally yesterday.

MARTIN LUTHER KING DAY: A DAY OF SERVICE

January 19, 1998

" Giving every citizen at the grass roots a chance to make a difference in his or her own life is a big part of what our efforts are all about. This law helps us to do that by linking the observance of Dr. King's birthday to a day of national service -- an extraordinary idea...Nothing could better serve the legacy of Dr. King. He was apathy's sworn enemy and action's tireless champion. "

President Bill Clinton

Today, President Clinton, the First Lady, Vice President Gore, 12 Cabinet Secretaries and Agency heads, members of the President's Race Initiative Advisory Board, and numerous other White House and Administration staff members join Americans across the country to celebrate the Martin Luther King holiday by serving or participating in community events highlighting the importance of service.

Martin Luther King Day: a day "on," not a day off. The Martin Luther King Holiday affords us a great opportunity to honor Dr. King's life through service -- one of the fundamental elements of Dr. King's philosophy and actions. In 1994 President Clinton signed into law the King Holiday and Service Act making the holiday a day of service that brings people together, promotes racial cooperation and helps to solve problems through citizen action. This year the Corporation for National Service provided \$225,000 in grants to 73 sites across the nation to help spur service related MLK Day projects.

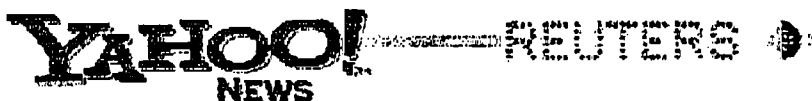
Leading by example. Service has been at the center of the President's agenda since he took office. From the creation of AmeriCorps and the Corporation for National Service to the 1997 Presidents' Summit for America's Future, President Clinton encourages all Americans to serve in their communities.

Building One America. Service is also an important part of the President's vision for building a more united America for the 21st century. Research shows that having people work together is the key to changing attitudes about race. The process of working together helps people get beyond stereotypes of different racial groups and focus on individual character.

Service as civic responsibility. To make the forces of the 21st Century work for us, not against us, we must restore an ethic of citizenship and civic responsibility through service -- not as a form of charity or an alternative to government, but as an essential part of what it means to be an American. Service unites people of all ages and all racial and ethnic backgrounds in a common mission to solve community problems and improve the lives of other Americans.

Taking action to continue service. President Clinton will soon submit legislation to

reauthorize the programs of the Corporation for National Service — AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps. The proposal would extend the programs for five years and provide opportunities for more Americans to serve their communities. The President will also propose expanding the Peace Corps to 10,000 volunteers by the year 2000.



Care about children, health, faith?



[[Yahoo](#) | [Write Us](#) | [Search](#) | [Info](#)]

[[Index](#) | [News](#) | [World](#) | [Biz](#) | [Tech](#) | [Politic](#) | [Sport](#) | [Scoreboard](#) | [Entertain](#) | [Health](#)]

Previous Story: [Iran's Supreme Leader Rejects U.S. Talks](#)

Next Story: [Jackson Vows to Keep Race, Gender in Spotlight](#)

Friday January 16 2:06 PM EST

Greenspan Says Discrimination Hurts Economy

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan said Friday racial discrimination was bad for the economy and warned the United States had a long way to go to overcome its economic effects.

The central bank chief told a conference on expanding business opportunities to racial minorities and women that breaking down barriers in society which had produced wide gaps in income and employment would take plenty of time and effort.

"Clearly, we still have a long way to go in overcoming the economic consequences of discrimination," he said according to an advance copy of his speech. "I have no illusions that the task of breaking down barriers that have produced gaps in income, wealth, and employment will be simple."

Greenspan joined civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition at a three-day conference to promote discussion about race and gender on Wall Street, which is often perceived as the preserve of white men.

President Clinton and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin addressed the conference on Thursday.

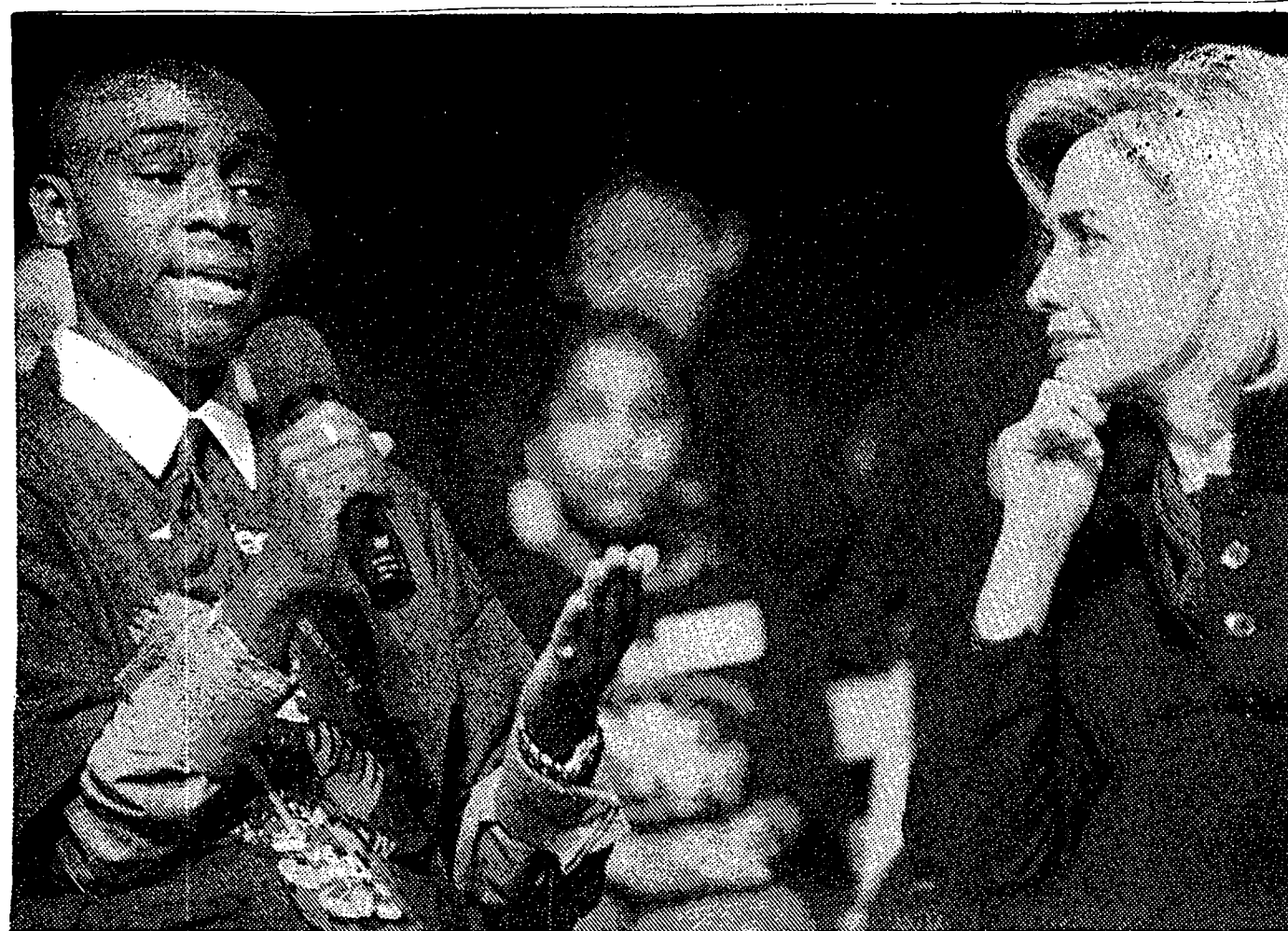
Greenspan told the audience at the World Trade Center that while the superiority of free market capitalism had been well established in the decades since World War Two, its application in the United States was "regrettably incomplete".

"Too many barriers still prevent the free flow of capital and people to their most productive employment," he said.

Greenspan cited discrimination among job candidates or mortgage application acceptances as examples for what he said amounted to a distortion of "the setting of wages and prices and the distribution of output".

"Business and financial industry decisionmakers are subject to some inertia in expanding their vision to seek talent wherever it lies," he said.

[Help](#)



Associated Press

Students Recall Memories of Racism

Hillary Rodham Clinton attended a panel discussion with New England school children in Boston yesterday to discuss racism. She listened as Claudy Paul, a senior at a majority white high school, talked about his first experience with racism, which occurred

when a schoolmate used a racial slur as he boarded a school bus. "I felt so stunned," Mr. Paul said. The Boston event brought together 10,000 students. Last week, in Akron, Ohio, President Clinton kicked off what he called a national dialogue on race.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

100 pages
50 cents

The Boston C

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

TWO-PART HARMONY



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / DAVID L. I

Claude Paul, one of 30 panelists at the Team Harmony gathering of students from throughout New England celebrating diversity and tolerance, joked with Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the FleetCenter. B2.

in divorce court can have custody of child's

The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

11,000 students find harmony to applause of Hillary Clinton

By Joe Ryan
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

A discussion of racism in schools came to a hush yesterday for Hillary Rodham Clinton and about 11,000 students at the FleetCenter when a Charlestown High student spoke.

"About three years ago, a classmate threatened me and said, 'Listen you little nigger, this is not Dorchester, get out of my way,'" said Claude Paul.

"May I ask what you did about the incident?" Clinton asked.

"I confronted him on it and today we are friends," said Paul, one of 30 panelists who joined Clinton at the fourth annual Team Harmony event of the Anti-Defamation League of New England. The event brings together middle- and high-school students from New England to celebrate diversity and tolerance.

Clinton, who referred to Team Harmony as a model to replicate across the country in her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us," took questions from students and led a discussion

'About three years ago, a classmate threatened me . . . I confronted him on it and today we are friends.'

CLAUDE PAUL
Charlestown High student

with the panelists.

Leonard P. Zakim, executive director of the ADL of New England and cofounder of The Team Harmony Foundation, called the event "the largest interracial gathering in the country."

Others at the daylong event included Red Sox player Mo Vaughn, the musical groups Blessed Union of Souls, Voices N' Blue, and the Lawrence Girls Ensemble.

Five student teams received the 1997 Fleet Bank Team Harmony

Awards for the development of innovative student-based anti-prejudice programs. The teams were from North Attleborough High School; Old Colony Regional Vocational Technical in Rochester; Kiley Middle School, Springfield; Wakefield High School; and Drury High School in North Adams.

Youth groups from Boston Latin Academy, Roxbury Latin School, New Jewish High School of Waltham, and Fontbonne Academy in Milton were honored with the Lewis/Jennings Award for having "crossed the barriers of race, religion and ethnic backgrounds to come together . . . and make a difference in the lives of others."

The award honors the friendship between the late Boston Celtics captain Reggie Lewis, who died in 1993 at age 27, and former Celtics assistant coach Jon Jennings, who is now a White House Fellow. The Team Harmony concept grew out of that friendship, Zakim said.



PANIC PREVENTION

Perfect gifts
for finicky friends

LIFESTYLE: PAGES 48-49

ECK OF A GUY

Newest Red Sox
here to help

GIULIOTTI: BACK PAGE



ONLY
IN GREATER
BOSTON

25¢

BOSTON HERALD



50 cents

★★★

Wednesday December 10, 1997

WEATHER: Rain or snow. High 41. Page 46 LOTTERIES: Page 77

Park and slide

City ignores T worker ticket violations

By JOE BATTENFELD

City officials have dismissed or ignored tens of thousands of dollars in fines for MBTA workers who parked illegally at bus stops,

fire hydrants, handicapped zones and even on sidewalks, documents show.

At least four T employees have received more than 140 tickets each over the past three years, but

the city has waived them or failed to collect the fines, according to records obtained by the Herald.

One T car, assigned to the agency's safety department as a pool vehicle, has racked up 187

tickets totaling \$6,856 in fines and penalties since June 1995. Most of the fines were for violations at bus stops and no stopping zones.

State and city officials — after reviewing parking records re-

quested by the Herald — now say they are taking action to stop the abuse.

"That's something we're going

Turn to Page 31

TEENS PUT HARMONY FIRST



Charlestown High School senior Claude Paul shares the FleetCenter stage with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday at the Team Harmony youth rally. More than 10,000 Bay State teenagers gathered to share their stories and hope for combating discrimination in the nation. For more on the fourth annual event, see Page 4.

Staff photo by George Martini

Court rules divorced dad can't teach kids his religion

By ANDREA ESTES

The state's high court yesterday waded into a battle over religious freedom, ruling a divorced parent can be barred from teaching his own beliefs to his children.

Calling it a "close question," the Supreme Judicial Court upheld a probate court order that as part of Jeffrey and Barbara Kendall's 1996 divorce agreement, Jeffrey Kendall cannot take his three children to church for Sunday services or religious school.

He is a member of the Boston Church of Christ, a fundamentalist group. Barbara is an Orthodox Jew. The couple is from Sharon.

"The children . . . have Jewish names and a Jewish cultural identity . . . (and) are experiencing emotional distress because of their exposure to Jeff's religion, which teaches them that in order to be 'saved' they must accept Jesus Christ," wrote the mother's lawyer, David Cherny.

"These teachings contradict their Jewish ethnicity, force them to regard their mother as some-

Turn to Page 26

Hillary urges teens: Fight racism

By STACEY URICH

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton joined more than 10,000 teens yesterday and discussed solutions for combating discrimination at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally.

Clinton fielded questions from 32 students from around Massachusetts and offered advice as the highlight of the daylong event at the FleetCenter.

"We can learn a lot from each other if we respect each other," Clinton said.

During the hourlong discussion, many students admitted they were unaware of racism's reach until it invaded their lives in the form of other children's comments.

Amy, a Sharon student, was at a school soccer game when a group of boys from the opposing team's school began taunting her because of her Jewish heritage. She told Clinton that what troubled her more than the boys' insensitivity was the lack of action from adults.

Clinton said she realized how difficult it was for teenagers who have adults in their lives that don't support all races and religions, but urged them to keep fighting for equality.

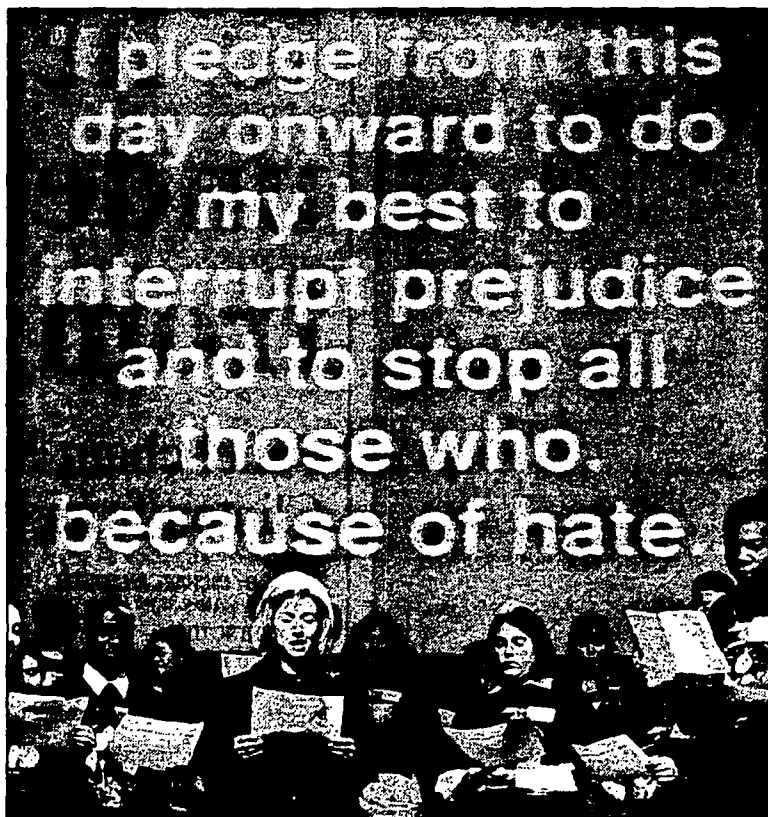
"It has to be a joint effort of younger and older people together," she said.

"I actually think this is one situation where you people can be the leaders by showing the way."

Red Sox star Mo Vaughn, who helped raise a tribute flag and Jackie Robinson's No. 42 into the rafters of the FleetCenter, credited the groundbreaking black player for opening doors for today's sports heroes.

"I feel that if (Robinson) can get out there and go through all the trials and tribulations ... then we as young people can do the same thing," Vaughn said.

The idea for Team Harmony came from the late Boston Celtics captain Reggie Lewis and former Celtics director of basketball development Jon Jennings as a way to combat the discrimination and bigotry that often lead to violence in Massachusetts schools. After Lewis' death, Jennings joined Leonard Zakim, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of New England,



WORDS TO LIVE BY: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and a group of students take the Team Harmony pledge during yesterday's youth rally at the FleetCenter.

to make Team Harmony an annual Boston event.

"Reggie did not live to see this become a reality, but Reggie and I believed that we can all make a difference," said Jennings, who is now a liaison to President Clinton's Initiative on Race.

The first lady developed an interest in the

Team Harmony program while researching her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us."

She said the program was exactly what she and President Clinton were encouraging communities to emulate through town meetings on race relations, the first of which was held last week in Akron, Ohio.

Achieving unity high on youths' agenda

By STACEY URICH

Teenagers at yesterday's Team Harmony conference at the FleetCenter proved they were doing more than just talking the talk when it came to fighting hatred in their communities.

In response to racist, anti-Semitic and sexist actions they have seen in their communities, many of the teens have joined together to organize multicultural projects and stand up for their fellow students.

"We've started a diversity club, and this year we're having a 50-minute assembly on Dr. Martin Luther King and other black leaders and a dance, and everyone's invited," said Chinedu Anidi, 15, of the River School in Weston.

"We have a unity week at my school to show different backgrounds. We have dances for different cultures and play different music from ethnic backgrounds on the intercom between classes," said Kathy Sayaphat, 17, of Woonsocket, R.I.

At Braintree High School, students organized a club called HEAR — or Help Erase American Racism — to combat bigotry in their school and community.

"We changed our student handbook to change the school laws about discrimination," said Danielle Domenic, 17, the club's vice president.

Students admitted that the news is not as positive at every school.

But students have taken the first small steps toward stopping discrimination in their hallways.

"In our grade, there's wicked cases of homophobia," said Mara Boundy, 14, of Hawthorne Middle School in Townsend.

"Everybody calls people lesbians and stuff. But what if they are lesbians? Who cares? I tell them to stop it and that they should really grow up."

Aysia Abreu, 15, said ignorance and insecurity are usually the reasons for discrimination, and credited her fellow students' diverse makeup as a barrier against racism at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School.

"There's just so many different kids and different cultures at my school, that we try not to let people put each other down. We're like a big family," she said.



TAKING A STAND: More than 10,000 teenagers pack the FleetCenter to join first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, seated front right, in discussing solutions for combating racism at the fourth annual Team Harmony youth rally yesterday.

Staff photos by George Marini

Mrs. Clinton gets frank talk on racism from Boston youths

BOSTON (AP) — Conceding that "we don't have all the answers" for ending bigotry, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday talked about racism with high school students and spoke openly of her own encounters with prejudice.

For about an hour, Mrs. Clinton sat onstage at the Fleet Center sports arena with 32 teen-agers, listening as they told stories of racism with the type of candor President Clinton had hoped to elicit a week ago in Akron, Ohio.

When asked about her own experiences, Mrs. Clinton said as a teen-ager she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied: "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze."

Mrs. Clinton said she told the goalie she shouldn't dislike her because she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

The first lady told the crowd of middle and high school students that the best way to handle racist behavior is to refuse to respond and still treat that person with respect.

"It doesn't always work to stand there and yell and trade insults," Mrs. Clinton said. "We do not have all the answers on how we can live peacefully and productively together. But we should never give up on anyone."

The event was convened by Team Harmony, an initiative begun by Boston-area professional sports teams in 1994 to help middle and high school students combat bigotry.

As the president did in leading a discussion at the University of Akron, Mrs. Clinton focused her dis-



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to a student panel on racism yesterday in Boston.

cussion on attitudes among young people. She listened intently as the students talked freely about painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

"I felt so stunned. I feel my dream was shattered by racism," said Claudy Paul, a senior at a majority-white high school who told Mrs. Clinton a schoolmate used a racial slur one day as he boarded a school bus.

"Did you ever try to sit down and talk with that young man?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

"Yes, I did," the student replied. "He said 'I'm sorry,' and 'Some of my best friends are black.' My mom was telling me how racist the school was. I did not want to be-

lieve her. Then that happened to me. From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered."

Thao Tran said she didn't think much about race until she noticed that black students, white students and Asian students divided into factions aboard their school bus. Subsequently, fights began to break out.

"I look at things a little differently now," she said. "I say, 'I'm different, too.'"

Mrs. Clinton joined professional athletes, local bands and the cast of an MTV program before 10,000 students.

Mr. Clinton gathered last week with 67 college students and community leaders onstage before an audience of about 2,000 at the University of Akron in a forum televised by C-SPAN.

For 90 minutes, Mr. Clinton struggled to pull frank responses to his often-evocative questions. He extended the discussion for a half-hour in hopes of drawing a lively exchange, with little success. White House officials acknowledged later that participants probably were intimidated by the president's presence and said they would consider changes to the format, such as longer sessions, to encourage rousing dialogue.

Judith Winston, executive director of the president's dialogue effort, said Mrs. Clinton heard more honest sentiments possibly because the audience was younger.

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1997

First Lady Recalls Early Taste of Ethnic Tension

Celtics' Arena Hosts Youthful New England Group on Racial Harmony in Upbeat Setting

By Peter Baker

Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, Dec. 9—The chill in the air prompted her to say something to a stranger, but the chill in the response would stay with her for a lifetime.

During a junior high school soccer game, a teenage Hillary Rodham turned to the goalie from the other team and remarked, "Boy, it's really cold." The other girl snapped, "I wish people like you would freeze." Stunned, the future first lady asked how she could feel that way when she did not even know her. "I don't have to know you," the goalie shot back, "to know I hate you."

More than 35 years later, Hillary Clinton recalled the pain of that childhood encounter today as she discussed the combustible issue of race with a sports arena filled with 11,000 teenagers from throughout New England.

The first lady used the tale as an object lesson about the need for understanding during her appearance at the Fleet Center here, the latest chapter in President Clinton's year-long campaign to start a national conversation on race relations in America.

Only later in an interview did she say that the goalie was white, but Clinton said that the girl came from Eastern European descent and resented what she apparently considered "some sort of uppity, wealthy, white-bread" girl.

The forum was a very different scene from her husband's inaugural town hall meeting on race in Akron, Ohio, last week. Where his was C-SPAN, hers was MTV. With the lights turned down and music from U-2 blaring from the speakers, today's meeting had the atmosphere of a rock concert. The discussion, too, seemed livelier and less structured than the Akron town hall—although, like that dialogue, it was dominated by a chorus of people who agreed with each other.

Wearing matching white and blue T-shirts, mobs of excited eighth-through 11th-graders filled most of the home of the Boston Celtics for the fourth annual such gathering organized by a group calling itself the Team Harmony Foundation.

One of the foundation's co-founders, former Celtics assistant coach Jon Jennings, began working this fall in Marshall's office as a White House fellow. The first lady was invited as



BY VICTORIA ARCHO—ASSOCIATED PRESS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to high school senior Claudy Paul relate his first experience with racism.

part of a day of activities at the gathering, which featured sports figures such as basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and Red Sox player Mo Vaughn, several musical groups and the stars of MTV's "Real World."

Hillary Clinton sat on stage with 32 teenagers and talked about their experiences. Claudy Paul, an African American high school senior, recalled an encounter at a bus stop when he interrupted another student who angrily dismissed him by saying, "You listen, nigger, this ain't no Dorchester," referring to a predominantly black area in Boston.

"I felt so stunned, I started in tears," Paul said. "From that moment, I felt like my dreams were all shattered."

Amy Coran, a Jewish high school student, remembered the time some boys told anti-Semitic jokes. The most hurtful, she said, asked the difference between a Jew and a pizza: "A pizza doesn't scream in the oven."

Other students told of swastikas in bathrooms, self segregation on buses and racially inspired fights. And several said they took their problems to school authorities only to see nothing done.

Yet much as in Akron, these youngsters were the converted. No one who spoke up today expressed any prejudices of their own. Instead, they recited in unison the "Team Harmony Pledge," which started, "I pledge from this day onward to do my best to

interrupt prejudice and to stop those who, because of hate, would hurt, harass or violate the civil rights of anyone."

Clinton said the gathering will help make bias unacceptable among the next generation. "If we stick with it, we will change minds," she told the youngsters. "Not everybody's. There are still going to be people who are so unhappy inside, so resentful of anybody else's success that they just won't be able to accept other people." But those people, she said, should be countered, "with our own respect and love so they are rendered as harmless as possible."

During a question-and-answer phase, the first lady said she was of two minds on the effect of affirmative action in the United States. "Affirmative action has helped on the one hand because it has given opportunities to many people to prove themselves, which they have done," she said. "But I think it has hurt because I believe it has been misconstrued and misunderstood and used in a negative way."

Asked by a student if she had experienced discrimination, she mentioned the soccer incident and later elaborated during her plane ride home. Although she grew up in an all-white neighborhood, she said, her school was riven by divisions among Poles, Slavs, Italians and other ethnic groups. "There was a lot of tension because of that," she said. "Some

corridors you couldn't walk down without feeling unsafe, uncomfortable."

That experience, she said, demonstrates that the race initiative needs to focus on animosities among people, although she added "the black-white issue has to be the focus because it's the unfinished business of America."

As it attempts to energize its race initiative, the White House has dispatched a variety of prominent administration figures throughout the country to hold discussion groups, including one today in Petersburg, Va., led by Secretary of the Cabinet Thurgood Marshall Jr. and another scheduled for Monday in Baltimore with Education Secretary Richard W. Riley.

One such session backfired last week when Transportation Secretary Rodney K. Slater met with only other black leaders behind closed doors in Dallas, a move that was repudiated by the White House as a mistake.

The first lady said she "can understand" critics who believe the race campaign has been unfocused, but said conversations are a "good end in and of themselves." She was impressed by someone who told her today that her husband should urge Americans to do little things to reach out, such as going to lunch with a co-worker of another color. "I'm going to tell Bill that was a really good suggestion," she said. "You can't take for granted these really small steps that people can do on their own."

WASHINGTON

Drug overpayments by Medicare targeted

President Clinton again will push Congress to curb Medicare overpayments to doctors and clinics for prescription drugs, White House aides said Tuesday. The Department of Health and Human Services found \$447 million in overpayments last year for 22 of the most common drugs covered by Medicare. Clinton wants to peg reimbursement to the actual cost of the medications. Reimbursement now is based on the average wholesale price, which often is significantly higher than what doctors pay, allowing them to pocket the difference. Clinton sought similar changes this year, but lobbyists for doctors who treat cancer limited the reduction, so payments are 95% of the average wholesale price.

Meanwhile, negotiations continue with Republican congressional leaders over appointing a chairman to the bipartisan commission to reform Medicare. Clinton's preference is Sen. John Breaux, D-La.

— Bill Nichols



Cohen: Wants to be available

TRIP NIXED: For the second time in a month, Defense Secretary William Cohen has canceled a foreign trip because of questions about weapons inspections in Iraq.

"The situation in Iraq remains unsettled at a time when we are maintaining a significant force in the Gulf area and demands continued monitoring," he said in a statement. The statement also cited Cohen's desire to be available for consultations with President Clinton on pending decisions on a possible new NATO-led

military force in Bosnia next June and whether it should include U.S. troops.

Cohen was to leave Saturday on a six-day trip to Egypt, Jordan and Israel. He canceled a trip to Asia on Nov. 10.

Cohen says he's "not being held hostage" to the crisis over U.N. inspectors' access to Iraq's weapons facilities. "Tensions have eased, but they could intensify..." he said.

ASIAN-AMERICANS: The Census Bureau says that the nation's 9,653,000 Asians and Pacific Islanders, when compared with other Americans, tend to be younger, better educated, more likely to live in cities and in the West and less likely to be divorced. About 3.7% of the population is Asian-American. Just 3.8% are currently divorced, compared with 8.9% of all Americans 15 and over. The figures are based on a March 1996 Current Population Survey.

PEACE PLAN: The world's five declared nuclear powers should take their atomic weapons off alert and set about dismantling them, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict says. The nations that acknowledge having nuclear weapons are the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France. The three-year study by the 16-member commission, co-chaired by former secretary of State Cyrus Vance, also recommends an international registry be set up to disclose all experiments with chemical and biological agents that could be made into weapons.

WHITewater: A top aide to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton testified to a Whitewater grand jury in Washington. Melanne Vermeer, who this year became Hillary Clinton's chief of staff after four years as deputy, declined to comment after her testimony. The grand jury is believed to be investigating possible obstruction of justice concerning the Whitewater probe, which began with accusations of wrongdoing in connection with the Clintons' private business deals in the 1980s, when Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas.



Bliss: Got help from high places

custody." Bliss, 29, is a field technician for Qualcomm Inc., a San Diego firm working with a Russian firm to install a cellular phone system in the Rostov-on-Don region. He's accused of surveying sensitive sites using satellite receivers brought into Russia illegally.

ALSO . . .

► **YUGOSLAVIA SANCTIONS:** President Clinton extended economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the remaining republics of the former Yugoslavia. Clinton said a U.S.-brokered settlement of the ethnic war in Bosnia has not been completely implemented. Sanctions are a seen as a way to pressure Serbia to promote the settlement terms.

► **THOMAS GETS CUSTODY:** Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and his wife, Virginia, have legal custody of his sister's grandson, 6. They signed the papers and picked up the boy in Georgia last month. *The Washington Post* said Thomas had criticized his sister in the 1980s for taking welfare while she cared for her four children and an aunt. Thomas has a grown son from a previous marriage.



By Victoria Arocho, AP

Boston race forum: Claudy Paul tells Hillary Rodham Clinton about his first experience with racism.

First lady, students talk about race

Hillary Rodham Clinton took her husband's race initiative to Boston for a discussion with middle- and high-school students about bigotry and their painful encounters with anti-Semitic jokes and racial stereotypes.

Claudy Paul, a senior at a white-majority high school, said he was stunned when a classmate used a racial slur as he boarded a bus. "From that moment, I felt my dreams were all shattered," Paul said.

The first lady said that as a teen-ager, she once tried to make small talk about the cold weather with a soccer goalie who replied, "I don't care if it's cold. I hope people like you freeze." Mrs. Clinton said she urged the goalie not to dislike her since she didn't know her, and the goalie replied, "I don't have to know you to hate you."

President Clinton held his first town meeting in his campaign for racial dialogue in Akron, Ohio, last week.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

[Front page](#), [News](#), [Sports](#), [Money](#), [Life](#), [Weather](#), [Marketplace](#)**USA
TODAY** **Washington****Inside News**

- [Nationline](#)
- [Washington](#)
- [World](#)
- [Politics](#)
- [Opinion](#)
- [Columnists](#)
- [Snapshot](#)
- [Science](#)
- [States](#)
- [Weird news](#)

Resources

- [Index](#)
- [Search](#)
- [Feedback](#)
- [What's hot](#)
- [About us](#)
- [Jobs at USA
TODAY](#)

12/09/97- Updated 07:59 PM ET

First lady, Boston youth talk prejudice

BOSTON - The matter-of-fact tone in Amy Coran's voice belied the pain she felt that day when someone at her soccer game shouted the joke she recounted Tuesday to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"There were these four boys ... Then one said, 'What's the difference between a Jew and a pizza? A pizza doesn't scream in the oven,'" Amy said, as sighs of shock rippled among the thousands of teen-agers listening in Fleet Center sports arena.

"Why do you think young people say things like that? What's going on in their heads?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

"Ignorance!" shouted a boy deep in the upper-level seats.

"Insecurity!" yelled someone else.

So it went for an hour as Mrs. Clinton engaged Boston-area youth in a discussion about bigotries far older than any of them. It was the type of candor that President Clinton sought - but didn't get - when he kicked off his national dialogue on race in Akron, Ohio, last week.

In an interview, Mrs. Clinton said the responses in Akron were probably less forthcoming because "people feel overwhelmed by the race initiative." She suggested that there be a focus on "those little things that create human connections."

"I felt so stunned," said Claudy Paul, a senior at a majority white high school, who told Mrs. Clinton a schoolmate used a racial slur one day as he boarded a school bus.

"Did you ever try to sit down and talk with that young man?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

"Yes I did," Claudy replied. "He said, 'I'm sorry,' and 'some of my best friends are black.' My mom was telling me how racist the school was. I did not want to believe her. Then that happened to me."

One student asked Mrs. Clinton whether she thought affirmative action had helped or hurt American race relations. She replied that it had done both, by uplifting poor minorities and by being "misconstrued and misunderstood and used in a negative way."

Since candor was contagious, the first lady told of her own brush with prejudice.

She was about 13 years old and she, too, was on the soccer team. It was very cold, so she tried to make small talk about the weather with the goalie, who replied, "I don't care if you're cold. I wish people like you would freeze."

"I said, 'How can you hate people like us? You don't even know us,'" Mrs. Clinton recalled. "She said, 'I don't have to know you to know I hate you.' And I've never forgotten that."

Hers wasn't a racial incident, Mrs. Clinton said. The goalie was of Eastern European descent, and she considered the then-Hillary Rodham as a "rich, Waspy type." Those kinds of "non-black-white" tensions also need to be addressed, for they are a larger problem than many believe, Mrs. Clinton said.

"People overlook the importance of forcing this conversation," she said. "The black-white issue has to be the focus because it's the unfinished business of America. But I think we can help people understand it better if they see it as part of the overall dilemma of bigotry and prejudice that we have to contend with."

Tuesday's dialogue was part of an annual event by Team Harmony, an initiative begun by Boston-area professional sports teams in 1994 to help middle- and high-schoolers combat bigotry.

Mrs. Clinton joined professional athletes, local bands and the cast of an MTV program before 10,000 eighth- through 11th-graders. The three-hour program also was broadcast live over New England Cable News.

The first lady told the children that the best way to handle racist behavior is to refuse to respond. "It doesn't always work to stand there and yell and trade insults," she said.

"There are still going to be people who are so unhappy inside ... that they won't be able to accept other people," she said. "We need to make that number as small as possible, and then surround those people with our own respect and love, so they are rendered as harmless as possible."

As the president did in leading his discussion in Akron, Mrs. Clinton focused on attitudes among young people. As in Clinton's dialogue, there was no real divergence of opinion here.

"That didn't bother me," Mrs. Clinton said. "Telling their own stories was a big part of educating their peers."

Thao Tran said she didn't think much about race until she noticed that black students, white students and Asian students divided into factions aboard their school bus. Fights began to break out, and the officials at her school didn't handle it well.

"They say, 'We'll take care of it,'" Thao said. "Then the next day, we get beat up."

By The Associated Press

DAN SHAUGHNESSY

Vaughn: Bank on his return



NOW MO VAUGHN says his contract extension is going to get done. Seriously, folks. Mo still has his problems with the Red Sox, and there seems to be a quarrel over the length of the extension, but Mo wants you to know, "I think it's going to be done before New

Year's."

Vaughn appeared at the New Garden yesterday, at Team Harmony IV, a wonderful event in which more than 10,000 young people came together to rally against discrimination. Vaughn was followed to the stage by none other than Hillary Rodham Clinton. Fortunately, the First Lady had no comment on Mo's contract extension.

Mo did a great job speaking to the young people. He always does. The guy is a kid magnet, and our city has never had a better ambassador for race relations. This is one of the qualities that makes him so valuable to Boston and so valuable to the Red Sox. But Mo has to answer some difficult questions about his sticky contract talks. Such as why does he keep saying it's not about the money when it's so clearly about the money?

"It's a situation where just because you like a place, you don't give up everything that you've worked for," he answered. "I'm not going to do that."

"What I'm saying is that if it were about the money, then you would command the highest prices in the game. That's what you would try and do. I haven't done that. I've commanded what was fair for my age bracket, for what I've done for the past five years."

"If it were about the money, then I would ask to be the highest-paid in the game. Whether or not people are worth it or not, that is not the point. What you ask for is really what the problem is. If there was really a problem in what I was asking for, the negotiations would have been cut off."

At times, Mo is too good for his own good. He doesn't walk around talking about his contract negotiations, but when asked, he answers. Luckily for those of us in the

SHAUGHNESSY, Page F8

ALSO TODAY

Boston Herald 12/10

First lady brings students together to promote racial harmony

By PAUL SULLIVAN

First lady Hillary Clinton will address 10,000 middle and junior high students today at the FleetCenter for a rally in support of racial harmony.

Clinton will also lead a discussion with students and professional athletes at Team Harmony IV, set to kick off at 10 a.m. today.

One of the teens attending, Rachel Applebaum, 17, a senior at Cambridge Rindge and

Latin High, said, "I would like to ask her (Mrs. Clinton) whether a dialogue can be achieved by different races about difficult racial issues without offending anyone."

"At my school, it's fine to say things are diverse but some people are afraid to talk about issues or they'll be labeled racist," added Applebaum, who is associate editor of the Register Forum, the school newspaper.

She added, "There's surface harmony at

my school and there is a large amount of diversity and most students are pretty comfortable interacting."

"But outside, to a large extent, the students stay pretty much with their own race," Applebaum said.

The students gathering at the FleetCenter will be from private, parochial and public schools in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

It will be the largest group of students

coming together as Team Harmony to discuss combating bigotry and promoting respect this year.

Also attending the session will be Red Sox star Mo Vaughn, Women's National Basketball League high scorer Sheryl Swoopes, former Bruin star Cam Neeley, Patriots Sam Gash and Ted Johnson, Ivan McKinley of the New England Revolution, Celtics captain Dee Brown and the marathons legend Regan of Hick and Dick Hoyt.



During her weekly news conference at the Justice Department, Attorney General Janet Reno urges Congress to pass a tougher federal hate crime law.

BY TYLER MALLORY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Reno Pushing for Legislation To Expand Scope of Hate Crimes

FBI Reports Almost 9,000 Incidents in 1996

Associated Press

Attorney General Janet Reno urged Congress yesterday to pass legislation expanding the scope of hate crimes as the FBI reported 8,759 such incidents in 1996.

Law enforcement agencies across the country reported 5,396 hate crimes based on race, 1,401 based on religion, 1,016 on sexual orientation, 940 on ethnic background and six for multiple reasons.

Of 11,000 victims of hate crimes, 7,000 were attacked because of their race. That included 4,600 racially motivated attacks on blacks, 1,445 on whites and 544 on Asians and Pacific Islanders.

Reno said at a news conference she had joined President Clinton in pushing for legislation before Congress that would expand the definition of federal hate crimes to include those based on disabilities, gender or sexual orientation. Federal hate crimes now include only incidents based on race, color, religion and national origin.

The FBI said the figures in the report don't necessarily indicate trends because the number of police agencies voluntarily reporting such incidents has grown significantly since the FBI first published hate crime data in 1993.

The report for 1996 was compiled from more than 11,000 police agen-

cies in 49 states—all but Hawaii—and the District of Columbia representing 84 percent of the nation's population. The 1995 report, which found 7,947 hate crimes, came from 9,500 police agencies in 45 states representing 75 percent of the American people.

In terms of incidents in 1996, 3,674 were anti-black, 1,106 were anti-white, 564 were anti-Hispanic, 1,109 were anti-Jewish, 757 were anti-gay men and 150 were anti-gay women. Agencies reported 8,935 known offenders, of which 66 percent were white and 20 percent black.

Intimidation accounted for 89 percent of reported offenses, followed by destruction of property and vandalism at 27 percent, simple assault at 16 percent and aggravated assault at 13 percent. There were 12 murders associated with hate crimes.

Last November Clinton held the first White House conference on hate crimes, and Reno said she had asked all 93 U.S. attorneys to appoint coordinators who will meet in Washington next month to map out strategy on combating such crimes. She said the Justice and Education departments would soon distribute hate-crime prevention manuals to help teachers with anti-bias training among young people.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

15TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1997 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune

September 23, 1997 Tuesday, EVENING UPDATE EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2; ZONE: C; EVENING. People.

LENGTH: 507 words

HEADLINE: FACES OF RACIAL HATE, PEOPLE'S PRIDE MEET 40 YEARS AFTER INCIDENT

BYLINE: By Peggy Harris, Associated Press.

BODY:

Elizabeth Eckford made her way through a crowd of angry whites 40 years ago after National Guardsmen refused to let her and eight other black students enter Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

Hazel Bryan was part of the crowd that day. Her face contorted in hate, she shouted at Eckford, who clutched her books to her chest and walked on, her emotions hidden behind dark glasses.

When a photograph of the bitter meeting between the two 15-year-old girls appeared in newspapers around the country, Eckford became a symbol of the civil rights movement. Bryan's young face became an image of racial hatred.

Now 55, the women met Monday for the first time since that troubled time. There were smiles and poses for pictures. They mostly let the past be.

"Thank you, Elizabeth, for agreeing to do this," Bryan, now Hazel Massery, said quietly as she greeted Eckford at her Little Rock home.

Answered Eckford, before the two left for the school: "I think you're very brave to face the cameras again."

The nation learned about the "Little Rock Nine" that day, Sept. 4, 1957, as the black students headed to the all-white school of about 2,000 students.

Armed with a federal judge's order to let them in, they were turned away at the door by the National Guard under orders from Gov. Orval E. Faubus. Three weeks later, President Dwight D. Eisenhower called in U.S. troops to put down the resistance, and the school was integrated.

Bryan's parents pulled her out and sent her to a different school.

For years, Massery felt bad about her behavior. Some 35 years ago, she called Eckford and apologized.

"I think we were saying, 'Go home.' I was 15 at the time. You're not a fully mature person," Massery said recently. "We weren't thinking about the consequences of what we were doing, how she (Elizabeth) felt."

Their reunion was arranged by Will Counts, the photographer at the Arkansas Democrat, now the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, who snapped the photo of their first meeting.

Chicago Tribune, September 23, 1997

The two women, both mothers who still live in Little Rock, spoke around the most painful parts of the past but reassured each other through pats and smiles that they were no longer enemies. Eckford said she remembered Massery's apology, and had wanted to meet her but had forgotten her name.

They talked of their children, and of the media attention for the 40th anniversary. President Clinton is supposed to be in Little Rock Thursday and may deliver a major racial policy speech.

At the school, both white and black students recognized her. "Miss Eckford, I just want you to know how much I respect you," a black student said. A white junior high student gave Eckford a big hello; they talked briefly about his taking classes at the high school.

Massery said that she had hoped others would know of her regret and her acknowledgement that intolerance was wrong.

"I just want to say, Elizabeth, I'm elated that you're doing this," she said. "I'd like for my children to be proud, to see that both of us are role models."

GRAPHIC: PHOTOPHOTO: Elizabeth Eckford (left) and Hazel Massery pose in front of Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. AP photo.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 24, 1997

Copyright 1997 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

December 10, 1997, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A04

LENGTH: 1016 words

HEADLINE: First Lady Recalls Early Taste of Ethnic Tension; New England Group on
Racial Harmony Hosts Discussion With Youth in Arena's Upbeat Setting

BYLINE: Peter Baker, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: BOSTON, Dec. 9

BODY:

The chill in the air prompted her to say something to a stranger, but the
chill in the response would stay with her for a lifetime.

During a junior high school soccer game, a teenage Hillary Rodham turned to a
goalie and remarked, "Boy, it's really cold." The other girl snapped, "I wish
people like you would freeze." Stunned, the future first lady asked how she
could feel that way when she did not even know her. "I don't have to know you,"
the goalie shot back, "to know I hate you."

More than 35 years later, Hillary Clinton recalled the pain of that childhood
encounter today as she discussed the combustible issue of race in a sports arena
filled with 11,000 teenagers from throughout New England. The first lady used
the tale as an object lesson about the need for understanding during her
appearance at the FleetCenter here, the latest chapter in President Clinton's
year-long campaign to start a national conversation on race relations in
America.

Only later in an interview did she say that the goalie was white, but Clinton
said that the girl was of Eastern European descent and resented what she
apparently considered "some sort of uppity, wealthy, white-bread" girl.

The forum was a very different scene from her husband's inaugural town hall
meeting on race in Akron, Ohio, last week. Where his was C-SPAN, hers was MTV.
With the lights turned down and music from U-2 blaring from the speakers,
today's meeting had the atmospherics of a rock concert. The discussion, too,
seemed livelier and less structured than the Akron town hall -- although, like
that dialogue, it was dominated by a chorus of people who agreed with each
other.

Wearing matching white and blue T-shirts, mobs of excited middle and high
schoolers filled most of the home of the Boston Celtics for the fourth annual
such gathering organized by a group calling itself the Team Harmony Foundation.

One of the foundation's co-founders, former Celtics assistant coach Jon
Jennings, began working this fall as a White House fellow. The first lady was
invited as part of a day of activities at the gathering, which featured sports
figures such as basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and Red Sox player Mo Vaughn,
several musical groups and the stars of MTV's "Real World."

1. Rare
Initiative
2. I've seen a
child —
3. I've seen this
at Central
High
4. I've seen it at
at your
forum —
- ←

The Washington Post, December 10, 1997

Hillary Clinton sat on stage with 32 teenagers and talked about their experiences. Claudy Paul, an African American high school senior, recalled an encounter at a bus stop when he interrupted another student who angrily dismissed him by saying, "You listen, nigger, this ain't no Dorchester," referring to a predominantly black area in Boston.

"I felt so stunned, I started in tears," Paul said. "From that moment, I felt like my dreams were all shattered."

Amy Coran, a Jewish high school student, remembered the time some boys told antisemitic jokes. The most hurtful, she said, asked the difference between a Jew and a pizza: "A pizza doesn't scream in the oven."

Other students told of swastikas in bathrooms, self-segregation on buses and racially inspired fights. And several said they took their problems to school authorities only to see nothing done.

Yet much as in Akron, these youngsters were the converted. No one who spoke up today expressed any prejudices of their own. Instead, they recited in unison the "Team Harmony Pledge," which started, "I pledge from this day onward to do my best to interrupt prejudice and to stop those who, because of hate, would hurt, harass or violate the civil rights of anyone."

Clinton said the gathering will help make bias unacceptable among the next generation. "If we stick with it, we will change minds," she told the youngsters. "Not everybody's. There are still going to be people who are so unhappy inside, so resentful of anybody else's success that they just won't be able to accept other people." But those people should be countered "with our own respect and love so they are rendered as harmless as possible." ★

During a question-and-answer phase, the first lady said she was of two minds on the effect of affirmative action in the United States. "Affirmative action has helped on the one hand because it has given opportunities to many people to prove themselves, which they have done," she said. "But I think it has hurt because I believe it has been misconstrued and misunderstood and used in a negative way."

Asked by a student if she had experienced discrimination, she mentioned the soccer incident and later elaborated during her plane ride home. Although she grew up in an all-white neighborhood, she said, her school was riven by divisions among Poles, Slavs, Italians and other ethnic groups. "There was a lot of tension because of that," she said. "Some corridors you couldn't walk down without feeling unsafe, uncomfortable."

That experience, she said, demonstrates that the race initiative should recognize all sorts of animosities among people, although she added that "the black-white issue has to be the focus because it's the unfinished business of America."

As it attempts to energize its race initiative, the White House has dispatched a variety of prominent administration figures throughout the country to hold group discussions, including one today in Petersburg, Va., led by Secretary of the Cabinet Thurgood Marshall Jr. and another scheduled for Thursday in Baltimore with Education Secretary Richard W. Riley.

The Washington Post, December 10, 1997

One such session backfired last week when Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater met with only other black leaders behind closed doors in Dallas, a move that was repudiated by the White House as a mistake.

The first lady said she "can understand" critics who believe the race campaign has been unfocused, but said conversations are a "good end in and of themselves." She was impressed by someone who told her today that her husband should urge Americans to do little things to reach out, such as going to lunch with a co-worker of another color. "I'm going to tell Bill that was a really good suggestion," she said. "You can't take for granted these really small steps that people can do on their own."

GRAPHIC: Photo, ap/victoria arocho, First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to high school senior Claudy Paul relate his first experience with racism.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 10, 1997



BUSINESS & RACE

BY LEON E. WYNTER

Black Fine Art Show Draws More Galleries

THE NATIONAL Black Fine Art Show returns to Manhattan's Puck Building this month for its second year, amid signs that business is picking up for African and African-American artists.

The promoters raised booth prices 6% to \$2,550 for the weekend of Jan. 30, and still had a 20-gallery waiting list. "Last year I was desperate until November to fill the last three booths," says founding promoter Joscelyn Wainwright.

What's the big draw? Networking. And the chance to solidify a market that's growing but still fragmented. Margaret Porter Troupe, a gallery owner in San Diego, didn't cover the cost of transportation last year but returned home content. "There was such a sense of community. I had felt very isolated before, being pretty much the only African-American dealer here," she says.

"I met a handful of collectors who have become repeat buyers," says Ronald Rumford, director of Dolan/Maxwell Inc., a private Philadelphia gallery known for handling the work of Dox Thrash, a black printmaker of the WPA era. For decades his gallery has handled few black artists, but it added two new African-American painters since last year's show.

"I see it as a market that will continue to grow," says Mr. Rumford. "I have one client who wants one of everything, and I can't keep selling her Thrash," he adds.

The first major New York venue of its kind, the show is a marquee event for African-American corporate, sports and entertainment elites and a pipeline for art dealers to the larger white art market.

"Museums are taking note of the balance in their collections to see if African-Americans are represented," Mr. Rumford says.

Some critics have questioned the need for an all black show. Ms. Troupe says the work is still underexposed in mainstream galleries. "It has to be a separate venue, yet I don't only want it to be for us; everyone is welcome," she says.

Ads Tend to Ignore Trend Toward Interracial Dating

TEENAGE INTERRACIAL dating has jumped, according to a recent national poll. But marketers are still cautious about bringing the trend into advertising.

"It's beginning to show up a bit in fashion advertising, but not a lot," says Doug Allgood, BBDO senior vice president for special markets.

A recent Levi's spread featured interracial couples embracing, while a current Tommy Hilfiger ad emphasizes a racially mixed group portrait with models of different races touching. Still, a Hilfiger spokesman would not comment on the interracial overtones, except to say the ads, "celebrate the diversity of the brand and reflect its broad consumer base."

A USA Today/Gallup poll found 57% of teens say they've dated someone of another race and 30% would consider it.

"We see interracial dating up in a big way with young people," says Todd Cunningham, vice president for research and planning for MTV Net-

works. Interracial romance is among the hottest topics on Channel A, a Web site devoted to Asian-American culture, says marketing manager Margaret Ng. Some 32% of Asian-Americans marry non-Asians, according to census figures.

Yet, as a marketer, Ms. Ng says interracial dating is still too risky for most marketing campaigns, especially ads targeted to minorities. "I think the Gap and Tommy Hilfiger ads have been very progressive and effective with young people, but if you're aiming at a tightknit minority audience they could be very controversial," she says.

There is still some ambiguity in data on teen behavior. "We have a hard time finding students of different ethnic groups hanging out together," says Michael Wood of Teenage Research Unlimited, Northbrook, Ill. "Maybe they're saying one thing and acting on another."

Mr. Allgood responds: "Even if the social changes aren't complete, it's an attitude change that's coming in marketing. The trick is not overreacting too soon; marketing people don't lead, they follow."

What Criteria Draw The Black Investor?

AFRICAN-AMERICANS say they're eager to invest in black firms, surveys show, but in practice they don't appear to have any particular loyalties.

Black investors, for example, bought shares of Black Entertainment Television when it hit the Big Board in 1991; and the company was expected to maintain a black following. But black investors have been no more loyal to BET than white investors, even though the company handily outperformed the S&P overall.

"BET got first-time money, but not additional money," says Percy Bolton, a Los Angeles investment adviser. He advises black clients with average portfolios of \$500,000, "and very few have much BET."

Surveys have shown African-Americans are less likely than whites to buy equities, and when they do they tend to be more risk-averse.

"Even among the most sophisticated black people, we're way below [whites] in the percent of equities we hold," says BET Chairman Robert Johnson. "There's got to be more education on this."

In fact, the securities industry has been criticized for not offering the tracking tools or investment products needed to facilitate black investment. Black investment clubs, "would love to know more about black publicly traded companies," says Duane Davis of the Coalition of Black Investors, Winston-Salem, N.C.

Next month, a partnership between a trade group for the 200 black U.S. newspapers and Bloomberg Financial Markets will start distributing prices of 10 black public stocks and six black-run mutual funds to the newspapers. It will also carry the new 800 number for the African American Mutual Fund Network, an information and investment service, says Steve Washington, marketing director at Lakefront Capital Investors, Cleveland, who created the network. Lakefront, the sponsor of two funds marketed to black investors, is also developing direct-investment programs for black public firms.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1998

Microsoft Mounts Campaign Into Market Of Handheld Computers With Palm PC

By LISA BRANSTEN

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL INTERACTIVE EDITION

Microsoft Corp. is mounting a new foray into the handheld-computer market, introducing a product design with a name that has irked the maker of the most popular device in the field.

The Redmond, Wash.-based software giant is expected today to announce specifications for a new product category it has called the Palm PC, which will be similar in size and capabilities to the PalmPilot device from 3Com Corp. subsidiary Palm Computing.

Consumer-electronics companies aren't expected to begin shipping devices based on the Microsoft design until sometime later this year, but Palm Computing executives already are gearing for battle. The Mountain View, Calif., company has contacted Microsoft's lawyers to voice their displeasure about the choice of a moniker so close to its own, and is considering stronger alternatives if Microsoft or its hardware partners use the Palm PC name to market their products.

"It's in the fine Microsoft tradition here to copy everyone else," said Donna Dubinsky, Palm Computing's president. But, she added, "it's one surprising step beyond that to even copy the name."

A Microsoft spokesman wouldn't comment on the naming issue, though he confirmed that the company will announce the specifications.

The effort is the latest in a series of forays by Microsoft into the field. Two early designs, Windows for Pens and WinPad, flopped completely. Microsoft tried the handheld market again in 1996 with its Windows CE operating system, which has so far taken off slowly. Randy Giusto, director of mobile technology research at International Data Corp., a Framingham, Mass., market-research firm, estimates that about 500,000 Windows CE-based devices were shipped to retailers or distributors in 1997, but only about half of those were sold to consumers. About a million PalmPilots have been sold to consumers.

Microsoft's Palm PC design relies on a pared-down version of Windows CE. Unlike the Windows CE devices released to date, which sport a small keyboard, information will be entered with a pen-like accessory, as on the PalmPilot.

Companies expected to make devices using the Microsoft specifications include Philips Electronics NV, Casio Computer Co., LG Electronics Inc. and Uniden Corp. Microsoft's specifications include a 32-bit microprocessor chip, a connection for communication with a personal computer and a postage-stamp-sized slot that can be used to attach accessories such as a modem.

A prototype Palm PC created by Uniden has a screen that is 2½ inches by 3¼ inches, or just slightly bigger than the screen of the PalmPilot, said Bruce Gray, a U.S. director of marketing for the Tokyo-based company. He expects the company to announce the devices in the second quarter and ship them by year end.

Mr. Gray said he expects the new class of devices, including Uniden's, to sell for \$299 to \$499, compared with \$249 to \$369 for PalmPilot. Uniden expects to run Microsoft spreadsheet and word-processing programs and allow users to perform such tasks as checking and sending e-mail through a tiny modem that won't significantly add to the size of the device, he said.

Analysts said Microsoft's initiative will pose the first serious threat to PalmPilot, but note that Palm Computing executives have a history of holding out against better-financed rivals. "This is where we find out if [they] have their act together

better than other companies that have fallen between Microsoft's crosshairs," said Mike Maguire, a mobile computing industry analyst at DataQuest Inc. in San Jose, Calif.

Ed Colligan, Palm Computing's vice president of marketing, argued that the same problems that doomed Microsoft's previous entries into the category may hurt it again this time. One of the main reasons for PalmPilot's success is its simplicity and ease of use, he said. From what he has heard, Mr. Colligan thinks Microsoft's design won't possess those same strengths. "It's too slow, too big, has too many applications and is too difficult to use," he said.

What's more, he said, Palm Computing is moving forward with new machines that will extend its lead. "We're trying to develop a PalmPilot killer too."

Factory Orders Rose 2.5% in November, As Demand Surged for Civilian Aircraft

By CHRISTINA DUFF

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Orders to U.S. factories surged 2.5% in November, the largest gain in more than a year, the Commerce Department said.

But the increase was powered by a 118% leap in demand for civilian aircraft and parts, a spike that analysts said was probably reversed in December. Excluding the volatile transportation sector, factory orders actually slid a seasonally adjusted 0.3% in November, the second month in a row that orders declined on this basis.

The manufacturing sector, which has been pumping out goods at a feverish pitch for some time now, is expected to slow this year. For one thing, the financial turmoil in Asia is bound to leave those countries less able to buy American exports. At the same time, because of currency devaluations, U.S. consumers are expected to snap up Asian goods at low prices, diminishing the demand for U.S.-made goods.

The November decline in factory orders, excluding the transportation sector, followed a report last week from the National Association of Purchasing Management that indicated manufacturing activity eased a bit more in December.

Robert Mellman, an economist for Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. in New York, noted that orders for information-technology equipment have averaged out to be mostly flat over the past five months. He's been watching this area closely because companies have been investing heavily in high-tech gear for much of the latest economic expansion, and "if companies are getting cautious and are ready to pull back, this is where they might first say, enough is enough," he said.

Nondefense capital-goods orders excluding aircraft, a key barometer of businesses' future spending on plants and

equipment, fell 1.5% in November after dropping 2.2% in October. "That may be one of the first signs that the Asian crisis is beginning to affect the U.S. markets, given that about half the capital goods produced in the U.S. are exported," said economist Cheryl Katz of Merrill Lynch & Co.

It's probably going to be some time, however, before manufacturing shows any meaningful slowdown, Mr. Mellman said. The November backlog of unfilled orders, even after stripping out aircraft and parts and defense goods, still climbed 0.3%, the fifth consecutive monthly rise. So over the next few months, he said, orders are still out there and "production should hold up OK."

Orders for durable goods, or big-ticket items like washing machines and cars that are meant to last at least three years, climbed 4.8%, driven by aircraft orders. Orders for primary metals such as steel and electronic and electrical equipment also rose, while orders declined for industrial machinery, stone clay and glass products and fabricated metal products. Orders for nondurable goods fell 0.3%, the first drop since August.

FACTORY ORDERS

Here are the Commerce Department's latest figures for manufacturers in billions of dollars, seasonally adjusted.

	Nov. 1997	Oct. 1997	% Chg.
All industries	345.10	336.43	+ 2.5
Durable goods	194.94	186.03	+ 4.8
Nondurable goods	150.16	150.60	- 0.3
Capital goods industries	65.05	54.44	+ 19.0
Nondefense	59.10	49.93	+ 18.4
Defense	5.95	4.73	+ 25.9
Total shipments	333.14	334.04	- 0.3
Inventories	453.92	452.14	+ 0.4
Backlog of orders	542.44	530.50	+ 2.3

WSJ Journal Link: For the full text of the Commerce Department's report on November factory orders, see The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition at <http://wsj.com>

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1998

From Russia With Hate: Africans Face Racism

Drawn to Moscow by Soviet University, Many Foreigners Now Subjected to Harassment

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW—The sight of Namroud Negesh spooning out oatmeal to Moscow's homeless is itself unusual in a city that seems cold and uncaring toward its destitute citizens. That Negesh is black adds an extra dash of rarity to the scene.

Not only does Negesh have to fight public indifference to the plight of the poor, he also has to fight an insidious enemy that makes his work even harder and more poignant: racism.

"I can be standing giving out food one minute and hear the whispers of 'nigger' the next. I can be lifting a drunk off the ground in one instant and then get shaken down by a policeman. For me it is more than a bother. It is sad," said Negesh while overseeing a day's cooking at a tiny kitchen near the Sts. Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox Church here.

Negesh is Ethiopian, one of a colony of foreigners who arrived here during Soviet rule for higher education and stayed on. Africans number about 12,000 in Russia, with thousands more Latin Americans, Middle Easterners and Asians living in the country. Many are settled and engaged in business, giving Moscow in particular a cosmopolitan air. But more and more of the expatriates, foreigners and Russian observers say, are subject to racial taunts, beatings and, increasingly, police abuse.

The anecdotes are almost endless. Knifings by skinheads while police look on. Interrogations by police who, finding everything in order, still haul the subject into jail. Evictions from apartments. Even killings.

For Africans in particular, the hostility marks the end of an illusion they brought with them in Soviet times, one that died hard. It was an illusion that in Russia, white people didn't care about skin color, that here, if nothing else, the ideology of brotherhood officially espoused for 80 years took firm hold.

"Like many things, it was a distorted dream, but it was a dream," said Negesh, who arrived in the Soviet Union in 1989, only two years before its breakup.

Negesh and other foreigners say that youths are the prime abusers. Russia's six-year economic depression has made it difficult to find work, and gaps between rich and poor are large. For reasons no one fully understands, blacks are targets of economic resentment.

Twisted pride also plays a role. If Russia is no longer a superpower, at least it ought not be classified as a Third World country, the feeling goes. To some, that means open season on Africans. "These young people seem to want to feel better than somebody. We are the perfect targets, the perfect scapegoats. We

have no protection. They see that the cops treat us badly. There is no official policy of racism but there is an atmosphere of racism," said Gabriel Kotchofa, from Benin, a teacher at the Oil and Gas Academy who has lived in Moscow since 1982.

The turning-inward of Russia since the breakup of the Soviet Union is reflected in renewed aggression against non-Russian ethnic groups, in particular Caucasian, Central Asian and Turkic people who were formerly citizens of the Soviet Union, as well as foreigners. It is common to see police randomly demanding the documents of anyone regarded as a member of these groups and taking their money and valuables in broad daylight.

"Each black person has his own experience with racial discrimination, but a shared theme is that the police, are either unconcerned or part of the problem," Ghanaian journalist Kester Klomegah wrote in the Moscow Times. "Victims have no legal recourse or remedy."

Human Rights Watch, in a report issued late last year, criticized racial harassment of foreigners, particularly refugees, by Moscow police. "Typically," the report said, "police stop young men with dark skin (although they increasingly stop women) and ask them for their documents. Police also conduct body searches to seek money for 'fines.' When detainees have no money, it is not uncommon for police to ask them to perform chores at the station, such as mopping the floor."

Other abuses are common. In the report, a Somali woman testified that a policeman checking for documents at her home "grabbed me on my breast."

"He said, 'You are beautiful and need a man.' My son came out of his room and ran in front of me. He kicked my son, and my son fell down."

Moscow city interior department spokesman Vladimir Morozov said the press is blowing up a few incidents, and he blamed victims who are assaulted for not cooperating with police. "The victim is often very reluctant to give information," he said.

The Soviet Union set out the official view of race in popular form in the 1930s movie "Circus." In the film, a white American female acrobat performs in Moscow, falls in love with a muscular Russian and tries to remain with him. Her venal manager wants to take her away, and he knows a secret: She is mother to a black child. He exposes the woman in front of a circus audience, heartlessly exhibiting the child. The Soviet audience responds by tenderly passing around the toddler and singing him a lullaby.

Moscow's glowing symbol of tolerance was Patrice Lumumba University, named after the Congolese revolutionary leader. The university attracted tens of thousands of scholarship students over the years from throughout the Third World.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 1998

1/2

These days, fewer students come because stipends have dried up; the name of the institute has been changed to the Russian University of People's Friendship. The public welcome mat has also been pulled in.

"For me, the biggest change is security," said Kotchofa, the teacher at the Oil and Gas Institute. Last year, he organized an African student organization to promote safety for visiting scholars. "If it wasn't for danger, I would not have formed the association," he said.

Kotchofa is married to a white Russian woman, and they have a child. The academy provides him \$100 a month salary and a two-room apartment. "I live pretty much like Russian academics—not very well. But my family feels less safe than any academic I know," he said.

Sometimes on movie outings with his wife, bystanders call her a prosti-

tute, Kotchofa said. "People treat us roughly, like we're not human beings."

In part, he blames sensationalist newspapers for creating an atmosphere of hate. Stories about drug dealing by African newcomers who enter the country illegally do not distinguish between the criminals and the legitimate worker or student. "To Russians, we're all alike," said Kotchofa.

On rare occasions, newspapers take up the problems of the foreign residents sympathetically. The St. Petersburg Times detailed a random raid by riot police on a dormitory of foreign students, in which the raiders fired submachine guns into the air. The police described the incident as a "training exercise." Moskovsky Komsomolets newspaper recently described a rock concert in which some audience members greeted black musicians with insults, including some borrowed from America. "White Power!" for instance. ("Nigger" is mouthed by locals in English; *chornymazy*, or "black-painted" is also a common insult.)

"I try not to get upset. Someone yells out I'm a 'black monkey,' I should just say, 'Fool' and move on. But I can't, and then the trouble begins," said Edmundo Manhica, a Mozambican who works at the Portuguese language service of the Voice of Russia radio network. He has lived in Russia for 13 years, is married to a Russian and has three children.

"I have no nostalgia for the past, but of course, it was harder for someone to make provocations on

the street," he said over coffee. "Now, it's every day."

"I knew what racism was back home. I went to a Portuguese school and sat at the back of the class. I thought it was just colonialism. Now I think maybe it is a worldwide disease."

Both Manhica and Kotchofa are contemplating a return to their homelands, despite their family ties in Russia. "There are opportunities here, but also there," said Kotchofa as he leafed through studies predicting stepped-up oil exploration in Benin.

Negesh, who belongs to an Orthodox Church-related volunteer group called the Seraphim Brotherhood, also is thinking about going home, where food needs are even more pressing than in Moscow. He is finishing up a dissertation on international charities in between preparing 700 simple meals of gruel and tea a day. He and his volunteers roam Moscow's train stations looking for indigent to feed. Funding comes from individuals and foreign organizations.

"I have a good feeling for work here," Negesh said, "although I'm afraid many in Russia either view charity work as a way to make money or as a waste of time. The insults I take are nothing compared with what the homeless get. They are rounded up by police and deported beyond the outskirts of the city. Passersby ask, 'Why do you feed them? They are no better than dogs.' Our mission is also to let them know they have rights. That way, I believe, I am also reminded I have rights."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 1998

2/2

Richard Harwood

Debating Without Facts

The White House-sponsored dialogue on race has been a flop up to now in large part because too many people, black and white, don't know what they're talking about.

That includes the media, especially in our treatment of affirmative action. We have created the impression that without "preferences" blacks would be shut out of the higher education system. And we have created the corollary impression that "minority preferences" are rampant, imperiling the educational future of far too many whites.

But in all of the uproar and despite countless words written and broadcast on the issue, the information offered the public on affirmative action is limited. How many people are affected? Who benefits? Who is hurt?

The truth is that with or without affirmative action almost any high school graduate who can read, write and do the multiplication tables—and a lot who can do none of those things well—can go to college today. It's a buyer's market. Schools bid against one another for students, using financial incentives and other inducements. Many institutions admit almost everyone who applies. Others, including such well-regarded schools as Michigan, Tulane, Wisconsin, Auburn, Ohio State, Purdue and American University in Washington, admit 70 percent to 90 percent of applicants.

Of course, it's a lot easier to get into college than to stay there. Only 45 percent of the students who graduated from high school in 1982 and earned at least 10 college credits had received a bachelor's degree by the time they were 30 years old. Dropout rates at many institutions are 70 percent to 90 percent. At Fisk University in Nashville, for years one of the most prestigious of the historically black colleges, the graduation rate is 2 percent, according to U.S. News and World Report. These dropout rates tell us that tens of thousands of students not cut out for college work are being drawn into the higher education system.

Such statistics are rarely or inadequately reported. The press instead focuses on affirmative action "problems" at "highly selective" schools such as Harvard and Yale. And even in our obsessive scrutiny of matters involving those celebrated citadels of learning, the reporting is often murky and misleading. In part that is because of the failure of the U.S. Department of Education and other government agencies to publish the kind of information

that would clarify the issues. Some colleges and universities involved in "affirmative action" controversies also complicate the problem by withholding information, for example, on the nature of "preferential" admissions.

The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, however, has been able to assemble much of the relevant information. So have some academicians. We learn from the journal that 292,855 students applied to the 24 most prestigious universities in America for admission to the freshman class of 1996. About 5 percent of these applicants—13,801—were black. The schools

"With or without affirmative action almost any high school graduate who can read, write and do the multiplication tables . . . can go to college today."

offered admission to 96,369 students (33 percent of all the students who applied). They offered admission to 35 percent of the black applicants—5,563 students—but only 2,305 accepted (41 percent). They represented a small percentage of the new freshmen that year—from fewer than one percent at CalTech to 12 percent at the University of Virginia.

How many of these black students were academically "unqualified" for the schools that admitted them? The journal obtained SAT scores from a number of these leading schools. The midpoint score for white students in all the schools was higher than the midpoint scores of black students. The gap ranged from 288 points at the Berkeley campus of the University of California to 150 points at Princeton, Johns Hopkins and other schools. Those numbers quantify the "racial preference" involved in some of these admissions. But in every case, the black students in these elite

schools had higher average SAT scores—in some cases as much as 200 points higher—than the national average (946) for whites. The explanation is simple. SAT scores at these "elite" schools are astronomical in terms of what the average high school graduate achieves on the test. At Harvard, for example, the midpoint SAT score for blacks in the freshman class in 1992 (I have not found more recent numbers) was 1,305, a score that would get these students into any university in the world, a score so close to the white midpoint score that it was described by an affirmative action critic as not "statistically meaningful."

This doesn't resolve the larger issues raised by affirmative action and racial preference in college admissions: Some high-scoring whites and probably Asians too are being passed over for black applicants with lower test scores. But the numbers are small, and the evidence refutes the common argument that blacks admitted to these highly selective schools are necessarily "unqualified" to be there. But this gets lost in the debate.

Affirmative action has other problems. It began as a way to get women, blacks and other specified minorities into jobs and schools formerly unavailable to them. Women may no longer qualify, and if they do get preferences in college admissions, they shouldn't, now being in the majority (more than 55 percent nationally) on campuses all over the country. Asian Americans also may no longer qualify—and shouldn't—in many jurisdictions because they have the highest level of educational attainment in the country and the highest incomes as well.

Hispanics are often shortchanged under affirmative action. They outnumber blacks in California by more than 3 to 1 but, according to Stephan Thernstrom of Harvard, they have been receiving no more places than blacks in the state's college set-asides for "underrepresented" minorities.

Another question is whether the beneficiaries of affirmative action are not disproportionately drawn from the middle and upper class. Few black kids from the inner cities are lining up outside Ivy League institutions. We would know more about that subject if the government and the universities released more information about who gets what.

That's a job for the president's advisory board for the initiative on race. Until the issues are better understood, we can stage dialogues and talk till we're blue in the face without achieving anything.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 1998

Robert D. Reischauer

Medicare for the Almost-Old

More than 800,000 Americans between the ages of 62 and 64 have no health insurance and are, therefore, one serious medical problem away from financial ruin. About the same number purchase individual coverage, which can be quite expensive, both because they are less healthy than younger adults and because the costs of marketing and administering individual policies are high. Within these two groups, a few more than half receive reduced Social Security benefits available to early retirees age 62 to 64. Just more than one-quarter are working and not collecting Social Security. The balance, most spouses of workers whose employers do not provide group health insurance coverage, neither work nor receive Social Security. Of the total, close to 40 percent have low incomes, that is, incomes below twice the poverty level.

To address the financial risk facing the uninsured and the burden high premiums impose on purchasers of individual policies, the president has proposed that 62- to 63-year-olds be allowed to enroll in Medicare, which is now available only to the permanently disabled and those 65 and older. To keep this expansion from bankrupting a program projected to become insolvent at about the end of the first decade of the next century, the proposal would require that these enrollees buy into Medicare by paying a monthly premium of about \$300 until their 65th birthday. After that, they would pay a small surcharge on the Part B premiums all Medicare participants pay.

While the president's initiative is a positive step toward reducing both the risk of serious illnesses wiping out the retirement savings of uncovered 62- to 64-year-olds and the excessive financial burden that many older purchasers of individual policies now bear, these advances would come at a price. The Medicare buy-in would create incentives that could exacerbate undesirable trends in the nation's labor markets. Furthermore, once enacted, it would unleash political pressures for liberalization that could cause the costs of this initiative to soar.

If 62- to 64-year-olds could enroll in Medicare, those employers who now provide health insurance coverage for their retirees would feel less need to do so. Many employers already have dropped or scaled back this fringe benefit not only because it is costly but because new accounting rules require businesses to reveal now the benefit expenses they will incur in the future. These policies provide protection for millions who retire before they are eligible for Medicare. For more than one-third of retirees who are covered by Medicare, these employer-sponsored policies also provide supplementary insurance that picks up costs that Medicare does not cover. If more employers drop these policies, more of the elderly will have to turn to individual Medigap insurance for their supplemental coverage. Medigap premiums are generally higher than the premiums employers charge their retirees, and most Medigap plans don't cover some important services, such as prescription drugs, which are generally covered by employer-sponsored retiree policies.

Availability of Medicare for those age 62 to 64 also will entice more to retire early on reduced Social Security benefits. For those with chronic health problems who have continued to work just to obtain health benefits, this opportunity could be a blessing. But for those who are healthy and have saved little, early retirement could prove to be a mistake. The consequences might not become apparent for a decade or two, perhaps not until their widows try to subsist on the reduced Social Security benefits available to them. As a

consequence, more of the very old may have to rely on food stamps and SSI, the welfare program for low-income elderly and disabled. In a nation in which the work force is projected to grow at a slower and slower pace, public policy should encourage increased labor-force participation by the elderly rather than promote early retirement.

A Medicare buy-in option also might encourage employers to shift their older workers from full- to part-time status or from being regular employees to being contract employees. An older worker with a chronic health condition could cost a business that offers health benefits far more than the Medicare buy-in premium. In such a case, a business would come out ahead if it offered workers a pay raise larger than the premium they would be charged for buying into Medicare if they became contract employees.

While the president's proposal is intended to be budget-neutral to begin with—that is, the premiums charged 62- to 64-year-old

"The Medicare buy-in would create incentives that could exacerbate undesirable trends in the nation's labor markets."

participants would cover the added Medicare costs—it would prove difficult to maintain such fiscal rectitude. Most of those who take advantage of the buy-in option would be living in quite comfortable circumstances. Few of those with low and modest incomes would participate because they would feel that they can't afford to pay \$3,600 annually for Medicare coverage. Thus, those who need help the most would get the least, and many would remain uninsured. Over time, pressure would inevitably build to provide some sort of income-related subsidy to allow those with limited resources a real option to participate in the Medicare buy-in.

If, as in the past, Medicare costs rise at a much faster pace than the incomes of those eligible for the buy-in, the burden of the premium will increase. Pressure will mount for a subsidy. That is what happened to Medicare's Part B premium, which was set to cover half of the program's costs. But when costs rose faster than participants' incomes, increases in the premium were limited so that premiums now cover only one-quarter of costs.

While the president's Medicare initiative raises complex issues, it responds to a significant problem. Rather than trashing the plan, as some in the opposition have done, policymakers should work to mitigate undesirable secondary effects that inevitably accompany efforts to expand access to affordable care. Policymakers also should consider the political pressure they will be under in the long run to liberalize the program and realistically account for the budgetary consequences of that pressure.

The writer is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 1998

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 — If it had not been for the McCaugheys, the Iowa family who made medical history with the November birth of septuplets, all of whom survived, the world might not have known about Linden and Jacqueline Thompson. Then again, because of the McCaugheys, much of the world may never know about the Thompsons.

The Thompsons, who live here, were the first black family in the United States to have sextuplets. That was May 8. But hardly anyone noticed.

Almost seven months later, after an eye-popping avalanche of money, corporate donations and blanket news coverage for the McCaugheys, black people began pointing out that the Thompsons, too, had made history and needed help.

Now the Thompsons, who live in a cramped, three-bedroom apartment, are afloat in a bounty of giving that ranges from matching Santa suits for their five surviving children to a new house and guaranteed college scholarships. They had to rent a storage shed for the overflow.

"I have no hard feelings," Mrs. Thompson said on Monday. "It's better late than never."

While the contrast in the attention received by the two families is clear, the reasons for it are murkier.

Some African-Americans believe the difference is at least partly attributable to race — the McCaugheys are white and the Thompsons are black. But others say the disparity is simply attributable to the increase in multiple births. While the McCaugheys are the only couple with septuplets, the National Center for Health Statistics says that in 1995, the last year for which numbers are available, Americans gave birth to

First Black Sextuplets Belatedly Win Public Notice

365 sets of quadruplets and 57 sets of quintuplets, sextuplets or more.

There may also be a more subtle explanation: There is a delicate interplay of conflicting impulses at work for those who have been spared the burden of publicity but denied the benefits. While knowing that expenses loom, they are reluctant to appear greedy or incapable of handling their own affairs. And, as in the case of the Thompsons, who lost one child, grief can dilute their happiness and make them less likely to trumpet their joy.

Some parents may also hesitate to come forward in light of criticism of the McCaugheys for having so many children at once.

"Some people feel that these people made their bed, now they can lie in it," said Janet Bleyl, president of the Triplet Connection in Stockton, Calif., a support group for parents.

Mrs. Thompson, who declines to say whether she took fertility drugs, said she had mixed emotions about being ignored.

"Once the media gets on your back, it's nonstop," she said as her five babies squirmed on a quilt on the living room floor. "At the same time, I prayed that someone would know."

After Mrs. Thompson, a waitress, gave birth, the family held a brief news conference. Some local support materialized, but not much, and Mr. Thompson returned to his job as an electrician.

Then on Nov. 19, every step in the McCaughey drama became front-page news around the world. The McCaugheys received college schol-

arships, a van, a lifetime supply of diapers, car seats, strollers, groceries, seven years of free cable TV and an invitation to the White House.

The outpouring for the McCaugheys prompted a call about the Thompsons to the "Tom Joyner Show," a nationally syndicated talk-radio program in Dallas with a largely black audience. The caller said the Thompsons were the victims of a double standard.

Their case was also noted on Dec. 19 at President Clinton's Oval Office meeting on race.

Racial issue is raised as gifts are showered on white septuplets in Iowa.

Speaking to the President at that meeting, Thaddeus Garrett Jr., former board chairman at Howard University here, said of the Thompsons: "Never got mentioned anywhere. Didn't get a dime from any corporation, diapers or anything. Then this woman out in Iowa has seven, and she's in more magazines than you are."

And it wasn't until some of us ministers kicked up a fuss that now some of the corporations are starting."

Whether it was the ministers or the radio show, many of those who

had ignored the Thompsons rushed to their side in the newly warm glow of the spotlight.

The Procter & Gamble Company offered diapers. The General Motors Corporation provided a van. Howard promised scholarships for all five children. Toys, clothes and swings piled up. Gerber Products gave coupons for food. The Washington law firm of Wiley, Rein & Fielding is providing free legal advice. The Freddie Mac Foundation, established by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation, said it would give the family a house and is on the verge of announcing that it has found a big one with a yard.

One donor, Procter & Gamble, the maker of Pampers, was criticized for initially bypassing the Thompsons.

Scott Stewart, a company spokesman, said that once the word spread on the radio about the Thompsons, "people were yelling at us." Mr. Stewart said it took the company until November to locate the Thompsons, whose phone number is unlisted. He insisted that race was not a factor in the delay and said, "We are colorblind."

Elaine Plummer, another spokesman for Procter & Gamble, said that the Thompsons had written to the company in August seeking free diapers, but that their letter had fallen through the cracks.

The company normally receives about 170 such requests a month from families with triplets or more, Ms. Plummer said. Typically, it gives them free diapers for a limited time. Exceptions are the high-profile cases of the McCaugheys and now

the Thompsons, who will receive free diapers as long as they need them.

Such donations usually amount to a windfall of corporate publicity.

"If a family is mediaworthy and the corporations will get free press from it, they will go that route," said Maureen Doolan Boyle, executive director of Mothers of Super Twins, a parent-support network based in Brentwood, N.Y., that has worked with 15,000 families over the last 10 years. But, Ms. Boyle said, "the families of higher-order multiples are becoming more successful in their outcomes, and there's such a large population now that corporations are either unwilling or unable to support them the way they did."

While Mrs. Thompson actually delivered six children, Ms. Bleyl said, "unfortunately, the world looks at her as having quints, and that's getting to be rather common with the advent of fertility drugs."

Ms. Boyle said she was aware of 15 mothers who had delivered five babies or more in 1997. These include Patrick and Jennifer Leonard, a white couple in Jacksonville, Ill., who had sextuplets on Oct. 21, and Mrs. Leonard said. "We haven't had people knocking down our door either."

Lakewood Chrysler Plymouth, a dealership in Lakewood, N.J., that had planned to give the Thompsons a van until G.M. beat it to the punch, agreed that even after the media focused on the Thompsons, there was a yawn, because the McCaugheys had already surpassed them.

"Everybody likes a winner," said Sam Rivello, a manager with Lakewood Chrysler Plymouth. "Seven is better than six."

Unusual Naval Alliance Shows Off, and Arabs Glare

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

ABOARD U.S.S. JOHN RODGERS, off Israel, Jan. 7 — Two search-and-rescue swimmers secured a collar to the figure bobbing stiffly in the waves, crisp commands echoed up and down the fo'c's'le, and the victim was smartly hoisted on board.

After a quick check by medics, Lieut. (j.g.) David T. Read barked out the report to the large audience of reporters, sailors and Israeli Army personnel who had followed the rescue operation from the first distress call two hours earlier: "Victim has been recovered. Twenty-four-year-old white male, mild hypothermia."

Soon after "Oscar," the Israeli mannequin just plucked from the waves, was carried off to join the "32-year-old white female, unconscious, head injuries," reports came that Israeli and Turkish naval vessels had been just as successful in locating and plucking other victims farther south in the Mediterranean. The commanders then proudly proclaimed "Operation Reliant Mermaid" — the first joint exercise between the Israeli and Turkish navies and the American Sixth Fleet — a smashing success.

And indeed it was. That is, if as the commanders from all three navies repeatedly insisted, the entire purpose of mobilizing 1,000 sailors aboard five vessels — one American, two Israeli and two Turkish — and sailing dozens of reporters 50 miles out to sea from the Israeli port of Haifa was exclusively to improve their coordination in rescue operations.

But long before any of the Oscars were plucked from the seas, the exercise was denounced by Syria and Egypt as a provocative and dangerous display of a new naval dimension in the budding strategic alliance between Israel and Turkey, and of American endorsement of it.

Bound by their suspicion of Syria, Iraq and Iran, largely unloved by their Arab neighbors, both of them important allies of the United States, Israel and Turkey began working together two years ago. The two field some of the most formidable military forces in the Middle East, and their partnership has included the joint training of air forces and a lucrative contract for Israel to install its advanced electronics into Turkey's F-4 Phantom fighters.

The alliance has drawn severe criticism from Arab countries, to the extent that the Turkish President, Suleyman Demirel, was compelled to leave an Islamic summit meeting last month. Turkey demonstrated its disdain for the attacks by playing host to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai on an official visit.

Thus from the time Israel first proposed Operation Reliant Mermaid a year ago, the Arabs exploded in condemnation. Not surprisingly, the loudest came from Syria, which is in a state of war with Israel and has longstanding disputes over land and water with Turkey.

To Syria's dismay, another country with which it has a long border, Jordan, became the only country to agree to send an observer to the exercise — and sent no less than the commander of its navy, Rear Adm. Hussein Khassawneh.

Like the other commanders, Admiral Khassawneh insisted that the exercise "is not against any country in the region, and has no military intentions." But it was difficult to explain why Jordan, whose only port is in the distant Red Sea, needed to have its naval commander observe a relatively elemental search-and-rescue exercise. Admiral Khassawneh watched from a Turkish frigate.

More surprising than the Syrian displeasure were the complaints issued by Egypt. Though Egypt has less to fear strategically from an Israeli-Turkish alliance, and though it holds regular exercises of its own with the Sixth Fleet, the growth of a new power center on the Mediterranean was evidently enough to anger the Egyptians.

"Turkey must know that any alliance will trigger the establishment of a counterbalance," warned Egypt's Foreign Minister, Amr Moussa.

At a pre-exercise press conference on Tuesday, the deputy commander of the Israeli navy, Brig. Gen. Yedidia Yaari, said he regretted the reaction. "Clearly some of their analysis is politically motivated, but the purpose of the exercise is purely humanitarian, and there is nothing political or strategic about it." In the future, he added, Israel hoped to hold similar maneuvers with other Mediterranean navies, such as those of Egypt or Greece.

Aboard the destroyer John Rodgers today, Capt. Joseph A. Sestak Jr., a task force commander in the Sixth Fleet who oversaw the American participation in the exercise, ardently insisted that "improving interoperability for search and rescue" could only "promote regional stability and cooperation." He rejected any suggestion that there was a political aspect to the exercise.

As the destroyer pulled out of the clouds over Haifa and into a clear, sparkling sea, the scheduled distress call came in, reporting that a yacht bound for Limassol in Cyprus was in distress 50 miles northwest of Haifa. The Israeli coordinator assigned the Americans to rescue the yacht, helicopters took off to find it, and the helmsman pushed the engines to full, accelerating the John Rodgers to 31 knots.

At 11:30 A.M., just as the "exercise time line" had forecast, the word crackled back to the control room that the yacht had been spotted, and within an hour the fine-featured mannequins were being carried to the sick bay. The only surprise, Lieutenant Read said, were the dummies — the American "Oscars," he said, "were just big orange floating bags."

But "this one," he said, nodding to the Israeli female, "I could fall in love with."

Hong Kong Acts to Placate Chicken Owners

Secretary for Constitutional Affairs, Michael Suen, without going into detail.

The package should be approved by lawmakers on Friday. The first proposed compensation package had payouts ranging from \$2 to \$4 per bird, depending on size. The poultry breeders were demanding \$5.75 for every chicken killed.

The A(H5N1) influenza virus is normally confined to birds, especially poultry, but last year it was found in humans for the first time. The virus has killed four people. Tens of thousands of poultry workers have lost their jobs.

HONG KONG, Jan. 7 (Reuters) — Hong Kong caved in to angry poultry workers today, boosting compensation payouts for chickens slaughtered in the battle against "bird flu."

Dozens of farm owners and poultry workers camped outside government buildings overnight to press for more money after 1.4 million chickens and other poultry were killed last week. It has been estimated that the slaughter cost chicken breeders and retailers about \$1.2 million.

"After considering all requests, the details that we are proposing now represent some improvement from those proposed Monday," said the

house have challenged his plans, saying General Pinochet has made political statements that conflict with his position as Commander in Chief.

On Tuesday, the Government urged political parties to tone down their opposition and abandon their legal attempts to prevent the former dictator from assuming his new position.

Two parties of the governing coalition have asked the Constitutional Tribunal to officially declare that General Pinochet was never elected President. He took power in 1973 through a coup. Such a declaration would prevent him from entering the Senate. The Constitution states that in order to be considered a President, one has to be elected.

Legislators Try to Block Senate Seat for Pinochet

Senate seat for General Pinochet would make the process of reconciliation between civilians and army officials more difficult. Since 1990, Chileans have been trying to come to terms with a past that included repression and human rights abuses during General Pinochet's rule.

If General Pinochet takes up the seat, "it would, additionally, imply a grave deterioration of the image of our country abroad," the declaration said.

General Pinochet's plan faces opposition from many political quarters. Five members of the lower

the measure. General Pinochet, 82, plans to take up a seat under a constitutional rewrite masterminded during his military regime in 1980. The change allows former presidents who were in office for at least six years to take a Senate seat for life.

General Pinochet's rule ended in 1990 after 17 years. He remains commander-in-chief of the armed forces but will step down from that post once he takes up the Senate seat, possibly as soon as the end of this month. The lawmakers' declaration said a

SANTIAGO, Chile, Jan. 7 (Reuters) — Chile's lower house of Congress approved a declaration today rejecting former Gen. Augusto Pinochet's plans of taking up a seat in the Senate, lawmakers said.

The lower house agreed to "express its rejection and repudiation of Gen. Augusto Pinochet taking up a lifelong seat in the Senate because his presence will not help the reconciliation among Chileans," the declaration said.

The declaration was approved by a majority of 56 deputies while 26 right-wing lawmakers voted against

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1998

How Hispanics Are Americanizing

By MICHAEL BARONE

Hispanics are America's fastest-growing voting bloc and are about to become its largest minority group. They have influenced America's popular culture and its culinary tastes; salsa has replaced ketchup as the nation's favorite condiment. They have created hundreds of thousands of businesses and thousands of new churches. Their large numbers in America's four largest states—California, Texas, New York and Florida—mean that they may hold the balance in the next several presidential elections. Yet they are little known to most Americans and widely misunderstood.

Who are America's Hispanics, and how are they likely to affect American life and American politics? The Census Bureau estimates that there were 28 million Hispanics in the U.S. in 1997, 11% of the population. That's a huge increase from the 6% figure for 1980; and most of today's Hispanics are immigrants or children of immigrants. The Census Bureau projects that the Hispanic population will increase to 53 million, or one in six Americans, by 2020. Most of that increase is expected to come not from immigration but from the natural increase of Hispanics already here.

U.S. Hispanics are far from monolithic. Some 65% have roots in Mexico, 13% in Central and South America, 10% in Puerto Rico and 4% in Cuba. But some useful generalizations can be made.

'Loyalty to Employers'

First, and most important, Hispanics work hard. The percentage of Hispanic men in the labor force in 1996 was 80%, the highest of any measured group, and far above the figure for all U.S. men, 67%. "Latinos have a strong work ethic and loyalty to employers," says Jose de Jesus Legaspi, a real estate developer who came to Los Angeles from Mexico as a teenager. Their attitude, he says, is "I'm asked to do this job, and I go and do it. If I need more money, I'll get an extra job." Many work in low-wage jobs making garments, gardening and providing janitorial services; but many have worked their way up. In 1994, the latest year for which figures are available, Hispanic income per person was only 57% of the national average. But because multi-income families are common, the average Hispanic household income was 73% of the U.S. average.

There are thousands of examples of upward mobility. Francisco Pinedo came to the U.S. in 1976, a 13-year-old boy who spoke no English. He dropped out of school in the 11th grade and worked in a furniture factory to support his family. Today, at 34, he owns his own furniture-making company, Cisco Brothers in South Central Los Angeles, with 115 employees and more than \$9 million in annual sales. This is just one of many such stories: In its last count, in 1992, the Census Bureau found 863,000 Hispanic-owned businesses, with receipts of \$77 billion.

Many of these are, like Cisco Brothers, family operations. Which leads to the second major characteristic of Hispanics: They have strong family ties. Most of the workers at Cisco Brothers are young men; most are married with children. Altogether, 37% of Hispanic households are

composed of two parents raising children, compared with 25% of non-Hispanic Americans. The Hispanic divorce rate is significantly below the national average.

These strong families nurture strong work ethics. Danny Villanueva grew up the ninth of 12 children in California and Arizona border towns. His diminutive mother pushed her sons to achieve in athletics; after every game she would ask them, "Did you give it all you have?" Mr. Villanueva was, by his own description, "short, fat, and slow—but nobody out-worked me." Too slow to be a football

Hispanics have strong family ties: The Hispanic divorce rate is significantly below the national average. Strong families nurture strong work ethics.



Cesar Viramontes in his jeans-processing factory

back, too small for the line, he became a good enough kicker to make it to the Los Angeles Rams, then helped found the Spanish-language Univision television network. Today he is head of the nation's first Hispanic investment fund, with high-rise offices overlooking the mansions of Beverly Hills.

Similarly, Cesar Viramontes crossed the Mexican border to El Paso, Texas, as a boy, knowing no English. He dropped out of high school to work in a laundry, and later he and his wife saved enough money to buy a laundromat. When prewashed jeans started becoming fashionable, the Viramontes family closed the laundromat at 10 p.m., set machines spinning with jeans from local manufacturers, then cleaned out the blue water and lint before customers arrived at 7 a.m. When did they rest? "We didn't," says Mr. Viramontes. "You can sleep when you're 60." Today the family owns International Garment Processors, which employs more than 750 workers at two large plants just outside El Paso, processing 60,000 pairs of jeans a day and grossing more than \$30 million a year.

The third characteristic of Hispanics is that they know or want to learn English.

To be sure, Spanish is common in many workplaces and homes. But more than three-quarters of U.S.-born Hispanics speak English "very well," according to 1990 census data. And in a 1996 poll for the Center for Equal Opportunity, 51% of Hispanic parents said that learning to read, write and speak English was the most important goal of their children's education; only 11% said the same of Spanish.

Unfortunately, public schools—once the great entryway to American success for children of immigrants—have not always helped. The problem is the "bilingual" education programs that enlist many Hispanic children despite their parents' wishes and keep them in Spanish-language instruction with minimal English for as long as seven years—until after the time children most easily learn a new language. Government programs giving extra money to Spanish-language teachers and schools with large numbers of children in Spanish-language instruction create a perverse incentive that has held thousands of Hispanic children back. But the bilingual establishment is about to face a formidable challenge: In June, Californians will vote on a ballot initiative that would reduce foreign-language instruction to one year except in special cases. An October Los Angeles Times poll found 80% of Californians and 84% of the state's Latinos in favor.

Want to Be Americans

Hispanics, like earlier immigrants, want to be Americans. The number becoming U.S. citizens has increased sharply in the 1990s, and so has the percentage who vote. Polls show that Hispanics tend to favor government spending programs, which helps Democrats, but are also likely to support a conservative stance on cultural issues, which helps Republicans. In the early 1990s Republicans seemed to be making gains among Hispanics. More recently, after Proposition 187, the 1994 California initiative banning aid to illegal immigrants, and the 1996 welfare reform law banning aid even to legal immigrants, Democrats made gains.

But it would be a mistake to conclude that Hispanics are looking for government handouts or racial quotas and preferences. What angered California Latinos, Mr. Legaspi said, were ads by Republican Gov. Pete Wilson "which seemed to say we are lazy." In contrast, Texas's Republican Gov. George W. Bush, who has stressed close ties with Mexico and who speaks fluent Spanish, led his likely Democratic opponent among Hispanics by 60% to 24% in a late 1997 poll.

Republicans have an opportunity to win the votes of Hispanics by pushing reform of the public schools, which have been run mostly by Democrats and which most Hispanics believe are not serving them well; and by showing that they see Hispanics as an integral and positive part of America, not as a menace or a problem. If they do so, the Republicans have a chance to become permanent majority party; if not, they may become a minority party again.

Mr. Barone is a senior staff editor at Reader's Digest, from which this article is adapted. He is also co-author of the *Almanac of American Politics*.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1998

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Yeltsin's Yelling

One of the great and fortunate realities of the post-Cold War period is the consensus that the market has overtaken government as the engine of history. Gone are the days when the mere suggestion of a White House intern rising to the role of Presidential confidante would tank the market. And gone are the days when a Russian President announcing World War III would send U.S. bombers into the sky.

Instead, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin was reported Wednesday to have suggested that a U.S. strike against Iraq might trigger world war, the man who does for him what Mike McCurry does for Bill Clinton quickly said, "One can hardly imagine a more ridiculous and absurd interpretation" and suggested that the foreign reporters were linguistically inept. Alas, yesterday Mr. Yeltsin took a moment from his snowmobiling to restate his view that using force against Iraq "means a world war."



Boris Yeltsin

Even in a more calmed-down world this sounds a tad unnerving. Luckily there's a very contemporary explanation for Mr. Yeltsin's yelling: It's the economy, stupid.

As currency crashes rippled across Asia, speculators and journalists have been trying to guess who might be next. And of the countries still fighting off the Asian flu bug, Russia remains vulnerable.

Financier George Soros told reporters at the World Economic Forum in Davos that the Russian situation is touch and go. "Russia was on the verge of the transition from insider dealing and robber capitalism to legitimate capitalism and respect for shareholder rights. But there have been retrograde events and a change of direction in the government."

Mr. Yeltsin's recent comment that he has picked his successor but isn't saying who was frivolous at best. He appears to be tilting toward a government of the old guard, headed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Kremlin reformers Anatoly Chubais and Boris Nemtsov seem to have declined once more.

This jockeying comes at an inopportune time. Foreigners withdrew a net \$4 billion from the Russian treasury bill, or GKO, market in the last

quarter of 1997. MFK Renaissance chief Boris Jordan said last week that foreigners have unloaded some \$2 billion of stocks and bonds in Russia since the start of the year and that about half of those sales were in government securities.

Of the central bank's own estimates of a \$600 million withdrawal of foreign money from the GKO market in January, Mr. Chubais has told anyone who will listen that "\$600 million a month just isn't real money" and "doesn't affect the financial situation." Maybe so, but the potential for serious damage to the government's finances certainly exists. Foreign investors own some \$15 billion of the \$56 billion in Russian T-bills, which finance nearly 40% of the government's budget deficit. To lure it back, the Kremlin will have to attach the kinds of premiums it had hoped to banish.

All of this makes for a notably ironic state of affairs. Mr. Yeltsin, in poor health, is playing the Iraq card in no small part to assert a big-power role for his country. He even claimed airily yesterday on behalf of his no-force-allowed position that "We have been supported by France and Italy; Britain is wavering a bit." But whatever value is attached to Russia's bid for world stature, it is its *internal* leadership, especially in economic affairs, that needs attending to. Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has good connections in the Communist-dominated Duma, but is hardly a progressive. His governing philosophy, in his own words, is "what's good for Gazprom is good for Russia."

Mr. Chernomyrdin also was at Davos, reassuring nervous investors that Messrs. Chubais and Nemtsov are still on the team. However, he himself recently assumed more of their responsibilities. Since Mr. Chubais has diminished power, and support, he mainly spends his time as a cheerleader, noting for instance, that the Duma passed a budget and again is considering a tax reform bill.

Without a doubt, remarks such as Mr. Yeltsin has been making this week about a world at war demand that a certain kind of attention be paid. The fact remains that certain observers are paying equally close attention to the Russian currency. The modern reality is that Russia's return to power no doubt has more to do with the health of its stock indexes and GKO yields than to the continued health of Saddam Hussein.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1998

Reaching Across the N.F.L.'s Color Line

By Bill Walsh

WITH THE regular season over and the Super Bowl looming, a group of African-American assistant coaches has publicly discussed filing a class-action discrimination suit against the National Football League. The coaches point to the case of Sherman Lewis, the outstanding offensive coordinator of the Green Bay Packers, who was not considered for any of the 11 head coaching positions that were vacant after the 1996 season.

When I was head coach of the San

Bill Walsh is a member of the Football Hall of Fame.

Francisco 49ers, Mr. Lewis played a significant role in our winning two world championships. Since that time he has matured and developed as a coach. He is highly qualified and well prepared to become a head coach.

Suing isn't the way to create black coaches.

I do not believe, however, that any form of litigation will solve the problem of hiring in the N.F.L. It will focus too much attention on Mr. Lewis and place him in an uncomfortable position as a symbol of a much larger issue.

Those with the most influence have not necessarily been actively addressing the social undercurrent. I do not believe that any present owner is consciously racist. Twenty-five years ago, one occasionally might overhear an owner privately state that he didn't "feel comfortable with black people." Today's owner is determined to find the best man available. But he may feel that he doesn't know of a particular black candidate.

The reason is that most owners do not regularly come into contact with African-Americans other than to talk with them after a game. And most assistant coaches, black and white, also have restricted lives. They go about their work every day — go into their office or cubicle, coach the players, live and die with each game — but seldom interact seriously with owners. The isolation is more pronounced for black coaches.

How, then, can talented black coaches become more visible? We made an effort to address this problem when I was at Stanford in 1992-1993. We identified 25 black coaches and invited them to the campus to join in a seminar at which our staff spoke along with sports sociologists (including Harry Edwards of the University of California at Berkeley), a career planner and successful coaches and managers of other professional teams. Several of the men who went through this program got assistant coaching jobs in the N.F.L., and two became head coaches at colleges.

Similarly, with the 49ers we instituted a short internship intended for African-American collegiate coaches. One alumnus of this program, Tyrone Willingham, is now the head coach at Stanford. A number of others took assistant coaching positions in the N.F.L. This program was adopted by the league, and every franchise was asked to participate. Many embraced the concept. Since then, the number of black as-

sistant coaches in the N.F.L. has risen dramatically.

But the core problem remains at the head coaching level. There are those who have been advocating that the league consider bringing African-American assistant coaches together with owners and managers. One option would be for the league, at its annual spring meetings, to hold a seminar in which some of the legends of the profession — Tom Landry, Joe Gibbs, Chuck Noll and Don Shula — speak on different aspects of the role of the head coach. Afterward, owners and general managers would be invited to join the coaches for dinner.

This kind of networking may do more good, I think, than any form of legal action or public debate.

If one coach is singled out for public attention, it could misdirect the overall movement. Once an individual becomes a symbol, there are those who may say, "I am resistant to hiring this person if everyone demands that I do so." This greatly reduces that coach's opportunity.

Each owner may have his own prerequisites and organizational priorities. If I were an owner I would hire Sherman Lewis. But we shouldn't make him or anyone else wear the symbolic mantle of progress all by himself. □

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1998

Tell the Full Story, Mr. President

The term "carefully worded" has appeared in almost every description of President Clinton's denials of sexual involvement with Monica Lewinsky. Other words that could be as easily applied are cryptic, partial and insufficient. Those terms also apply to Vernon Jordan's compact statement that had, in addition, the unwholesome feel of an attempt to portray the President's secretary, Betty Currie, as a central player in the attempt to find a job and a lawyer for Ms. Lewinsky.

This approach, which depends so heavily on omission and factual elision, is appropriate to people who believe themselves to be targets of a criminal investigation. But it is not sufficient for Mr. Clinton's other role as leader of the nation. In that role, he has to do more than offer carefully shaped chips of fact too disconnected ever to amount to a coherent mosaic by which the public can judge the viability of his political leadership and the authority of his moral leadership.

It is time for Mr. Clinton to tell the whole story in all its detail and context. The proper forum is a televised evening speech to the nation, *before* the State of the Union address.

The nation has heard enough from press secretaries and lawyers. This is a Presidential-scale task. The proper audience to receive the President's report is not a handful of citizens in a grand jury room, but the national constituency that put him in office. There is much to be said for the calm atmosphere of the televised evening speech, which has been used by every modern President at times

when the nation was riven by doubts about the quality of its leadership. That could be followed by a press conference with full opportunity for questioning.

Mr. Clinton needs to tell his story not in bits and pieces, but holistically, with the complete context that only he can know. His pinpoint denials will never enable anyone to understand the larger narrative of which Ms. Lewinsky and her tape-recording confidante Linda Tripp are a part. Only the President knows why an obscure young woman was apparently drawn, at the least, into the gift-and-advice-giving orbit of two of the most powerful men in Washington. Only the President knows if he left recorded messages on her answering machine or if, as CNN reports, he spoke to Ms. Lewinsky as recently as the early part of this month and used the words "deny, deny, deny." Only he knows if he was involved in receiving what Newsweek magazine describes as nine letters or packages sent by Ms. Lewinsky to the White House between Oct. 7 and Dec. 8, 1997.

All this alleged White House contact may be innocent, but it was palpably odd, considering that Ms. Lewinsky had reportedly been exiled to the Pentagon for inefficient work habits. The constricted answers of Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jordan have added to the oddity, not dissipated it. A complete, factual account by a President who is interested in telling his story is the best answer for a nation that has not prejudged the facts but is understandably troubled and mystified by them.

Justice in the Unabomber Case

The Justice Department's decision yesterday to allow Theodore Kaczynski to plead guilty and avoid the death penalty was belated common sense. Mr. Kaczynski's mental illness threatened to disrupt the progress of any trial and made him a dubious target for execution. The department had unwisely rejected Mr. Kaczynski's offer last month to plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence without possibility of release. But a recent evaluation by a court-appointed psychiatrist indicating that Mr. Kaczynski is a paranoid schizophrenic appears to have altered the prosecutors' thinking.

Dr. Sally C. Johnson, the psychiatrist appointed by Federal District Judge Garland Burrell Jr. to evaluate Mr. Kaczynski, determined that he was competent to stand trial. But her sealed report, according to people who have read it, also says that he suffers from schizophrenia and has delusions of persecution that can lead to violence. Dr. Johnson's diagnosis is in accord with the defendant's own psychiatric experts, who have said that he is severely mentally ill. Her judgment is particularly convincing because she is a forensic psychiatrist with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and carries a reputa-

tion for being conservative in her assessments.

Given expert consensus on his condition, a jury might well have found Mr. Kaczynski not guilty by reason of insanity. His demands to dismiss his court-appointed lawyers also raised serious, appealable issues. Perhaps because he could not bear to be portrayed as mentally ill, he refused to cooperate with the prosecution's psychiatrists and demanded that his own lawyers not raise a mental-defect defense. On the eve of trial, his request to represent himself threw the case into turmoil.

Judge Burrell denied that request yesterday, against the advice of both prosecutors and the defense lawyers and despite Sixth Amendment rights to self-representation. If an appeals court later ruled that Judge Burrell's decision was incorrect, any guilty verdict reached at trial could have been overturned.

Advocates of the death penalty for Mr. Kaczynski have said that his ability to create bizarre legal problems is evidence that he is clever and sane. But the medical evaluations show otherwise. Public safety and the interests of humane justice are best served by a life sentence without parole.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1998



Doln Cummings
Statistical analyst

"I grew up lower-middle class, and now I guess I'm middle-middle class."



Photographs by Todd Buchanan for The New York Times

Jennifer Thomas
Office worker

"But now, there are so many opportunities out there. It's especially great for independent women."



Frank Schwerin
Lawyer

"Everywhere you look, both parents are working, usually because they think they need to."



Edna Juetto
Personnel department clerk

"My salary's not going up but my rent is. They say crime is down. But there's plenty of shooting."



Marty Shanahan
Certified public accountant

"I lived in the 60's and 70's. I think the moral fiber today is better than it was then."



Renata Kocho
Bank teller

"You are healthy, handsome, you have jobs, nice houses, nice cars, money in the bank."



Henry Hoornweg
Legal secretary

"We're buying a house for the first time — four bedrooms, three bathrooms, out in the suburbs."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

2/2

Addressing Racial Issues On Wall St.

Jesse Jackson Effort Attracts Big Names

By PETER TRUELL

Wall Street, which is often perceived as still being a white male preserve, has generally been uneasy about openly discussing issues of race and gender.

In an effort to change that, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition are starting a conference and fund-raiser today at Windows on the World, the restaurant atop the World Trade Center. The meetings are intended to promote economic opportunities for minorities and women.

The three-day gathering, which will be addressed by President Clinton, Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin and Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, commemorates and coincides with the anniversary of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday tomorrow, which is celebrated by a national holiday on Monday.

The events represent an effort to draw investment from Wall Street to minority businesses and to create something of a partnership between corporate leaders and minorities and women, according to the three-day gathering's sponsors, which include the Travelers Group, the huge insurance and financial services company, and the New York Stock Exchange, as well as the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition.

The New York Stock Exchange, for the first time, will close in honor of Dr. King's birthday. While that may reflect the beginnings of change on Wall Street, the greater awareness of racial and gender issues has been driven in part by court actions. Last fall, for instance, Smith Barney Inc., which is now Salomon Smith Barney, a subsidiary of the Travelers Group, settled a class-action suit

*A push for notice of
the economic power
of minorities.*

brought in Federal court by more than 20 women, both current and former employees, who contended that the firm had sat by while the workplace became an arena for gender discrimination and sexual harassment. In their long-running battle with the firm, the group's advocates invoked the rights of minorities, including women.

And while Mr. Jackson, business and political leaders and Wall Street titans may be able to agree on broadly defined goals, such as the need for more economic growth, for equality of opportunity and the need to regenerate inner cities and encourage investments that benefit the black and Hispanic population, the best jobs on Wall Street remain almost exclusively a white male province, and the nation's fund managers rarely direct large sums at projects that benefit minorities.

"The theme of this conference is expanding the marketplace," Mr. Jackson said in a telephone conference with reporters last week, to achieve stronger economic growth and opportunity through the "inclusion" of minorities and women.

"The two largest emerging markets are the black and Hispanic markets in this country," Mr. Jackson said, arguing that it is in Wall Street and corporate America's "enlightened self-interest" to invest in these markets to insure a prosperous economy. David C. Wilhelm, a senior managing director with Everen Securities Inc. in Chicago, who is flying to New York today for the conference and has consulted informally with Mr. Jackson in recent years, said: "I really think he believes this is the next stage of the civil rights movement: civil rights in the workplace and expanding access to capital for minorities."

"He views this as very much in the tradition of the struggle for economic justice that Martin Luther King began. This is a new Jesse Jackson. Jesse Jackson the capitalist."

Most big Wall Street firms are participating in this week's meetings. Sanford I. Weill, the Travelers chairman and chief executive, has been the most active Wall Street figure in organizing and backing the events, according to Mr. Jackson's aides. Despite such support, preparations for the gathering have not been entirely smooth. Both Mr. Greenspan and Arthur Levitt Jr., the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, recently distanced themselves from a fund-raising letter sent by the event's sponsors that mentioned their names.

At the request of the Fed and the S.E.C., the event's sponsors sent out a corrective letter saying that Mr. Greenspan and Mr. Levitt would be there simply to address the meeting, and were not in any way connected with fund-raising for it, according to an S.E.C. spokesman.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

Reaching Across the N.F.L.'s Color Line

By Bill Walsh

WITH the regular season over and the Super Bowl looming, a group of African-American assistant coaches has publicly discussed filing a class-action discrimination suit against the National Football League. The coaches point to the case of Sherman Lewis, the outstanding offensive coordinator of the Green Bay Packers, who was not considered for any of the 11 head coaching positions that were vacant after the 1996 season.

When I was head coach of the San

Bill Walsh is a member of the Football Hall of Fame.

Francisco 49ers, Mr. Lewis played a significant role in our winning two world championships. Since that time he has matured and developed as a coach. He is highly qualified and well prepared to become a head coach.

Suing isn't the way to create black coaches.

I do not believe, however, that any form of litigation will solve the problem of hiring in the N.F.L. It will focus too much attention on Mr. Lewis and place him in an uncomfortable position as a symbol of a much larger issue.

Those with the most influence have not necessarily been actively addressing the social undercurrent. I do not believe that any present owner is consciously racist. Twenty-five years ago, one occasionally might overhear an owner privately state that he didn't "feel comfortable with black people." Today's owner is determined to find the best man available. But he may feel that he doesn't know of a particular black candidate.

The reason is that most owners do not regularly come into contact with African-Americans other than to talk with them after a game. And most assistant coaches, black and white, also have restricted lives. They go about their work every day — go into their office or cubicle, coach the players, live and die with each game — but seldom interact seriously with owners. The isolation is more pronounced for black coaches.

How, then, can talented black coaches become more visible? We made an effort to address this problem when I was at Stanford in 1992-1993. We identified 25 black coaches and invited them to the campus to join in a seminar at which our staff spoke along with sports sociologists (including Harry Edwards of the University of California at Berkeley), a career planner and successful coaches and managers of other professional teams. Several of the men who went through this program got assistant coaching jobs in the N.F.L., and two became head coaches at colleges.

Similarly, with the 49ers we instituted a short internship intended for African-American collegiate coaches. One alumnus of this program, Tyrone Willingham, is now the head coach at Stanford. A number of others took assistant coaching positions in the N.F.L. This program was adopted by the league, and every franchise was asked to participate. Many embraced the concept. Since then, the number of black as-

sistant coaches in the N.F.L. has risen dramatically.

But the core problem remains at the head coaching level. There are those who have been advocating that the league consider bringing African-American assistant coaches together with owners and managers. One option would be for the league, at its annual spring meetings, to hold a seminar in which some of the legends of the profession — Tom Landry, Joe Gibbs, Chuck Noll and Don Shula — speak on different aspects of the role of the head coach. Afterward, owners and general managers would be invited to join the coaches for dinner.

This kind of networking may do more good, I think, than any form of legal action or public debate.

If one coach is singled out for public attention, it could misdirect the overall movement. Once an individual becomes a symbol, there are those who may say, "I am resistant to hiring this person if everyone demands that I do so." This greatly reduces that coach's opportunity.

Each owner may have his own prerequisites and organizational priorities. If I were an owner I would hire Sherman Lewis. But we shouldn't make him or anyone else wear the symbolic mantle of progress all by himself. □

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1998

Tell the Full Story, Mr. President

The term "carefully worded" has appeared in almost every description of President Clinton's denials of sexual involvement with Monica Lewinsky. Other words that could be as easily applied are cryptic, partial and insufficient. Those terms also apply to Vernon Jordan's compact statement that had, in addition, the unwholesome feel of an attempt to portray the President's secretary, Betty Currie, as a central player in the attempt to find a job and a lawyer for Ms. Lewinsky.

This approach, which depends so heavily on omission and factual elision, is appropriate to people who believe themselves to be targets of a criminal investigation. But it is not sufficient for Mr. Clinton's other role as leader of the nation. In that role, he has to do more than offer carefully shaped chips of fact too disconnected ever to amount to a coherent mosaic by which the public can judge the viability of his political leadership and the authority of his moral leadership.

It is time for Mr. Clinton to tell the whole story in all its detail and context. The proper forum is a televised evening speech to the nation, *before* the State of the Union address.

The nation has heard enough from press secretaries and lawyers. This is a Presidential-scale task. The proper audience to receive the President's report is not a handful of citizens in a grand jury room, but the national constituency that put him in office. There is much to be said for the calm atmosphere of the televised evening speech, which has been used by every modern President at times

when the nation was riven by doubts about the quality of its leadership. That could be followed by a press conference with full opportunity for questioning.

Mr. Clinton needs to tell his story not in bits and pieces, but holistically, with the complete context that only he can know. His pinpoint denials will never enable anyone to understand the larger narrative of which Ms. Lewinsky and her tape-recording confidante Linda Tripp are a part. Only the President knows why an obscure young woman was apparently drawn, at the least, into the gift-and-advice-giving orbit of two of the most powerful men in Washington. Only the President knows if he left recorded messages on her answering machine or if, as CNN reports, he spoke to Ms. Lewinsky as recently as the early part of this month and used the words "deny, deny, deny." Only he knows if he was involved in receiving what Newsweek magazine describes as nine letters or packages sent by Ms. Lewinsky to the White House between Oct. 7 and Dec. 8, 1997.

All this alleged White House contact may be innocent, but it was palpably odd, considering that Ms. Lewinsky had reportedly been exiled to the Pentagon for inefficient work habits. The constricted answers of Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jordan have added to the oddity, not dissipated it. A complete, factual account by a President who is interested in telling his story is the best answer for a nation that has not prejudged the facts but is understandably troubled and mystified by them.

Justice in the Unabomber Case

The Justice Department's decision yesterday to allow Theodore Kaczynski to plead guilty and avoid the death penalty was belated common sense. Mr. Kaczynski's mental illness threatened to disrupt the progress of any trial and made him a dubious target for execution. The department had unwisely rejected Mr. Kaczynski's offer last month to plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence without possibility of release. But a recent evaluation by a court-appointed psychiatrist indicating that Mr. Kaczynski is a paranoid schizophrenic appears to have altered the prosecutors' thinking.

Dr. Sally C. Johnson, the psychiatrist appointed by Federal District Judge Garland Burrell Jr. to evaluate Mr. Kaczynski, determined that he was competent to stand trial. But her sealed report, according to people who have read it, also says that he suffers from schizophrenia and has delusions of persecution that can lead to violence. Dr. Johnson's diagnosis is in accord with the defendant's own psychiatric experts, who have said that he is severely mentally ill. Her judgment is particularly convincing because she is a forensic psychiatrist with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and carries a reputa-

tion for being conservative in her assessments.

Given expert consensus on his condition, a jury might well have found Mr. Kaczynski not guilty by reason of insanity. His demands to dismiss his court-appointed lawyers also raised serious, appealable issues. Perhaps because he could not bear to be portrayed as mentally ill, he refused to cooperate with the prosecution's psychiatrists and demanded that his own lawyers not raise a mental-defect defense. On the eve of trial, his request to represent himself threw the case into turmoil.

Judge Burrell denied that request yesterday, against the advice of both prosecutors and the defense lawyers and despite Sixth Amendment rights to self-representation. If an appeals court later ruled that Judge Burrell's decision was incorrect, any guilty verdict reached at trial could have been overturned.

Advocates of the death penalty for Mr. Kaczynski have said that his ability to create bizarre legal problems is evidence that he is clever and sane. But the medical evaluations show otherwise. Public safety and the interests of humane justice are best served by a life sentence without parole.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1998

Ron Brown Scholarships Open Doors For Blacks

By IAN ZACK

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Feb. 10 — Entering its second year, the Ron Brown Scholar Program has quickly emerged as the nation's most lucrative scholarship for black students — and one of the most important.

The other day, the modest office here of the scholarship director, Michael Mallory, was inundated with envelopes. Big Manila ones and small white ones were stacked perilously on desks, piled on the carpeted floor and crammed into gray plastic postal crates. "This is incredible," Mr. Mallory gloated. "I am seeing the best black kids in the country."

The program was established in honor of Mr. Brown after he was killed in April 1996 in a plane crash in Croatia while he was Commerce Secretary. Recipients receive \$40,000 toward an undergraduate degree.

Mr. Mallory, a 40-year-old former admissions officer for the University of Virginia, is working to select the next group, sorting through the records of more than 4,000 black high school seniors around the United States to whittle the contenders to about 500. A selection committee will narrow the list to 60 semifinalists and then 20 finalists, who will compete next month in a three-day series of interviews and seminars.

Last year, the finalists were so impressive that the selection committee, which conducted interviews at the Washington offices of the Patton & Boggs law firm, decided to award scholarships to all 20, instead of narrowing the field to 10 winners.

The scholarships are financed by the CAP Foundation, a philanthropic organization in Charlottesville that was started by the multimillionaire Anthony M. Pilaro, who earned part of his fortune in the duty-free goods industry.

Profiles of the first-year recipients reveal a great variety of circumstances: Family incomes range from a high of \$101,000 to a low (in three cases) of zero. Six of the scholars come from single-parent families. One, whose father is an economist and whose mother is an intelligence officer, scored a perfect 1600 on her S.A.T.'s; another, whose mother died of drug-related health problems and whose father is in jail, finished third in her high school class with a 3.8 grade point average.

The students are finishing their freshman years at colleges that include Harvard, Princeton, Brown, Stanford, Virginia, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Pennsylvania.

"These groups of young people that we're talking about here can be considered a beacon," said Dennis Hightower, a member of the selection panel who is a former president of Disney's television and telecommunications division and now teaches at Harvard Business School. "Here is an example of unbridled ability. We have got to find more of our youngsters like this across all racial lines if we are going to be the world leader we expect ourselves to be."

The Ron Brown scholars are expected to serve the community during summer internships and after college, a task that Yolanda Covington, an 18-year-old freshman at Brown University, said she relishes.

"So many people, they make it, they make money and they keep on going," said Ms. Covington, who grew up one of five children of a single mother on welfare in the Morrisania housing projects in the Bronx. "They forget about everyone who helped them."

Ms. Covington, who went to Strath Haven High School in Swarthmore, Pa., at no cost to her family through a program called "A Better Chance," plans to become a doctor.

"I still want to become a doctor and a successful one at that, but I want to open up a practice, probably in an African-American community," said Ms. Covington, who noted: "There's still a lot of distrust in the African-American community of hospitals."

Michael Billings, a freshman at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business, has come a long way since he ran away from his home in Salt Lake City at age 13. He left to escape his unemployed mother's drinking shortly after the man who lived with her died of drug-related causes in the family's sparsely furnished living room.

After living in a park for part of that summer, Mr. Billings was taken in by friends, whose families sent him to a private school, where he earned a 4.0 high school grade point average.

"Ever since I was in the sixth grade, I knew I was going to go to college and I knew the only way I was going to be able to afford to pay for college was to get a scholarship, so I had to do well," said Mr. Billings, 19. "I decided that I didn't want to live with my mom because I didn't think she was going to take care of her problems. I didn't care if I was on the street."

"Education really opens incredible doors for you," Mr. Billings added. "People have really been willing to help me."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1998

More Details Seen in Health Care Inquiry

U.S. Affidavit on Columbia/HCA Describes Cheating Allegations

By KURT EICHENWALD

Sweeping Federal investigations of the Columbia/HCA Healthcare Corporation are focusing on whether the company cheated Federal health programs, lied to a hospital accreditation commission and offered illegal compensation for doctors' referrals of patients, according to a Government affidavit that was partly unsealed yesterday.

Most of the allegations in the affidavit have been previously disclosed in news reports. And indeed, much of the affidavit, filed July 7 in support of the Government's efforts to obtain warrants to raid Columbia hospitals and offices, was unsealed last fall. But with the filing of the more fully unsealed document, the Government for the first time has publicly disclosed the full range of the Columbia inquiries, as well as newly revealing certain evidence and testimony it has obtained.

In particular, the newly unsealed portions of the document described in great detail how the Government believed that Columbia cheated programs such as Medicare by misreporting costs. One witness has told the Government that in order to manipulate a complex reimbursement calculation for home care agencies Columbia has paid \$13 in administrative costs a visit, when the true cost of service was only \$3.

The document also said that the Government had obtained evidence that Columbia hospitals improperly

portrayed nonreimbursable costs for marketing and sales as "community education," which are reimbursable. Indeed, the document said, directors of community education had received bonuses and incentives for developing sales. Rather than providing health education to the community, the affidavit said, executives charged with that responsibility spend most of their time making sales calls to doctors and "hunting" for patients, the document said.

The misrepresentation of community education alone, the Govern-

'Community education' turns out to be sales calls.

ment has been told, results in an overstatement of Columbia's reimbursable costs of \$30 million to \$40 million annually, the document said.

Prosecutors in Fort Myers, Fla. and El Paso, are investigating whether Columbia purposefully misreported costs to the Government to illegally increase Federal compensation and submitted false bills for services rendered, the document says. A third portion of the criminal investigation, in Salt Lake City, is focusing on a possible scheme "involving Columbia hospitals operating throughout the United States" involving fraudulent bills for laboratory tests, it said.

In addition, the El Paso investigators are examining whether the company submitted false records to the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Health Care Organizations, the main hospital accreditation group and provided compensation to doctors "as specific inducements for patient referrals to Columbia facilities," the affidavit said.

In a statement, Victor Campbell, a Columbia senior vice president, said, "This information does not appear to present new issues regarding the Government's investigation," and said that the company would continue to work to resolve the case. He noted that since the affidavit was written the company had replaced its top managers, and made a series of changes in its operations.

The most detailed new information unsealed yesterday involved suspected schemes to inflate costs at Columbia's home care agencies. While the methods of those schemes have been reported, the details obtained by the Government have not.

The affidavit, by Joseph Ford, an agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said that Columbia acquired a group of home care agencies for a price far lower than comparable deals, but then entered into management agreements with the seller, Olsten Health Management, a subsidiary of the Olsten Corporation. Under the deal, Olsten was allowed to bill between \$9.95 and \$10.50 a visit. Such a transaction could allow Columbia to shift acquisition costs that are not reimbursable by the Government into administrative costs that are.

In addition, according to the affidavit, a witness told the Government that Columbia was paying a management agency it owned an additional \$3 a patient visit, even though the services paid for were duplicative of Olsten. The witness said that "Medicare, therefore, is paying approximately \$13 a visit, of which \$3 is the true cost of services."

Home care, like other outpatient services, are reimbursed on the basis of cost, meaning that the more expenses incurred, the higher the revenues.

The allegations are consistent with the findings of a New York Times computer analysis conducted last year. The analysis found that in Florida the typical Columbia agency reported \$25.82 of administrative costs a visit, compared with \$16.88 for the typical competitor. In Texas, the typical Columbia agency spent \$21.74, compared with \$16.80.

The affidavit also spelled out documents obtained by the Government indicating that officials purportedly working in public education are in fact engaged in marketing and sales. They include a document from the home care division that states, "The primary marketing resources at the disposal of any of the Columbia home care agencies are the community education coordinator and home care coordinator."

According to the affidavit, the same document said that "roughly 70 percent of the educator's time should be spent on" developing referral sources.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1998

Integrated Magnet School Leaves Students Poles Apart

In Indiana, Resegregation by Curriculum

By Jon Jeter
Washington Post Staff Writer

INDIANAPOLIS—The fine arts and humanities program at Broad Ripple High School here provides 640 select students with the educational equivalent of penthouse accommodations. Teachers assigned to the magnet program are the best and the brightest. Classes are sometimes as small as a dozen pupils. And if a student is having trouble mastering piano, saxophone or trumpet, the school picks up the tab for private lessons.

The school's 1,300 other students, however, are not so fortunate. Their classrooms are crowded with as many as three dozen students. Some teachers permit disengaged students to sleep in class. Classes for students interested in drafting, car-

pentry or mechanics have been whittled to almost nothing. And in recent years, the superintendent here said, Broad Ripple has generated more complaints than any other city high school from parents and children—mostly young black males—who say the administration is indifferent, if not hostile, to them.

This northside high school occupies an imperfect middle ground in America's efforts to integrate public schools.

Indianapolis's careful desegregation measures bring a mix of black and white students to Broad Ripple's door every morning, only to resegregate them all over again by the time they sit down for class a few minutes later.

This process of separation by curriculum takes place daily at
See SCHOOLS, A12, Col. 1

SCHOOLS, From A1

urban schools across the country, subtly offsetting hard-fought gains in desegregation that have occurred in the last quarter-century.

The result is that while segregation has receded, it also has been repackaged. Students in the magnet schools are sorted by scholastic ability, which is to a large extent a product of their parents' social and educational status and race.

"It's really a cruel inequity that takes place at these schools," said Gary Orfield, a Harvard University professor of education and social policy and co-director of Harvard school desegregation project. "In

truth, most kids who attend central city schools are treated as second-class citizens, but a lot of times the parents and the kids just don't know it. Here, you can actually see it up close."

Washington-area school systems also have periodically wrestled with questions of how to best mix students in magnet schools. A 1990 study in Montgomery County concluded that magnet schools there "appear to have resegregated students in much closer quarters." Principals have taken steps to provide more opportunities for students to commingle since then, but concerns have recently flared anew as a number of high schools have launched special academic or "signature" programs within their walls.

In Prince George's County, parents of students in regular high school classes occasionally complain that their children are being short-changed by the magnet programs in their schools, which they claim often are better equipped and served by more experienced teachers. And in Alexandria, administrators in 1993 changed classroom assignments for nearly one-third of the city's middle school students after parents complained of racial imbalances in some classes grouped by academic ability.

When a federal judge ordered Indianapolis to integrate its schools in the 1970s, the city did what many other cities did: mingle black pupils with white through a combination of busing and magnet programs designed to keep white parents from sending their children to suburban and parochial schools. The results are ambiguous, according to education and social policy experts.

"This," said Wayne Wellington, Broad Ripple's new principal, "is the school of the 'mag-nets' and the 'mag-nots.' It really is like having two different schools under one roof. The trick is to keep them from heading in opposite directions."

With its "school within a school" approach to desegregation, Broad Ripple provides a particularly vivid—if not unique—example of the subtle ways in which poorer minority students continue to be isolated from their more affluent classmates a generation after the federal judiciary first intervened to remake the racial composition of urban school districts across the nation.

"It's what we call 'in-school segregation,'" said Fred Hess, a professor of education and social policy at Northeastern University. "It's closer to the goal of desegregation, but you really have one group of kids who are very successful and the other group of kids who are not. And a school tends to reinforce that division in the way it allocates both its resources and attention."

Located in an enviable northside neighborhood of stately brick homes, hip restaurants and fashionable boutiques, Broad Ripple has for years been regarded as the jewel of the city public high schools. Its graduates include the comedian David Letterman; the city's mayor, Stephen Goldsmith; and Marilyn Quayle, the wife of former vice president Dan Quayle.

In the nearly two decades since its inception, the magnet has done nothing to tarnish Broad Ripple's reputation. Many of its students score well on college entrance exams, go on to attend prestigious colleges and universities, and have won more awards in a metro-wide performing and visual arts contest than any other school, public or private.

But the desegregation strategy has dramatically changed the school's complexion and culture. Roughly 71 percent of the school's 2,000 students are black, 26 percent are white and 3 percent are Asian or Latino. Nearly half the students enrolled last year were poor enough to qualify for free or reduced-price lunches.

Of the 477 white pupils enrolled this year, nearly half are in the magnet program. The figure for blacks is roughly 20 percent.

In touting integration at Broad Ripple, teachers, administrators and parents are quick to point out that magnet students are required to attend at least half their classes with nonmagnet classmates. Still, almost everyone involved with the school seems to recognize the socioeconomic fault lines—often, but not always, paralleling racial fault lines—that have split this school in two.

Until only recently, for example, magnet teachers and nonmagnet teachers barely spoke to each other, said Corrie Wilson, a retiring arts teacher, and Ralph Bedwell, the director of the magnet program. Faculty members began holding special meetings to improve relationships between the two groups, Bedwell said.

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1998

1/2

Hispanic Teens' Birthrate Ranks 1st of Ethnic Groups

Blacks No Longer Have Highest Incidence

By Barbara Vobejda
and Pamela Constable
Washington Post Staff Writers

A

The percentage of Hispanic teenagers who give birth has surpassed that of African American teenagers for the first time, with both groups more than twice as likely as whites to become mothers before they turn 20, the federal government reported yesterday.

In 1995, nearly 11 percent of Hispanic teenagers gave birth, compared with about 10 percent of black teenagers and 4 percent of non-Hispanic white teenagers. While the rates for black and white teenagers have declined in recent years, the figures for Hispanics have continued to rise, driven by a 32 percent increase among Mexican Americans since 1989.

The figures represent an important benchmark in teenage birthrates and provide more evidence that Hispanics, the nation's fastest-grow-

ing minority group, increasingly are suffering from the problems that historically have plagued African Americans. In 1995, for example, the poverty rate among Hispanics was greater than the figure for blacks for the first time. Hispanics also have higher out-of-wedlock birthrates than African Americans and have the lowest rates of high school and college graduation.

The new study, issued by the National Center for Health Statistics, also underscored what many find a troubling phenomenon in the immigrant community: Hispanics born in this country were more likely than Hispanics who moved here from their homeland to give birth as teenagers, to have babies outside of marriage and to have babies with low birth weights.

"That's the negative aspect of acculturation. The same problems that plague native-born Americans start plaguing second-generation immi-

See BIRTHS, A10, Col. 1

BIRTHS, From A1

grants," said Harry Pachon, president of the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, a California research group that focuses on Hispanics.

Over the past decade, the daunting social challenge posed by high

rates of teenage birth has become much more apparent in the Hispanic community. Experts widely agree that babies born to teenagers are much more likely to be raised in poverty, by poorly educated parents and, as a result, with less chance of economic advancement.

Teenage births are a particularly striking problem among Mexican Americans, the largest Hispanic group in this country. In 1989, 9 percent of Mexican American teenagers gave birth, a figure that climbed to more than 12 percent by 1995.

Still, whites make up two-thirds of the population, so in sheer numbers, more babies are born to non-Hispanic white teenage mothers than any other group—more than 230,000 in 1995, compared with about 131,000 for blacks and 118,000 for Hispanics.

In the Washington area, counselors who work with pregnant and sexually active Hispanic girls said many become pregnant for the same reasons as white or African American girls: lack of information, desire for love and embarrassment about using birth control.

But they also cited a number of additional factors, including a reluctance to obtain abortions for religious reasons. Most Hispanics are Roman Catholic, and their daughters grow up with a strong taboo against

See BIRTHS, A11, Col. 1

BIRTHS, From A10

abortion, even if they are sexually active.

"Once a Latino girl gets pregnant, I would say 98 percent do not see abortion as an option," said Elida Vargas, who directs the adolescent program at Mary's Center, a nonprofit clinic in Adams-Morgan.

Vargas also said many young Hispanic girls she counsels do not realize how easily they can become pregnant, especially those who speak little English or have arrived recently in the United States. Some think they are too young to conceive, and others don't realize that sex leads to pregnancy, Vargas said.

Another factor, especially among teenagers from Central America in this area, is that many girls live with single

mothers or parents who work at night, leaving them with little adult supervision and guidance.

"It is very difficult for Latina girls to talk openly with their mothers about sex, because the mothers never talked about it with their own mothers and don't know what to say," said Linda Ohmans, who directs a teenage parent program at the Latin American Youth Center in Columbia Heights.

More than other girls, Ohmans said, those raised in Hispanic homes also view motherhood—even if it comes early and by accident—as an acceptable part of life rather than something that should be postponed for the sake of education and career.

In Arlington, a study over the past several years by the public school system found that the number of preg-

nant Hispanic girls enrolled in school was much higher than for other girls. In 1996, 61 of the girls who were pregnant were Hispanic, 16 were African American and three were white.

Brenda, an 18-year-old who was raised in El Salvador and came to live with her mother in the United States, has one child and is pregnant again. She said her mother was unhappy about it and that many of her classmates had asked her why she didn't use birth control.

"I wish I had done a lot of things differently now. I wish I had listened to my mom," said Brenda, who asked that her last name not be used. "My mom told me I was too young, that I should get a shot or a pill, but I was crazy to have a kid. Now there will be two."

While their birthrates are now highest, more Hispanic teenage mothers are married than are black teenage mothers. But in both groups, the vast majority are unmarried—67 percent among Hispanic teenagers and 95 percent among black teenagers.

T.J. Mathews, a demographer at the statistics center and lead researcher on the study, argued that although Hispanics often are treated as a group, dramatic statistical differences between Mexican Americans and other subgroups are important.

For example, just 8 percent of births to Cuban Americans in 1995 were to teenagers, while the figure was 24 percent for Puerto Ricans, 20 percent for Mexican Americans and 11 percent for Central and South Americans. For African Americans, the figure was 23 percent and for whites, 10 percent.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1998