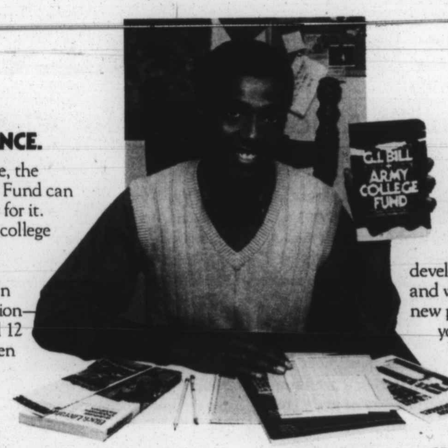
COLLEGE PREPARATION THAT PAYS OFF IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE!

THE G.I. BILL PLUS THE ARMY COLLEGE FUND CAN BE WORTH UP TO $25,200 TOWARD YOUR COLLEGE EDUCATION.



YOU'LL GET FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

If you have plans for college, the G.I. Bill Plus the Army College Fund can change the way you plan to pay for it. And if you haven't planned on college because of finances, they could change your mind completely.

Once you qualify, you begin by contributing to your education—$100 per month for the first full 12 months of your enlistment. Then Uncle Sam contributes—up to $9,600. That's the G.I. Bill.

And if you qualify for the Army College Fund, you can accumulate up to $14,400 more!

Of course, how much you save depends on how long you serve and the specialty you qualify for. There are over 80 specialties that allow you to benefit from both programs. For maximum returns, see the chart.

YOU'LL MATURE MENTALLY.

As a soldier, you'll have the chance to travel, meet new and different people and maybe even live in foreign countries.

With these new experiences, you'll develop a sense of your own potential and ways to direct it to its fullest. Living in new places and working with new people, you'll build confidence in yourself and what you can actually do.

So think of the Army as an investment that's sure to pay off. Your enthusiasm and hard work will enable you to earn money for your college education. And you'll gain experience no one can put a price on.

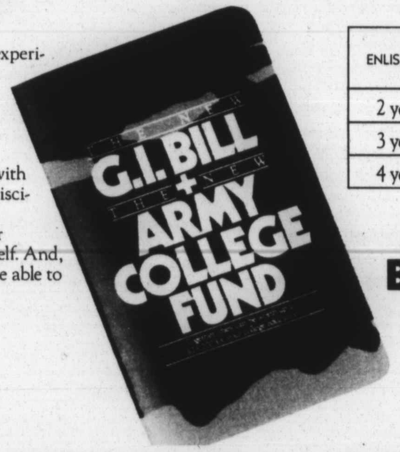
To learn more about your opportunities in today's Army, visit your local recruiter today. Or call toll free 1-800-USA-ARMY.

YOU'LL DEVELOP PHYSICALLY.

The rewards of the Army experience go far beyond money.

Today's Army has a physical training program that will help you get into the best shape of your life. You'll learn what your body can really do; along with that, you'll learn self-reliance, discipline, team-work and pride.

So, aside from serving your country, you'll be serving yourself. And, when you get to college, you'll be able to get the most out of it.



ENLISTMENT	THE G.I. BILL	THE G.I. BILL PLUS THE ARMY COLLEGE FUND
2 years	$9,000	$17,000
3 years	$10,800	$22,800
4 years	$10,800	$25,200

ARMY. BE ALL YOU CAN BE.

CONTROVERSY

The Recent Supreme Court Decision On

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

"... affirmative action ... helps the blacks who need it least"

Morris Abram

VS

Lowell Johnston

"... The question of stigma only arises when blacks are the beneficiaries."

For over twenty years, millions of Americans have been inspired by the noble words of Martin Luther King, Jr.: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

In painful contrast to King's words is the comment on the recent Supreme Court affirmative action decisions by a lawyer who formerly administered affirmative action plans for the Labor Department: "What employers are really told in this ruling," he observed with unfortunate accuracy, is that "You continue to ... consider the color of people's faces" in hiring.

Taken together, these two statements are a woeful condensation of the history of the civil rights movement in America. What began as a principled campaign for equal justice under law has degenerated into an open contest for social and economic benefits conferred on the very basis of race, as well as other classifications previously thought to be invidious. Similarly, what had been an inspiring and successful bipartisan commitment to make a reality of the great principles upon which our country was founded has become an ugly divisive dispute which is taking us further and further from a society free of the bane of racial discrimination.

In effect, the court has made a distinction between hiring and firing, i.e., it has ruled in these two most recent cases to uphold preferential treatment for minorities in hiring, while in two previous decisions, it forbade the firing of senior non-minorities for the benefit of junior minorities. This distinction may seem to some to be an effort at balance, but it does nothing to ameliorate the violence racial preference of any kind does to the constitutional principles that undergird our society and secure our civic peace. The failure or unwillingness to distinguish between equality of opportunity and equality of results, between equality as the guarantee of constitutional rights to all persons, and equality in the sense of enforced social and economic egalitarianism among groups, threatens to tear our country apart, as various newly-privileged groups move in for a "piece of the action," while the non-privileged, including millions of poor, uneducated white males, stand by in anger and frustration.

We simply cannot interpret our laws to support both color-blindness for some citizens and color-consciousness for others. A pluralistic society such as ours cannot afford to favor one race more than it can favor one religion. As former Supreme Court Justice and fervent liberal William O. Douglas observed:

"The Equal Protection Clause (of the Constitution, guaranteeing 'the equal protection of the laws' to all persons) commands the elimination of racial barriers, not their creation in order to satisfy

Continued on page 16

Morris Abram is a partner in the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, and a commissioner of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Opponents of affirmative action are an ingenious group. They have come up with numerous reasons to eliminate this tool which has been so effective in combating this nation's legacy of racism. "It doesn't work." "It lowers standards." "It's illegal and/or unconstitutional." One excuse after another. And one by one each excuse has been shown to be false. Although allegations still continue that affirmative action is not effective, analyses uniformly show that it has had a substantial impact on black opportunities. For example, a study conducted by the labor department in 1983 showed that government contractors — who are subject to affirmative action goals and timetables — did significantly better in the employment of minorities and the placement of minorities in higher level positions than similar employers not subject to government enforced affirmative action goals.

Furthermore, companies utilizing affirmative action have reaped other unexpected benefits. Their job descriptions and qualifications are more job-related and they have had to reduce the use of mechanisms, such as nepotism and work-of-mouth recruiting, which inhibit the access of minorities to jobs. This has promoted a sense of fairness among their staff and enhanced their corporate images.

Until recently discredited by the United States Supreme Court, the twin concepts of "identifiable victims" and "innocent whites" provided the legal rallying cry against affirmative action. As championed by the Reagan Administration in the person of Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, opponents urged that only persons who were the identified, direct victims of a discriminatory act could benefit from any remedial plan. Moreover, affirmative action could not be used because it would harm innocent white persons. The Supreme Court (a Court not regarded as liberal), however, recognized that there was still a need for race-conscious remedies and that it was necessary that any resulting burden be shared.

Victories in court and acceptance by employers are cause for celebration, but the need for vigilance continues. Other and more insidious myths are lurking to undermine the effectiveness of affirmative action programs. One of these is the "stigma factor." The party line goes something like this. When less qualified blacks are selected over more qualified whites, people question the qualifications of other blacks. All blacks are thus stigmatized by affirmative action programs. One could argue in response that these "qualifications" are often not related to the position sought. One could even argue that, more often than not, it is the black who is much better qualified than the white. On the other hand, one might well ask why

Continued on page 19

Lowell Johnston is an attorney with the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc. He gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Ronald Ellis, Esq.