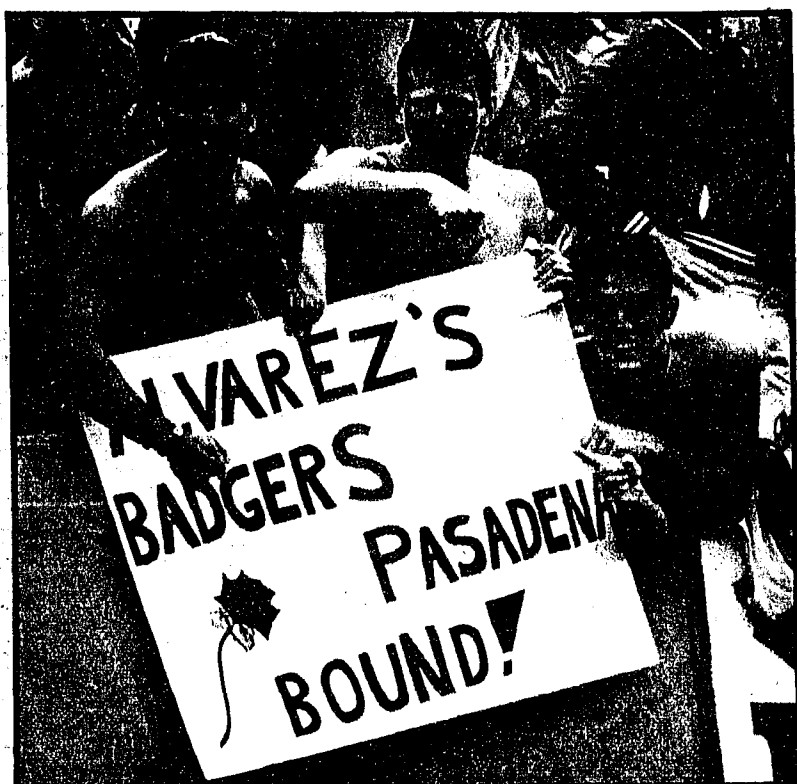


WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL

SUNDAY/SEPTEMBER 26, 1993

MADISON, WISCONSIN

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State Journal photo/SCOTT SEID

Fans say it all!
Indiana falls, 27-15

See Sports, 1D

Foreign policy
'enlargement'

Clinton defines new U.S. role

By Bob Deans
Cox News Service

WASHINGTON — He was going to be the domestic president.

Ever since taking office, however, President Clinton has been scrambling to keep up with dramatic global changes and painful conflicts far beyond the American heartland.

Last week's political showdown in Russia stunned the White House, just as the breakthrough Israeli-Palestinian deal did a few weeks earlier, and Clinton's entire eight months as president have been dogged by troubling questions about the U.S. role in Somalia and Bosnia.

Now America's first post-Cold War leader is trying to design a foreign policy framework to meet the challenges of a new era — before crises overseas define his administration for him.

On Monday, Clinton will map out his foreign policy agenda in his first address to the United Nations General Assembly. He will be speaking as much to the American people as to the representatives of the U.N.'s 184 member states, aiming to show that he is working from a cogent blueprint and not simply making foreign policy as he goes along.

"There is quite a bit of improvisation going on," said career diplomat Helmut Sonnenfeldt, now with the Brookings Institution, a Washington research organization.

"That's nothing new, events do come piling in from time to time," catching administrations off guard and forcing them to react, Sonnenfeldt said. "The broader challenge

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■ 3 Americans die in Somalia/9A

Inflation creeps
into court finesMinor offenses
cost major moneyBy Joe Beck
Cox reporter

It's 8:30 on Friday morning and the wheels of justice have rounded up the usual suspects in a Dane County courtroom.

UW-Madison students, dozens of them, line the pews and the walls, pondering their tickets for underage drinking. Leggy co-eds and beefy guys, they pass in a glum procession before Court Commissioner

Todd Meurer.

It's all about money.

By the time the morning has ended, Meurer will have fined most of them \$153, except for a few who had the misfortune to be caught with a fake identification card. They get to pay twice the cost, \$306.

None of them seem to notice that only about two-thirds of what they pay covers the actual fine. The remaining money is fees tacked on by the state.

On Oct. 1, it will get even more

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WORTHINGTON'S PAIN



State Journal photo/MEG THENO

Billy Shell keeps watch, nervous about his car among Worthington Avenue regulars outside. Fear was one reason he and his family eventually moved.

Residents of the Worthington Park neighborhood no longer suffer in silence. Gunshots took care of that.

The tiny, isolated neighborhood on Madison's near East Side crumbled this summer into a place where children run not to play, but to avoid bullets, where mothers open their homes to drug dealers in exchange for crack cocaine, where living poor means living in danger.

CITY of
HOPE

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- Community leaders react/10A
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Neglect
fostered
poverty,
decayBy Andy Hall
and Joyce Dehli
Wisconsin State Journal

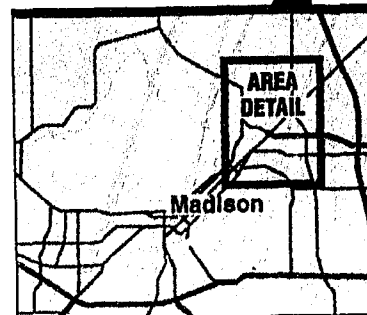
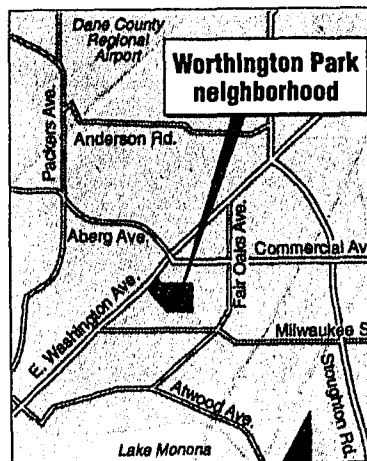
Three decades of neglect by apartment owners and city officials left Madison's Worthington Park neighborhood vulnerable to crime and decay, a Wisconsin State Journal investigation shows.

Tenants, particularly a recent wave of former Chicago residents, also bear responsibility for allowing drug deals, gambling and troublemakers to mar their near East Side neighborhood. Some even break their own windows and doors.

But there are signs, from officials and residents alike, that Worthington can be brought back under control. The solutions will be difficult and sometimes expensive — a reflection of problems that range from poverty to policing to politics and prejudice.

Madison Mayor Paul Soglin said the city's success in helping other troubled neighborhoods can be matched in Worthington.

"There's no question in my mind that we can do at Darbo-Worthington what we've done in other neighborhoods," Soglin said. City efforts should focus on assuring "a degree of public safe-



WSJ graphic

Worthington's pain is a warning for all of Dane County: The number of poor people living here soared in the past decade. If they are crowded into places like Worthington — and neglected — trouble is sure to follow.

A Wisconsin State Journal photographer and two reporters spent three months meeting the people of Worthington Park, watching the children play among drug deals, hearing the voices of despair. They found a pattern of neglect that left Worthington vulnerable to crime and decay.

But for many problems afflicting the area, there are solutions — some already under way in other neighborhoods in this City of Hope.

In our back yard
Crime, violence threaten
East Side neighborhood

First in a two-day series.

By Joyce Dehli
and Andy Hall
Wisconsin State Journal

In the spring of 1993, a season of hope, Denise Moore brought her four children to a neighborhood called Worthington for one more new beginning.

It had been three years since she pulled the family out of Chicago, "a big, old, bad city." But life in Madison was no dream come true. She'd been kicked out of three apartments and knew all the shelters and cheap motels. She'd developed a crack cocaine habit she was sure she could stop — once her family got into a new home.

Worthington was her last hope.

Worthington was Rose Pierce's home.

And in that same spring season, Grandma Rose, as she's known in the neighborhood, renewed her habit of walking beneath the tall, old trees in Worthington Park. Such has been her way, these past 25 years, of escaping the clatter of side-by-side apartment living.

"You could sit out here and lose yourself in this park," she said.

This spring, however, she began cutting her walks short. She kept watch over her shoul-

der. She listened for gunshots. And she stood guard over her young grandchildren whenever they ran down her hill into the park, fearful its trees hid gang members and drug dealers.

For Grandma Rose, the spring of 1993 marked an end, not a beginning. Her neighborhood, always poor, suddenly was dangerous.

For the theft of her spring, for the robbery of her freedom, Grandma Rose blames people who've fled Chicago for Madison and brought trouble with them. She blames people like Denise Moore. She wonders aloud who let them in.

"Send Chicago people back to Chicago!" she said, slapping the park bench.

Born in Hickman, Ky., 62 years ago, Grandma Rose moved north partly to escape Southern racism. When she moved into Worthington, she was one of few black residents.

Now, as winter approaches, Grandma Rose and Denise Moore find themselves confined to worlds they could not have imagined in the spring.

Moore, 33, is in the Dane County Jail, convicted of running a "crack house" in the city's hottest new drug market — Wor-

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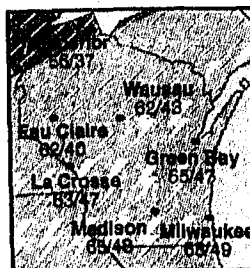
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CLASSIFIED/1I



Madison Forecast:

Today: Mostly cloudy with a chance of thunderstorms. High 65.
Tonight: More showers possible. Low 48.
Details/back page

Neglect: How Worthington Park slid into decay

Continued from Page 1A

other poor neighborhoods such as Vera Court to the north and Broadway-Simpson and Allied Drive to the south.

In its investigation, the State Journal found a pattern of decisions that hurt — or at least failed to help — Worthington, while other neighborhoods received more help. Problems are rooted in the original design of the neighborhood, but the situation has deteriorated rapidly in recent years. Examples include:

■ Law enforcement.

Madison's Blue Blanket police patrols, credited with cutting crime in several poor neighborhoods, pushed criminals into the Worthington Park area this spring, the State Journal found. Crime worsened amid confusion over shifting patrols to Worthington. Police calls to the Worthington area increased 115 percent from 1990 to 1992 — 10 times the amount of increase citywide. See related story/10A.

■ Housing.

Since the early 1960s, city inspectors have found nearly 2,500 housing-code violations on a single block in Worthington. The unusually high number of violations is caused by several problems. Ownership of the 17 apartment buildings is spread among 10 individuals and companies. Inconsistent tenant-screening and maintenance practices at buildings on Easton Square — the north side of the 3000 block



Above: Drive down Worthington Avenue any time, day or night, and you'll likely find a crowd of mostly young men milling about with little to do.



Docken

of Worthington Avenue — contributed to decay. ■ Lack of help from the city and social-service organizations. Worthington was described as a "community in crisis" 14 years ago in The Capital Times as residents futilely lobbied for a community center. Since then, a generation of children has grown up without having a safe place to gather. Although public funds have been used to help open neighborhood centers in other areas, current plans depend on the Salvation Army to come up with \$2 million to buy and renovate the building. The opening will not be until 1995.

'A soft target'

With a weak neighborhood association and few connections to local power brokers, residents wield little political power. They don't know the names of their local alderman and supervisor. They don't vote — in November's election, voter turnout in Easton Square was 33 percent lower than citywide.

Gang-prevention worker Bobby Austin said Worthington was left open to a recent invasion of criminals from Chicago and poor Madison neighborhoods because its residents lack the power to fight back.

Residents tend to be less educated than most Madisonians, possess fewer job skills and are less politically experienced, Austin said. "They don't have the skills to make the community flourish."

Capt. Luis Yudice, who supervises patrols on the East Side, sized up Worthington much as a criminal might: "Darbo-Worthington is a soft target."

Planning faulted

When it was built in the late 1950s, Easton Square was envisioned as a place where residents could stroll to clerical jobs at what was then American Family Insurance Co.'s headquarters. The location also was handy for blue-collar workers driving to Oscar Mayer Foods Corp.

Worthington's path of deterioration to a place of poverty and peril began when ground was broken, interviews and records show. The apartment buildings were built too close together.

The three-bedroom units were designed for families with one or two children. A high concentration of children poses two problems for apartment developers: They create lots of wear-and-tear problems, and they require ample play space.

Although Worthington Park is only a block away, Easton Square itself has never had much playing room for young children who can't stray far from home.

"Think about poor planning," said Linda Grubb, the city's neighborhood preservation supervisor. "Really high density housing with no recreation space. We've done this to ourselves time and again."

A builder who helped construct Easton Square, Joe Daniels Sr., head of a construction company bearing his name, acknowledged the buildings there were "on the low end of the quality scale."

Easton Square's decline accelerated through the 1970s when the buildings began to age prematurely, city inspection reports show.

Still, an appraisal commissioned by current Easton Square owner Gib Docken in 1980 concluded, "This is an excellent area for rental property." And in the early 1980s,

Right: Mimicking the older boys, Will Sims, 12, rolls the dice while killing time with playmates Marseille and Cedric McKenzie, ages 9 and 8. Will's family was packing to escape from Worthington and move to Memphis, Tenn.



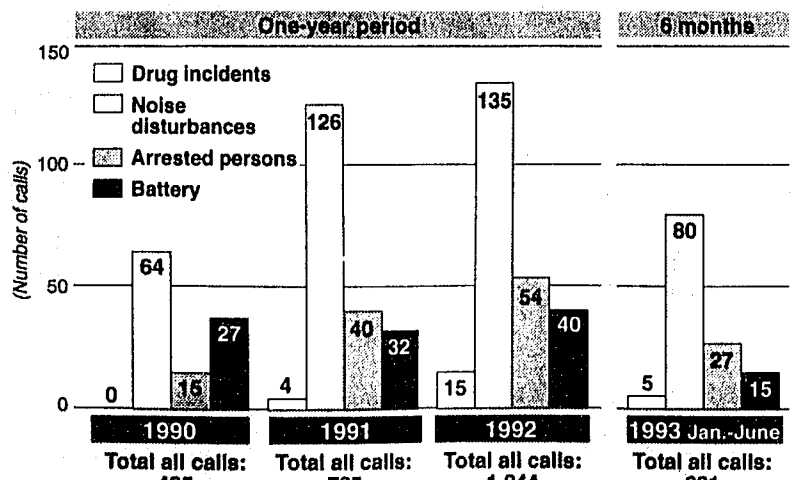
State Journal photos/MEG THENO

Crime scars a neighborhood

The Worthington Park area required police service far more frequently than most neighborhoods last year, according to the Wisconsin State Journal's computer-assisted analysis of Madison police calls. Madison police divide the city into 46 broadly defined neighborhoods. A comparison of calls per neighborhood showed that Worthington Park, in 1992, ranked:

- Second in juvenile disturbances and arrests.
- Fourth in batteries
- Fifth in disturbances
- Sixth in damage to property
- Seventh in arrested persons
- Ninth in burglaries
- Tenth in noise disturbances

Crime data for the past three and a half years shows that police are losing ground in Worthington. Responding to a State Journal request, Madison police analyzed calls for service on Darbo Drive and Worthington, Clyde-Gallagher, Rethke and Webb avenues.



SOURCE: Madison Police Department data. The 46 sectors are based on 1980 census tracts. The Worthington-area tract is bordered by East Washington Avenue and Commercial Avenue on the north, Rethke Avenue and North Fair Oaks Avenue on the east, Lake Monona on the south and Division Street on the west.

WSJ graphic/LAURA SPARKS

cent years despite installation of a neighborhood police officer in Worthington in May 1991. The move was designed to quell emerging gang- and drug-related crimes.

During the summer, police tried other methods, too. More officers and detectives could be found on Easton Square. And in July, Blue Blanket patrols began working there regularly, said Police Capt. Yudice.

The crime jump infuriates Docken, owner of eight buildings in Easton Square. Since early 1992, Docken Management also has managed all of Easton Square.

Police aren't doing nearly enough to stop the drug dealing, gambling and other crimes that happen right out in the open on Worthington Avenue, Docken said. Docken wants more officers.

Soglin agrees, but added: "There isn't a neighborhood in the city that doesn't need more officers." Soglin

said that need must be balanced against the need for other city services such as public health nurses and firefighters.

He also said he has to balance long-term and short-term problems. "We don't have the capacity to immediately respond to every instance of human need," he said.

Soglin and police officers — from supervisors like Yudice to those on the street — reject the idea Worthington's salvation is in the police department's hands.

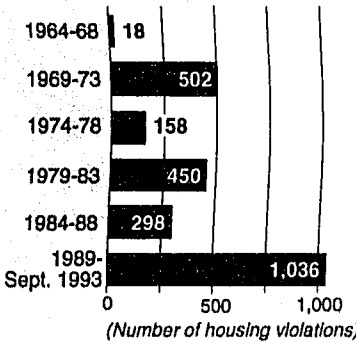
Det. Linda Draeger, who has worked on two of three shootings in Worthington this summer, said residents aren't doing enough.

Possibly out of fear of retaliation, she said, residents have little to say about the terrifying July day when several young men, in what began as a gambling dispute, fired indiscriminately as they walked through the neighborhood. No one was seriously hurt in any shooting.

Housing violations increase

Since 1964, city housing inspectors have cited apartment owners and managers for nearly 2,500 housing code violations on a single block in the Worthington Park neighborhood, according to a Wisconsin State Journal review of public records.

Shown below are the approximate number of housing code violations for the 17 apartment buildings located on the block bordered by 3000 Worthington Avenue on the south and 3000 Darbo Drive on the north. Most of the buildings were built in the late 1950s.



SOURCE: City of Madison housing inspection reports

WSJ

If residents don't overcome their fear and speak up, she said, "it's going to get worse. Somebody is going to get killed and it's probably going to be a child."

Yudice said police also need apartment owners to keep out tenants who commit crimes.

Yudice credits Docken and Cal Britz, resident manager at Easton Square, for trying. "They are quite active with the eviction process," Yudice said.

But building managers have not always been so attentive. And when drug dealers move in, good tenants — at least those who can afford to — move out. The property deteriorates.

"Normally what we find is drug activity and (housing) code violations go hand in hand," Yudice said.

Which comes first? "I think it begins with sloppy management," the captain replied.

Owners criticized

Today, Docken plus one other property owner and a management company at Easton Square are accused of being slow to correct problems on their own.

Grubb, the neighborhood preservation officer, said her staff has mixed feelings about Docken. "I think sometimes he talks a better game than he produces."

Docken defends his practices. He showed business records listing a \$14,880 loss on the project so far this year and complained he has to transfer money from other projects he owns to comply with the city's housing orders at Easton Square. Evicted tenants, he said, sometimes leave more than \$2,500 damage.

Docken is trying to sell his stake in Easton Square. Previous managers have had trouble, too.

Pete Schmidt, who worked as Worthington's neighborhood police officer in 1991 and 1992, said he battled with Select Management, the company that managed Easton Square's grounds from 1988 until Docken took over last year.

Schmidt said Jim Campbell, a partner at Select Management, failed to cooperate with attempts to evict troublemakers and to cut parking lot traffic to curtail an

"open-air drug market."

Schmidt said he eventually bypassed Campbell and met directly with Easton Square property owners, who he said had little or no idea about steps police wanted to take.

Campbell, however, said he was perplexed by Schmidt's complaints. He said he always cooperated with police and promptly complied with inspectors' work orders.

Select led owners to spend \$6,000 to provide space for the neighborhood officer and another \$6,000 for outdoor lighting, Campbell said. The company also helped authorize police to ticket trespassers on Easton Square and put up no-trespassing signs, he said.

Campbell blamed tenants. "We do not tear our own screens, nor do we break in our doors or bust our own windows," Campbell said.

It was difficult, Campbell said, to find qualified tenants. Ten applicants were rejected for every one accepted, after references and credit histories were checked. Until earlier this past year, Madison landlords were prohibited from checking the criminal histories of prospective tenants, he noted.

"We did a hell of a lot of evicting out of that place," said Campbell, whose company managed 41 of the 78 units at Easton Square.

Campbell said he kept owners informed about problems at Easton Square but conceded some failed to check tenants' references.

Select Management now manages one building in Worthington, four units at 3037 Darbo Drive. The owner of that building, town of Dunn attorney Dennis Sieg, said he isn't making money and would like to sell.

Getting out

Schmidt, the former neighborhood officer, already has found a way out.

Frustrated by the failure of city officials and businesses to come to Worthington's aid, Schmidt transferred to an easier job last year. He now polices mentally ill people, panhandlers and occasional robbers Downtown on State Street.

Henry Lufier, a former alderman who left the City Council in April, also is free of Worthington now. An associate dean of education at UW-Madison, Lufier said his 14 years representing Worthington ended much the way they began. Worthington, he said, still falls between the city's "service sectors."

Unlike the property owners, police officers and politicians, many residents of Worthington can't arrange passage out. In this place of gunfire, shouts and breaking glass are parents like Felicia Buchanan trying to raise children like her daughter, 12, and son, 13.

Buchanan, 30, a refugee from Chicago's dangerous Robert Taylor Homes, is attending Madison Area Technical College to obtain a high school equivalency degree. She wants to become an accountant.

Buchanan is a quiet woman. She likes to stay inside, and that's a good thing in Worthington. Her daughter is much the same.

Her son, though, prefers to roam outdoors. "I don't think it's a good place to raise my son," Buchanan said one summer afternoon as a crowd began to gather on Worthington Avenue. "It's open here with the drugs and everything."

"It's a little better than Chicago, just a little bit better."

Also contributing to this story were State Journal reporters Joel Broadway, Jonell LiCari and Ron Seely; researcher Griff Madigan; and State Journal Library Director Ron Larson.

Worthington: Warning signs for Dane County

Continued from Page 1A

thington Park. Grandma Rose stays inside most of the day. The last thing she'd do is walk through the park to Worthington Avenue.

"I'm scared to go through there in a cab," she said.

For one short block, between Clyde Gallagher Avenue and Rosemary Avenue, Worthington Avenue ceases to be a public roadway. It becomes a carnival, a bar, a casino, a family room, a drug market.

The better the weather, the bigger the crowd.

By mid-afternoon, clusters of teen-agers and young adults spread out along the street. Nearly all are black. Most are male. Perhaps half live in the neighborhood. But many come from the city's other poor neighborhoods. A good number claim Chicago as home and say they're visiting awhile, staying here one night, there another.

On an August afternoon, a week before city schools reopened, sweltering heat drew all kinds of people to the street. Young children, some still in their pajamas, followed groundskeeper Joan Massie around as if she were the Pied Piper.

Massie tossed bottles, cans, fast-food bags, and every kind of trash imaginable into the shopping cart she pushed around the Easton Square apartments in the heart of Worthington. Massie, a tenant who worked for Easton Square, scolded older boys to pick up their trash from the previous night. They only laughed.

Some boys teased and played at fighting, chasing each other across concrete and remnants of grass. Others held their spots on Worthington; the drug market was already getting busy.

They raced to cars that stopped in the middle of the road. In plain sight, they made their deals: the drivers' cash for the young men's little packets. Many, if not most, of these motorists were white.

Some drivers didn't bother with the guys on the street. They went directly to apartments, popping in for short visits. Others were bolder, cruising by slowly and hollering out, "Anybody got a twenty?"

A "twenty" in Madison is one rock of crack, so named because it sells for \$20. A rock is about one-tenth of a gram of crack, a super-charged form of cocaine that gives a quicker, more intense high than powder cocaine.

"There's a drug deal going on behind the tree," a woman whispered to a visitor later in the day. She nodded toward a nearby apartment building. In less than a half minute, a middle-aged black man strolled out from a space between the building and a scruffy, little tree.

A thin black boy, in his mid-teens, emerged slowly in the opposite direction, carrying a large clear plastic bag. Out of it he pulled a tiny package, which he shoved in his pocket. He dropped the bag to the ground and walked, smiling, to his nearby apartment.

As the shadows on Worthington deepen, the crowd grows, reaching 50 people on a nice night.

Quart bottles of beer get passed around. Loud voices tease friends and taunt drivers. Rapid-fire games of craps break out all along the sidewalk, with guys betting \$5 to \$10 on each roll of the dice.

Anthony Smith, a tall, soft-spoken man, often pulls out a folding chair to watch the action and talk with friends. He said he doesn't gamble — though "there's nothing wrong with it."

Smith, 24, lives on Simpson Street on the city's South Side but spends much time on Worthington visiting his girlfriend. The spring and summer have been harsh and frightening for some Worthington residents, he acknowledged.

But that may change now, he said, because Daniel Lemon has been arrested. "Since Daniel been gone, things been calm."

"Nobody around here is that bad and bold to take his place."

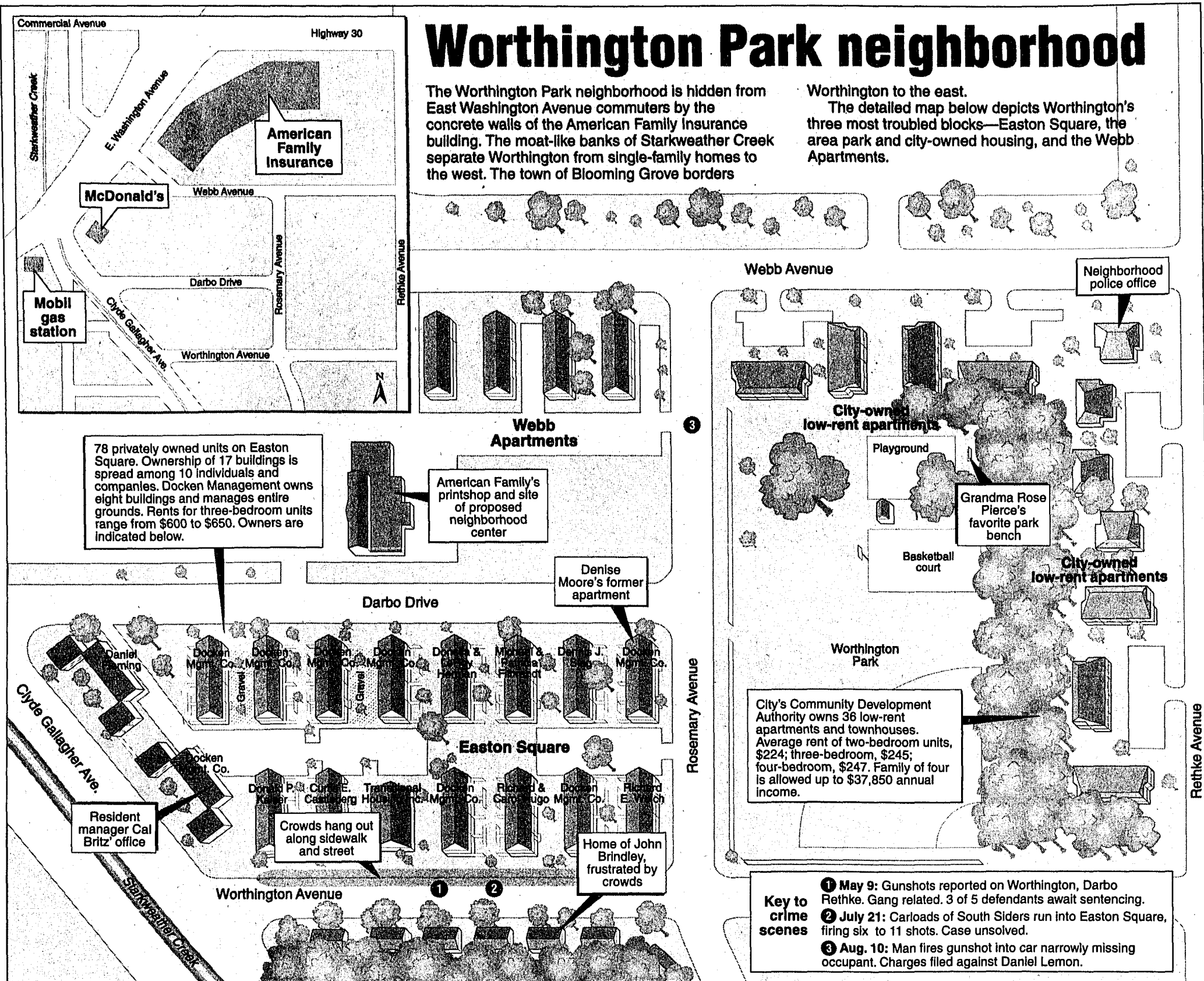
Daniel Lemon, once a Worthington regular, is in jail, awaiting trial for attempted homicide. Lemon, 19, is accused of firing a shot through a car's windshield near Worthington Park Aug. 10, narrowly missing the young man inside. He belongs to a family that has wreaked havoc on the neighborhood for more than a year, according to police, court records, apartment managers and residents. (Lemon's attorney declined to let him respond.)

When police raided Denise Moore's Darbo Drive townhouse just after sunrise June 16, they found 17 people scattered from the basement to three upstairs bedrooms. Lemon was among them.

They also found two crack pipes and \$1,900 in cash, split into \$100-bundles on top of her furnace.

What got Moore into trouble — off-street, in-house drug dealing — became all too common in the Worthington Park neighborhood this year, police and residents say.

In the spring of 1993 alone, an



SOURCE: City records, State Journal research

WSJ graphic/LAURA SPARKS

CITY of HOPE

apartment manager evicted residents from three of four apartments in one building. He said the tenants had turned their apartments over to drug dealers, an allegation confirmed by police.

People who've watched local crack houses develop said dealers look for poor residents, often single mothers like Moore, and offer to help pay their bills. Or they offer addicts crack. At first they seek no repayment, but soon they demand a big payoff. When residents can't pay, the dealers demand unrestricted use of their apartment.

Moore's \$708 monthly welfare check barely covered her \$625 rent for her Darbo Drive townhouse, let alone her crack habit. She said she smoked crack once or twice a week, and two or three rocks at each sitting, adding she "wasn't heavy into it."

At \$20 a rock, her addiction cost her \$40 to \$120 a week.

Moore told police she didn't sell drugs, but did let other people sell from her home. In return, she said, they gave her drugs and money and baby-sat for her kids.

But in a later jail interview, Moore denied anybody sold drugs from her home.

"If they was selling," she said, "they didn't sell out of my house."

Why then did she plead no contest to the felony charge?

"I didn't want no trial," she explained. "You have a trial, you get a jury with all white people. I'm black, talking about drugs. I don't think I stand a chance."

Russell Miles, like other young, black men of Worthington, figures he doesn't stand a chance either.

Miles, who's 19 and lives on Clyde Gallagher Avenue, said the men feel harassed by Madison police. They resent getting \$265 trespassing tickets for stepping on private property. They hate being arrested for assaults and other crimes that would be ignored in their hometown of Chicago.

"Police are going to start getting killed here," Miles said in a flat, matter-of-fact manner. "These mother----- police think they're the National Guard, man, they think they're G.I. Joe."

In August, according to a criminal complaint, Miles sold crack in Worthington to a white addict who'd come from the Northport Drive area. "They're trying to get me for one to 15 years, just for standing next to some dude," complained Miles, a former Chicago resident. "That's why I moved here, to get away from that s---."



State Journal photos/MEG THENO

Safe amidst her grandchildren, Grandma Rose Pierce — a 25-year neighborhood resident — misses the freedom to walk without fear in Worthington Park.

People on the street said Worthington's problem is racism, not them. Most of the 500 residents on the neighborhood's three, most troubled blocks — Easton Square, the Webb Apartments and the city's low-rent apartments on Webb and Rosemary avenues — are black. But almost all of the people who wield authority in Worthington, from the police to the apartment owners and managers, are white.

One black resident, Frank Miller, 22, said white Madisonians don't give a damn about what happens in Worthington "because it's a black neighborhood and they might like to see us kill each other."

Miller, once a proud high school basketball star in Chicago, left that city after his best friend was stabbed to death in a drug deal, another friend was killed and his brother was wounded by gunfire. He's counting on Worthington to save his life.

Sandra Johnson, one of few women hanging out on Worthington on a recent night, said she knows why police are writing trespassing tickets: "It's just the white folks. They want their neighborhood back."

Johnson, 24, a former Chicago resident, said white people living in single-story duplexes and homes



Now in jail for turning over her home to drug dealers, Denise Moore had hoped Worthington would be a safe home.

surrounding the Worthington neighborhood just don't like black people hanging around outside.

But John Brindley, a white man who owns and lives in one of those duplexes, said his anger has nothing

to do with race. He's mad because, he said, "they're out there every day on the street with garbage, urinating up against the building, selling cocaine."

When he gets angry, he calls the

police. "I've probably called police 100 times this summer," he said.

Unlike some residents, he's not afraid of retaliation. "I keep a shot-

ing cocaine."

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'This is a calculated power play, long planned (by Yeltsin).

William Safire

OPINION

15A

Sunday, September 26, 1993

OUR OPINION

Racism not to blame here

The decline of Madison's Worthington Park neighborhood is a story with too few heroes and more than enough villains to go around. Drug dealers, gamblers, bad parents, profiteering landlords and bumbling bureaucrats have combined to transform what was once a respectable low-income neighborhood into a festering sore that breeds crime and racism. (See 1A for "City of Hope" stories.)

A lot of the residents beg to differ. They say the racism came first, that it is what creates the problems that plague Worthington Park. They're wrong. Sure, racism plays a role, but it's a minor one. The drug-dealing, gang warfare and open gambling that have transmogrified its tree-lined lanes into mean city streets are not caused by racism. Nor is it racism when police arrest and jail crack dealers. It is not racism when landlords refuse to invest in property that is destroyed by sloth and laziness faster than they can fix it up. It is not racism when city officials fail to fund a neighborhood center for Worthington Park when those same officials have helped build centers in three other minority neighborhoods in the past four years.

It's ironic that many of Worthington Park's problems can be traced to a social scheme of the 1970s that was designed specifically to combat racism: scattered site housing. Back when the social engineers conceived of scattered-site housing and federal rental assistance, they thought they'd come up with a way to destroy segregated neighborhoods. They would plant small clusters of low-income housing units throughout cities like Madison, and use rental assistance vouchers to place low-income residents in existing market-rate apartments.

The theory was they could eliminate low-income neighborhoods and thus insure

that poor people got the same level of city service — from police protection to garbage pick-up to snow-plowing — that everybody else got. And with rich and poor, black and white, living right next to each other, everybody would learn to love their neighbors and appreciate each other's cultural traditions, and everybody would live together happily ever after.

Except it hasn't worked nearly as well as it was supposed to. In fact, what the scattered site policy has done best is remove low-income people from the institutions — especially schools and churches — that provide an alternative sense of community to the one that develops curbside on hot summer nights. It makes them isolated, which encourages feelings of persecution. It encourages people from troubled neighborhoods like Broadway-Simpson to migrate to places like Worthington Park when the police heat is on — and stifles the ability of the police to follow them.

Just as scattered site housing was no panacea, there are no easy answers to the problems that are strangling Worthington Park. And it will take a lot of heroes besides neighborhood activist Diane Johnson and police officer Carl Gloede to reclaim the streets from the crooks.

From city hall, they could use less hand-wringing, paper-shuffling and finger-pointing and a little more action. Outside of city hall, a variety of organizations including the United Way, the Atwood Community Center and the East Side United Neighborhood Center are already at work on Worthington Park's problems. Perhaps this neighborhood can be the laboratory that produces solutions that actually work, instead of just pushing the problems into someone else's backyard.

Signs of life in the Kickapoo

Just as urban neighborhoods such as Madison's Worthington Park can chart their decline from government decisions or indecisions, so can some rural communities. Wisconsin's Kickapoo River Valley has been just such an example, but the valley may be turning the corner in its decades-long struggle with adversity.

Out of a \$20 million boondoggle that evicted families from ancestral lands, built a useless dam nearly across the valley and gave a generation reason to scoff at the phrase, "I'm from the government; I'm here to help you," a plan to breathe life back into the valley is taking shape.

This spring and summer, Kickapoo Valley residents have gathered in public libraries and meeting rooms to write a plan that could, after a quarter century, bring "home" the 8,500 acres of federal land assembled for the failed Kickapoo dam.

The community reserve plan would require the valley residents give up their doomed crusade to finish the dam and push for early congressional action to officially kill the project. The federal government would sell the land to the state for \$1,

creating state land that, under a recent law, would make property tax payments to school districts and local governments. A special state agency would own the land and a board consisting of mostly local residents would manage it as an ecotourism reserve, protecting its endangered plants, 400 archaeological sites and natural beauty while reserving some land for timber harvesting and farming.

Construction on the dam was halted in 1975, but the last lawsuit seeking to force completion of the job didn't founder until 1992. Even then, it took a visit by Gov. Tommy Thompson, an Elroy native seen as a friend of the dam, to tell the locals that the dam was history. He assigned UW Extension agent Alan Anderson to the valley, where poor conditions have earned it the unofficial title of Wisconsin's Appalachia. With the cooperation and advice of local residents, Anderson helped the pieces of the plan fall into place.

Strong congressional action is still needed, but it's refreshing to see the roots of change crowding out the weeds of decay in the picturesque Kickapoo Valley.



Maverick mayor keeps 'em guessing

Name the prominent Wisconsin politician who:

■ Enthusiastically supports school "choice," even for parochial schools.

■ Believes welfare should be scrapped in favor of non-cash incentives tied to work, health care and child care.

■ Wants to abolish the state Department of Public Instruction and the federal Department of Education.

If you just mumbled to yourself, "Tommy Thompson," mumble again. The correct answer (at least, for purposes of this column) is Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist.

In his days as a state legislator, "Nork" often espoused views that ranged from old-line Milwaukee socialist to just plain contrary. These days, as chief burgher in the Beer City, he's drawing statewide attention with pronouncements that fit somewhere between populist and neo-conservative on the political spectrum.

As a result, he's doing little to dampen speculation that he's keeping his options open to run against Thompson in 1994. Asked point-blank last week if he's using education and welfare issues to keep his name afloat for a gubernatorial run, Norquist didn't say "yes" — but he didn't say "no," either.

"I'm not seeking for people to ask that question. . . I don't have any plans to do it (run for governor)," Norquist said. "I'm a citizen of Wisconsin and mayor of the biggest city in state, so what the state government does affects life in Milwaukee. The same with the federal government. . . So, improving life in Milwaukee depends on changing a lot of federal and state policies. I criticized (U.S. Trade Representative) Mickey Kantor for being too protectionist on steel tariffs, but I'm not running for president."

Yeah, but Bill Clinton's not up for reelection until 1996 and he's a fellow

Still is associate editor of the State Journal.

Democrat. Thompson is 99.9 percent certain to seek a third term as governor in 1994 and he's a Republican — not the party of choice for Norquist, even if he sometimes sounds like one.

More to the point, Wisconsin Democrats know they cannot beat the state's biggest somebody — Thompson — with nobody, which is pretty much the situation right now. (OK, State Sen. Chuck Chvala isn't a nobody, but north of Portage and east of Jefferson most voters probably think he's a tree-dwelling Australian marsupial.)

Norquist is a household name in southeast Wisconsin, by far the state's largest media market and vote depository, and fairly well known outstate. His stature allows him to wait longer than other Democrats to jump into the race — like after the December property tax bills come out, perhaps? He can raise lots of campaign cash, quickly. And he need not give up his seat as mayor to run; his term doesn't expire until 1996.

Some Democrats — particularly the doctrinaire liberals who vote in low turnout primaries — don't much care for Norquist. Losing a primary to a candidate endorsed by the statewide teachers unions is a risk he must calculate. But in the Legislature, where he served in the late 1970s through mid-1980s, Norquist commands respect among Democrats who remember him. Moreover, they're not all that surprised that Norquist would drop a bombshell or two regarding welfare or education.

"That's John. He sees himself as an iconoclast," said Assembly Majority Leader David Travis, D-Madison. "When John was in the Legislature, he was no friend of the bureaucracy."

Travis noted that State Sen. Norquist, as a member of the Joint Finance Committee, often locked horns with DPI and routinely proposed doing away with the state's Cooperative Education Service Agencies.

That brings us back to the substance of what Norquist has said on welfare and education. He thinks both DPI and the federal DOE are more impediments to classroom education than they are facilitators, and doubts either would be missed if they collapsed in a bureau-

cratic heap.

"If the federal Department of Education and the DPI were gone tomorrow, how would this affect the classroom, where the teachers and the students are? The answer I keep coming up with is, 'Not much.' It might even improve things," Norquist said.

He would keep the state schools for the blind and the deaf and a "small, lean group of employees" to help school districts in joint purchasing, but otherwise, Gov. Norquist would try to dump DPI. He took specific aim at DPI's teacher certification philosophy, which he said stresses procedure over knowledge.

"Young Einstein would not be allowed to teach science in any public school in Wisconsin" because he couldn't be certified as a teacher. "I think he could sneak into the parochial schools, although Tommy just put some additional requirements on them, too."

Some Democrats say Thompson has gone too far in reforming welfare. Norquist says he hasn't gone nearly far enough.

"I think we're on the verge of getting rid of welfare. Everyone needs to be a little bit more optimistic about getting rid of it," Norquist said. "Thompson has got to take the next step and buy into the notion that we can take this destructive system and move it out."

Is Norquist trying to out-Tommy Tommy? Probably not. More likely he's just having fun watching people squirm, in his own party and the GOP. But with only 13 months to go before election day, those same Democrats have to acknowledge that "Nork" may be their best chance to win.

Monday on Opinion: Editorial and Kovalic cartoon on the International Olympic Committee bypassing Beijing for Sydney for the 2000 summer games.



John Norquist

WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL

Phil Blake, publisher Frank Denton, editor Thomas W. Still, associate editor Sunny Schubert, editorial writer

Opinions above are shaped by this board, independent of news coverage decisions elsewhere in the paper.

Today's mail

Want to be heard?
Try saying name first

I had a discussion with a good friend a few hours before I read Stephen Barone's Sept. 19 guest column about the "What?" phenomenon, and I think I came up with a reasonable solution. The friend and I were conducting a yard sale together; we were each occupied with independent activities. All day long (it seemed) my friend would say something to me, and it would tend to go over my head and I had to ask "what?" repeatedly. It probably irritated me more than it did my friend to have to do this.

At the end of the day, I told him that if he were to say my name first or even just "Hey, you," or otherwise get my attention then I probably would actually hear what followed. In Barone's case, in talking to his spouse, he could even use a term of endearment, such as "Sweetheart," etc. The mistake that people make is in assuming that their companion has no thoughts of her(his) own, even if it just takes the form of concentrating on buttering a bagel, and is just waiting with rapt attention for what you are going to say next! Say her name. Get her attention. Don't take her for granted.

Also, the husbands who nod their heads and/or say "Yes, dear" (ditto for wives) probably don't really hear much at all of what their

YOUR OPINION

We welcome letters of 200 or fewer words on matters of public interest. Letters are subject to editing; not all can be run. Please sign and include your address and telephone number. Names and hometowns will be published. Send letters to: Letters to the Editor, Wisconsin State Journal, P.O. Box 8058, Madison, Wis. 53708

spouses say. I wouldn't really call this "listening."

— Cathy Bussey, Madison

Why worry if NAFTA will create new jobs?

I can't understand why Gov. Tommy Thompson felt that he needed to set aside \$200,000 to fund a "Dairy 2020 Council" to keep Wisconsin in the lead stall of the milking parlor.

After listening to our president, our past presidents, national political leaders, governors, state politicians and reading the State Journal, they all seem to say the same thing.

If NAFTA is approved, we will be exporting many items and farm products from Wisconsin. There will be so many jobs the farmer will not have to worry about whether we are number one in milk production or not. The farmer will be able to go out and get one of the "higher wage jobs of the future," to quote Thomas W. Still's Sept. 19 column.

— Ralph Bailey, Pardeeville

Keep an eye on Russia's cops and soldiers in Yeltsin's coup

WASHINGTON — Two weeks ago, the president of Russia had a long telephone conversation with the president of the United States. The Russian, who gave no hint of an intent to dissolve Parliament, wanted to know in detail about the progress of the aid package and repeal of trade restrictions; in turn, the American asked him to increase pressure on the Serbs and to withdraw troops from the Baltic states.

A few days later, asked to assess Boris Yeltsin's political position, Bill Clinton said: "He is in a weaker position than he was, politically, right after he was elected — because of his inability to work through an effective political compromise with his opponents." Should the U.S. be talking to his rival, Aleksandr Rutskoi? "I don't think we should be hedging our bets," replied Clinton.

Ten days later, with Yeltsin's political standing eroding in the face of a budget showdown with the Soviet-era Parliament, the Russian president struck, dissolving the institution that opposed his reforms, and setting legislative elections in three months.

Safire is a New York Times columnist who often writes on foreign affairs.

The document he signed was more carefully drawn than any of his previous decrees; it included such details as the wages for legislative staff until Dec. 13. It was no impulsive act.

In this time of nascent democracy and rampant corruption, Russian political power does not yet rest fully on the will of the people. The Red Army and the KGB still figure strongly in the struggle between free-market reformers and command-economy reactionaries. Consider the Yeltsin courtship of these elites:

On March 30, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev was interrogated by the anti-Yeltsin parliamentarian Ruslan Khasbulatov, in a way that many top Red Army officers considered insulting; the general was publicly accused of not giving straight answers. This soured many officers on the Parliament and its ally, Vice President Rutskoi, a combat pilot the generals consider an upstart.

In the referendum about a new constitution a month later, which Yeltsin's position won with 59 percent of the vote, fully 67 percent of the Red Army officers supported the president (whose acquiescence to their wage demands further en-

deared him to them). Grachev traveled to the United States and talked with Clinton in the office of the national security adviser, Tony Lake.

Meanwhile the KGB, which has a new name but is still the KGB, was on the knife's edge, its leader leaning toward the agency's old Communist allies in Parliament. At the end of July, Yeltsin fired Viktor Barannikov, whom a source calls "a friend who turned unreliable," as security minister.

Yeltsin's choice to replace the head of internal security was Nikolai Golushko, a longtime KGB officer in the directorate charged with putting down dissent. His appointment reassured the agents in the ranks, and because he had long been stationed in Ukraine, outside the orbit of the old-timers' Moscow KGB headquarters, Yeltsin considered him more reliable.

Last week Yeltsin paid a visit to the Interior Ministry's Dzerzhinsky Division (named after "Iron Feliks" Dzerzhinsky, founder of Stalin's secret police), on combat alert a half-hour's ride from Moscow.

And last week the confrontation between the reform executive and the Red legislature came to a head over — of all things — the budget. Parliament proposed a foolhardy



WILLIAM SAFIRE

deficit of 25 percent of GNP, which it was ready to pass over Yeltsin's veto. His economic advisers at home and abroad told him that would take the nation over the brink, beyond hope of stabilization.

With his Red Army and KGB and Dzerzhinsky ducks all in a row, and his personal relationship with Washington secure, the Russian leader — assured that no Clinton bet on him would be hedged — made his move.

This is a calculated power play, long planned and extra-constitutional, that is likely to put too much power in the hands of the Russian chief executive. Are we wise to support it?

Yes, considering the alternative of political paralysis leading to economic catastrophe leading to social upheaval. Clinton's unstinting public approval, tied to a promise of democratic elections, is wise.

But we should keep a wary eye on the renewed political power of the Red Army and KGB. The armed forces that are needed to put a democratic government in place should be radically reduced when the reformers take full charge.