



Aztec Printing Company

June 13, 1997

Gerry Braun
Ruth L. McKinnie
Staff Writers
SD Union

As professionals, let me ask you, how can the both of you and the SD Union justify your June 12, 1997 article on "race relations," when:

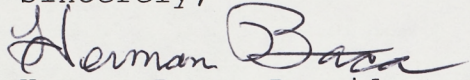
1. You have ignored 23% (your figure, I say over 30%) of the county's population....the Chicano community?
2. You failed and ignored to address the most "explosive" race relation issue facing not only San Diego County, California, and the U.S...Immigration and the U.S./Mexico border, where at the present time there is a war brewing (see SD Union article 6/9/97.) Tell me, do you for one minute believe that if the border explodes, that it will not effect "race relations" in S.D. County, California, or the U.S.?
3. You ignored and failed to interview or quote one chicano politician, any organizational head , or community leader on any of the myraid of issues that effect 1/3 of the county's population.
4. You failed to address one issue i.e. education, political representation, immigration, employment, health, housing, youth, etc., which effect 1/3% of the county's population.

Let me ask you, since you have conveniently ignored the above (and also excluded the Native American and Asian/Pacific Islander) did the SD Union have you frame the "race relations" issue in Black and White terms (blacks make but 6% of the county and state population), maybe because as you stated in your 6/12/97 article, "San Diego at large find ways to avoid direct discussion of issues affecting it's minority population.

**710 E. 3rd Street
National City CA 91950
(619) 477-3800**

Whatever the reasons, let me state in closing that you can ignore 1/3 of the population as you have done in your article, or even ignore this letter, but for the record, your article besides being shallow, subjective and unprofessional, is as absurd, ridiculous and laughable as the "race relation" comment that you attributed to, negro leader Dennis V. Allen, in 1961, that "Today his hometown has no race relation problems". and "Today, there is not a city in America boasting relations among our several racial groups better than the city of San Diego".

Sincerely;


Herman Baca, President

cc. News Media



Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc

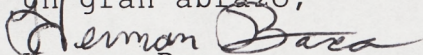
June 17, 1997

Frank Del Olmo
L.A. Times

Estimado Frank:

Good talking to you. As per our conversation, enclosed is my "opinion" piece. Whatever you can do, will be appreciated.

Un gran abrazo;


Herman Baca

P.S. I am available for interviews
on this issue.

**710 E. 3rd Street
National City CA 91950
(619) 477-3800**



Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc

June 17, 1997

"RACE RELATIONS" AND CALIFORNIA'S CHICANO/LATINO COMMUNITY

President Bill Clinton's speech on "Race Relations" in San Diego, California at the campus of U.C.S.D. on June 16, 1997 was notable, not for what the President said (which the U.S. has heard since the first days of slavery), but rather for what the President failed to say or address in the new demographics of race as all of us enter the 21st century.

Many in the Chicano/Latino community have expressed disbelief and have commented as to who advised the President on "race relations", and how he expected to be taken serious, when:

- 1) The President virtually ignored 30% (which in two decades will comprise the majority in California) of the population in California..the Chicano/Latino community?
- 2) The President ignored and failed to mention or address the most explosive "race relation" issue confronting both the state and the U.S.....immigration and the U.S./Mexico border, where shots have been exchanged across the border in recent months. Does anyone in U.S. society seriously believe, that if the border explodes that it is not going to effect "race relations" in California and the U.S.?
- 3) The President failed to include or highlight any Chicano/Latino politician, organizational head, or community leader.
- 4) The President failed to address or mention one issue^{AND} how it specifically effects the Chicano/Latino community i.e. Education, political representation, immigration, police brutality, unemployment, health, housing, etc.

-OVER-

**710 E. 3rd Street
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That the President was ill advised to ignore the above, the existence of California's other ethnic groups, the Asian/Pacific/Islander and Native American populations, and to opt to frame the "race" issue in 1950 terms of being a Black and White problem, with his advisors knowing full well that Blacks comprise but 6% of the states population, is not simply an oversight, but an insult. This failure by the President to recognize the fact that California is now the first third world state in the U.S. has raised serious questions about the Presidents political intentions, and many have raised the issue that the President has once again taken the "politiclly correct" and easy way out.

Whatever the truth, the Facts remain that as this country debates the President's address, and prepares to enter the 21st century, that the "race" issue can no longer continue to be defined as a Black and White problem. The issue has become much more diverse, complicated, and complex.

If, honest solutions are to be found to this historical problem, then the issue of "race" is going to have to be re-studied, re-defined, and include the various ethnic groups which make up U.S. society in 1997.

To ignore this new demographic fact and reality will only spell doom for President Bill Clinton's proposed dialogue, proposals, and solutions to address and resolve this country's "race" problems.

By:

Herman Baca, President
Committee on Chicano Rights

La Prensa San Diego

EDITORIALS / OPINIONS

Founded 1976

Daniel L. Muñoz, Publisher
Daniel H. Muñoz, Jr., Editor

La Prensa Muñoz Inc., Publications

President Clinton We Heard The Words. When Does The Action Start?

San Diego, the Viet Nam of the South West, bids you farewell. Mr. President, you left the beautiful campus of the University of California at San Diego believing that San Diego must indeed be "Americas Finest City" full of joy, love, and diversity. Unfortunately, that is a view promoted only by the 'Chamber of Commerce', the *Union Tribune*, and the San Diego City Administration. You missed the warts that they so expertly covered over with their 'Black and White' presentation. You see, they know very well your weaknesses and hang-ups as a Southern Gentleman.

As you looked out over the sea of faces at the graduation did you note how few Brown faces were present? That is except for those bussed in for the cheering section and to give the appearance that the much touted diversity, integration, and inclusion really exist in San Diego. In the future, there will be even less minorities in the U.C. system. Governor Wilson, with the assistance of his "colored" Board Member, Ward Connley and the U.C. Board of Trustees took care of that with Prop 209, Prop 187, and the disastrous funding of prisons in the state over educational facilities.

The City and the County of San Diego have single-handedly set back the course of race relations to a degree which is only matched by that of the city of Santa Ana, in Orange county. The two comprise the rotten core of the worse of human nature.

The facts, President Clinton, which mitigate against your theme of your Commencement Speech ever seeing fruition in San Diego County and the State are:

POLITICALLY: There are 18 municipalities in the County of San Diego. Only one has a Hispanic Mayor, the City of La Mesa. Of the 76 elective Council seats, only six are held by Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Latinos or Hispanos. In the County of San Diego: We have zero. Not one sitting on the Board of Supervisors! In the State Senate: of the Five elected officials from San Diego County there is not one Chicano or Latino elected from San Diego county!

In the State Assembly: of the nine Assembly seats ONE is held by a half Irish-half Mexican American woman.

In the House of Representatives in Washington... "NADA", nothing, we have zero representation. In the U.S. Senate there are no Mexican Americans, Latinos, or Chicanos.

MR PRESIDENT we have 0.14 Hispanos, Mexican Americans, Chicanos, or Latinos representing over 600,000 (30%) of their kind in the County of San Diego!

"THERE IS NO DIVERSITY, NO INTEGRATION, NO REPRESENTATION."

are:

- AN armed border, carrying out a war of attrition akin to Viet-Nam
- Armed Marines and National Guard are deployed on the border area. Killings, shootings, beatings, are so common that we take them for granted. Forget the Constitution which prohibits the use of military armed forces in the civilian areas unless we have a national emergency... At last reading we haven't heard that you declared one.

A gross denial of our civil and constitutional rights is in effect in the city and county of San Diego.

- The Police, Sheriff, Deputies and other empowered forces of "law and order" routinely arrest, harass, beat, and often wound and kill minorities. Our jails and prisons are overflowing with "Brown and Black criminals." In San Diego little if any crime is committed by those of the White color.

- The majority of the law enforcement personnel are White as well as the majority of the Judiciary.

Economic oppression is carried out with impunity.

- Though we are the largest minority group in the County of San Diego (30 percent), we are at the bottom of the economic scale, the majority live in substandard housing in ethnic barrios and ghettos, with little access to positions in the private economy we are, in the main, restricted to the lowest paying jobs in the economy. We are under-represented in the City, County, Federal and private employment rolls.

The education of minorities in San Diego county is a national disgrace.

- Our education is deplorable. The Mexican-American students are the most under-achieving students in the public school systems. They suffer the highest drop out rates and are taught in the most dilapidated schools in the county. Regularly, the public schools graduate functional illiterates. Our minority students are at the bottom of the educational barrel. It is criminal what happens to our children in the San Diego County Public school system.

This is but the 'short list' of life in "America's Finest City"... The city that claims to be a diverse city with equality for all; A City of values; A City which eliminated affirmative marketing, equal opportunity and/or equality before the "Lady of Justice.

We heard you "speak the words" at the University of California at San Diego... We have heard them all... How much longer will

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President follows up in TV blitz

Defends his San Diego call for national dialogue on race

By Sonya Ross
ASSOCIATED PRESS

S.D. 5/10/97
6/16/97

WASHINGTON — With his national dialogue on race barely under way, President Clinton defended the idea yesterday as a good use of the presidency, "still an effective bully pulpit" for resolving conflict among the races.

A poll released yesterday might suggest otherwise. It said more than half of Americans consider racism an intractable dilemma that no president can control.

In a flurry of television interviews, Clinton sought to dispel his critics' argument that the campaign he unveiled Saturday in San Diego, which revolves around having Americans speak out before a presidential advisory board, will produce a lot of talk about race but little or no official action.

Where Clinton is most likely to feel the sting is on affirmative action. Critics say he was absent on that issue during the most inflamed moments of the debate over California's Proposition 209, which, if it survives court challenges, will eliminate race-based considerations in university admissions and in state hiring and contracting.

"Where was the president when the issue was engaged?" conservative William Bennett asked on CBS' "Face the Nation." "He was not going to anger anybody in California by coming out on the wrong side, or the right side, so he was silent. That's not political leadership."

But Clinton, on CNN's "Late Edition," said the overall problem of race is much more complex than the affirmative action debate.

"There are other issues here," he said, and having Americans voice their opinions about them before the advisory board will give the president the information he needs to try to solve the problems.

"I believe about eight in 10 Americans would think that was worth doing," Clinton said on "CBS Sunday Morning." "The presidency is still an effective bully pulpit."

A CBS News poll released yesterday indicated that 58 percent of Americans believe racial problems are beyond the president's control, up from 46 percent four years ago. Sixty-six percent of black

Clinton

'I'm not trying to run from responsibilities'

Continued from A-1

respondents and 53 percent of whites said race relations in the United States are "generally bad."

The poll also reflected stark racial splits: 71 percent of blacks, but only 32 percent of whites, said improving race relations is among the most important things America needs for its future.

Sixty-two percent of whites, but only 26 percent of blacks, said race is important, but so are other issues. And 53 percent of whites said Clinton is taking on racism to "guarantee his place in history," while 47 percent of blacks said he is doing it "because he really cares."

The poll was conducted by telephone June 10-11 with 1,021 randomly selected adults. It had a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The White House said the poll reflects the problems that Clinton identified, and things may change once people begin talking. "The president believes, first and foremost, get people involved in this discussion," said White House spokesman Josh Silverman.

At the center of Clinton's initiative is a yearlong series of town hall meetings before the advisory board, which will offer recommendations that the White House will compile into a report on coping with the country's new multiracial, multiethnic reality.

"I consciously set it up as an advisory board so that I could not keep my distance from it," Clinton told CNN. "I'm not trying to run from responsibilities."

Clinton also will propose legislative and other initiatives to address race-based problems in such areas as employment, housing, law enforcement and education. He directed his Cabinet to begin working on proposals right away.

Labor Secretary Alexis Herman said she will assemble her top aides starting today to weave Clinton's goals into the five-point agenda she has set for her agency.

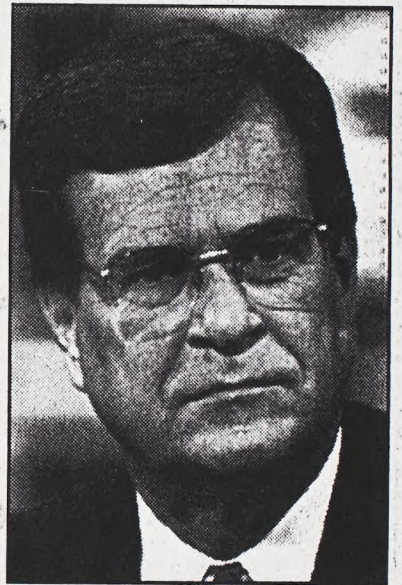
She said her agenda includes improving skills of all workers, helping move people from welfare to work, improving pension and retirement benefits, establishing "healthy, discrimination-free" workplaces and helping workers shoulder the dual demands of work and family.

Lani Guinier, the University of Pennsylvania law professor who in

1993 was selected by Clinton, then dropped, as his chief civil rights enforcer, told CBS the president "is doing us a service" by ordering a frank assessment of where America stands on race.

"Race camouflages issues of class and privilege that affect not only people of color, but working-class and poor whites and all Americans who are financially challenged," she said.

Clinton said he will think about extending an apology to black



"We should have an apology for what (is) happening in America today — the poor quality of schools, the danger in the schools, the lack of opportunity."

TRENT LOTT
Senate majority leader

Americans for the slavery their ancestors endured. A dozen white members of Congress proposed the idea and suggested it could start the type of racial healing that Clinton wants.

"To say it's wrong and that we're sorry about it is not a bad thing. That doesn't weaken us," Clinton told CNN. "Now, whether this legislation should pass, I just need some time to think about that."

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, on ABC's "This Week," said the apology bill "probably would not happen."

"We should have an apology for what (is) happening in America today — the poor quality of schools, the danger in the schools, the lack of opportunity," Lott said.

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UCSD

Clinton aide calls university chancellor

Continued from A-1

home on a modern, public research university: fear, indolence and indifference."

The turn of events triggered sharp comments from leaders of a community group, the Coalition for Equality, which called the faculty's vote "shocking," and also drew an inquiry from the White House.

And other charter proponents characterized rejection of the charter school as a turning point for UCSD and Dynes, chancellor less than a year.

The co-founders of the coalition, City Club president George Mitrovich and the president of the Catfish Club, the Rev. George Walker Smith, called on "other members of the college and university community in San Diego to accept the challenge UCSD declined."

The faculty's 362-293 vote and Lytle's subsequent resignation suggest that "racial harmony at UCSD is quite different from what is claimed," Mitrovich and Walker said in a statement. "We are well aware that racial divisions exist within our society, but it is always shocking when you find it at an institution of higher learning, especially one as esteemed as UCSD."

Dynes, however, said the vote reflects issues that have nothing to do with the pros and cons of promoting diversity, a primary goal of the charter proposal.

Among those concerns, he said, were doubts by some as to whether the university had the know-how to successfully operate a charter school and questions of whether the money needed to support it could be spent in a way that benefits more students.

"I don't think there's racial division on the campus," said Dynes, who has repeatedly expressed his determination to increase the number of underrepresented minorities at UCSD.

Dynes said a Clinton aide called yesterday with questions about a number of matters, including Lytle's resignation, bearing on the theme of the president's Saturday morning commencement address.

"I think they just want to know the lay of the land," Dynes said.

In Washington, White House Communications Director Ann Lewis, who said she talked with Dynes, said the flap helps make the president's point that race remains a tough issue in today's society.



Cecil Lytle

"What's happening is a striking reminder that what we are about and what we hope to achieve are not going to be easy, that this is not about easy answers," she said.

Lewis indicated that Clinton does not want to be drawn into the battle over a charter high school for UCSD.

"The president believes in charter schools and supports charter schools," said Lewis. "But I don't see him getting into the issue of whether UC San Diego should have a charter school."

On campus, Rafael Hernandez, dean of student affairs at Thurgood Marshall College, said the faculty vote was "an indication that we need to look at our diversity efforts and really examine our commitment to diversity."

Andrew Sutherland, a UCSD graduate who was a member of the charter school steering committee, said he returned his diploma to the chancellor after last week's faculty vote "because I felt shame for this university."

Sutherland faulted Dynes for announcing he was forming a new joint faculty-administration committee to work up a new plan for some type of school or academy.

"He could have consulted with the steering committee . . . Instead he has chosen to scrap three years of work," Sutherland said.

On a related note, Dynes in his press conference said *The San Diego Union-Tribune* erred yesterday



J.T. Lovette

Robert C. Dynes: "I don't think there's racial division on the campus," UCSD chancellor says.

in reporting the new committee would be headed by Georgios Anagnostopoulos, outgoing chairman of the Faculty Senate's representative assembly, and Darrell D. Farnestil, the new chairman and an opponent of the charter proposal. Citing the text of his Wednesday remarks, Dynes noted that the two will only help him appoint the committee, not serve on it.

George E. Condon Jr. of Copley News Service's Washington bureau contributed to this report.

Blues legend

John Lee Hooker, 79, is at a loss to explain popularity.



NBA Finals

Jordan drills clutch 3-pointer in Bulls' win. **Sports, D-1**



Class of '97

A day in the life of six June grads. **Local news, B-1**

Thursday

June 12, 1997

The San Diego

Union-Tribune.

South County

35¢
Tax included

UCSD in spin over provost resigning

Chancellor wants Lytle to stay on job

By Jeff Ristine
STAFF WRITER

Three days before President Clinton visits UC San Diego to call for better race relations, the campus was spinning over the resignation of a provost who said the university lacks the resolve to do its part.

UCSD Chancellor Robert C. Dynes told reporters yesterday that he has not accepted the resignation of Cecil W. Lytle, head of Thurgood Marshall College, and that he hopes to persuade him to stay on.

Hours later and minutes before a private talk to the Marshall College staff, however, Lytle said: "I don't see how he can do anything to change my mind."

Lytle prepared the resignation Tuesday night after Dynes accepted a faculty vote recommendation against starting an on-campus charter high school for promising, in-

DO WE ALL GET ALONG?



Children line up for tennis class at North Park's Park & Recreation Center. North Park is one of a handful of census tracts that reflects the county's diversity. JERRY RIFE / Union-Tribune

San Diego's race relations contend with a few sour notes

In a "Dear Bob" letter to Dynes, Lytle said the "faculty rebuff" of the proposed school suggests UCSD lacks "the will and the imagination" to promote diversity in an era when affirmative action is illegal.

"Your announcement before the UCSD Representative Assembly ... not to pursue this project is more than a personal and a professional defeat," Lytle said in his letter. "The announcement presents the campus as gutless and unimaginative in the face of three prevailing attributes that should not have a

See UCSD on Page A-18

Parents make final plea for McVeigh's life

By Michael Fleeman
ASSOCIATED PRESS

DENVER — Timothy McVeigh wiped an eye as his parents pleaded for his life yesterday, using home movies to show him as a happy, loving, good son, "not the monster he has been portrayed as."

Jurors sat grim-faced through the testimony, the last in the trial's penalty phase. After hearing closing arguments today, they will begin deliberating whether McVeigh should die by injection for the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building that killed 168 people.

See McVEIGH on Page A-10

By Gerry Braun
and Ruth L. McKinnie
STAFF WRITERS

Autumn of 1961 was not a particularly auspicious time for race relations in San Diego.

Blacks were not welcome to live in many neighborhoods, nor dine in many of the nicer restaurants. The public schools were a few years removed from a federal desegregation order. From country clubs to labor unions, virtually every institution was lily white.

Yet the city fathers were about to get a buoyant assessment of San Diego's racial dynamics from a man they turned to for

such advice.

Dennis V. Allen, a 78-year-old black retired postal worker and founding president of the San Diego Race Relations Society, declared that his hometown had no race-relations problems.

"Today, there is not a city in America boasting relations among our several racial groups better than the city of San Diego," he told the City Council.

Nearly four decades later, many people still hold Allen's view — that San Diegans, regardless of color, can and do get along.

After all, San Diego escaped many of the problems of other metropolitan areas, even

with its proximity to Mexico, its 18 American Indian reservations countywide and its growing Hispanic and Asian populations.

In the 1960s, it was spared from race riots stemming from America's civil rights struggle. Following the 1992 acquittal of four white police officers in the beating of black motorist Rodney King, it stayed relatively calm while Los Angeles erupted.

In light of President Clinton's decision to address U.S. race relations Saturday in a commencement speech at UCSD, San Diegans may be tempted to think of their county as an example for the nation.

Maybe Dennis Allen was a prophet in his

own land.

Or perhaps San Diego is in denial, just as St. Petersburg, Fla., evidently was before last October, when the fatal shooting of a black motorist by a white police officer sparked two days of rioting. The melee transformed a tranquil beach town, stunning the white population and prompting the city's human relations director to confess, "I'm baffled."

"Many people look at the absence of visible conflict between the races and conclude

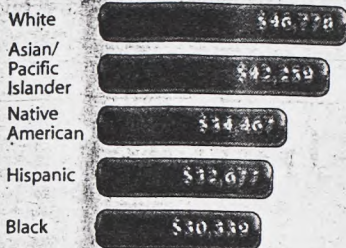
See RACE on Page A-20

San Diego County population by race, 1996

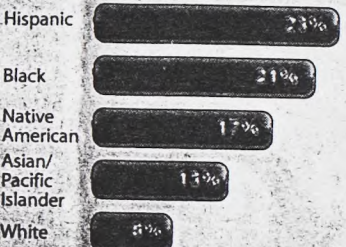


Average household income

Figures are from 1990:

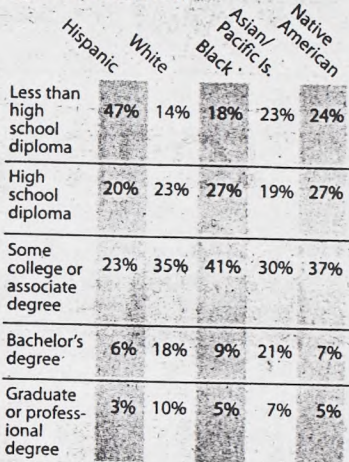


Living below the poverty line



Education

Figures are from 1990:



SOURCES: 1990 U.S. Census; San Diego Assoc. of Governments Demographic Characteristics Estimate

Research by RUTH L. MCKINNIE / Union-Tribune

DAVID HARDMAN / Union-Tribune

SPEAKING OF RACE

The President's Visit

■ **What:** President Clinton, the commencement speaker at UCSD, plans to address race relations in America.

■ **When:** 9 a.m. Saturday, ceremony begins; about 10 a.m., president scheduled to speak. Event open only to those with tickets.

■ **Today in Currents:** Recalling JFK's talk to San Diego State graduates; from Oprah to the president, commencement speakers have star power.

■ **Tomorrow:** President Clinton's life and record through the prism of race.

■ **Saturday:** San Diego County residents speak from the heart on race.

■ **Sunday:** Four pages of news and analysis of the president's speech.

Inside



Suspect held:
A National City hospital security guard who worked with Diane "De De" Michelle Loper has been arrested in her disappearance. Page B-1.

Ann & Abby	E-2	Horoscope	F-7
Diane Bell	B-1	Lottery	B-2
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Weather

Today

Cooler temperatures; cloudy skies.
68-60 Coast — 77-56 Inland

Tomorrow

Cool and cloudy; chance of showers.
68-60 Coast — 75-54 Inland

See Page C-8



A Copley Newspaper
9 Sections, 150 Pages

1960-1997

DREW SILVERN

Reporter courageously chronicled his cancer battle

By Jack Williams
STAFF WRITER

Reporter Drew Silvern, whose poignant articles on his three-year struggle with brain cancer took *San Diego Union-Tribune* readers through an ordeal of anguish and hope, has died. He was 37.

Drew died yesterday in his Point Loma area home with his mother, brother and girlfriend at his side.

"When I began this series last year, I wrote that I didn't know whether I was living or dying," he told readers March 20. "Now I think I'm dying."

Drew's award-winning "Living With Cancer" series chronicled the challenges of coping with the disease from the jarring diagnosis in March 1994.

See SILVERN on Page A-21



Speaking of Race: The President's Visit

Race

San Diego's future holds promise, tension

Continued from A-1

that race relations are good. And on that score, San Diego rates high," said Morris S. Casuto, San Diego regional director for the Anti-Defamation League. "But it is a false indicator. We set the bar too low for our society."

Where to set the bar is a question that eludes even experts on the subject.

"When you think about it, it's one of the hardest things to measure in the whole world," said Raphael Sorensen, a California State University Fullerton professor who studies ethnic minority issues in Los Angeles.

At its extreme, racial unrest is easy to quantify. But the vast territory between racial harmony and racial distress is murkily subjective.

There is no national index of race relations. It is not factored into magazine studies of America's most livable cities. And individual perspectives are as varied as San Diego County's 2.7 million residents.

"Of all the cities I've been in, San Diego is by far the best," said a white physician. "You just don't see racial problems here like you do in other places."

"Climatically, San Diego is paradise," said a retired school administrator, an African-American active in the civil rights movement. "Spiritually, San Diego is lacking . . . San Diego is just as backward today as a majority of the urbanized areas in the South which we condemned 30 and 40 years ago."

"This is a city that doesn't want to deal with these issues (of race)," said a college professor, a Latino who grew up in Sherman Heights. "It wants to create a certain reality that is not a reality. It's kind of a huge amusement park."

Changing face

There is no denying the region's changing demographics.

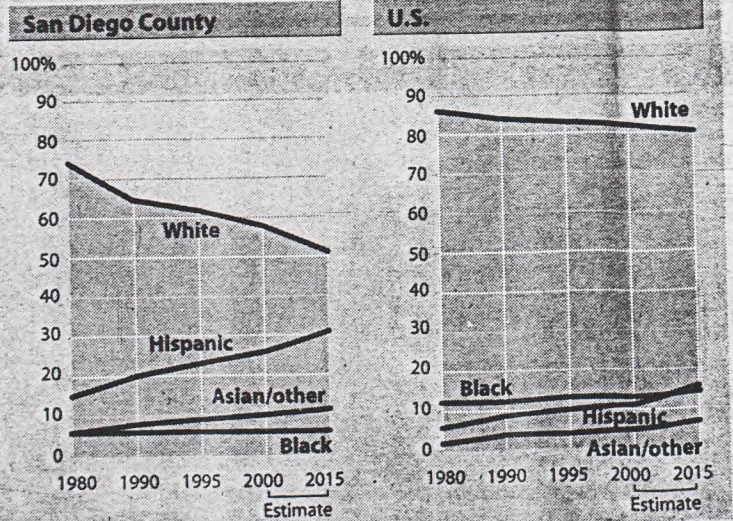
From 1980 to 2015, the white presence in the county will fall from 74 percent to 51 percent, according to estimates by the San Diego Association of Governments. In that time, Hispanics will climb from



NELVIN CEPEDA / Union-Tribune file photo

Signs of tension: San Diegans protest the acquittals in the Rodney King beating case.

Population trends



SOURCE: U.S. Census; San Diego Association of Governments

UNION-TRIBUNE

Hate crimes in Southern California

In 1995, 1,020 hate crimes were reported in Southern California's eight counties. Of those, 744 were motivated by racial or ethnic bias,

Segregation

How segregated are whites and blacks who live in America's metropolitan areas? The Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan attempted to answer that question. If all

gration than San Jose, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Anaheim and Riverside.

Signs of progress are found in housing discrimination complaints. Last year, 85 were filed out of San Diego County with the state Department of Fair Employment and Housing, down from 93 the previous year.

Fifteen of the state's 58 counties had more complaints per capita. Of those, five have large populations: Alameda, Contra Costa, Riverside, Sacramento and San Francisco.

A 1990 newspaper analysis of housing loan applications revealed that minorities were denied loans here at a much higher rate than whites, even when incomes were equal.

Smith said the lending climate appears to be improving, but he noted that San Diego may be the largest city in America without a black sitting on the board of directors of a bank or savings and loan.

"It is certainly something that should be corrected," agreed Murray Galinson, chief executive officer of San Diego National Bank.

On the job

If non-whites now can live wher-

Within that group of 495 employees, 82 percent are white, 10 percent are Hispanic, 4 percent are black, 3 percent are Asian and 1 percent are Native American.

SDG&E vice president Kathleen Flanagan says the company's total work force of 3,800 is 32 percent minority and "reflective of the community."

"This company has a very low turnover of employees," Flanagan said. "We have traditionally been an engineering firm. Coupled with that low turnover, it takes a while to change your figures."

Flanagan said SDG&E should not be the only San Diego company put under a magnifying glass. She suggested that other major employers be asked to release their reports to the EEOC.

"What about Qualcomm? What about Sony? What about Callaway Golf?" she asked. In a subsequent letter, she added the Union-Tribune Publishing Co. to that list.

All four companies were asked to make public their confidential federal hiring reports for comparison to SDG&E's. Only Qualcomm did.

Among the 1,100 officials and managers at the San Diego telecommunications firm, nearly 83 percent are white, 10 percent are Asian, 4 percent are Hispanic, 2 percent are black and less than 1 percent are Native American. Ethnic minorities make up 30 percent of the total work force.

Politics provide another window on race relations, as electoral success is a traditional measure of a minority group's influence.

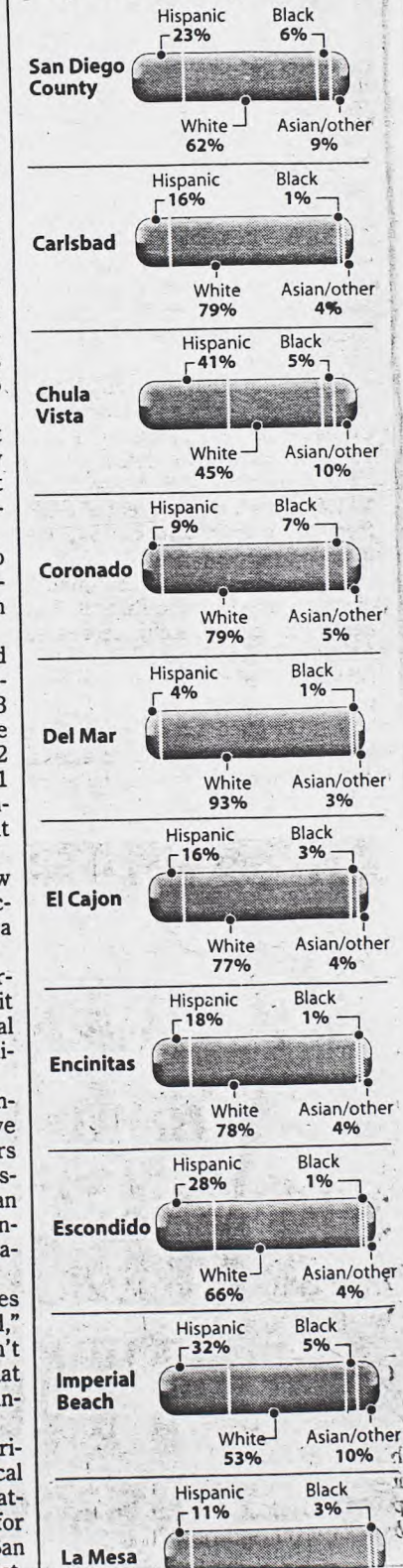
"Race relations may be wonderful in San Diego County, but it hasn't been translated into political representation," said UCSD political science professor Steve Erie.

He noted that of San Diego County's 19 elected legislators — five congressmen, five state senators and nine members of the state Assembly — only Assemblywoman Denise Moreno Ducheny is Hispanic. This despite a Hispanic population of more than 600,000.

"Here you have two economies that are increasingly integrated," Erie said, "and yet there doesn't seem to be any spillover effect that can be translated into Mexican-American political gains at all."

If anything, some African-American leaders sense that their political future is getting bleaker. Bob Matthews, a retired administrator for San Diego city schools and the San Diego Community College District

1996 San Diego County and cities population by race



Asian-Americans from 6 percent to 11 percent.

But blacks made up 6 percent of the county's population in 1980; they make up 6 percent now; they are predicted to be 6 percent in 2015. It is a figure that may fall short of the threshold needed to make political gains, but which also is low enough to be unthreatening to the majority population.

And just as many whites stay removed from this changing face by avoiding neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of Latinos, blacks and Asians, so does San Diego County at large find ways to avoid direct discussion of issues affecting its minority populations.

Consider:

■ When San Diego voters stripped the name of Martin Luther King Jr. from a city street in 1987, it was cast as a debate over how best to honor the civil rights champion. Merchants did not say they feared that a street named for King would connote a black neighborhood and scare off whites. Rather, they bemoaned the cost of reprinting stationery and the loss of the suddenly revered Market Street name.

■ When La Jollans blocked a low-income housing project from their community in 1981, and sent City Hall backpedaling from its goal of balanced housing in every neighborhood, issues of race and class were muted. A bureaucratic argument carried the day: The city would be getting less than fair-market return on expensive property.

■ This year, blacks were passed over for the top posts on two powerful agencies, the County Water Authority and the San Diego Convention Center Board. Yet ensuing charges of racism barely rippled the water with the public, the media or elected officials.

On occasion, even laid-back San Diego rises above its historic complacency. After the verdict in the Rodney King beating trial, black and white civic leaders united to form a group that became the Coalition for Equality.

That episode produced a bond between two of the county's premier public forums, the predominantly black Catfish Club, led by the Rev. George Walker Smith, and the predominantly white San Diego City Club, run by George Mitrovich. But its other gains have been few.

The energy and enthusiasm "greatly dissipated once the embers had died out in Los Angeles," Mitrovich said. One coalition goal — to promote an open, ongoing discussion of race — has proved an uphill struggle.

Recently, Mitrovich addressed the United Methodist Women on

while 148 were driven by religious intolerance. Another 126 involved bias against sexual orientation, and two involved intolerance toward a physical or mental disability.

Counties	Hate crimes reported	Hate crimes per 100,000 residents
1 Imperial	2	1.4
2 Los Angeles	651	7.0
3 Orange	89	3.4
4 Riverside	40	2.9
5 San Bernardino	36	2.2
6 San Diego	190	7.0
7 Santa Barbara	6	1.5
8 Ventura	6	1.0



Of the 190 hate crimes reported in San Diego County in 1995, 129 — or 68 percent — involved racial or ethnic bias.

- 53 crimes involved African-American victims.
- 30 involved Hispanic victims.
- 20 crimes involved white victims.
- 8 involved Asian or Pacific Islander victims.
- 1 involved a Native American victim.
- 7 involved multi-racial victims.
- 10 involved victims of other ethnicities.

Also, 19 crimes involved religious bias (including 17 crimes against Jews) and 42 crimes involved intolerance toward gays or lesbians.

SOURCE: State Attorney General's Office

the topic "White People Just Don't Get It" and said he received a cool reception, even from some members who presumably do "get it."

It is not a topic San Diegans naturally embrace, he said.

"On this issue, there is just a great wariness," said Mitrovich. "Most people are smart enough to understand that if you say the wrong thing, there may be great repercussions."

Where we live

A first-time visitor to the county would have no trouble finding its racial enclaves, either the mostly white suburbs to the north and east or the urban pockets of black, Hispanic or Asian residents. Housing patterns bear the imprint of history.

Today, the majority of San Diego's blacks live in the same communities where their forebears lived. But as in other growing Sunbelt

whites in a metropolitan area lived on all-white blocks and all blacks lived on all-black blocks, the index score would be 100. Areas with scores less than 55 are considered moderately segregated. Areas with scores of 45 or below are considered the least segregated. The study included 232 metropolitan areas. Below are the rankings of the nation's 20 largest metropolitan areas:

	Index score	1990	1980
Detroit	89	89	
Chicago	87	91	
Milwaukee	84	85	
Philadelphia	82	83	
Indianapolis	80	83	
New York	78	78	
Memphis	76	76	
Baltimore	75	78	
Los Angeles	71	80	
Columbus, Ohio	71	76	
Boston	70	76	
Houston	69	78	
Washington, D.C.	68	71	
Dallas	66	81	
San Francisco	65	68	
Jacksonville, Fla.	65	75	
San Diego	59	63	
San Antonio	57	65	
Phoenix	51	62	
San Jose	45	48	

SOURCE: University of Michigan

cities, the legacy of housing discrimination has been offset as new developments come on the market in the era of fair-housing laws.

"We have made more progress in housing than in any aspect of race relations in this county," said Smith, whose predominantly black Christ United Presbyterian Church is in Golden Hill. "Home ownership in San Diego County is a function of economics. If you have the money, you can pretty much live where you want."

Indeed, San Diego ranked relatively high in an index of racial integration that studied 232 metropolitan areas to determine how common it was for whites and blacks to live in the same neighborhoods.

San Diego was ranked the fourth least segregated city among the nation's 20 largest metropolitan areas in a study by the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center. The most segregated areas are older East Coast and Midwestern cities, including Detroit, Chicago and Milwaukee. The least segregated are in the West and Southwest.

Among 20 California areas studied, San Diego falls in the middle, with greater integration than Los Angeles, Lancaster and the Bay Area cities of San Francisco, Oakland and Richmond, but less inte-

ver they can afford the mortgage or rent, questions remain as to whether they can obtain the high-paying jobs that make upward mobility possible.

Last year, 1,573 complaints of racial discrimination were filed against San Diego County employers with the state Department of Fair Employment and Housing.

That represented a 19 percent increase from 1995 and translated to about 54 cases per 100,000 residents, the most of any county in Southern California.

Ricardo Stanton-Salazar, a UCSD sociology professor, said it also "makes for anger and resentment" within the black and Hispanic communities, where young people fresh out of school sense few options for earning a good living.

The average income of San Diego County's black households is \$30,339, less than Hispanic (\$32,667), Native American (\$42,259) or white (\$46,778) households, according to the 1990 U.S. Census.

Yet African-Americans county-wide are generally better-educated than Hispanics and Native Americans, two of the groups they lag behind economically. Slightly more than 23 percent of blacks have college degrees, compared with 15.5 percent for Hispanics and 21.4 percent for Native Americans.

Do San Diego companies keep college-educated non-whites out of high-paying jobs?

The Greenlining Institute of San Francisco contends the city's top companies do just that, using as its sole measure the confidential employment statistics that San Diego Gas & Electric had to make public with its merger application to the state Public Utilities Commission.

"SDG&E is the cornerstone of the city's business community. . . . It sets the example for others," said Bob Gnaizda, the institute's policy director. "So this tells you something about San Diego's race relations. It tells you African-Americans and Hispanics are outsiders in their hometown."

SDG&E sharply disputes Gnaizda's characterization of its hiring record, though it does not contest these statistics:

■ Of its top 100 employees ranked by salary, 96 percent are white. Of the 322 employees making \$75,000 a year or more, 90 percent are white.

■ Only when the employee group is expanded to the "officials and managers" subset, a statistical category created and monitored by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, does SDG&E's top management resemble the county labor pool.

was among the African-Americans angered last year when the Chamber of Commerce endorsed a Latino for a seat on the school board that had been held by an African-American since Smith was elected to the seat in 1963.

"I don't see (race relations) changing until the politics of the area change," said Matthews, who has been involved in civil rights efforts for four decades. "Most of your obstacles are due to the political climate."

Hate crimes

Yet another indicator of how we are getting along is the frequency of reported hate crimes, a relatively new measure of racial tensions.

Hate crimes — that is, crimes committed against a person or property because of race, color, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation — range from vandalism to homicide. President Clinton said last week that he would host a national conference on hate crimes in November.

A local Hate Crimes Registry begun in 1988 by the county Human Relations Commission fell into inactivity when the Board of Supervisors gutted the group in 1992. A few years later, the registry was taken over by a variety of organizations.

Among the 190 hate crimes reported in San Diego County two years ago, 68 percent involved racial or ethnic bias. And of those crimes, 41 percent involved black victims even though blacks make up 6 percent of the total population. Hispanics, 23 percent of the county's population, were victims in 23 percent of the hate crimes.

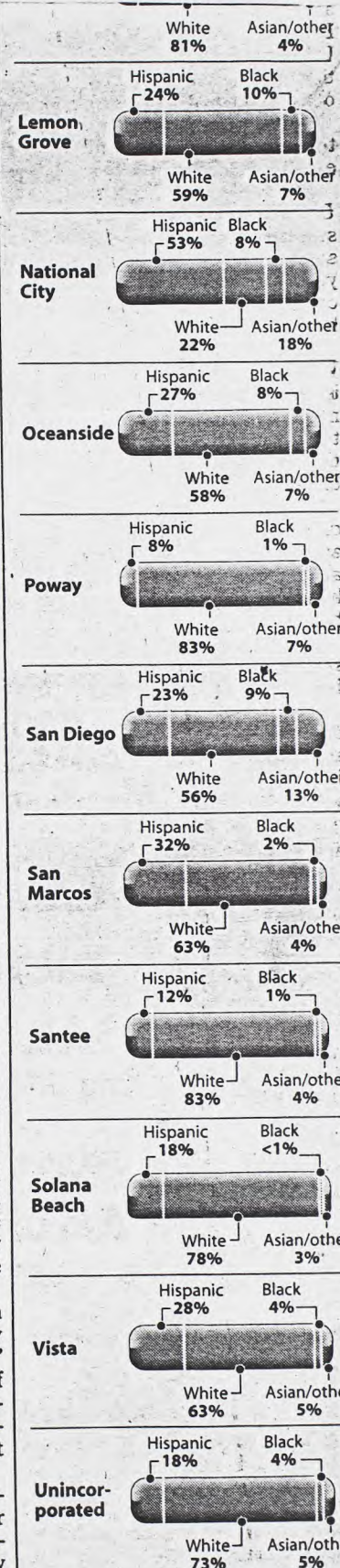
And whites, 62 percent of the population, were victims in 15 percent of the hate crimes.

In a comparison of eight Southern California counties, San Diego and Los Angeles had the highest number of hate crimes per capita, according to a 1995 state report.

From a national perspective, San Diego County has "a fairly heavy incidence of hate-crime activities," said Richard Baudouin, director of public information for the Klan-watch project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, a group that tracks U.S. hate crimes.

However, it is difficult to conclude that San Diego has greater problems with intolerance, Baudouin said, because this county seems to place a greater emphasis on reporting hate crimes.

"For instance," he said, "I am informed there were no hate crimes reported in the state of Alabama in 1994 and 1995."



NOTE: Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.
SOURCE: SANDAG DAVID HARDMAN / Union-Tribune

In Sports

X Games A look at people and events at the X Games in San Diego.



PADRES vs. ANGELS

Angels defeat Padres, 8-4, in Anaheim on baseball's 1st day of interleague play.

Skateboard pro Tony Hawk is scheduled to compete at the X Games.



In Business

Median housing prices rise 5.4% in county, reaching 1991 levels.

The San Diego

Friday

June 13, 1997

South County

35¢
Tax included

Union-Tribune.

Board named to lead attack on racism



John Hope Franklin: Will head panel.

President also fills civil-rights position

By George E. Condon Jr.
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — President Clinton, taking the final step before launching a national examination of race relations in a San Diego speech tomorrow, appointed a multi-racial advisory board yesterday to lead his yearlong initiative.

The four-man, three-woman panel includes two Californians and two former governors among its two blacks, one Korean,

one Hispanic and three whites. It will be headed by prominent historian John Hope Franklin, 82, of Duke University.

The seven, working with a staff to be assembled from various Cabinet departments, will be asked to reach out to the nation in the coming months through events such as town hall meetings where Americans will be challenged to face their feelings about their neighbors of different color or ethnicity.

The group is to report its findings to the president, who will then issue a report to the nation with his own assessment of the situation and his own recommendations for action.

"Our hope is that, in a year's time, we will have ways that both policies and people can help the nation respect each others' differences but, at the same time, grow together as one," said Sylvia Mathews, deputy White House chief of staff.

The White House also yesterday filled the long-vacant post of head of the Justice Department's civil-rights division. Unfilled for six months, the vacancy had become a nagging irritant to civil-rights activists who are normally allied with the Democratic administration.

See BOARD on Page A-23

Connerly supports prep school for UCSD

By Jeff Ristine, STAFF WRITER

The University of California regent who has become the chief spokesman for the elimination of affirmative action says he supports establishing a charter high school at UC San Diego for inner-city youth.

Regent Ward Connerly promised to take up the charter school proposal at the board's July meeting, elevating the campus dispute to the state level.

There is "a lot of support" for the charter movement among regents, Connerly said, and the idea at UCSD should not have been dropped in the face of faculty opposition.

Treading carefully but clearly toward a possible second chance for the proposal, Connerly said regents could have erased all worries that the school might drain resources from other university needs — one of the objections raised by critics of the proposal.



SPEAKING OF Race

The President's Visit

■ **What:** President Clinton, the commencement speaker at UCSD, plans to address race relations in America.

■ **When:** 9 a.m. tomorrow, the ceremony begins; about 10 a.m., the president is scheduled to speak. The event is open only to those with



CNN, MSNBC, KGTV's Newschannel 15 and UCSD's TV system (Southwestern Channel 16, Cox 58 in North County and Cox 76 in South County). For viewers without cable, the UCSD coverage can be seen over the air on Channel 35.

■ **Repeats:** Newschannel 15 will repeat its coverage at 6 p.m. tomorrow. C-SPAN will carry the speech at 4 p.m. Sunday.

■ **Radio:** Live coverage of the speech on KPBS-FM (89.5) and KOGO-AM (600).

■ **Today in Currents & Arts:** Bishop George D. McKinney Jr. reflects on his 50 years in the ministry and on race relations — past, present and future.

■ **Today on A-23:** A look beyond the polls and politics at President Clinton's record on racial issues.

■ **Tomorrow:** San Diego County residents speak from the heart on race.

■ **Sunday:** Four pages of news and analysis of the president's speech.



ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

A teen-age Bill Clinton shakes hands with President John F. Kennedy in this now-famous 1963 photo from a Rose Garden ceremony for Boys Nation delegates. The day before the photo was taken, Clinton defied the Southern contingent, refusing to back a segregationist platform plank and instead voting for language that declared racial discrimination "a cancerous disease."

"Bill Clinton's interest in civil rights is ingrained. And he never cast it off, even when it was inconvenient."

Clinton & civil rights

President has long history of battling racial prejudice

By Amy Bayer
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — Hot Springs, Ark., in the 1950s wasn't the kind of place where a white boy spent a lot of time talking about civil rights. Those who did were more likely than not to get beaten up by other whites.

So young Bill Clinton pursued his racial activism with a certain caution.

It began at his kitchen table, where Clinton's mother, the late Virginia Kelley, first got an earful on the subject of racial discrimination.

"I used to say the 'N' word and think nothing of it," Kelley once said of a "prejudice that was as natural to us as our accent" in the segregated South. "Billy educated me the way out of that thinking."

Now President Clinton is launching a drive for racial reconciliation in hopes of duplicating nationwide the lessons he taught in his Hot Springs home 40 years ago.

Few sons of the American South are untouched by the region's stained racial history,

but few have made civil rights as integral a part of their lives as Clinton has. Race has been a running theme in the life of the president, who personally witnessed the trials of desegregation, civil rights and street riots.

"Most politicians adopt issues and cast them off when convenient," said an old Clinton friend, Carol Willis. "Bill Clinton's interest in civil rights is ingrained. And he never cast it off, even when it was inconvenient."

The same earnest, eager teen-ager who

See CLINTON on Page A-23

say will find some additional funds to make this happen," Connerly said. "The problem, then, isn't that the money can't be found. It's that nobody is asking for it."

Informed of Connerly's remarks, UCSD Chancellor Robert C. Dynes said "the door is still open for any campus to form a charter school."

"These debates should continue on, and they are," said Dynes, referring to his announcement earlier this week that he will form a joint administration-faculty committee to consider alternatives to the defeated charter proposal.

And Dynes was diplomatic on questions of whether it was proper for Connerly or others to, in effect, second-guess UCSD on the charter issue. "Ward's a regent of the university, and the regents are the governing body," he said.

Dynes on Tuesday cited a smorgasbord of concerns that go beyond funding in announcing "discussion of this proposed charter school plan is over" and that a committee would spend the summer trying to develop an equally "bold" alternative that will involve a school,

See CONNERLY on Page A-22

Execution might lead to violence, McVeigh lawyer says

By Michael Fleeman, ASSOCIATED PRESS

DENVER — The jury began deciding yesterday whether Timothy McVeigh should live or die, after his lawyer hinted darkly of more violence if the convicted Oklahoma City bomber is executed.

"You have to make the first step to restore domestic tranquility," defense attorney Stephen Jones said in his closing argument of the penalty phase. "You know now that Oklahoma City started something."

In a sharply worded response, prosecutor Joseph Hartzler called the statements "tantamount to almost a terrorist threat."

"That is pure intimidation," Hartzler said. "I am asking each and every one of you to have the courage to disregard that."

The jurors deliberated nearly five hours before being sent home for the night. They were to return this morning.

Prosecutor Beth Wilkinson earlier called the slaughter of 168 men, women and children "the crime that the death penalty was designed for."

Turning and glaring at McVeigh, the prosecutor told the jury: "Look into the eyes of a coward and tell him you will have courage. Tell him he is no patriot. He is a traitor, and he deserves to die."

McVeigh's face flushed red and he averted his

Oklahoma City Bombing
PENALTY PHASE

California sues cigarette makers

Lungren files action after law is changed

By Ken Leiser
and Matt Krasnowski
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

SACRAMENTO — Joining three dozen states, California filed a \$1.3 billion lawsuit yesterday against the nation's leading cigarette makers to recover part of California's public health costs linked to tobacco.

Three years have elapsed since the first state filed suit, but Attor-

ney General Dan Lungren insisted that it took a change in California law — signed by Gov. Pete Wilson in Los Angeles yesterday — to clear the way for legal action.

The lawsuit accuses the nation's largest tobacco companies of unfair business practices and antitrust violations and seeks recovery of \$433 million in annual costs under the Medi-Cal program — California's health care program for the poor, known nationally as Medicaid — over a three-year period for treatment of smoking-related illnesses.

The state is barred from seeking damages from earlier years because of the statute of limitations, Lungren said.

"Let me just tell you, this is no slam dunk," Lungren said. "We believe these claims are supported by the evidence, but they will require great effort to prove."

California, he said, could arrive at the settlement negotiations between the states and tobacco com-

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A Copley Newspaper
9 Sections, 102 Pages

Weather

Today

Mostly cloudy skies;
possible showers.
69-60 Coast — 73-55 Inland

Tomorrow

Mostly cloudy skies;
cool temperatures.
69-60 Coast — 75-55 Inland

See Page C-8



See McVEIGH on Page A-14

Speaking of Race: The President's Visit

It's a sometimes-stormy courtship

Minorities back him — with reservations

By Amy Bayer
DOPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — The quickest test of President Clinton's record on racial issues might be found at the polls: In 1996, 84 percent of black voters cast their ballots for him. Clinton now enjoys more support from blacks than any other national politician — white or black.

Similarly, Clinton won record support from Hispanics, taking 72 percent of the Latino vote, compared with 60 percent in 1992.

But scratch a little deeper, and the record is more complicated.

During his first four years in the White House, Clinton has criticized, cajoled and often disillusioned blacks in a delicate dance to court black support while at the same time wooing whites.

"Bill Clinton has a mixed record on race from a black point of view," said David Bositis, a senior political analyst with the Joint Center on Political Studies, who faulted the president for trying to "buy" the votes of white conservatives with his support for capital punishment and welfare reform.

Ronald Walters, an adviser to

civil rights leader Jesse Jackson, put it this way: "Bill Clinton is on our side when it serves him to be there."

Few question Clinton's basic commitment to equal rights and opportunity.

"Among black folk, Bill Clinton has credibility like no president has since LBJ," said Rep. James Clyburn, D-S.C., a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

But Clinton's efforts to please many masters have troubled some who fear that he takes loyal minority constituencies for granted in his ardent pursuit of the great, mostly white middle-class vote.

"It's like an abusive relationship," said Anthony Carter, director of Empower, a Los Angeles-based group that registers black voters. "He keeps beating up on us, but he makes up so nice, we keep coming back for more."

During his first term, Clinton had many high-profile fights with black lawmakers over the budget, free trade and foreign aid, among other things. Blacks complained that he was not devoting enough resources to jobs and urban aid.

"There's an old adage: I can't believe what you say because I see what you do," said Kweisi Mfume, then chairman of the Black Caucus, during a 1994 budget battle.

Legislative scuffles with minorities erupted primarily when Clinton abandoned traditional liberal positions to win passage of high-profile initiatives.

In the 1994 crime bill, for example, he resisted the wishes of black lawmakers and backed a broad expansion of the death penalty and surrendered an "equal justice" provision allowing defendants to challenge death sentences as discriminatory.

Perhaps the lowest point in Clinton's relationship with blacks came early in his presidency over Lani Guinier, the black lawyer whom Clinton abandoned when her nomination for the top Justice Department civil rights post ran into political trouble.

The decision infuriated many blacks. Columnist Carl Rowan said the president was in "yellow-belly retreat." In retaliation, the Congressional Black Caucus — until then a faithful Clinton ally — pulled its support from Clinton's budget.

Clinton also suffers strained ties with Hispanics, an increasingly powerful constituency within Democratic ranks. Latinos voted for Clinton's re-election in record numbers, but not without reservations.

Clinton has disappointed many who say he does not have enough Hispanic appointees in his adminis-

tration — according to the Hispanic Leadership Agenda, Latinos are the most underrepresented group in the federal work force.

The biggest sore spot, however, came with welfare reform, a law that curtailed aid for legal immigrants.

"Welfare reform was very trying for us, and it still is," said Rep. Luis Gutierrez, D-Ill., noting that the president has not yet made good on his campaign promise to "fix" the law.

Clinton opposed two racially linked California ballot initiatives: Proposition 209, which would end affirmative action in state and local government, and Proposition 187, which prohibits state services from going to illegal immigrants. Both were approved by voters but have been blocked in court.

Still, many minority groups have voiced complaints about Clinton.

"This administration has a bad habit of targeting immigrants, either to pay the bills or make a political point," said Rep. Xavier Becerra, D-Calif., who chairs the Congressional Hispanic Caucus.

But Clinton's record has many high points on race issues, particularly when compared to that of the GOP, which in 1996 got a lower share of the minority vote than at any time in 20 years.

Clinton's record on racial issues

■ WELFARE REFORM

The law Clinton signed last year that ends welfare as a federal entitlement has broad public support but was skewered by minority groups and liberals as unnecessarily harsh. The provision to prohibit legal immigrants from receiving benefits was especially controversial and opposed by Clinton.

■ CRIME BILL

Clinton backed the 1994 legislation that includes a broad expansion of the death penalty but not an "equal justice" provision allowing defendants to challenge death sentences as discriminatory. Black lawmakers were critical of the bill.

■ AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Clinton opposes efforts to scrap affirmative action, including California's Proposition 209 approved by voters last year. But he has called for vague modification of affirmative action with his "mend it, don't end it" slogan. He also opposed California's Proposition 187, approved in 1994 to withhold state services from illegal immigrants. Despite his positions, Clinton is criticized by some for not speaking out loud enough.

■ CABINET

Clinton's efforts to have a diverse Cabinet has won him praise from some minority groups.

■ MOTOR VOTER

The law signed by Clinton making it easier to register to vote has boosted minority registration.

■ CHURCH BURNINGS

Clinton's condemnations of church burnings underscored his public crusade against racial hatred.

UNION-TRIBUNE

Clinton is widely praised among blacks for appointing a racially diverse cabinet. In addition, he has won kudos for endorsing affirmative action in a political climate openly hostile to race-based preferences.

The White House cites a ban on assault weapons, "motor voter" laws that have boosted minority registration, and Clinton's efforts to preserve social spending among his accomplishments on race and

opportunity. Aides also spotlight his public crusade against racial hatred, a symbolic effort tied to a spate of church burnings.

"At the end of the day, Clinton has not strayed from his basic principles, and that is what counts," said Walter Broadnax, a University of Maryland professor who has advised Clinton. "Black and white Americans can feel comfortable that, ultimately, he will act in their best interest."

Clinton

Growing up in Arkansas, he saw racism firsthand

Continued from A-1

clutched President Kennedy's hand in a 1963 Rose Garden ceremony for Boys Nation delegates had, the day before, defied the Southern contingent, refusing to back a segregationist platform plank supporting states rights. Clinton instead voted for language that declared racial discrimination "a cancerous disease."

"Southern' and 'progressive' was a contradiction of terms then, but Bill Clinton was both," said Walter Davis, who was a delegate from



race — so we get mad at each other and not at them," Clinton said in his 1991 speech announcing his candidacy.

Showing independence

Since taking office, Clinton has negotiated an often rocky course on race in an effort to keep intact his fragile coalition of middle-class moderates and traditional party liberals.

Initially, he went out of his way to demonstrate his independence from the black power base. In 1992 he chose a luncheon hosted by Jesse Jackson's coalition to denounce Sister Souljah, a black rap artist who sang about violence against whites. A year later, he went to a black church in Memphis to condemn vio-

new YORK. This boy from Dixie thought nothing of coming up and lecturing me on civil rights."

Never an "activist"

Clinton was never a civil rights activist in the formal sense, said Ernie Dumas, a former Arkansas newspaperman and longtime Clinton observer.

"He wasn't out marching and protesting," Dumas said, "But his convictions guided nearly every political or policy decision he made."

As a young boy, Clinton learned the politics of race in his grandfather's general store — one of the few white-owned stores in the area that served blacks. Clinton was 11 when Arkansas gained international notoriety for defying a federal order to integrate Little Rock's Central High School and remembers watching in horror as black teenagers were jeered and spat upon as they tried to enter school.

Six years later, when he left home for Georgetown University in Washington, Clinton adopted no defensiveness about his state's racial legacy. But he seemed determined, friends said, to atone for it.

In 1968, Clinton was near ground zero when race riots incinerated entire blocks of Washington following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. He and a college friend, Carolyn Staley, plastered a red cross on Clinton's white Buick and delivered supplies alongside emergency vehicles.

At Georgetown, and later at Oxford and Yale Law School, Clinton's trademark was impassioned debate, often on the topic of racial discrimination.

Jim Moore, Clinton's former Georgetown housemate, referred to him as the "house liberal on civil rights," who could quote King at length.

"Bill Clinton is the most unprejudiced person I have ever met," ad-



ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

Lasting impression: President Clinton was 11 when President Eisenhower sent Army troops to Little Rock, Ark., to escort nine black teens into all-white Central High School in 1957. It was the first time federal troops were used to enforce court-ordered desegregation.

ded Yale housemate Tom Campbell. "Any manifestation of bigotry distressed him."

Later in 1968, Clinton went to a political reception for "Justice Jim" Johnson, an infamous Arkansas segregationist promoting the "Old South" in his Democratic campaign for governor. Clinton, then working for Johnson's opponent, supped at the candidate's buffet table, stood in the receiving line and, when he approached Johnson, stuck out his hand, smiled, and said, "You make me ashamed to be from Arkansas."

"Clinton didn't have a lot of radical in him, but what he had was earnest and heartfelt," said Robert Reich, Clinton's former labor secretary and law-school colleague.

Defending his country

At Oxford, during the tumultuous Vietnam War years, Clinton would defend his country in the face of intense anti-American sentiment, citing the civil rights movement as the best indicator of the strength of American democracy.

In Yale's dining halls, Clinton would think nothing of plopping down at an all-black table and taking over the conversation, recalled

Clinton's friend Bill Coleman, a regular at one of the self-segregated black tables.

And back in Arkansas, where Clinton taught law, he pursued a quiet campaign to help newly integrated black students, many struggling to survive their first year.

"I owe my career to him," Carol Willis said of the discreet tutoring sessions the young professor held for black law students at his house. "He was determined to make integration work if he had to do it himself."

Clinton's Arkansas was Deep South in attitude if not attributes. Blacks accounted for only 15 percent of the population, the lowest in the South, and a significant share of the whites viewed civil rights with some hostility.

In that atmosphere, Clinton "could well have built a political career without catering to the black vote," said ex-newsman Dumas. "But he took the risk, and no doubt lost some white support for his trouble."

During his unsuccessful 1974 bid for Congress, Clinton campaigned on a platform of "building bridges" across racial divides and sowed

strategic political alliances with Arkansas blacks.

He championed expansive affirmative action programs, including minority set-asides in state contracting and hiring.

As governor, Clinton fulfilled a campaign vow to appoint black people to every state board and commission, and he took credit in campaign literature for a staff that was 22 percent black.

Some of Clinton's motivations were, no doubt, political. Arkansas blacks are and remain among the most loyal Democratic constituents. Clinton courted them heartily, particularly during his 1982 "come-back" bid after voters turned him out of the statehouse following his first term.

Helped establish DLC

At the same time, Clinton helped create the Democratic Leadership Council, a moderate party group, where he preached a platform of personal responsibility that appealed to those wary about welfare and social disintegration.

The DLC angered some in the civil rights community — activist Jesse Jackson tagged it "Democrats

for the Leisure Class." But Clinton also convinced critics and cynics that his was not an uncritical embrace of minority demands, racial preferences and the liberal policies that cost the Democratic Party support throughout the South.

With the DLC as a platform, Clinton launched his first presidential bid as the first Democrat to boast conservative credentials as well as credibility among blacks.

He packaged his racial message not in the language of affirmative action, but in terms of racial healing that would address the hopes and fears of both blacks and whites.

Clinton signaled early on that racial reconciliation would be a theme of his presidency, saying in a 1992 interview that he hoped to be remembered for "bridging the troubled waters of race — particularly race — and all other things dividing this country."

He did not, however, shy away from using race to his political benefit. He accused Republicans of racism and blamed them for the grim state of the inner cities that led to the Los Angeles riots that year.

"For 12 years, Republicans have tried to divide us — race against

Both forays were classic Clinton, according to those who know him. "Anyone who's ever been in a black church knows that someone who gets up and preaches hard work and clean living gets a hallelujah chorus and a refrain of amens," Dumas said. "Well, Clinton's been going to black churches almost all his life."

Indeed, Clinton's efforts cost him little more than a few miffed remarks from Jackson, but they won plaudits from pundits who took notice of a Democrat willing to take on the party's sacred constituencies and delicate topics.

Clinton's presidential record on racial issues has been criticized as thin by some black activists, who charge that Clinton is too often guided by political calculation rather than conviction.

During his re-election campaign last year, for example, he was accused of playing down his ties to the black community. "He's not kissing any black babies on television," New York Rep. Charles Rangel, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, said at the time.

But the slights have not necessarily hurt Clinton among minorities, particularly among blacks, where the president enjoys near "universal" support, according to White House pollster Mark Penn.

The president enjoys enough credibility on race issues that he can risk creating a few sparks on a subject he himself acknowledged is a political "powder keg."

"Bill Clinton is uniquely positioned to act as an interpreter between the races. He's fluent in what messages connect with whites and blacks," said Ross K. Baker, a Rutgers University political scientist.

"Nobody really knows if Clinton can, as he puts it, be the 'repairer of the breach,'" Baker said. "But nobody is better equipped to do so."

Board

Yearlong initiative formally starts tomorrow

Continued from A-1

To fill it, the president nominated Bill Lann Lee of Los Angeles, a son of Chinese immigrants, who has served since 1989 as Western regional counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The appointment was overshadowed, though, by the naming of the advisory panel, the first tangible step in the long-promised White House attack on racism.

White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry said Clinton hopes the group will "provide expertise, provide inspiration, provide hard work, (and) be in a position to be . . . surrogates for the initiative itself."

Mathews said the seven were picked from a list that began as 250 names. "We wanted to get people from different backgrounds," she said.

Of the seven, Franklin, the chairman, is the best known as an expert on race. Author of the acclaimed 1947 study "From Slavery to Freedom," he received the presidential Medal of Freedom from Clinton in 1995.

The other members include:

■ Robert Thomas, 52, of Coto De Caza (near Mission Viejo), president and CEO of Nissan Motor Corp USA.

■ Angela Oh, 41, of Los Angeles, past president of the Korean American Bar Association of Southern California. She served as special counsel to the California Assembly's special committee looking into the Los Angeles riots five years ago.

■ Thomas Kean, 61, the former Republican governor of New Jersey.

■ William F. Winter, 74, the former Democratic governor of Mississippi.

■ Linda Chavez Thompson, 52,

executive vice president of the AFL-CIO.

■ Rev. Suzan Johnson Cook, senior pastor of the Bronx Christian Fellowship and the first African-American woman to serve as chaplain of the New York City Police Department.

Not on the advisory board, but a key appointee, is Harvard University law professor Christopher Edley, who was named as a consultant to the panel.

Edley served the president during Clinton's first term, leading the White House review of affirmative action that resulted in the president's "mend it, don't end it" proposal.

Clinton's yearlong initiative on race relations formally begins with his commencement address tomorrow at UCSD, which the president was continuing to rewrite yesterday. McCurry joked that the current draft probably faces another seven rewrites before it will be completed tomorrow morning.

He warned, though, that the White House does not see the speech as the final pronouncement on race in America.

"We are not going to solve the problem of prejudice and racism in our society Saturday in San Diego," McCurry said. "But what we can do

is to sketch the way in which we might use the coming year productively for exactly that kind of effort — how do you seek solutions, and how do you use the tool of government, when necessary; how do you use the power of persuasion when necessary, to have people confront the reality of the society that we live in."

The White House made no estimate of what the board and its staff will cost, but said that those costs will come out of the current Justice Department budget.

The seven board members will not be paid.

Connerly

He calls UCSD action a setback to the system

Continued from A-1

academy or educational partnership of some sort.

But Connerly's comments suggest it could become difficult for Dynes and the university to put the charter high proposal behind them.

One of the board's most influential and outspoken members, Connerly became nationally recognized two years ago as he led a successful charge to abolish traditional forms of affirmative action in UC admissions, hiring and contracting. A friend of Gov. Pete Wilson, he led last year's campaign for voter-approved Proposition 209, which makes affirmative action by public agencies illegal.

In San Diego as a precursor to tomorrow's UCSD commencement ceremonies, where President Clinton will speak on race relations in America, Connerly made his remarks during a morning interview with *The San Diego Union-Tribune* editorial board.

His visit comes at a time when the group he formed, American Civil Rights Institute, is airing radio ads in San Diego and Washington, D.C., urging Clinton to use the speech as the occasion to drop his support of affirmative action.

Had Dynes accepted the charter proposal, the regents would have been the next step in the approval process for the school, which backers conceived as an on-campus college-prep institution for 240 students in grades 9-12. The school was to be targeted to academically promising but disadvantaged young people, predominantly from inner-city neighborhoods.

Connerly said regents began hearing of the charter proposal during a campus visit by the search committee for the vacancy filled by Dynes last year.

Charter advocates "were lobbying (the) concept . . . and to a person, we were very excited about it," he said. "We've encouraged them to do this."

"I don't know of any (other campus) that is even close to where San Diego was" on a charter proposal, Connerly said, "so this is a setback to the system."

Noting a UC task force specifically recommended charter schools as a way to help underrepresented minorities qualify for the UC system, Connerly added, "I would like to see something come to the board."

If San Diego Regent Peter Preuss doesn't place the matter before the regents at their July 17-18 business meeting in San Francisco, Connerly said, "I'm certainly going to ask that we be briefed on it and see where that briefing leads us."

Preuss has been a leading advocate of the charter proposal and has pledged \$500,000 of his own money to help it get off the ground.

But Connerly also acknowledged that while regents sometimes have a "duty" to act against the wishes of chancellors and faculty, it is not something the board does easily.

Speaking of Race: The President's Visit

Councilman, Prop. 209 champion clash over affirmative action

By Ray Huard
STAFF WRITER

A debate over affirmative action became heated yesterday when San Diego Councilman George Stevens clashed with the UC regent who championed Proposition 209, the initiative that eliminates affirmative action in state hiring, contracting and education.

The regent, Ward Connerly, said affirmative action is wrong because it grants preferences based on race. Stevens said affirmative action is needed because African-Americans are still denied equal opportunity.

Connerly and Stevens confronted each other face-to-face in an afternoon panel discussion broadcast from the University of California San Diego, where President Clinton on Saturday will deliver a national address on race relations.

"Yes, I believe in preferences; yes, I believe in quotas because that's the only way we're going to catch up from discrimination in the past," Stevens said during the discussion on KOGO's Roger Hedgecock Show.

Stevens said Connerly had "a white frame of reference."

The councilman cited a 1996

magazine article in which Connerly was quoted as saying that he decided "race was irrelevant" partly because whites offered him rides to his part-time job as a janitor when he was a teen-ager in Sacramento.

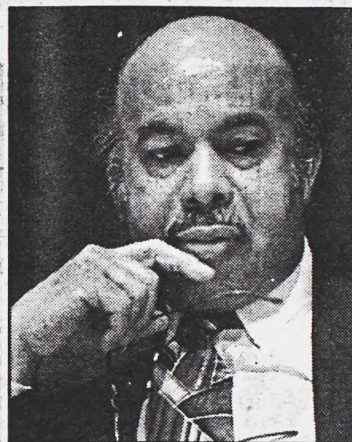
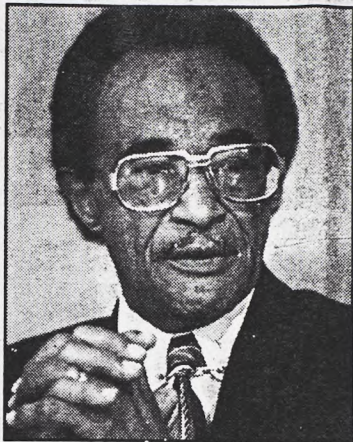
Stevens said he had to walk to segregated schools as a child while white students rode buses.

Connerly, during a commercial break, said Stevens was wrong to draw such conclusions from a magazine report. He said he, too, could recount childhood experiences about the difficulties faced by an African-American.

Stevens also criticized Connerly during a morning news conference at City Hall, suggesting in a position paper that Connerly's views on affirmative action might be influenced by his marriage to a white woman.

In the news conference, Stevens said of Connerly: "His problem is quite personal." He declined to elaborate.

In a position paper handed out by his aides, however, Stevens said Connerly reminded him of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and Clarence Pendleton, former chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Com-



FILE PHOTOS

Opposing views: Councilman George Stevens (left) and UC regent Ward Connerly squared off over affirmative action.

mission. The paper said they both "opposed equal opportunities for people of color."

Thomas and Pendleton are black, as are Stevens and Connerly.

"They all married white women," Stevens said in the position paper. "This is too much of a coincidence."

Connerly, who lives in Sacramento, could not be reached last night

for comment.

Stevens is a frequent critic of the city's minority hiring and contracting practices. He said he decided to confront Connerly because he was in San Diego and was airing radio ads urging Clinton to announce a policy to end affirmative action.

"The devil is facing me. He is wrong," Stevens said.

Connerly, chairman of the the American Civil Rights Institute, has said he could go national with his campaign to end affirmative action, based on his success with Proposition 209 in California.

During an interview with the editorial board of *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, Connerly praised the president's efforts to find solutions to racial strife, but he said he doesn't expect Clinton to accomplish much by forming an advisory board on racial and ethnic relations.

"I think commissions are useful when you really don't know what the problems are and you want to bring in some people who are experts to kind of help you shape the debate, to do some research," Connerly said.

When it comes to race, however, "we know what the problems are," he said. "We've been talking about it for a long time, so I don't think that a commission can add a lot to this debate in my opinion."

During the radio discussion, Connerly said Clinton is in "almost a no-win situation" because "he won't make anyone happy."

He said the president should dismantle affirmative action, rather

than giving more support.

Affirmative action means racial preference and racial preferences cannot be defended, Connerly said. "We should not mend what we cannot defend," he said. "We should end it."

Stevens, in the news conference, said Connerly's campaign to end affirmative action must be stopped in San Diego. "He must not be allowed to sweep through this country," Stevens said.

In a letter to Clinton, which Stevens released yesterday, he wrote:

"I am well aware of the threats made by opponents of justice and equity to cajole you into dropping your support for affirmative action.

"This misguided and mean-spirited attempt to thwart the gains of the Civil Rights Movement will not deter those of us who possess good will from exercising continual vigilance in our struggle to create a just and good society."

Over the years, Stevens has had several heated debates with council members over racial issues. In 1992, he called a colleague a "white racist redneck."

For more than a year, Stevens has toned down his comments, aside from criticizing city hiring and contracting practices, but yesterday he said he plans to become more vocal.

"I'm not going to keep quiet on the subject any more in the city of San Diego," Stevens said. "I'm willing to start demonstrations again. I'm willing to start marches. Things are not well."

Staff writer Jeff Ristine contributed to this report.

President considers an apology to blacks

But he opposes reparations for descendants of slaves

ASSOCIATED PRESS and THE BOSTON GLOBE

WASHINGTON — President Clinton says he will consider extending a national apology to black Americans for slavery — but not compensation for their ancestors' suffering. "It's been so long and we're so many generations removed," he says.

The idea of an apology came from a white Ohio lawmaker who introduced apology legislation in Congress last week, just as Clinton was preparing to unveil his national initiative on race in a speech in San Diego.

In a radio interview aired yesterday, Clinton said the apology proposal caught him off guard. He said he would think about it because "there's still some unfinished business out there among black and white Americans."

"I think it has to be dealt with," Clinton told the American Urban Radio Network. "I think this would be a helpful debate."

Last month, Clinton apologized for the nation to the black men who were unwitting experiment subjects in the government's Tuskegee Syphilis Study, and in January he awarded — 50 years late — the Medal of Honor to seven black World War II soldiers for valor in combat.

But Clinton said he disagrees with the idea of paying reparations to the descendants of slaves, something many black activists have said is needed to begin rectifying more than 200 years of inequality that blacks have experienced.

See **APOLOGY** on Page A-15

Apology

Some black activists say reparations are in order

Continued from A-1

"What I think we ought to do instead of reparations is to be repairing," Clinton said. "That is why I don't want to abandon affirmative action without an effective alternative when there's still so many people living at least with the aftermath of discrimination."

The apology was proposed last week by Rep. Tony Hall, D-Ohio. He said he suggested it because he found no record of one.

"To me, it's a moral issue," Hall said. "We used to count African-Americans as three-fifths of a person. They were not treated as people."

"When you've hurt somebody, nothing solves the problem at first like a good, old-fashioned apology," Hall said. "Then we can begin to heal. If you don't say that, the whole issue lingers and lingers."

Hall ran his idea past the Congressional Black Caucus, which cheered it. He began seeking co-sponsors and immediately found 11, all of them white. Four more lawmakers signed yesterday, Hall said. The bill was sent to the House Judiciary Committee.

But some fear a federal apology for slavery may be fraught with land mines.

Hall deliberately avoided any mention of reparations because politically it is "such a flash point," his aide, Deborah DeYoung, acknowledged yesterday.

Furthermore, many black Americans say a mere apology would trivialize its horror. They say it also might divert attention from today's problems facing blacks, such as job and housing discrimination, lower wages and a high infant-mortality rate.

And the top two Republican leaders of Congress have been dismissive of an apology for slavery.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich on Friday said, "Any American, I

hope, feels badly about slavery. I also feel badly about genocide in Rwanda. We can go back and have all sorts of apologies. But will one more child read because of it?"

Yesterday, a spokeswoman for Gingrich said he has not reviewed the bill. But, she said, "what the speaker does believe is that we ought to focus on the present and the future instead of the past. We ought to be thinking about ways to improve education for minority students, we ought to be thinking about increased job opportunities for the minority population, we need to be focused on improving the way of life as a whole for all Americans."

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, speaking Sunday on ABC's "This Week," said the apology bill "probably would not happen."

"We should have an apology for what (is) happening in America today — the poor quality of schools, the danger in the schools, the lack of opportunity," Lott said.

However, a growing number of African-Americans have begun to disagree.

As long as the federal government maintained affirmative-action programs to remedy past discrimination, many black leaders have felt that reparations or an apology should not be actively pursued.

But with such programs now under political assault, particularly from GOP congressional leaders, raising the issue of reparations is gaining popularity.

The debate over affirmative action has "revived broad interest" in reparations, said Wade Henderson, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 180 such groups.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson did not specifically mention reparations last weekend following Clinton's speech on racial reconciliation. But in numerous television appearances, he has insisted that "there must be some program of substance beyond just the apology."

"Certainly, reparations are in order," said Harold McDougall, director of the legislative office of the NAACP. He praised Hall's resolution, saying it would formally open

"I don't want to abandon affirmative action without an effective alternative when there's still so many people living at least with the aftermath of discrimination."

PRESIDENT CLINTON

"the discussion of this unfulfilled promise."

One organization has even proposed that the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina be turned over to African-Americans for a homeland — the modern equivalent of "40 acres and a mule" it was once suggested that the federal government give to 4 million former slaves in 1865.

Reparations by the U.S. government are not uncommon.

In 1988, under civil-rights legislation passed by Congress, Japanese-American survivors of World War II camps received about \$1 billion, along with an apology from the government.

Earlier in the 1980s, five American Indian nations were paid sums ranging from \$12.3 million to \$1.1 billion for stolen lands and broken treaties.

And in 1971, Congress enacted legislation paying \$1 billion and turning over 44 million acres of land to indigenous Alaskans who had suffered mistreatment from the U.S. government.

The Cox News Service contributed to this report.

Race for Literacy

Kiptum of Kenya, Ecker of Texas rewrite record book. **Sports, C-11**



Praise greets master plan for Coronado's Glorietta Bay. **Local news, B-1**

The San Diego

Monday

June 9, 1997

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"It makes them sitting targets. The agents don't like it. You might as well put a (piece of) cardboard with a bull's eye on them."

BEN SEELEY, DIRECTOR OF BORDER SOLUTION TASK FORCE

Bullets across the border

Suspicion points to drug cartels in recent shootings

By Gregory Gross
STAFF WRITER

TIJUANA — From the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, danger is growing along the border, both for law enforcement officers and for U.S.-Mexico relations.

Three cross-border shootings here targeting Border Patrol agents within a two-week span are but one sign of a rising tide of violence, nearly all of it related to drug trafficking.

But the still-unknown gunmen who fired down on stationary



ANALYSIS

Racial tie minimal in church burnings

Task force finds no national conspiracy

By Peter Slevin
and Angie Cannon
KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — In Houston, a 10-year-old black child set fire to an African-American church. In Virginia Beach, Va., two white teenagers, 16 and 13, burned an interracial church.

In Bartlett, Tenn., a white pastor burned his own white church. In Johns Island, S.C., a black pastor torched his African-American church. Three church fires in Kentucky and the Carolinas were set by volunteer firefighters.

A frightening rash of church burnings in recent years is not the result of a racist national conspiracy, a presidential task force declared yesterday in announcing that 150 of 429 cases have been solved.

Border Patrol vehicles may have had a larger target in mind.

The ties between Mexico and the United States, friendly on the surface, have always been fragile underneath, marked by American impatience with the pace of Mexican reforms and Mexican resentment over what is viewed as Yankee meddling in domestic affairs.

Behind the formal smiles and handshakes of presidents Clinton and Ernesto Zedillo in their meeting last month, bilateral issues — from illegal immigration to drug trafficking to free trade — dot the political terrain like land mines.

The shootings are the latest booby trap and potentially among the most explosive. Already, angry and fearful Border Patrol agents are calling for automatic rifles to be issued to units stationed along the border fence.

Some Border Patrol units in the Southwest already carry such weapons, and a patrol policy allows agents to return fire into Mexico.

But for the most part, agents in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas would be shooting into sparsely populated or uninhabited territory. The Tijuana side of the border, in contrast, consists mostly of residential *colonias*, one after another, from the San Ysidro border crossing to the ocean.

Further cross-border attacks on Border Patrol agents here could end in one of two undesir-



SEAN M. HAFEEY / Union-Tribune photos

Sniper alley: A Border Patrol agent watches from his vehicle for movement on a section of the border called Goat Canyon, about a mile west of the San Ysidro Port of Entry, the vulnerable site of two recent shooting attacks on agents.

Agents in U.S., Mexico keep tense watch for troublemakers

By Gregory Gross
and Leonel Sanchez
STAFF WRITERS

IMPERIAL BEACH — It's nighttime on a stretch of the U.S.-Mexico border, and Border Patrol Agent Manny Perez sits alone in a marked Ford Bronco parked 150 yards north of the steel border fence.

Nearby, blue-painted rocks are strewn on the dirt road known as the Gravel Pit. They mark the spot where a gunman fired an AK-47 assault rifle from Tijuana three weeks before, grazing an agent's head and leaving a slug lodged in his left shoulder.

Perez, 27, has spent the last nine hours in this spot, doing duty Border Patrol agents call "sitting on an X." But after one casualty and at least two other

close calls nearby, more than a few of the agents these days feel as if they're sitting in a sniper's cross hairs.

If Perez is worried, however, he hides it in the darkness.

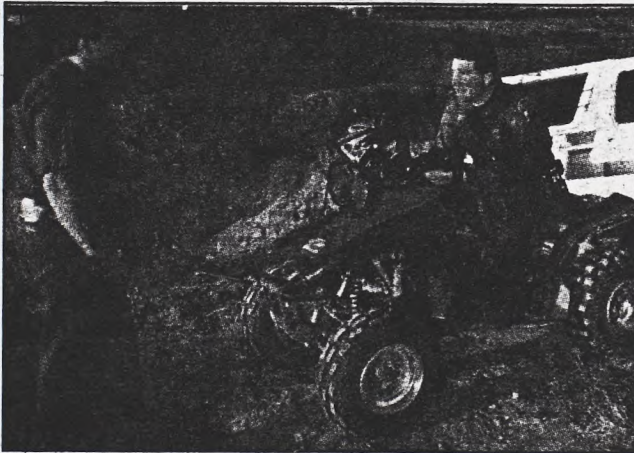
"We have enough backup," he says, looking behind him to where agents use night scopes to monitor the border. "All we have to do is keep our eyes open."

On the other side of the fence from where Perez is parked, Manuel Ojeda Sotomayor and Servando Antunez Gaytan are checking out a trio of dusty men who follow their every move.

The men seem harmless enough, until one of them whispers:

"Watch out! They're Beta!"

Ojeda and Antunez belong to Beta



Sitting ducks? Two agents talk as they stand watch near Imperial Beach. Recent shootings have exposed agents' vulnerability.

See **ANALYSIS** on Page A-15

ned as suspects, yet many of the fires were set by individuals acting alone. In a minority of the cases the perpetrators were members of hate groups.

"While there have been blatantly racist defendants who were prompted to start the fires because of their racial hatred," said Treasury Department Assistant Secretary James Johnson, co-chairman of the National Church Arson Task Force, "there have been a range of motives that have included financial profit, out-and-out vandalism and revenge."

Four Ku Klux Klan members, for example, pleaded guilty to attacking two churches in South Carolina. Yet in Westbrook, Minn., two white children, 10 and 12, set fire to a church after getting the idea from watching television.

Of the 429 cases nationally over the past two years, 162 involved

See **CHURCHES** on Page A-15



Irish election:
Bertie Ahern hugs a supporter after leading his Fianna Fail party to victory and ousting Prime Minister John Bruton.
Story, Page A-2.

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Border

Shootings have exposed agents' vulnerability

Continued from A-1

Group, the Mexican federal task force assigned to suppress crime along the border. They dress like the would-be illegal migrants who gather here, but warm-up jackets and flannel shirts hide two-way radios, 9 mm pistols and bulletproof vests.

With the whispered warning, the three sharp-eyed men no longer seem so harmless.

In seconds, Ojeda and Antunez have them handcuffed and on their knees, awaiting a ride to a city jail cell.

"They're smugglers," Ojeda says. Elsewhere along the highway, cruise unmarked sedans and Chevrolet Suburbans packed with black-clad state and federal Judicial Police. Blue and white pickups with pairs of municipal police officers are trailed by truckloads of helmeted, heavily-armed Mexican infantry.

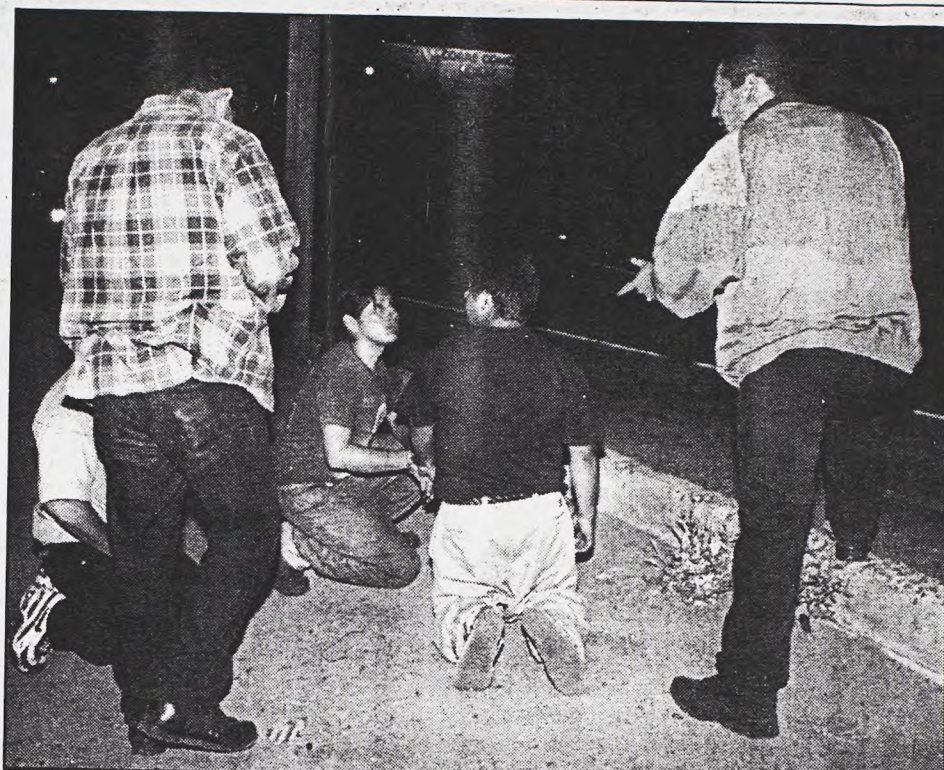
They're all out to discourage anyone from shooting across the border at Border Patrol agents.

"We have units out here 24 hours a day," Ojeda says. "If anything happens, we can be there in one minute."

Standing firm

Only in recent years have Border Patrol agents perched themselves so close to the border. New roads, stadium lights and steel fencing have dramatically altered the 5-mile stretch patrolled by agents from the Imperial Beach station.

Border Patrol officials say the tactic discourages illegal border crossings. It is one of the hallmarks of the Clinton administration's



CHARLIE NEUMAN / Union-Tribune

nearly three-year-old Operation Gatekeeper.

But the recent shootings have exposed the agents' vulnerability.

"It makes them sitting targets," said Ben Seeley, director of the Border Solution Task Force, an immigration control think tank in San Diego. "The agents don't like it. You might as well put a (piece of) cardboard with a bull's eye on them."

In addition to the May 17 shooting at the Gravel Pit, about a mile west of the San Ysidro Port of Entry, there have been two other shootings from the Ensenada Highway in an area known as Goat Canyon.

The second attack May 23 at

4:40 a.m. was made by possibly two people firing from a pedestrian bridge overlooking Goat Canyon. From there, Ojeda says, the snipers had a clear view of any Border Patrol agent parked near the border.

The last attack was a drive-by shooting about 3 a.m. June 1. No one has been arrested or identified in the three shootings.

The Border Patrol says it has no plans to pull back from the area.

"We're going to continue to do what works and Operation Gatekeeper is what works," said Jim Pilkington, a San Diego Border Patrol spokesman. "At the same time, as law enforcement officers we're not going to tolerate being shot at."

Border Q&A:
Officers from Mexico's Grupo Beta border enforcement team question three suspected alien smugglers near the border fence along the Ensenada Highway.

San Diego Border Patrol Chief Johnny Williams said some tactics used in the area have been altered, but he declined to be specific for fear of tipping off gunmen.

He also has sought to allay concerns among agents and others that Mexico is not fully cooperating with the investigation.

"This is an act against law enforcement. We've never framed the issue as if it was an act by one country against another," said Williams, who took over as chief shortly after Gatekeeper was launched in late 1994.

Risky business

In Tijuana, authorities have committed 34 men from various police

departments and the Mexican army to manning roving checkpoints along the border, looking in vehicles for weapons between midnight and 6 a.m., every day.

Since May 27, the teams have netted drugs, several stolen vehicles and three arrests. "They also have found guns," Ojeda says. "All pistols."

The involvement of the Mexican military is noteworthy because the army has seldom been used for border enforcement in Tijuana.

The efforts, however, have done little to satisfy Gatekeeper's most vocal critics, agents belonging to the Border Patrol's national and local unions, who are frustrated by Operation Gatekeeper's static tactics.

Some are asking that agents be pulled back from highly visible zones.

"It's only a matter of time before someone gets killed," said T.J. Bonner, president of the National Border Patrol Council. There are inherent risks in law enforcement, but don't add to the risk by putting people in harm's way."

A spokesman for the local Border Patrol union disagrees with pulling back, but says agents need to be better armed.

"We feel we're not properly equipped," said spokesman Joseph Dassaro.

Semiautomatic pistols that are easier to reload and carry more rounds have been issued recently to the 2,000-agent force in San Diego. Agents can also check out 12-gauge Remington shotguns.

Handguns and shotguns are close-range weapons. Agents need access to high-powered rifles, Dassaro said.

"I believe that if the people who are firing at us now knew we were carrying (rifles) they would be more hesitant to shoot at agents," he said.

"All we have to do is keep our eyes open."

MANNY PEREZ

Agents in certain stations have access to M-16 and M-4 rifles, which are automatic weapons, but they are not available in Imperial Beach because of its proximity to densely populated Tijuana.

"If you get involved in an altercation and discharge a weapon of this magnitude, a bullet can drive a mile and strike anything," said Border Patrol spokesman Robert Gilbert.

A shotgun is an effective weapon at 100 yards or so, he said. "That weapon possesses capability without creating a hazard to the general public."

"If the union is saying we don't have weapons, we say yes we do," Gilbert contended.

Dassaro said the union is also concerned about the quality of the agents' bulletproof vests, which are made by Unicorn, a company that uses federal prisoners to manufacture them. Border Patrol officials say the vests meet safety standards.

Cool air is what agent Perez feels with the driver's window of his Border Patrol car rolled down.

He's wearing a bulletproof vest and is armed with a .40-caliber Beretta semiautomatic pistol. Other agents are watching his back, he says.

About 12 of them move quickly when they're told six illegal border crossers are hiding in the fields behind the Gravel Pit.

It's business as usual this night. "Our agents' commitment has not been daunted by the attacks," Chief Williams said.

Analysis

Transborder bloodshed might impede drug war

Continued from A-1

able scenarios — an agent killed by gunmen firing from Mexico, or an innocent Tijuana resident killed by a stray bullet fired from the United States by an agent in self-defense.

In either case, the fallout could poison U.S.-Mexico relations.

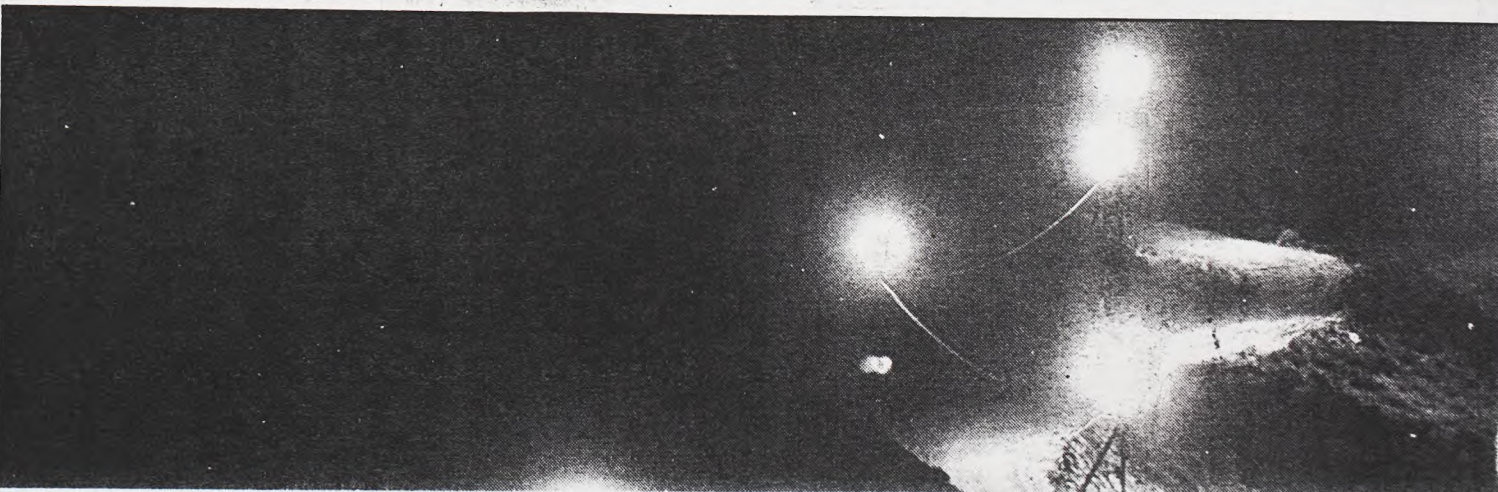
President Clinton's visit to Mexico last month did a lot of damage

"Nonetheless, the cartels have an interest in not seeing it get any stronger."

In the first incident, on May 17, someone with an AK-47 assault rifle fired from a highway overlooking the border. One agent was hit in the face and shoulder.

On May 23 and again on June 1, Border Patrol agents were targeted from the Ensenada Highway overlooking Goat Canyon, for years a popular spot with migrant smugglers. No Border Patrol agents were hit in those incidents, but they returned fire into Mexico.

In the most recent attack, rifles of a type normally restricted to the



finger-pointing that may be on over drug trafficking," says M. Delal Baer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.

Fatal cross-border shootings, she warns, "could set us back to square one, or worse."

Violent purpose

Veteran border observers in both countries suspect that may be exactly what the gunmen have had in mind.

"I don't believe this is anything random," says Jorge Bustamante, president of the border research think tank COLEF in Tijuana.

"It's a nasty strategy" that could disrupt a lot of the cooperation between U.S. and Mexican law enforcement against drug smuggling, says Peter H. Smith, director of the Center for Iberian-Latin American Studies at UC San Diego.

"On our side, it would really fan the fires of xenophobia and anti-Mexican feeling," Smith says. In Mexico, the death of an innocent from Border Patrol gunfire could provoke anti-American hostility nationwide, he predicts.

Although none of the perpetrators in the recent shootings has been identified by name or affiliation, Bustamante and Smith agree that the group most likely to benefit from such cracks in U.S.-Mexico ties would be Mexico's drug cartels.

"The cooperation between the United States and Mexico on drug matters, I think, is superficial and not very effective," Smith says.

Union-Tribune.

Even without the attempts to ambush the Border Patrol here, things have been getting more dangerous along the border. Within the last year and a half:

■ Near Tecate, Mexico, an agent of the Mexican border task force Alfa Group was questioning a group of illegal immigrants when a young man sprang from the bushes with a gun, demanding money. The agent identified himself as a police officer — and was immediately shot to death.

■ In Calexico, an elderly Mexican was caught with a carload of marijuana. Rather than submit to questioning, he pulled a gun and shot two U.S. Customs inspectors before being shot dead himself.

■ In Texas, U.S. military observation posts along the border, one manned by Special Forces soldiers and the other by Marines from Camp Pendleton, came under fire. The Americans fired back, leaving a man wounded in one incident near Brownsville, and an 18-year-old high school student dead in the other, near Big Bend National Park.

Texas Rangers investigating the recent shooting of the student say the Marines' account of what happened "doesn't exactly match" the evidence, including the injuries to the dead youth.

■ Elsewhere in southern Texas, a Border Patrol agent stopped a car near the border. The driver, a suspected drug trafficker, shot and killed him.

■ And in neighboring Sonora state, just across from Yuma, Ariz.,



CHARLIE NEUMAN / Union-Tribune

Night eyes: A Border Patrol vehicle parks on a dirt road in an area known as Goat Canyon across the border from the Ensenada Highway. This photo was taken near where agents were twice fired upon from the Mexican side of the border.

and the Imperial desert of California, gunmen raided a Federal Judicial Police office and stole a half-ton of cocaine which had been seized only days earlier by the Mexican army.

Seven people, including federal judges, federal narcotics agents and at least one Mexican soldier, have been arrested in connection with the theft, but the drugs have not been recovered.

From one end of the 2,000-mile border to the other, the stakes seem to be going up in the ongoing struggle between law enforcement and organized crime.

Intensified operations by the Border Patrol, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Customs Service have not put smugglers of migrants and drugs out of business. They have, howev-

er, forced the smugglers to shift their routes and change some of their tactics, making their business more expensive.

As a result, the "mules" who transport loads of drugs into the United States are under as much pressure from their own bosses as from the cops. Those who fail to deliver their illegal goods are increasingly subject to what is called in Tijuana "un ajuste de cuentas" — a settling of accounts.

"In some cases, they're being told, 'If you don't get your load through don't come home, because we'll kill you,'" said one U.S. drug agent.

'Lines and Shadows'

The border has always been a dangerous place, the land of Joseph

Wambaugh's "Lines and Shadows."

The terrain ranges from somewhat rugged to utterly treacherous. There are lethal extremes of heat and cold. Illegal immigrants not only face the hazards of nature, but risk robbery, assault and murder by bandits. Border Patrol agents deal with everything from rock-throwing punks to gun-wielding drug runners.

Customs and immigration inspectors at the ports of entry face their own dangers from "port runners" who try to force their cars through inspection stations at high speeds, threatening to run over anyone in their way.

Still, the recent cross-border shootings, including the use of automatic weapons, represent an escalation of violence beyond anything

seen in modern times, Bustamante says.

Should those shootings continue and result in deaths, relations between the two countries could be a major casualty, he cautions, adding: "The cartels would love to see that."

"At this time, when we are seeing unprecedented levels of understanding and communication between our policing authorities and our two governments, precisely now is when we see these kinds of incidents happening. This is not a coincidence.

"The traffickers have an interest in breaking communications between our two governments. And if we fall into the trap of recriminations, blaming each other, a break in communications is what will ultimately result.

"We cannot play their game."

Churches

Clinton urges assault on hate-based crimes

Continued from A-1

black churches. Of the 81 suspects arrested for arson at black churches, two-thirds were white and one-third were black.

Despite coordinated federal and local efforts, the task force reported that the number of arson, bombing and attempted bombing cases was higher during the first five months of this year than during the same period last year.

Incidents directed against African-American churches have declined, however, from 34 in the first five months of 1996 to 19 this year.

Law enforcers, noting that 41 percent of the people arrested in the past year for

church attacks were under 18, are watching for a summer increase in church violence.

Two in five of last year's attacks occurred in June, July and August.

"Churches are still burning. Our people are still, on occasion, being harassed and investigated," said the Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of Churches.

Campbell praised the Clinton administration for its "sensitivity and respect" in working to solve the crimes and rebuild the churches. She also thanked the White House for its "rapid response," but said "we see this as only the beginning."

President Clinton, who has made racial healing a central theme of his second term, called Saturday for "an all-out assault on hate crimes, to punish them swiftly and severely and to do more to prevent them from happening in the first place."

The president announced a Nov. 10 White House conference to bring together victims, crime fighters and policy-makers.

He intends to deliver a speech on Saturday at the University of California San Diego on racial and ethnic division.

Last year's surge in church burnings shocked the country more than 30 years after the Freedom Rides and other peaceful protests identified civil rights problems as a national disgrace.

Clinton created the National Church Arson Task Force to look for links among the crimes and to help overburdened state and local police forces.

The group is helping to rebuild dozens of churches. Also, pilot projects to help prevent attacks are under way in Charlotte, N.C., Macon, Ga., Utica, N.Y., and Nashville, Tenn., where the government provides advice on coalition-building and strategies to outwit fire-setters.

Overall, the task force announced, 35 percent of the arson cases have been solved, more than double the rate of arrest for arson across the country. Of 199 people arrested in 150 cases, about 75 percent have been charged since the task force was

"Churches are still burning. Our people are still, on occasion, being harassed and investigated."

REV. JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL

General secretary of the National Council of Churches.

created.

Suspects in 14 of 25 federal cases were charged with hate crimes. Sixty-eight percent of suspects in attacks on African-American churches are white, while 89 percent of suspects in attacks on non-black

churches are also white.

Yet the evidence that more remains to be done was as clear as the somber faces of nine black ministers who gathered yesterday at a National Council of Churches news conference.

Despite the organization's praise for the administration, only one of the nine pastors said attacks on his church have been solved.

Dallas minister Vernon Reed, pastor of the Holy Cross Church of God in Christ, said three fires have been set and swastikas were painted on the church. More than half his congregation has quit in fear, he said.

The Rev. Joseph Harrison, leader of Mount Hill Missionary Baptist Church in Aiken, S.C., said the suspect in the burning of his black church is an African-American snarled in a dispute with his father.

Harrison said the national task force was not involved in the case.

"I was pretty much the task force," Harrison said. "He came to me and confessed."