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Folder Title:
Simon Wiesenthal Center 6/16/91 [OA 8324] [1]

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(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
June 10, 1991 1 p.m.
SIMONW Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER DINNER KEYNOTE
Sunday June 16, 1991 7 p.m.
Los Angeles, California

Rabbi Hier, I'll cherish this sacred gift. To you: "I lift up the cup of redemption in thanks and gratitude." I've heard that at Seder this Cup of Elijah is filled with wine -- and with the promise of redemption. And I know the verse that says Elijah "shall turn the heart of the parents to the children, and the heart of the children to their parents." I hope this symbolic gift can challenge us to do the same -- to reclaim our soul through love for our human family. A love born of remembrance.

The extraordinary hero this center honors is our living embodiment of remembrance. The two pledges of Simon Wiesenthal's life inspire us all -- **"Never Forget" and "Never Again."**

He reminds us that we can do nothing that matters until we learn the lessons of the concentration camps. I've been to Auschwitz. I've seen the mounds of human hair. The children's shoes. The rubble of ovens. The images of human evil. When I left Auschwitz, I left part of me there. But I took something away in its place -- the determination not just to remember but also to act.

I say this to you as a World War II veteran -- as an American -- and as President of the United States. **We must never forget. We must never deny.** The haunting images compel us to guard against tyranny and inhumanity. Remembering makes us strong. And remembering makes us act.

But we must also remember something more powerful than the

horror -- the triumph of the inextinguishable human spirit. Those who survived the Holocaust could have sunk into hate and revenge. What world would have blamed them. But, instead, they lifted themselves -- and all of humanity -- toward a greater goal. I believe that the ultimate lesson here is the transcendent glory of survival. Hope triumphed over horror. Life triumphed over death.

Elie Wiesel dedicated his life to Holocaust victims because "anyone who does not remember betrays them again." These must become our days of remembrance. This freedom we enjoy carries a terrible responsibility. The genocide of WWII is over, but the victims of other human rights abuse call to us daily from across the globe. In the memory of the 6 million who died -- **we must not close our eyes. We must not block our ears. We must not hold our tongues**.

Holocaust survivors lead our way. When Saddam Hussein unleashed his evil against the Kurds, Simon Wiesenthal was the first to speak out. He said: "Silence is admittance. "We cannot tolerate silence." It was because of Saddam's unimaginable evil against fellow human beings that we made our stand in the Persian Gulf. It was a moral imperative. The world had ignored the brewing madness 50 years ago. **Never forget. Never again**.

We leapt to action again to prevent another genocide -- that of 14,000 Ethiopian Jews. Rudy Boschwitz was my special emissary. It was a proud moment of my Presidency when I awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal for helping in what turned

out to be one of the most intensive humanitarian airlifts in history. We worked closely with our friends in the Israeli government, and in less than 24 hours the Falasheas had been delivered from harm's way; reunited with loved ones; and given the opportunity to begin new lives in Israel.

We're here in honor of a place that drives us all toward that kind of action. It shatters our complacency by showing us what the face of human evil looks like. For the Simon Wiesenthal Center is not just a museum, although its vivid images will never let the past fade. It's also an activist organization of more than one million members. One million separate voices bound together in single purpose -- the call for all lives to have meaning, dignity, and hope.

I thought of that earlier tonight when the Holocaust survivors brought in the Mauthausen flag. It was one of the most moving moments of my life. What a story -- those men and women creating out of scraps this symbol of the values that gave them hope. Just think -- those values were the ones this country was founded on -- ones we too often take for granted. I wish every American could hear this story, could see this flag.

The values those courageous Jewish victims saw symbolized in our flag became the ones on which they founded their new homeland. These shared values unite our country and Israel in an extraordinary kinship. Values like: Freedom. Democracy. Morality. Respect. Deeply rooted traditions of tolerance. Individual rights and liberties. Our countries have forged an unprecedented bond -

- a bond of shared ideals, shared struggles, shared commitments.

Tonight, I want to return to those essential, basic values and pledge America's eternal vigilance for justice, peace, and human rights throughout the world. As your President, I say:

There is no room in our America for indifference. The Holocaust must never be dehumanized, dismissed, or forgotten. We pledge to preserve forever its memory.

There is no room in our America for evil. We must search out and expose every last Nazi fugitive or war criminal hiding in the shadows. We pledge to bring them to justice.

There is no room in this country for hate crimes. We must raise our voices and the full force of our law against every hate group, desecrater and demagogue, brown shirt or white sheet. We pledge not to be fooled by a change in disguise -- corruption and inhumanity still lie buried in their hearts.

There is no room in our America for bigotry. We must stand firm against ignorance, racism and discrimination in any form and any place -- in our cities, in our music, in our media, in our minds, in our hearts. And in subtly subversive quota bills. We pledge to point the finger of shame wherever the hatred of bigotry festers -- and to rid our land of it for our children.

And of all forms of bigotry, above all **there is no room in our America for anti-semitism**. The insidious ugliness of this cancer destroys the human spirit. We pledge to root it out and wherever it may start to grow.

And **there is no room in our world for anti-semitism**. We

must work with the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe as they struggle to redefine themselves as good and brave and free. We pledge to help them combat the shameful legacy of their past.

There is no room in our world for persecution of a people. We must assure that security of Jewish opportunity and identity is a reality. We pledge to give our hearts and aid to helping Jewish people in despair wherever they may be.

There is no room in our world for persecution of a nation. Israel's survival must be guaranteed. We pledge our unwavering support for her and for our joint goal of just and lasting peace.

There is no room in our world for religious intolerance. We will continue to press the human rights agenda until every oppression of Soviet Jewry has been erased. We pledge never to give up hope -- and never to cease to work for their freedom.

Above all, we must each of us embody in our lives the lesson of this center -- the lesson so brilliantly expressed by its hero, Simon Wiesenthal, who reminds us: "Freedom is not a gift from Heaven. One must fight for it every day." **That, my friends, is our final -- and most important -- pledge.**

Thank you for the privilege of sharing this evening with you -- and for the warmth of your friendship. May God Bless us all.

# # # # #

ACK.

# # # # #

Thank you, Jerry. And thank you all for that warm welcome. You know, I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since the last Laker game at the Forum.

I'm honored to be here with you -- and especially proud to be with the people who set the tone for this evening -- the courageous Persian Gulf veterans and the Holocaust survivors.

And I'm proud to be here with Pete and Gayle Wilson -- good, true friends of mine -- and of yours. (Jewish activites) It's hard to think of any Governor who's been challenged so deeply by problems from the drought to the deficit. Pete's response has shown tremendous grace under pressure. This state's lucky to have you, Pete.

Gala
Rosalee
(213) [redacted]
736-237[illegible]

And from the Simon Wiesenthal Center -- well, what can I say about Rabbi Hier that this reticent, shy man's six press agents haven't already said? When Johnny Carson announced his retirement a couple of weeks ago, and word got around that the King of Los Angeles was going to step down from his throne, I hear that the city cried out with one voice -- "You don't mean that Moish is going to leave?" Seriously, Rabbi -- your vision, conscience, and commitment set a challenge for us all. And thanks to Peter Gruber, the chairman of tonight's event.

Which brings us to our guest of honor -- the only man who could bench-press a Patriot missile launcher. Arnold's a great friend. I had to say that, because he's so tough he can drink the water at the White House with no ill effect. But you know,

Arnold spent a day with us at Camp David -- and that was the day Barbara broke her leg. Then, Arnold spent a day with me at the White House promoting fitness -- and the next day was when I ended up in the hospital. Arnold -- you'll never lunch in my town again. \\\ Or, come to think of it, you could be my special emissary to Congress. Talk about "The Terminator."

But honestly, Arnold is a wonderful choice for your National Leadership Award. He embodies the good, true values of this world -- values like caring, and faith, and fairness. I'm honored to be part of your evening. Congratulations.

MEETING NOTES WITH RABBI COOPER AND MARTY MENDELSOHN

Attendees: Cardinal Mahoney
Governor Wilson
Dryer, Bradley
SWCenter board members
Arnold and Maria
Thousands of celebs/studio people/industry people

Three important elements of speech:

1) Words about Arnold and his award
2) Ethiopian Jewry, why this is so important to POTUS
3) Gulf War
**also, Soviet Jewry is okay, too.

We need to talk about a commitment to peace.

flag -- made by the inmates at Mauthausen, has 56 stars.
will be presented following the color guard presentation

DO NOT TALK ABOUT SEC. BAKER

Jerry Weintraub, the POTUS's friend will introduce POTUS.

This will be a big press event.
LA is one of the biggest Jewish towns.

Silence is admittance. The world must not be silent.

Quotables -- Elie Wiesel, questionable though.
Book of Elijah

POTUS should tell us what motivates him about Jewish issues.

This should be an upbeat evening -- no heavy stuff, policy-blech!

POTUS and FLOTUS both there.

The film "Genocide" was very educational; it provided dialogue, lessons from the past. We must break barriers to bring world peace.

Simon Wiesenthal might actually come. He's 83 years old, his health will be the deciding factor. We should know by Monday if he's coming. He is a universalist. He talks about all of us being victims of the holocaust.

If we quote Wiesel, we have to quote Wiesenthal.

POTUS and Simon have had prior meetings.

MEETING NOTES WITH HOWARD KOHR

Important elements to address:

1) Ethiopian Jewry
   -- see Rose Garden event within the past few days
   -- as VP, Bush went to Sudan to see to the release
   -- validation that Zionism is not racism
   -- maybe tie-in to the UN

2) Tolerance, opposing bigotry, opposing anti-Semitism

3) Middle East peace process
   -- restate a commitment to Israel
   -- don't talk about Israel having to make concessions
   -- this is a hypersensitive issue

This is the only Bush speech to a predominantly Jewish audience.

The SWCenter -- very aggressive, high-marketing, popular in Los Angeles, non-objective, combats anti-Semitism. Rabbis Hier and Cooper are very pro-Bush.

We should give a vision of what America ought to be. This could very well be a dovetail to civil rights. individual freedoms, liberties. More focused on the kinder/gentler theme.

P.C. is an example of intolerance.

Shared traditions for Judeo-Christian values.

Focus on some contributions that Jewish-Americans have made in this country: Rudy Boschwitz/Ethiopian Jews
Rose Garden ceremony the other day

Quotables: Steele (a black, male writer in Cambridge) who writes about tolerance issues
George Washington at Truro Synagogue
VP's Office, Shanton, any Quayle speeches
Elie Wiesel

The US will continue its effort to get Nazis who are still in this country. OSI at Justice handles this. Call Neil Sheer.

Anti-quotas is an energizing issue. Spell out why GB is opposed to quotas.

Pledging GB's commitment to combatting anti-Semitism; pledging to work with emerging democracies to avoid further development of anti-semitism.

Only positive stuff about US-Israel relations. Commitment to Soviet Jewry.

Pete Wilson is one of the strongest US-Israel supporters, very popular in LA because of this. Had a big Jewish event (either Israel independence or holocaust remembrance) -- get these and other remarks from MD.

Movie/tv portrayal of Jews is important. With all of the industry people there, this is important to mention.

CALL RABBI COOPER -- how does Schwarzenegger tie in to all this?

CALL SCHWARZENEGGER'S PEOPLE -- Arnold's past, family background, will this cause any embarrassment to POTUS, were they Nazis?

POTUS personal tie-in. There are people who believe the Holocaust never happened. I was in WWII, This country will ensure that Jewish citizens and all Americans will have their rights protected.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 4, 1991

The President today presented the award of the Presidential Citizens Medal to Senator Rudy Boschwitz and the Special Award for Exceptional Service to Irvin Hicks, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; Robert C. Frasure, Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council; and Robert G. Houdek, Charge d'Affaires, American Embassy, Addis Ababa.

The citations read as follows:

Senator Rudy Boschwitz:

Senator Boschwitz helped make possible the evacuation of thousands of Jews from Ethiopia. With their exodus blocked and rebel forces advancing on the capital, Senator Boschwitz flew to Addis Ababa as my special emissary and successfully negotiated arrangements for one of the most intensive humanitarian airlifts in history. Thanks to his courageous efforts the Falashas were removed from harm's way, reunited with their loved ones, and given the opportunity to begin new lives in Israel.

Robert C. Frasure:

In recognition of his distinguished role in facilitating the departure of thousands of Jews from Ethiopia. During the final days of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, Director Frasure accompanied Senator Rudy Boschwitz on an urgent Presidential mission to Addis Ababa. The agreements they produced made possible a massive airlift of the Falashas to safety in Israel.

Irvin Hicks:

In recognition of his distinguished role in facilitating the departure of thousands of Jews from Ethiopia. During the final days of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, Deputy Assistant Secretary Hicks joined Senator Rudy Boschwitz on an urgent Presidential mission to Addis Ababa. The arrangements they negotiated made possible a massive airlift that carried the Falashas to safety in Israel.

Robert G. Houdek:

In recognition of his distinguished role in facilitating the departure of thousands of Jews from Ethiopia. During the final days of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, Mr. Houdek arranged negotiations between the Ethiopian leadership and a Presidential delegation led by Senator Rudy Boschwitz. These negotiations made possible a massive airlift that carried the Falashas to safety in Israel.

Accepting the award for Mr. Houdek, who is currently in Addis Ababa, will be his wife Mrs. Mary Houdek.

# # # #

OPERATION SOLOMON

-- I want to say just a word about Operation Solomon, the almost miraculous emergency airlift of the Ethiopian Jews from Addis Ababa to new lives in Israel.

-- We have been working on this issue for some years now. My own involvement goes back to Operation Moses in the mid-1980s. But the culmination was perhaps worthy of Hollywood rather than Washington. More than 14,000 Ethiopia Jews leaving a besieged city on a ~~veritable~~ VERITABLE MAGIC carpet of aircraft in slightly more than twenty-four hours.

-- We worked very closely with the Israeli Government on this bold endeavor. And I am very proud of the team on our side led by Senator Rudy Boschwitz which made it all possible. It was American diplomacy at its finest.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
PRESENTATION OF AWARDS FOR
FALASHA DEPARTURE FROM ETHIOPIA

-- I have just had the satisfaction of expressing my appreciation to Senator Rudy Boschwitz and a team of American diplomats who made possible a humanitarian rescue mission of heroic proportions. Their efforts set the stage for an airlift over the weekend of May 24 which brought freedom for one of history's most remarkable peoples -- the Ethiopian Jews.

-- As civil war escalated in that country earlier this year, prospects for the Falashas' departure to Israel were jeopardized and their future security looked increasingly in question. In April, as insurgent forces closed in on the capital, I asked Senator Boschwitz to go to Addis Ababa urgently as my personal emissary, to seek to arrange the expedited departure of the Ethiopian Jews.

-- Events since Senator Boschwitz' trip have unfolded with dazzling speed. Thanks to him and his colleagues, arrangements were put in place between Israel and Ethiopia for one of the most boldest humanitarian airlifts in history. It succeeded -- in less than twenty-four hours -- in carrying more than 14,000 Ethiopian Jews to new lives in Israel.

-- The London roundtable chaired by the U.S. resulted in a joint declaration by the Ethiopian combatants, who have

agreed to organize an all-parties conference to select a transitional government. We view that decision as a commitment to a democratic process, and hope that all Ethiopian political parties and groups will take advantage of this opportunity to help build a pluralistic future for their country.

-- In recognition of his extraordinary efforts to arrange for the evacuation of the Falashas at the crucial moment during this period of dramatic political change in Ethiopia, I am today awarding Senator Boschwitz the Presidential Citizens Medal. At the same time, I am presenting Special Awards for Exceptional Service to three individuals who made up the Senator's courageous diplomatic team: Robert C. Frasure, Director of African Affairs at the National Security Council, Irvin Hicks, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Robert G. Houdek, our charge d'affaires of our Embassy in Addis Ababa. Mrs. Mary Houdek is accepting the award on behalf of her husband who is still in Ethiopia.

-- In presenting these awards, I want to make special mention of Hank Cohen's role in this remarkable odyssey. Operation Solomon represents a culmination for his leadership over the years on the issue of the Ethiopian Jews. And all of this occurred at the same time when the Angola Accords were signed, a negotiation in which Hank played a key role.

I salute the contribution which everyone made to this tremendous success in removing the Ethiopian Jews from harm's way and reuniting them with their loved ones in Israel. I also salute their efforts to bring peace and democracy to Ethiopia, a troubled country with which we feel a special kinship.

WORKING PROGRAM FOR JUNE 16TH DINNER

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER TRIBUTE DINNER

VIP RECEPTION

ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE VIP ROOM 6:50

SEATING OF THE DAIS

[FOCUS ON STAGE]

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AWARDS CEREMONY

Danza

PRESIDING

RABBI MARVIN HIER → will refer to as
DEAN, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER

PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS 5

HONOR GUARD OF U. S. MARINES THAT SERVED IN THE GULF

Flag flown on liberation of concentration camp survivors →

PRESENTATION OF THE LIBERATION FLAG made by the inmates of the ~~Hotton~~ (?) Matowzin concentration camp

CONCENTRATION CAMP SURVIVORS [will present it] 5

NATIONAL ANTHEM & HATIKVAH

14 yr old will sing, his grandparents were in Conc. camp

→ 2 american flags/Am
→ Matowzin (56 states cuz they didn't know how many states were in US)

INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESIDENT

JERRY WEINTRAUB

PRESENTATION OF "CUP OF ELIJAH" TO PRESIDENT BUSH

RABBI MARVIN HIER

ADDRESS

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CONFERRAL OF THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AWARD

PRESENTERS

PRESIDENT BUSH
SIMON WIESENTHAL
RABBI MARVIN HIER
SAM BELZBERG
PETER GUBER
JON PETERS

PRESIDENT DEPARTS 7:35

AFTER DINNER PROGRAM

INTRODOUCTION OF MASTER OF CEREMONIES

ALAN CASDAN

MASTER OF CEREMONIES

TONY DANZA

REMARKS

SIMON WIESENTHAL (TENTATIVE)

GREETINGS

SAM BELZBERG
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES

INTRODUCTION OF GOVERNOR WILSON

WILLIAM BELZBERG

REMARKS

GOVERNOR PETE WILSON

FILM

TRIBUTORY REMARKS

DANNY DE VITO

RESPONSE

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

ENTERTAINMENT

FAVORS

City/State: Los Angeles CA.

Event: Arnold Schwarzenegger Dinner.

Date: June 16th

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Date 6/3/91 **Time** _____

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AVRA SHAPIRO: Director
MICHELE EISMAN: Assistant

Notes: Dear Jennifer,

Enclosed, per your request is copy on the Award that will be given to Arnold Schwarzenegger on June 16th.

Please call me if you have any questions.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 2



THE
SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER
BEIT HASHOAH – MUSEUM OF TOLERANCE
NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AWARD

PRESENTED TO

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

IN RECOGNITION OF HIS LIFELONG COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE – A RENOWNED ACTOR, A PATRON OF THE ARTS, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON PHYSICAL FITNESS AND SPORTS;

IN APPRECIATION OF HIS TIRELESS EFFORTS TO FOSTER UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP ON BEHALF OF THOSE LESS FORTUNATE;

AND IN SPECIAL RECOGNITION OF HIS LONGSTANDING COMMITMENT AND GENEROSITY TO THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER AND ITS BEIT HASHOAH – MUSEUM OF TOLERANCE.

PRESENTED THIS 16TH DAY OF JUNE, 1991

SIGNED,

SIMON WIESENTHAL
RABBI MARVIN HIER, DEAN, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER
SAMUEL BELZBERG, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER

L.A. TIMES: 05-28-91

Diplomacy Without Illusions: Baker's Latest Mideast Round

■ The secretary of state is trying to avoid the quagmire that ensnarled previous U.S. Administrations. Can he succeed?

140 / 174 / 175

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Secretary of State James A. Baker III knew instinctively that the Arab-Israeli dispute was a quagmire. For the first 2½ years of his tenure, Baker adamantly resisted every suggestion that he should visit the region because he realized that the conflict regularly chews up and spits out well-meaning mediators.

"If it hadn't been for the Gulf War, he might never have gone," a senior State Department official confides. "He has never had any illusions about this."

But now, here he is, waist-deep in the swamp, going over all the same issues that have frustrated secretaries of state for years. Since the war against Iraq ended, Baker has visited the Middle East four times in a so-far fruitless attempt to bring Israel and its Arab antagonists to the negotiating table.

Although Baker can, in his more optimistic moments, point to a growing number of procedural issues on which Israel and the Arab states now seem to agree, he realizes that the remaining obstacles are more than enough to scuttle his plan for a regional peace conference. The conference, co-sponsored by Washington and Moscow, would be intended to launch face-to-face talks among the parties.

And he privately admits to a fear of being "Shultzed"—drawn by the Arabs and the Israelis into endlessly wandering across the region, obtaining a small concession here and a nuance there without ever settling anything.

Former Secretary of State George P. Shultz spent much of his time in office trying to mediate the dispute. For a time, he liked to boast: "Nobody has said 'no.'" But in the end, nobody had said "yes," either.

Sometimes, American mediators register stunning success. The last time was at the Camp David conference in 1978, which cleared the way for the Israel-Egypt peace treaty. President Jimmy Carter brought Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to the presidential retreat in the Maryland mountains and, in effect, held them prisoner until they reached agreement.

But both before and after Camp David, U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East has been numbingly repetitious.

In an endless chicken-and-egg routine, American mediators swing between an emphasis on procedure and an emphasis on substance. At present, Baker is in the procedure mode, trying to push Israel, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians into agreement on the arrangements for a peace conference. He is not even trying to address the substance of the Arab-Israeli dispute, hoping that once the longtime antagonists come face to face, they will begin to solve their own problems.

But, so far, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Syrian President Hafez Assad—by far the most important players in the effort—seem to be in no hurry to complete the procedural arrangements. There is a growing suspicion at the State Department that neither man wants to get into a process that he may be unable to control. Both Shamir and Assad seem to have concluded that they have more to lose than to gain from unstructured, no-holds-barred talks.

If he is like his predecessors, Baker may soon conclude that it is pointless to spend all his time talking about procedure when the parties to the dispute are concerned about substance. Then, he may start trying to narrow substantive differences. Shultz tried both approaches without reaching full agreement on either one of them.

The problem, one Baker associate maintains, is that Americans and Middle Easterners do not have the same concept of time.

"You have an assignment, and your goal is to get it done," this official says. "In the Middle East, they all say they want peace, but there is no urgency. We say, 'Let's make a decision,' but they say 'Give us some time to think about it.'"

Middle Eastern leaders such as Shamir, Assad, King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt have seen U.S. Presidents and secretaries of state come and go. And in a region where people still talk about the Crusades as though they ended a couple of years ago, the long view may be appropriate.

"If you measure the Baker trips against the heady optimism of March, 1991, it is inevitable that one will tend toward cynicism and pessimism," says Geoffrey Kemp, a former National Security Council expert on the Middle East during the Ronald Reagan Administration. "But if you measure the Baker dialogue and the positions of the parties against the backdrop of 1949, there has been a sea change in attitudes.

"Looked at from the long haul, there is some ground for optimism," adds Kemp, now an associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "More and more Arab countries are coming to recognize the need for a dialogue with Israel. Looked at in this context, the differences that separate the parties are still significant but not nearly as insurmountable as they were in the past. That doesn't mean that peace is at hand or there has been a breakthrough. But by plowing the same ground against a different background, you do make some progress."

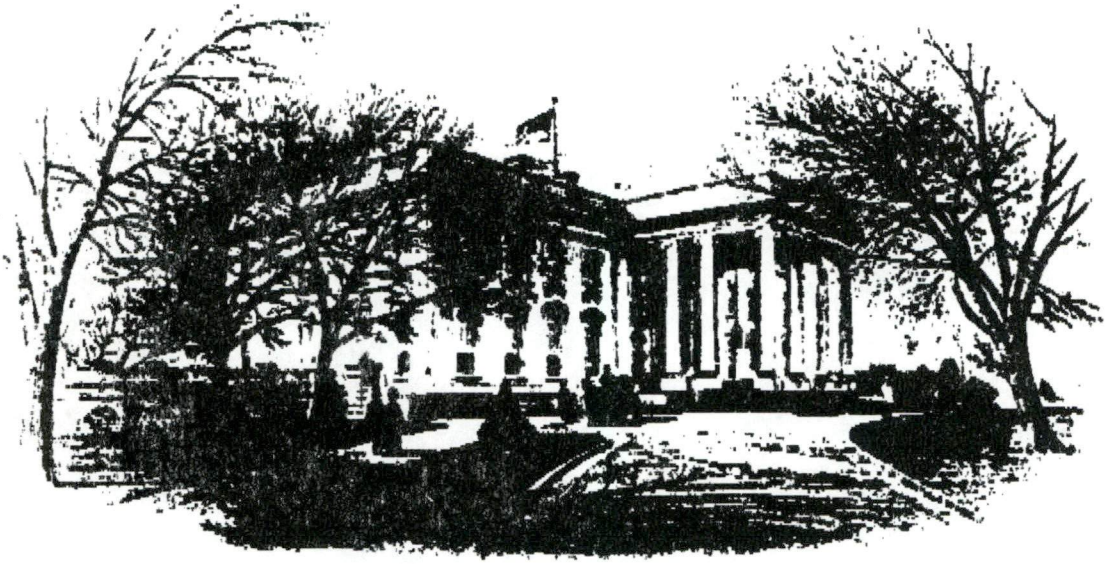
Richard W. Murphy, a key Middle East negotiator as assistant secretary of state during the Reagan presidency, says Baker has achieved goals that eluded the previous Administration.

"The cooperation with the Soviets was not developed when I was on the job," Murphy said. "Those were the years when we were reflagging Kuwaiti tankers [in part] to keep the Soviets out of the Gulf. Now, Baker is coordinating his effort with [Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander A.] Bessmertnykh."

But Murphy, now a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, adds: "There are some points that obviously haven't been overcome. Some of them are golden oldies. Both sides still have to prove their seriousness about getting into negotiations."

Executive Office of the President

91 MAY 31 P3:52



5/31 - 2:35 PM

FAX - 6218

TO: CAROL

FROM: SHERI

X2421

4 PAGES



Simon Wiesenthal Center

Rabbi Marvin Hier
Dean

YOU COULD HOST A PARTY FOR HIM AT THE HOUSE ON JUNE 14, 1991. HE WILL BE OUT HERE AT POLY TECH.

FRIDAY - POLY TECH
SAT 16TH GOLF DRIVING RANGE
SUNDAY NIGHT 15TH

April 8, 1991

Mr. Jerry Weintraub
c/o WARNER BROTHERS
4000 Warner Boulevard
Burbank, CA 91522

Dear Jerry:

Per our conversation today, I want to thank you for your help and reiterate that, at the suggestion of Bobbie Kilberg, we switched our date from June 2, 1991 to June 16, 1991. The dinner honoring Arnold Schwarzenegger will be held at the Century Plaza Hotel. Bobbie Kilberg knows of the change and told me that it was enthusiastically endorsed by the committee of ten that met to map out the President's future travel plans. The matter is now referred to Governor Sununu's desk.

It would mean an awful lot to have the President at the dinner and the event would go a long way in helping us achieve our fund raising objective of making the new Simon Wiesenthal Center building debt free.

I know that Arnold is very excited about the idea that the President might accept. I leave the rest in your good hands.

With best wishes.

Cordially,

Rabbi Marvin Hier
Dean

Attachment

RMH/prr

P. S. The White House knows that the original letter inviting the President for June 1, 1991 has not been changed to June 16, 1991. Per their suggestion.

Simon Wiesenthal Center

9760 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90035
(213) 553-9036
Fax: (213) 553-8807

Rabbi Marvin Hier
Dean
Rabbi Abraham Cooper
Associate Dean
Dr. Gerald Margolis
Director
Rabbi Meyer May
Executive Director
Susan Burdon
Director of Administration
Marlene F. Hier
Director
Membership Development
Avra Shapiro
Director of Communications
Rabbi Daniel Landes
Director
National Education Projects
Richard Trank
Director
Media Projects

Martin Mendelsohn
Legal Counsel
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Jerusalem
Efraim Zuroff
Director
Paris
Shimon Samuels
European Director

March 14,1991

Mr. George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On Sunday evening, June 2nd, 1991, The Simon Wiesenthal Center will present its' National Leadership Award for Public Service to Arnold Schwarzenegger at a gala dinner in his honor at the Beverly Hilton Hotel, Beverly Hills, California.

The dinner will be attended by some 1500 of Arnold's friends and colleagues from the entertainment industry and the Jewish Community. We are presenting the Leadership Award to Arnold for his dedication over many years to the Simon Wiesenthal Center and its Museum of Tolerance.

We know, Mr. President, of your friendship and personal high regard for Arnold, particularly in his capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. We would be honored, Mr. President, if you would agree to deliver the keynote address at this dinner. I know, that all of our guests would be especially honored to have the opportunity to enthusiastically salute you for your brilliant leadership during the Gulf War.

We hope that you will be able to take time out from your busy schedule to be with us for this very important occasion. I know it would mean a great deal to Arnold.

Cordially,

Rabbi Marvin Hier
Dean

cc: Ms. Bobbie Kilberg,
Deputy Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison

RMH:kz



Columbia Pictures Entertainment, Inc.

Peter Guber
Chairman of the Board

April 26, 1991

Mr. Sig Rogich
Assistant to the President
The White House

Dear Sig:

I would like to invite President Bush to attend the Simon Wiesenthal Center's gala dinner in honor of our mutual friend Arnold Schwarzenegger at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles on Sunday, June 16, 1991. The Wiesenthal Center will present Schwarzenegger with its National Leadership Award for Public Service, and I am serving as Chairman of this major event.

Proceeds from the dinner will benefit the Capital Campaign of the Museum of Tolerance as it approaches its $50 million goal. The Museum's primary mission is to combat prejudice worldwide. This will be a very high-profile occasion which will include nearly all of the prominent leaders in the entertainment industry and major Hollywood celebrities. As you're aware, the Wiesenthal Center's annual dinner has also historically served as one of the premier events in the American Jewish community.

The Wiesenthal Center has already been in touch with Bobby Kilberg, but I wanted to personally extend an invitation to the President. The entertainment community, Arnold and I would be deeply honored by his presence and believe that it would make a magnificent contribution to an historic evening. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Peter Guber

3400 Riverside Drive, Burbank, California 91505/(818) 972-7800 FAX (818) 972-0090

SIG FOLLOWED UP WITH BOBBIE

** TO

I412.
.I5
1990/91
WH

The International Who's Who 1990-91

FIFTY-FOURTH EDITION

01-30-12

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS LIMITED

Affairs, Dept. of Manpower 1977-78, Ed.-in-Chief EMPACT 1977-78, Labour Adviser to Minister of Manpower 1977-79; mem. Prime Minister's Econ. Advisory Council 1977-; Pres. Industrial Court of S.A. 1979-80; Chair. Comm. of Inquiry into Labour Legis. (Wiehahn Comm.) 1977-80, into Labour Matters (Namibia) 1987-88; Chair. Labour Council, S.A. Transport Services 1988-; Chair. Wiehahn Comm., Transkei 1989, Kwa-Ndebele 1990; mem. various govt. comms., advisory cttees., etc.; other public and educational appointments; dir. of several cos. 1981-; recipient of several awards and bursaries. *Publications:* articles on labour law and industrial relations in periodicals, commentaries and other publs.; Change in South Africa 1983. *Leisure interests:* reading, gardening. *Address:* P.O. Box 5862, Pretoria 0001, South Africa. *Telephone:* 21766516 (Office); 47-4438 (Home).

WIEJACZ, Józef, M.A.; Polish diplomatist; b. 8 March 1933, Jędrzejów; m.; one s.; ed. Main School of Foreign Service, Warsaw; with Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1954-; attaché, Embassy, Ankara 1957-58, Teheran 1958-60; First Sec., Embassy, Oslo 1962-68, Deputy Dir. of Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1971-73, Counsellor-Minister Plenipotentiary, Embassy in Washington 1973-77; Dir. of Dept. of Studies and Programming, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1977-80, Under-Sec. of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1980-84, Amb. to Italy, also accred. to Malta 1984-; mem. Polish del. to some sessions of UN Gen. Ass., Deputy Chair. Polish del. 1981, 1982; mem. Polish del. Conf. on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Helsinki 1973, Geneva 1973, Belgrade 1978-79, Chair. Madrid 1982-; mem. Scientific Council of Polish Inst. of Foreign Affairs; mem. Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR); Kt.'s Cross of Order of Polonia Restituta, Gold Cross of Merit, others. *Leisure interests:* sightseeing, mountaineering. *Address:* Polish Embassy, via Peter Paul Rubens 20, Monti Parioli, Rome, Italy. *Telephone:* 360-96-95.

WIELĄDEK, Franciszek Adam, M.A.; Polish politician and economist; b. 3 Nov. 1937, Wielądki; m.; two s.; ed. Warsaw Univ., Cen. School of Planning and Statistics; worked in Head Office of Measures, Warsaw; programmer Centre of Transport Data Processing, Warsaw, 1961-65, Head of Dept. 1966-71, Deputy Dir. 1972-82; Under-Sec. of State, Ministry of Transport 1983-87, Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Telecommunications 1987-89, Minister of Transport, Shipping and Telecommunications Sept.-Nov. 1989, of Transport and Maritime Economy Dec. 1989-; mem. Polish Econ. Soc., Scientific Soc. of Org. and Man., Assen. of Communication Engineers and Technicians; mem. Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) 1976-; Officer's Cross of Polonia Restituta Order, Gold Cross of Merit and other decorations. *Publications:* Podstawy informatyki w transporcie 1975, Informatyka w zarządzaniu koleją 1978, numerous articles on data-processing and man. *Leisure interests:* reading, history, psychology, sociology, bridge. *Address:* Ministerstwo Transportu i Gospodarki Morskiej, ul. Chałubińskiego 4/6, 00-928 Warsaw, Poland (Office). *Telephone:* 28-69-28 (Office).

WIELAND, Joyce, O.C.; Canadian artist and film maker; b. 30 June 1931, Toronto; ed. Cen. Tech. School; solo exhbns. at Isaacs Gallery Toronto 1960, 1963, 1967, 1972, 1974, 1981, 1983, 1987, Vancouver Art Gallery 1968, Museum of Modern Art, New York 1971, Cannes Film Festival 1976, Canadian Film Arts Centre, Hong Kong 1981, Nat. Gallery of Canada 1978, Yajima Gallery, Montreal 1982; has participated in several group exhbns. including Canadian Pavilion at Expo 67, Montreal 1967; maj. travelling retrospective, Art Gallery of Ont., Toronto 1981-82, 1987-88, Canada House, London 1988-89; film The Far Shore received three Canadian awards 1977; Retrospective Films of Joyce Wieland, Whitney Museum, New York 1973, San Francisco Art Inst. 1985, Art Gallery of Ontario (touring) 1987-88, Nat. Film Theatre, London 1988, Georges Pompidou Centre 1989; selection of films screened at Ciné-Club de Saint-Charles, Univ. of Paris, Sorbonne 1986; Artists on Fire film documentary 1987; Artist in Residence, Univ. of Toronto 1988-89; two awards for Rat Life and Diet in N. America, Third Ind. Filmakers Festival, New York 1969, Award for A and B in Ontario, Ann Arbor Film Festival 1986, YWCA Woman of Distinction Award 1987. *Publications:* True Patriot Love 1971, Joyce Wieland 1987, Joyce Wieland: Quilts, Paintings and Works of Paper 1988. *Address:* 497 Queen Street East, Toronto, Ont.; 179 John Street, Toronto, Ont. M5T 1X4, Canada. *Telephone:* (416) 366-2986.

WIELOWIEYSKI, Andrzej, LL.M.; Polish politician, economist and publicist; b. 16 Dec. 1927, Warsaw; m.; one s. six d.; ed. Jagellonian Univ., Cracow; trainee, Radomsko Forest Inspectorate 1942-44; Head Foreign Dept. Bratnia Pomoc students' org. Jagellonian Univ., Cracow 1945-48; mem. Wici Rural Youth Union (ZMW Wici) 1945-48; referendary, subsequently councillor and inspector in Ministry of Finance 1948-52; Ed., Słowo Powszechne, Warsaw 1948; inspector, Head Office of Workers' Housing Estates Enterprise Warsaw-South, subsequently Warsaw-Śródmieście 1952-55; inspector, Head Urban Devt. Dept., Mun. Comm. of Econ. Planning, Warsaw 1956-62; Head of Section Więź, Warsaw 1961-80; lecturer, Doświadczenie i Przyszłość (Experience and the Future) Conversatorium, Warsaw 1978-82; Ed. Królava Apostotów, Warsaw 1982-84, Gosc Niedzielny, Katowice 1982-; mem. Solidarity Ind. Self-governing Trade Union 1980-, adviser to Nat. Comm. of Solidarity Trade Union 1980-81; Head of Social and Labour Study Centre attached to Nat. Comm. of Solidarity Trade Union, Warsaw 1981; adviser to Nat. Executive Comm. of Solidarity Trade Union 1987-; mem. Civic Cttee. attached to Lech Wałęsa, Chair. of Solidarity Trade Union 1988-; participant Round Table plenary debates, Co-Chair. group for economy and social policy Feb.-April 1989; Senator 1989-, Vice-Marshal (Deputy Speaker) of the Senate 1989-; mem. Pax Romana Catholic Intelligentsia Int. Fed., mem. of Council 1979-83; mem. of European Council 1987-; co-f. Int. Fed. of Family Life Promotion 1979-; Silver Cross of Merit with Swords, Cross of Valour, Partisan Cross, Cross of Home Army (AK), Victory and Freedom Medal. *Publications:* Przed trzecim przyspieszeniem 1969, Przed nami małżeństwo 1972, over 300 articles on politics, religion, educ. and history. *Leisure interests:* gardening, skiing, yachting, historical and detective stories. *Address:* Senat PRL, ul. Wiejska 2/4/6, 00-489 Warsaw (Office); ul. Kłodzka 53, 04-913 Warsaw-Falenica, Poland (Home). *Telephone:* 27-29-04 (Office); 12-91-95 (Home).

WIERZBICKI, Eugeniusz; Polish architect; b. 31 March 1909, Chanżenkowo; s. of Ryszard and Maria Wierzbicki; m. Zofia Szemińska 1945; one c.; ed. Warsaw Tech. Univ.; mem. Polish Assen. of Architects (SARP) 1936-, Pres. Warsaw Branch 1951-53, of Cen. Bd. 1953-57, mem. Council and Collective Judge 1953-80; Sr. Designer, Warsaw Design Office of Gen. Architecture; retd. 1974; First Prizes in collaboration with W. Kłyszewski (q.v.) and J. Mokrzyński (q.v.) 1940; State Prize, 3rd Class 1951, 2nd Class 1955, 1st Class 1974, Kt.'s Cross, Order of Polonia Restituta 1957, Gold Award of Rebuilding of Warsaw 1958, Hon. Prize of SARP 1968, of Katowice Branch of SARP 1972, Order of Banner of Labour, 2nd Class 1969, Prize of Minister of Construction, 1st Class 1973. *Buildings include:* Polish United Workers' Party Building, Warsaw; hotels and museum in Białystok; Sailors' Home, Szczecin; Museum of Modern Art, Skopje, Yugoslavia; Railway Station, Katowice (all in collaboration with W. Kłyszewski and J. Mokrzyński). *Publications:* numerous articles in newspapers. *Leisure interests:* motor cars, books, nature. *Address:* Al. Wyzwolenia 2 m. 54, 00-570 Warsaw, Poland. *Telephone:* 28-28-21.

WIESEL, Elie; American author; b. 30 Sept. 1928, Sighet, Romania; s. of Shlomo Wiesel and Sarah (Feig) Wiesel; m. Marion E. Rose 1969; one s.; ed. Sorbonne, Paris; Distinguished Prof. Coll. of City of New York 1972-76; Andrew Mellon Prof. in Humanities, Boston Univ. 1976-; Prix Rivarol 1964, Jewish Heritage Award 1965, Remembrance Award 1965, Prix Medicis 1968, Prix Bordin (Acad. Française) 1972, Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Award 1972, American Liberties Medallion, American Jewish Comm. 1972, Martin Luther King Jr. Award (Coll. of City of New York) 1973, Faculty Distinguished Scholar Award, Hofstra Univ. 1973-74, Nobel Peace Prize 1986; recipient of numerous hon. degrees. *Publications:* Night 1960, Dawn 1961, The Accident 1962, The Town Beyond the Wall 1964, The Gates of the Forest 1966, The Jews of Silence 1966, Legends of Our Time 1968, A Beggar in Jerusalem 1970, One Generation After 1971, Souls on Fire 1972, The Oath 1973, Ani Maamin, Cantata 1973, Zalmen or the Madness of God (play) 1975, Messengers of God 1966, A Jew Today 1978, Four Hasidic Masters 1978, The Trial of God 1979, Le Testament d'un Poète Juif Assassine 1980 (Prix Livre-Inter 1980, Prix des Bibliothèquaires 1981), Five Biblical Portraits 1981, Somewhere a Master: Further Tales of the Hasidic Master 1982, Paroles d'étranger 1982, The Golem 1983, The Fifth Son (Grand Prix de la Littérature, Paris) 1985, Signes d'exode 1985, Against Silence 1985, A Song for Hope 1987, Twilight (novel) 1988, The Six Days of Destruction (with Albert Friedlander) 1988. *Address:* Boston University, 745 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02215, U.S.A.

WIESENTHAL, Simon; Austrian war crimes investigator and former architect; b. 31 Dec. 1908, Buczacz, Poland (now Buchach, U.S.S.R.); s. of Hans Wiesenthal; m. Cyla Müller 1936; one d.; ed. architectural studies in Prague and Lvov (Lemberg); practised architecture until World War II; prisoner in Nazi concentration camps 1941-43, 1944-45; active since the war in searching for Nazi criminals, assisting Jewish victims of Nazi regime and in Jewish civic affairs; Head of Jewish Historical Documentation Centre, Linz, Austria 1947-54; Dir. Jewish Documentation Centre, Vienna 1961-; Chair. Assen. of Jews Persecuted by the Nazi Regime; Diploma of Honour, Int. Fed. of Resistance Movements, Vienna; Dr. h.c. (Hebrew Union Coll., N.Y.) 1974, (Hebrew Theological Coll., Skokie, Ill.) 1976, (Washington Univ.) 1981; Dr. h.c. of Criminal Justice (Colby Coll., John Jay Coll.); many awards and honours, including Medal of Freedom (Netherlands), Congressional Gold Medal (U.S.A.) 1980, Dutch Medal for Freedom, Medal for Freedom of Luxembourg, Jean-Moulin-Médaille of the French Resistance, Kaj-Munk-Medal, Denmark, Hon. mem. Dutch Resistance, Hon. mem. Danish Assen. of Freedom Fighters, Justice Louis Brandeis Award of Zionist Org. in U.S.A., Jerusalem Medal, Great Medal of Merit, Fed. Repub. of Germany, Chevalier, Légion d'honneur, Commdr. of Oranje-Nassau (Netherlands), Commendatore della Repubblica Italiana. *Publications:* KZ Mauthausen 1946, Head Mufti, Agent of the Axis 1947, I Hunted Eichmann 1961, Limitation 1964, The Murderers Among Us 1967, Sunflower 1969, Sails of Hope 1973, The Case of Krystyna Jaworska 1975, Max and Helen 1982, Every Day Remembrance Day—A chronicle of Jewish martyrdom 1986, Justice not Revenge 1989. *Leisure interest:* philately. *Address:* Jewish Documentation Centre, Salztorgasse 6, 1010 Vienna; Mestrozigasse 5, 1190 Vienna, Austria (Home). *Telephone:* 63 91 31 and 63 98 05 (Office).

WIESNER-DURAN, Eduardo, M.A.; Colombian economist; b. 1934; ed. University of the Andes, Colombia, and Stanford Univ., Calif.; held several teaching posts in univs. and advisory posts on comms. in Colombia; with

- daily prints
-

-1500
- Cardinal Mahoney; Gov.; Bradley; Bd. speaker from among the camps
- 1) Schary (entertainment mktg - executive corp) PICS
  2) Capt Elijah - Hour of Power for Episcopalian Jews - ←
     Surprise - why they human rights issues
     close to heart
  3) Rem. from enter.: - last amount supported w/in Pres. - 95%
     w/re-enter. of Clinton Issues - remind that
     Cuff - pound level -

- Robson Gov Committee - report received

- 4) Leaders role in educating & forcing - (Leader Times) -
     credit Wilson. research - agenda is quite broad

- 5) / not done visited - MOTHOUSEN flag ←
     Color Guard of Cuff vets -
     from Holocaust survivors of 56 flag (sewn
     by inmates at camps - Scott flag
     symbol of freedom - N-one can
     represent by any State -
     Col. Siebel - Redfame, Ohio, Ethiopia ←
     camp - saved 1000 Jews - run like
     Middl. Op. - hoisted flag -
     emotion & meaning - fact will be explained
     before
- 6) M-E. commitment to peace - we see Byrne Admin.
     getting new high Jew - encouraged steps to get
     peace process going - Joint comm. - news about Beirut,

2/

-[illegible]
- when GB there
- ME Commitment

Intrigued with → GB
- Pres. - Shuld feel comfortable today → M.E. - and.
middle-of road, steady pro-Israel -
- don't give recom. of Baker -
* Edmyston -
= embrace & policy points - forward -
- (Jewish entertainment & people will laugh up & cheer)

- Rabbi Herr - Eth. joins - flag -
- Jay Weinbaum will moderate Pres. -

- ready for substance - ready stage for rest of evening -
- and. - entire Hillquist - band prem -
- 600,000 Jews in L.A. -
- multi-kind opportunity -
- / less plate -
- 1989 - HBO grant - study-exhibit on S.W. life - gang of 14 women -
SW one of few myths out of which is adventure - which stirred on Hwy - a haven" - what we claim for Utah's mission - can recapture the vision -
(Julian Cooper)
- parallels story & real - push - stab theme (Amy)

- Cup of Elijah - for Rabbi Herr - Passover at Passover - 5th cup at Seder - filled - Question - Elijah is person who is prophet of Messianic era - open door - last universal cup - Cup of Redemption - 5th - ultimate redemption of mankind - area. of yearning for redemption, world peace - wine theme symbolically - next for hosts

-31-

x5013 Dr. Fray

→ Sirica & Elsie

→ GB met Sirica?

special spr - hosted by Ebb Jan 2 And portrait of new era - very day rituals & emotional moving -

- phone to Scripps - Clip up the upset (tape) redemption Bats & grandkids -

- people have seen him private man -

- have not noticed him -

- here - everyone mustard - will be "up" evening -

- always a lot of extra - dressmen always in room - inside

- has pres. met Sirica? program boy

- INSIDE JOKES: (Rabbi Hier) (213) 553-9036 (Pam)

1) Oscar - 1982 - "Genocide" - (chairman Jerry Weintraub) - big Taylor (John Wayne) nominated film - must for lunch at Polo lounge - Bev. Hilton Hotel - couple from Miami - "What big Taylor" - but what does she wear in bed?

2) Hilton - U. of Br. C. - 1967 (100 yr ann. of Provi of B. Col.) - Queen came - went to dinner - cold hut - dressed lightly almost completely - would like to change seats - take silverware - talked of Queen - Jan in life in Br. C. - pres allowed in - Chief Justice -

3) New building has done on it - like Capitol - Arch - & Pope Spr. - Arch. were on hand, Reform put big done - all around -

4.-

(quiet diplomacy)

- another perceptive & weak - doesn't want to keep distance -
- mirrored dialogue of Prince Bandar - Jack carried -
- very, very rep. breakthrough - he raised issue of Arab boycott before rest of Kuwait -
- Bush C. just back from Cairo -
- Pres. wants people to accept Sadat - Eth can be alive & not stage known elsewhere
- Rose called just to - in terms of Eth to not stage the real dialogue between real communities - philosophy - Islam - Shariq - (Chris & V. Lloyd - Myths Egypt)
- note & draw lessons for past, negotiation, dialogue - Qatar Pryor. Bahrain -
- only Democracy - Israel on West Coast - Gaza like Belgium
- 1977 - Lowest: - 400,000+ ~~people~~ hundred - now 1,000,000+ Arabs

- Simon - always mixed with - spoke to all writers - Mrs. Mead requests to speak about all -
- E.W. - poet laureate

- GB & Simon - talked on phone - (7/89?)
- met when V.P. - (early '80s Day of Remembrance?)
- Sun. dept. store - 3 km. at Center - at time in museum - (Nov. '88)

- (concern for Jews leaving Soviet Union (Pamyat) - global anti-Semitism - overwhelmingly for Israel - foundations - take credit for policy - (cancel listing =)
- Shiva garden Spain - began
- keep up regard - close rel. & report to GB -

Howard

1) – hist. of G Bush Adm. – Jew – sr. VP (went to Sadat to rescue)

– Yiddish – recants Hale

2) – validates that Zionism is not racism – (as VP – '85 or '86?) – in platform – seek repeal –

– UN – repeal

– W. Carter – combat racism, anti – Arab

* 3) WB. – Holocaust – oppis & anti-Israel – bigotry – more compelling – (very sens. in ME) –

– ME Peace Process (hypersensitivity on Peace Process)

– restate commitment to Israel – can encourage

– but category of Holocaust equally compelling

– only speak to problems Jewish and Arab. vis Pres. – & could spin – could be a lot of things –

– Carter – very eloquent, bright – writes, speaker, combat racism – recession – focus on Holocaust in CA. – (Hier – about Judaism & Farrakhan) –

– what Democrat cause ought to be – individ. rights & freedom – democratic & individual –

voting & individ. liberties, Holocaust – unity, but recession & budgets, Holocaust, anti – Semitism – no place for that in area of today –

– PC in Holocaust for divergent points of view – no place for that. Civil Rights – debate has gotten shrill – we are committed to racial equality, justice etc. – Mayor wrong – but not to racial thing –

- Jewish women
- R.R. on tolerance

- history, democracy, shared values - land → Israel -
  - about Bill of rights & freedom
  - shared traditions -
- contrib. of A. Made to America - , city, Medicine
  - city, natural land area - (Boston)
- tolerant - be vigilant boycotts, racism - affirmative statement
  - also Bill of Rights re. minorities -
  - racism in all its aspects -
  - history of what could
  - anti-Semitism: Steele - (black writer in Carlotta ?)
    - Geo. Wash - Touro Synagogue
      (& Shatten - VP's office -)

?- U.S. will continue to find Nazis in country -
  - Office of Special Investigations - Justice
  - make sure office completes its work - restatement of recommitment -
- energize entire Jewish community - anti-agitation -
  a) why so appeal to agitators - forced by Jewish history at elite known agitators -
- pledge commitment to robust anti-racism
- " to work w/ energize democracy (combat anti-civil liberties legacy of Bush -)
- point to robust Israel & Arab-US rel. - common, shared,
- Soviet Jewry - make sure remain engaged w/ McCain
  make sure Iran continues -
- history of Jewish people in diaspora -

Denise
Davie

Dorg Gamble

- Bolivia - mission
- WP speech

- Walter - creed & spirit symbolizes of US - Am. relation -
→ - 1st Hebrew Cemetery in Capitol?
- Welcome on constant -
- Prize poetry (center. adds) -
- research Am. Sch. -

- say pathos thing - applause line -

- broader theme of Hebrew - efforts of America -
- Lawmen U.S.
- SW - spirit tone of education -
?- hate crime?

- Eliz. from Capitol - Integrate like our elaborate
Immigrant America - Contribution -
Emphasize wave of immigrants -
- appearance
- each has added -
- Basic & shared values -

- major theme - Penn and WWII - of Hebrew -
Jew against swastika - people will forget, as they
have Legend - let me tell you, as Pres. of USA
Jewish World - can't witness forget - will take
arms all return freedom - Prayers for the
generation) -
- Davie things about Israel -

THE NEW MUSEUM OF TOLERANCE WILL BE A GREAT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, A LIVING LABORATORY THAT WILL TEACH ABOUT HATE AND PREJUDICE. BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, BECAUSE IT IS PART OF THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER IT WILL NOT ONLY REMEMBER, IT WILL HAVE THE CAPACITY TO ACT BY BEING ON THE FRONT LINES OF FIGHTING AND EXPOSING THE HATERS WHEREVER THEY ARE, ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

I KNOW THAT THE CENTER'S GOOD EXAMPLE OF THAT WAS IN THE RECENT GULF WAR WHEN THE CENTER'S STUDY OF THE POISON GAS CONNECTION IDENTIFIED MORE THAN _____ WESTERN COMPANIES THAT HAD SUPPLIED SADAM HUSSEIN WITH A VAST ARRAY OF UNCONVENTIONAL WEAPONS INCLUDING THE MOST POTENT BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

OUR RECENT CONFLICT IN THE GULF SHOWED US HOW WISE WERE THE WORDS OF SIMON WIESENTHAL, WHO MANY YEARS AGO SET OUT TO BECOME AN ARCHITECT AND HOPED TO PARTICIPATE IN DESIGNING BEAUTIFUL BUILDINGS ON THE EUROPEAN LANDSCAPE, WHEN THAT DREAM WAS SUDDENLY SHATTERED BY THE NAZI ONSLAUGHT. MR. WIESENTHAL WROTE:

"I COULD NOT GO BACK TO LIVING MY LIFE AS BEFORE. FOR ME THERE WAS NO ONE LEFT TO BUILD HOMES FOR. SO I TOOK UP MY LONELY JOURNEY WANDERING FROM PLACE TO PLACE SPEAKING FOR THOSE WHO LOST THEIR

RIGHT TO SPEAK AT AUSCHWITZ, FOR THOSE WHO WERE ABANDONED AT MAJDANEK, FOR THE MILLION AND ONE-HALF CHILDREN WHOSE ONLY CRIME WAS TO HAVE BEEN BORN. BELIEVE ME I WAS NOT TRAINED FOR THIS WORK THAT WAS SUDDENLY THRUST UPON ME, BUT I COULD NOT LEAVE IT, FOR THERE WAS NO ONE TO LEAVE IT TO. IT WAS THERE THAT I LEARNED THAT FREEDOM IS NOT A GIFT FROM HEAVEN. FREEDOM IS SOMETHING WE MUST FIGHT FOR EVERY SINGLE DAY. THAT IS WHAT THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER STANDS FOR. IT BELIEVES HOPE LIVES WHEN PEOPLE REMEMBER AND HATE DIMINISHES. WHEN PEOPLE ACT...

LET ME MAKE ONE THING UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR. THAT WHILE THE U.S. IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN SEEKING A FORMULA THAT WILL BRING THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT TOGETHER, LET NO ONE MISTAKE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S CLEAR RESOLVE IS TO STAND WITH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AS WE HAVE SINCE ITS CREATION IN 1948. WHILE FROM TIME TO TIME THERE MAY BE, EVEN AMONGST THE CLOSEST OF FRIENDS, DISAGREEMENTS, SOMETIMES EVEN DISAPPOINTMENT, BUT ON THE GREAT PLAIN WHERE THAT FRIENDSHIP WAS FIRST STRUCK THAT OF A SHARED BELIEF OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND FREE PRESS, THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S. ARE BOUND BY AN UMBILICAL CORD THAT CAN NEVER BE SEVERED.

THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL NEVER ALLOW ISRAEL TO BE IN A POSITION WHERE HER PHYSICAL EXISTENCE WILL BE THREATENED. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT

TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST BOTH SIDES WILL HAVE TO TAKE RISKS AND MAKE SOME COMPROMISES. BUT THOSE RISKS WILL NEVER UNDERMINE THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL TO LIVE BEHIND SECURE BORDERS WITHOUT HAVING TO FACE THE THREATS THEY HAVE FACED FOR MORE THAN 4 DECADES. THE U. S. WILL NOT SUPPORT A PLO STATE IN THE WEST BANK IN GAZA.

PRESIDENT

BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS

A Planned Response

Kenneth S. Stern



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746

PREFACE

Reports of an increase in anti-Semitic, racist, anti-Asian and other bigoted incidents on campus have sparked widespread concern. While there are generalized impressions about the scope of this problem and some useful responses to it, we have not to date had a systematic accounting or a comprehensive set of practical program suggestions to combat hate in university life.

Kenneth Stern, AJC's program specialist on anti-Semitism, has conducted a thorough review of campus incidents since 1986. He has researched a unique archive of thousands of articles housed at the National Institute Against Violence and Prejudice. He has assessed both the nature of these incidents as well as what methods have proven effective, and which counterproductive, in creating a more tolerant atmosphere.

To assure that the practical program recommendations listed in this paper will indeed prove effective on campus, AJC convened two consultations of university presidents, one in New York, another in Cincinnati, to review our findings and action proposals. Several of their suggestions are incorporated in this paper.

This is the third printing of BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS, first released in May, 1990. Thousands of copies have been distributed to administrators, faculty and students across the country. And since the first release, AJC has been invited to hold consultations with college presidents and administrators in Portland, Oregon; Seattle, Washington; and Spokane, Washington. The strong consensus of all the university presidents at the consultations was that this is a useful document that should be taken seriously by university administrators, student leaders and community relations professionals. We hope it will contribute to a more positive campus environment in this decade and beyond.

Gary Rubin,
Director of National Affairs
American Jewish Committee

BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS: A PLANNED RESPONSE

"I wish they had hit me!"

That was what Eric C. delos Santos, a student at Brown University, wrote in his school newspaper.

Seven white male students had taunted him. Delos Santos is an Asian American.

"I felt empty . . .," Santos explained. "I wish they had hit me . . . At least I would be able to *physically* show the scars the words 'ching' and 'chang' left on my being. Brown security, the disciplinary review board, and the general student body would not care to hear how [I was] chipped away emotionally. They want blood. They want proof that it happened. Only then could [I] truly have been hurt -- in their eyes."

Incidents of bigotry are becoming commonplace on college campuses. According to the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence (NIAPV), more than 250 of the nation's 3,300 colleges and universities have reported acts of ethnoviolence since mid-1986. Many more incidents on many campuses have gone unreported.

Campus officials say they don't know what to do. Incidents vary in origin, and burst on the scene unpredictably. Some are very complex as, for example, when a faculty member says something that some people interpret as bigoted, while others do not; or when pressures from the outside community come into play, dividing the campus along previously unobserved seams, all under the watchful eyes of the media. Incidents also raise different institutional concerns and passions, frequently challenging the university's self-image, pitting academic freedom against the need for a campus free from ethnic and racial hostility.

Swastikas. Cross burnings. Arson. Date rape. Assaults motivated by racial hatred. T-shirts with homophobic slurs. Shouts of "JAP! . . . JAP! . . . JAP!" from the crowd as a Jewish student walked to her seat at a sporting event. Whispers of "nigger" by a member of the board of trustees. KKK literature. Campus security checking African American male, but not white male, identification at a school dance. Graffito: "You're a fucking asshole and I hope you die eating matzoh." A faculty member using the term "Jap test" to describe a surprise exam. A note with the word "Spic!" slid under a student's door. Hate mail: "Custer should have finished off your entire degenerate race." A picture in a school newspaper showing African American students at a concert,

with the caption "Music soothes the savage beast." Palestinian students displaying a poster of a kaffiyeh-clad woman protruding through the center of a yellow Star of David, her legs spread, her sandals untied, blood dripping from her thighs. The Black Student Union inviting Minister Louis Farrakhan to speak. A professor inviting Ku Klux Klan members to address his class.

Incidents like these are charged with racial, religious, sexist, homophobic and ethnic tension. They tear at the tranquility of academic institutions.

Why is this happening? What should officials do when an incident occurs? More importantly, what should officials do *before* an incident occurs? How effective are codes against bigoted behavior?

These, and other related questions, are difficult to answer. What if the professor who invited KKK members wanted to teach his students how to sharpen their interview skills so they could expose bigots?

If a student can be expelled for engraving a swastika on an African American student's door in the dead of night (this is vandalism), what about the student who distributes a swastika-covered leaflet to African American students (First Amendment right)?

What should the university do if the perpetrator is never found? Or if found, how does the perpetrator's due process rights limit the administration's response?

And what about the students like delos Santos, the people who bear psychological scars more devastating than if "they had hit" him? Should the school help him recover, and if so how?

What is the underlying, everyday level of bigotry on campus, and how does this relate to the explosions? Even if there are no explosions, what should campuses be doing to help students enjoy healthy intergroup relations? What should universities be doing to prepare students for life in an increasingly diverse society?

This paper attempts to respond to these difficult questions, and others. Of course, campuses differ, and what may hold true at a large urban school may not apply at a smaller, more rural campus. But there are certain patterns and principles that the American Jewish Committee has gleaned from its study of campus bigotry, which included a review of NIAPV's files. This paper analyzes the problem, examines responses -- ones that have worked, ones that haven't -- and suggests a plan for administrators to follow.

WHY SHOULD WE CARE ABOUT BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS?

Bigotry has always been on campus. Whereas some of today's university administrators may be insensitive to problems of intergroup hatred, their predecessors practiced it. Jews were tolerated, but only in small numbers. African Americans -- and on many campuses women -- weren't welcome at all.

This institutionalized discrimination has almost disappeared. Certainly it is better that an African American or Hispanic or Asian or Jew or woman be called an offensive name than not be allowed into the university at all.

Yet years ago slurs were confined to scribblings on bathroom walls. Today's graffiti have overflowed the bounds of propriety, and at many institutions become part of campus life. In

classrooms. In dorms. At sporting events. In casual conversation.

This trend is disturbing because campuses mirror society. Forty years ago, when school policies discriminated against African Americans, it was not coincidental that some states had poll taxes and literacy tests and *de jure* segregation.

Today's campus bigotry reflects the larger society as well, with all its injustices and racial, ethnic, sexist, religious, homophobic, and class tensions. Overtly hateful incidents, groups, and individuals in power, while still a minor phenomenon, are on the rise. Howard Beach. Skinheads. Bensonhurst. David Duke.

Colleges attract our brightest youngsters. If our young people finish their educations without learning to respect each other's differences and to cherish their own backgrounds, then the future will be a troubled one. Our leaders-to-be will be bigots or, perhaps more disturbing, people who tolerate a bigoted society.

IS BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS REALLY INCREASING?

There are more reported incidents of bigotry on campus today than in the past.

The Baltimore-based National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence (NIAPV) has collected newspaper clippings on campus bias incidents since 1986. Their files now fill two legal-sized drawers, and represent more than 400 incidents -- over 75 of which occurred in the first six months of 1989 alone.

Jeffrey Ross of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) has noted that in 1988 there was "a 271 percent increase in the number of campuses reporting incidents [of anti-Semitism]." That trend continues. ADL documented "69 anti-Semitic incidents on 51 college campuses in 1989 as against 54 incidents on 38 campuses the previous year."

Are incidents happening more frequently, or are they simply being reported more often? The experts think both. There are more incidents. The attention given to the problem also promotes reporting. Students see others telling authorities about incidents, and think that something may be done.

AJC's analysis of the clipping files supports the experts' opinions. The first reported incident of bigotry on any campus is probably the tenth, twentieth, or hundredth that occurred. It is simply the first to be noted in newspapers. Other reported acts of bigotry frequently follow, often creating a crisis atmosphere.

WHY IS THERE AN INCREASE OF BIGOTRY ON CAMPUS?

There are no easy or complete answers, only many complex and partial ones.

"We have a difference in terms of the national climate that existed in the 1960s," said Dr. Reginald Wilson, senior scholar at the American Council of Education, when he testified before the United States Civil Rights Commission's Campus Bigotry Subcommittee on May 18, 1989. "There was a positive climate; there was a positive sense of enforcement," he said, asserting that such a "positive climate" is lacking now.

Some experts disagree with Wilson's assessment of the current social climate. Yet few would

disagree that a large part of American society perceives a decreased commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity. That perception has had an effect on college campuses.

First, as Wilson pointed out, in "1975 there were 1,213 doctorates awarded to black Americans. In 1987 there were 725." Universities are generating fewer role models for minority students. Role models are important. Minority students who see minorities as janitors and not as professors are likely to feel less welcome on campus, tolerated rather than wanted. White students will not have their stereotypes about minorities challenged. Tension escalates.

Second, because civil rights is no longer perceived to be a national priority, bigotry is not deemed an important issue on many campuses. Many universities, lacking a commitment to studying and countering bias, see ethnic and racial explosions as public-relations problems rather than human-relations problems, and act accordingly.

The third effect of the "climatic change" may be the most important. Students have no personal knowledge of the history of racial bigotry in this country. A first-year student who turns 18 years old in 1990 was born in 1972, and was 8 in 1980. He or she never saw the legally mandated Southern segregation of the 1960s and before. The "civil rights movement" is part of that student's personal prehistory, mixed into a disconnected historical reservoir along with World War II, hula hoops, and life before computers, microwaves or Velcro.[1]

It was hard enough for white students in the early 1970s -- who watched Bull Connors's dogs and fire hoses, and Lester Maddox with his ax handle -- to understand why minority classmates needed special consideration to undo the effects of discrimination.

How is today's white student -- or tomorrow's white student, in a campus with increasing minority presence -- to understand?

He or she will not be able to without help. Universities are doing little to address how many white students feel when they see their minority classmates enjoying some seemingly *deus ex machina* advantage. "I have to work two jobs, while some minority student with worse grades has a scholarship!" some students complain. Not surprisingly, many of the campus incidents reflect this resentment (e.g., a cartoon in the UCLA *Daily Bruin* showed a rooster answering "Affirmative action" to an inquiry of how he was admitted to UCLA).

Many minority students -- both those who were admitted through affirmative action and those who weren't -- also suffer from this lack of historical understanding. They know they belong on campus -- that they, like all their classmates, are capable of improving their minds and futures through a college education. Yet they perceive white students and faculty thinking: "This nonwhite person is not smart enough to be here -- he or she got in through affirmative action." And, if their relative academic preparation pales in comparison to that of their white, wealthier classmates, they may lament: "I have to work ten times as hard as a white student to get the same grades."

Asian students are subjected to similar prejudices, but with "reverse English." "They don't have to work at it -- it comes naturally to them," many other students say. Asian and Pacific rim

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[1] "Postees" is a new term that defines this group. They are post-holocaust; post-civil rights movement, post-sexual revolution, post-feminist, etc.

A good example of historical ignorance occurred at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. The Ku Klux Klan announced a march through town. Many white students, knowing nothing about the KKK, wanted to "join the parade" and "party hearty."

students subjected to this stereotype feel that their hard work is somehow viewed as invalid. The stereotype is an excuse to "cast them off to the side." Those Asians who are "just regular" students also suffer -- performance that would be acceptable from others is considered inadequate from them.

Prejudice on campus is related to the fact that students are coming to college less prepared to accept people of different backgrounds.

Speaking at Dartmouth College, Dr. Wilson noted that inner-city public schools have a majority of minorities, while "it is increasingly possible now for white students to attend kindergarten through grade 12 [in suburbia] without seeing any black students."

There is a vast difference between an African American student growing up in the south Bronx and a white student growing up in Missoula, Montana. Each will have unexamined prejudices about the other. Even if these prejudices are not malicious, they still add to the climate of bigotry. For example, Dr. Thomas Short, associate professor of philosophy at Kenyon College, told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission about a "white girl [who] with the best of intentions asked a black girl to join a singing group. The latter replied that she couldn't sing. . . 'But I thought all you people could sing,' the white girl replied, genuinely surprised."

Add to these divisions the factor of class. What are the tensions that develop as inner-city first year students from poor African American families try to adjust to a predominantly white middle class campus? How do disadvantaged students survive in an atmosphere where status may be defined by unfamiliar and unaffordable material possessions?

The common thread through most of the clippings in the NIAPV files is the background of ignorance and insensitivity in which the explosions seem to occur. It may be in the tenth article in the third week of a crisis, but at some point, someone mentions -- and others confirm -- the everyday bigotry and insensitivity level. The bias people are used to is frequently ignored because it is the norm.

In more than one institution, an incident began with the word "nigger" scrawled onto an African American Student Association poster. But the African American students heard the word used on campus many times before, and believed that the university didn't care because it never made the every-day bigotry an issue.

"What are you going to do when someone calls you a nigger?" Michael Berry, an African American third-year Berkeley law student asked rhetorically, "Go to the police?" Such frustration was not created in a void.

How welcome can a minority student feel if all the cheerleaders are white, or if almost all minority students are athletes, or if you, and not your white classmates, are stopped by campus security?

How welcome can you feel, as a Jewish student, if the school newspaper claims Zionism is racism and compares present-day Israel to Nazi Germany? (At the University of Michigan, such newspaper articles were followed by graffiti with large red swastikas and the words "Kill all Jews.")

How welcome can you feel, as a gay person, if university officials say homophobic things, or as a woman, if male professors call you "dearie," or as an Asian American student, if you feel the university's admissions policies discriminate against you, or as a Native American student if the dancing mascot, instead of a clown or an extinct animal, is a chief?

How welcome can any student feel if the university explains how to complain when a dorm has a leaky faucet, or the meal service is inadequate, but not when a member of the faculty or staff does or says something bigoted?[2]

Percolating, unaddressed bigotry is present on most campuses that have had reported incidents of hate. Although there has been no study to prove it, the levels of intolerance seem higher at larger campuses. Many of these have increased minority enrollment over the last decade but have done little to meet the needs of minority students or help white students see minority students as full members of the campus family. Bigotry grows where students perceive themselves as members of groups fighting other groups for ever-shrinking resources.

Yet, it may be overly harsh to blame the universities for failing to meet the challenge of societal changes. Dr. Wilson is right in pointing to the problems in the larger society. The elementary and high schools have not succeeded, lacking any comprehensive mission to teach values and interpersonal relations. Certainly, learning how to live without hurting or killing one another is as important an acquired skill as the ability to read, write, or think.

Some students will come to campus with bigoted or intolerant attitudes. Knowing this, the universities must strive to make every student feel welcome. Students need an environment free from the abrasive disruption of bigotry in which to study. Colleges must adopt programs and plans to make their community as bias-free as possible. And as leaders in the educational field, they should direct changes in the high school and elementary school programs, so that their future students are better prepared to live peaceably with each other.

RESPONSES: AN OVERVIEW

Many universities assume they will never have to respond to an incident of bigotry. An incident occurs, then administration officials wonder what they should do. NIAPV's clippings demonstrate that it is a rare *ad hoc* response that is effective. Most make a difficult situation worse.

Crises are unexpected. There is a racial assault. One morning the Jewish student center suddenly has a red, dripping swastika. A board of trustee member, or a faculty member, uses a racial slur.

Assume, as has happened, that a professor called a student a "black bitch." Students are angry, and want action. Yet, which administration member has prime responsibility to act? That may not be certain. A decision takes time. What happened may not be clear. Facts need to be found. Conflicting accounts need to be weighed, and reconciled where possible. People's reputations can be destroyed. The alleged bigot may be a colleague, a friend. The tension grows.

The administration-official-now-designated-in-charge wants any response to be completely accurate and fair.

Two days have passed. The students don't understand the deliberative process. All they know is that some bigoted sexist called one of his students a "black bitch," and the administration hasn't said a word. The university, apparently, doesn't care. How could it? It never did anything about the everyday low-visibility bigotry that students endure.

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[2] Reporting bigotry is a frightening act -- especially if about faculty or staff. Many students agonize over what, for them, is a dilemma that can affect grades and their relationship with peers and other faculty members.

"Look at how few minority faculty members there are," students will point out, "how few blacks are incorporated into the curriculum, as if no black person ever contributed to art or literature or science. . . "

A wide range of unredressed ills will be thrown onto the stage, not as something important to be discussed rationally, and planned with a long-term perspective, but as demands in the midst of a tension-filled, media-monitored eruption.

Two words from one mouth have paralyzed an entire campus.

To avoid this chaos, universities must have two types of plan.

First, they need a response plan. Basic decisions about what to do, and who should do it, should be made before a crisis erupts. Once an incident occurs, the response will be quicker, and more effective.

Second, universities must have a plan to reduce the level of bigotry on campus, not only so there will be fewer and less explosive incidents of bigotry, but also because students deserve an environment that makes them feel welcome.

RESPONDING TO INCIDENTS: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

As any administration official who has had to do it can attest, responding to an incident is a complex affair. Passions are high, and each incident has a new wrinkle not previously thought through. The institution's view of itself and its commitment to free speech are challenged.

Yet, much can be distilled from the hundreds of distinct incidents that have occurred. Some principles are specific to types of incidents -- e.g., graffiti, slurs, speakers, assaults. But the most important lessons apply regardless of the particular circumstances.

The most important rule is the simplest to effectuate. When an incident occurs, the university, at its highest level, must respond immediately and strongly. Presidents must make themselves as public as possible, and say -- in the most powerful words -- that bigotry has no place on campus. Period.

Failure to act quickly with a clear statement will create an escalating crisis. Wishy-washy, delayed, or low-level pronouncements say that bigotry is not a serious problem, that the hurt students feel is somehow invalid. That invites further, and longer-lasting explosions.[3]

Sometimes the facts are known, and action can be taken quickly, for example when a student assaults someone while yelling ethnic slurs. If that student can be suspended immediately, before a hearing, he or she should be. But even if disciplinary codes do not provide for prehearing suspensions; even if the facts justifying such action are not apparent; or even if the perpetrator is unknown or beyond the scope of the disciplinary code (e.g., faculty, staff or from outside the campus family) immediate, visible, clear action by the head of the institution is still possible, and necessary.

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[3] Once the campus explodes, all the forces that can exacerbate the problem are not under the university's control. Media can whip up passions. Community groups that identify with an incident can make an assault into an internationally reported affair. (Consider the attack on Jewish Brooklyn College students in the fall of 1989, which occurred in a community where the memory of the Holocaust was especially vivid.)

The president's statement should be transcribed and disseminated throughout the community, and where appropriate, mailed to parents and alumni/ae as well.

Second, a predesignated, well-rehearsed "bigotry" team should meet immediately. This team should include the university president, appropriate deans, campus security, and representatives from students and faculty. The group can better assess the incident, and plan appropriate action. For example, if a culprit has not been found, the team can mobilize the campus. The president can announce an award for information resulting in apprehension.

Other responses can be preplanned as well.

Regardless of the nature of the incident, rumors abound. A hotline should be in place, so that there is one central controlled source of information. (Hotlines also allow people to know where to report incidents, and encourage reporting of incidents that, but for an easily understood reporting mechanism, would be suffered in silence.)

If the incident is serious, students are likely to protest. The university president should call a rally, before the students do. The entire community should be invited. A presidentially instigated rally will diffuse anger, and make students perceive a real commitment to their security.

Other prepared responses can be crafted for the particular community, given its size, location, population, and history. The purpose is always to remind the victimized students that they are truly wanted, and that bigotry has no place on campus.

To make these actions work, however, they have to be sincere. Public statements have risks. When presidents of universities speak, newspaper articles follow. The school's reputation for harmony may be tarnished. Minority students, whom the university are trying to attract, may be less inclined to attend if they know that KKK literature was distributed, or an African American student was beaten up and called "nigger."

Yet the short-term risks from drawing attention to incidents will pay off in the long run. The university will benefit from strong stances which end the crisis quicker. Prospective students will know that the administration really cares.

GRAFFITI

Racist graffiti have always been part of college life. Now, however, graffiti may be a reflection of a more serious problem, and should be dealt with in new ways.

Certainly, a swastika or a "Die Jews" or a "Kill Fags" or a "Whites Only" or a "Women Are Good For Only One Thing" scribble should not be left up. As with other forms of graffiti, swift removal is a deterrent to additional applications.[4]

Painting over the offense is not enough. Acts of bigotry should be used as opportunities to educate, and to demoralize those who spew hate.

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[4] "Minor" graffiti -- such as slurs carved into or written onto library carrels -- should be removed as often as possible. A big swastika may draw everyone's attention, but the small ones also injure.

Jeffrey Ross of the ADL has suggested that schools replace older wooden desks with "graffiti-resistant furniture, that can be easily washed."

Rather than having the maintenance staff remove the graffito, a group representing all segments of the college community (which need not be the "bigotry response" team) should pass the paint or scrub brush, taking turns removing the scribble. This simple act will reaffirm the victimized students' sense that they are wanted members of the campus family.

If the graffito is placed in a dorm (or if an assault occurs in a dorm) members of the group could spend the night there, making the affected students feel more secure. Four deans held an overnight "dean watch" at Brown University, to good effect.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AND ITS VICTIMS

A university's commitment to "free speech" complicates the desire to discipline students who engage in bigotry. Universities work best when students and faculty feel free to say whatever they think. Whereas students should be aware that their words can hurt others, they should not be forced to weigh their thoughts against administration-imposed limits of political correctness. Higher education is at its best when the clash between ideas is heated, not chilled.

But bigotry many times manifests itself through a sanctionable act. Free speech issues diminish, and acts can be punished promptly and forcefully.

If a student commits an assault, burglary, arson, or other serious offense, and the disciplinary code allows for summary suspension, and the known facts warrant it, the student should be suspended immediately, pending a hearing.

If there are questions about what happened, or who did what, summary suspension should not be used, regardless of any pressure to do so. The response to critics who call for immediate suspension is to have a realistic "fast track" disciplinary hearing procedure established, so that a full due process hearing can be held quickly -- in less than a week.

While the university cannot punish bigoted thoughts or words, it can punish bigoted behavior. As in the larger society, acts which are already circumscribed by law can and should be punished more severely if committed with a bigoted motive.

Punishment must be fair. When there are many students involved, each should be disciplined according to the seriousness of his or her act and prior history. Other factors that can inflame a campus -- such as treating the star athlete differently from others -- should be rejected, despite institutional pressure.

Schools have a real interest in separating people who commit violent acts from their community, especially when the acts are against gays or women or Jews or African Americans or Asians or Indians or anyone else just because of who they are. Swift clear action can be a deterrent, and reaffirm the school's commitment to make the victimized group truly welcome.

But that is only half the task.

Regardless of what the administration does, the student who has been traumatized still hurts.

As one Brown University student said, "I have never in my life felt threatened, and now I'm having nightmares."

The effects of a bias assault -- whether physical or verbal -- are devastating. Fear is engendered

"far beyond what the average person would imagine," according to Joan Weiss, executive director of the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence.

The trauma is long lasting, and frequently effects family, friends, the entire campus and sometimes the community beyond.

"It used to be that you could walk on campus and not be conscious of whether or not you were in an elevator with whites or blacks," said a Columbia student. "Now you wonder what they're thinking."

Some victims even abandon their college plans and leave.

Others are too afraid to report incidents, fearing a backlash that could jeopardize their education. "You want to blend in and not always stand out," said one Bridgewater State student.

Universities must help victims recover. A specially trained victims' advocate should be available to counsel students, and direct them to therapists and lawyers[5] where appropriate. The advocate can also help shape the university's plans and institutions to meet the needs of bias victims. Otherwise, victims feel increasingly isolated, bouncing from one unprepared campus service to another without receiving any help.

CODES

Acts of bigotry, even when not physically violent, are psychologically distressing. Ethnic slurs, whether yelled, painted on a sign, or printed in a leaflet, are emotional assaults. People have their identity and self-worth shattered. Bigotry injures. Everyone wants justice. Someone should be punished.

Some universities seem to think that all their bigotry problems can be solved through strong disciplinary codes.[6] In theory, offenders are punished, and would-be offenders are deterred. However, institutions that see codes as "magic cures" are deceiving themselves.

First, many bigots are not caught. As one Berkeley student said, "If I call you a name to your face or do damage to your person or your property, then it's easy to pursue someone. But if in the dark of night I throw a stone through your window and vanish, then how do you pursue the culprit?"

Second, even if found, the person may be beyond the disciplinary code. Faculty members and university officials are subject to different standards. Outsiders, like Ku Klux Klan members who paint swastikas and Skinheads who beat up gay students, are also beyond the code's jurisdiction.

Third, rules that punish assault, arson, vandalism, burglary, harassment, threats or intimidation are effective on their own. Codes need not be changed to punish bigots who hit or burn or burgle

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[5] Students may be able to sue bigots for libel, slander, violation of civil rights, assault, battery, and intentional infliction of emotional distress. These suits may act as a deterrent against the defendant, because of the prospect of money damages.

[6] Codes are rules of conduct for students, defining expected behavior, and the procedures by which transgressions are punished. They are, in effect, the criminal law of the college. Private institutions have fewer restrictions on their codes than public ones, which are controlled by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. These minimal distinctions will not be treated here, because we are more concerned with what institutions should do than with what they are obliged to do.

or harass.[7]

When universities speak of codes against bigotry, they mean regulations to proscribe students from what is, essentially, verbal or symbolic expression.

The arguments in favor of such codes are attractive at first blush. What better way to démonstrate that the institution will not tolerate bigotry?[8] If the school can punish a person who spray paints the word "nigger" on the wall of a predominately African American dorm in the middle of the night (that is vandalism), why shouldn't it be able to punish another student who, in broad daylight, walks up to a particular African American student and yells "I hate niggers!"

Certainly, the hurt caused by that personally directed scream exceeds that resulting from the written slur.

One suggested rationalization for punishing the vandal but not the screamer is that the school has an interest in knowing who its bigots are. But this rationale fails when the comparison is between a spray-painted swastika and one drawn on paper and taped to the dorm wall. The harm is practically the same, but the former, as destruction of property, can result in expulsion, while the latter may be protected speech.

That result seems, and is, unsatisfactory. Yet it is better to draw the line here -- between action that is punishable regardless of its bigoted character and action that is not punishable precisely because it has no character beyond being an expression of bigotry.

Justice cannot always be found in laws. Laws are imperfect. Results may be unsatisfactory, but it is nonetheless true that attempts to punish the expression of words simply don't work. Codes designed to outlaw bigotry, such as the University of Michigan's[9] and the University of

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[7] Most universities have policies regulating student conduct. The University of Alabama, for example, has rules, among other things, against alcohol, drugs, firearms, theft, damage of property, gambling, hazing, false alarms, unauthorized entry on or use of school property, and flagrant parking violations. The rules also prescribe "actions" against "persons or groups," including "physical abuse or threat of abuse . . . disorderly conduct . . . conduct dangerous to the health and safety of any person . . . indecent or obscene conduct or expression . . . harassment." These last rules may be overly broad or vague, although they apparently were not designed to proscribe speech.

The University of California at Berkeley has Student Misconduct residence regulations, and rules against dishonesty (e.g., plagiarism), forgery, theft, unauthorized entry to or use of school property, obstruction or destruction of university activities, physical abuse, threats of violence, conduct that threatens health and safety, disorderly or lewd conduct, unlawful assembly and illegal drugs.

An act committed with a bigoted motive can, of course, be punished more severely than a "simple" transgression under existing codes.

[8] The deterrent effect is questionable if no one knows what the code says. Joseph Kowalsky noted in the January 5, 1990 issue of *Sh'ma*, "When I picked [up a copy of the University of Michigan Code Against Discrimination] I asked if it was distributed to students. . . . They did not know. That office did not do it. I checked with the Office of the President. They did not distribute it. I checked with the Registrar's Office. They did not distribute it. I checked with the Student Orientation Office. They did not distribute it. . . . I spoke with several undergraduates . . . A few knew that the thing existed. Several assumed that some such thing existed. None had read it."

[9] The University of Michigan's policy outlawed "Any behavior, verbal or physical, that stigmatizes or victimizes an individual on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, sex, sexual orientation, creed, national origin, ancestry, age, marital status, handicap or Vietnam-era veteran status and that

"a. Involves an express or implied threat to an individual's academic efforts, employment, participation in University sponsored extracurricular activities or personal safety; or

"b. Has the purpose or reasonably foreseeable effect of interfering with an individual's academic efforts . . . ."

Judge Cohn, of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan, ruled the code "overbroad" because it "sweeps within its ambit a substantial amount of protected speech," such as when a complaint was lodged against a student who stated "in a class discussion his belief that homosexuality was a disease." The judge also found the rule unconstitutionally

Connecticut's, have been found violative of the First Amendment. No lawyer can draft language precise enough to punish the person who says "nigger" only when he or she *really* means it.

Attempts at broad codes have backfired. Students at the University of Michigan -- which adopted different standards of speech for the classroom, dorm, etc. -- had a grand time making fun of the entire effort with "free speech zones" written in broad chalk strokes around the campus. What is the deterrent effect of that ridiculed rule? And what is the deterrent effect of any code when acts of bigotry are likely to be spontaneous, frequently committed under the influence of alcohol? No drunk about to yell "Nigger!" at a passing African American student weighs his words against the finely drawn limits of a disciplinary code.

Egregious use of hateful words can be punished under most existing codes that proscribe harassment, intimidation or threats of violence. Codes that would punish a student who repeatedly calls another at 3:00 a.m. and says, "I hate your mother" would also punish a student whose harassing phone calls are racist. Codes that prohibit one student from threatening and intimidating another (e.g., "You go out with Peggy Sue again and I'll slash your face, you asshole!") also apply when the student warned to stay away from Peggy Sue is called a "fucking Jew asshole."

Even narrowly drawn antibigotry codes tarnish the schools' reputation for academic freedom and open inquiry. Punishing a student for using bigoted words or printing bigoted articles drapes the bigot, instead of the school, in the First Amendment. The bigot becomes the victim, even a martyr, as the real victim disappears, a casualty of a fight that has become one for free speech instead of against bigotry.

The practical limits of codes are difficult to accept. Some people who should be disciplined will not be.[10] But the university will benefit from a narrow code. A student's suspension for writing "Gays should die of AIDS," or "I kill Jews therefore I am," or "Puerto Ricans are scum" cannot outweigh the damage of months of disruption, legal proceedings, and constitutional debate that continue to open wounds. There are other ways to respond to such cases.

As for codes, while no perfect definitional line can be drawn, a functional pretty-bright-lined code that punishes action and not words is preferable to an unacceptably fuzzy one that tries to legislate morality. If the campus develops a real commitment to fighting bigotry, community ostracism of the bigot will be punishment enough.

SPEAKERS

Outside speakers with reputations for bigotry who come to campus, and then leave, often create traumatic moments that take years to undo. The problem is not as much what the speaker says (usually the address is tamer than people expect) but the tension that precedes and follows the

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vague because the words "stigmatize" and "victimize" "are general and elude precise definition." Vague rules violate the First Amendment because no one knows for certain what conduct is prohibited.

Other new rules may have the same infirmity. As of November 1, 1989, the University of California at Berkeley was debating a "Policy on Student Racial Harassment" which outlaws "fighting words," defined as "personally abusive epithets" which are "likely to provoke a violent reaction."

The University of Wisconsin has adopted a policy which outlaws "discriminatory comments, epithets or other expressive behavior . . . [which demeans] the race, sex, religion, color, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry or age of the individual or individuals [and creates] an intimidating, hostile or demeaning environment for . . . university-authorized activity."

[10] However, since a code creates an expectation that incidents will be responded to through a disciplinary process, codes may deter the development of other, more creative approaches.

event.

Universities are places for open inquiry. No idea should be barred. On most campuses, student groups and faculty members have the absolute right to invite anyone they want.

What happens when someone invites a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or Minister Louis Farrakhan -- who peppers his words of African American political action with gross anti-Semitism (Judaism is a "gutter religion") -- or Meir Kahane, whose views on Arabs is akin to Farrakhan's on Jews or the KKK's on African Americans?

The students who are the targets of the speaker's hatred feel insecure, misunderstood, and powerless. The protestation that "we want to hear about the good things [the speaker] has done," or "everyone has a right to speak -- ask him questions and expose him, if you can" are wholly inadequate. "Why should our student fees be used to bring someone here who would kill us if he could?" some ask.

The greatest pain for the students who feel unfairly maligned may be that their fellow classmates cannot -- or will not -- understand why they feel so hurt. Lines are drawn and victimized students react angrily, in protest if they are strong enough numerically, in silence if they are too few.

The inviting group also feels misunderstood. African American students who invite Farrakhan can't comprehend why Jewish groups are so upset. Farrakhan speaks strongly for empowering African Americans. "Can it be that the Jewish students are afraid of such a strong leader?" they may ask themselves. "So what if Farrakhan said some nasty things. That's not important. His message of power for African American people is. Who are they to tell us we can't listen to him, anyway?"

Administration officials -- committed to free speech -- are caught in the middle between two polarized campus groups that desire punishment, even victory. It is not easy to hold the community together as the conflict heats up. Sometimes the cost of additional security is prohibitive, and the speaker does not come. But usually he or she does, and the campus is paralyzed in anticipation of what may happen.

The group opposed to the speaker may protest, and seek faculty and community support for their own exercise of First Amendment rights.

Officials may fear hecklers. Many times speakers cannot be heard over screams. Infringing on other students' free speech rights may violate disciplinary rules.

The administration's priorities in the weeks before and after the crisis peaks should be twofold. The commitment to free speech must be ironclad; and so too must be the commitment to intergroup sensitivity. While the tension between these two principles cannot be eliminated, it can be reduced with planning.

The ideal -- but nonexistent -- campus is one where every student would be sensitive to the hurt his or her actions and words cause another. Students who would want to bring a speaker would then wonder whether that person would cause pain to other students, and if so, decide to bring someone else to campus instead.

That caring community is the goal. On campuses where the polarization is not extreme, the administration might invite student groups to submit the names of contemplated speakers to each

other before an invitation is extended. Such a procedure would be voluntary, and, regardless of any opposition, the right to invite speakers would remain inviolate.

A voluntary preinvitation notice to other groups would allow discussion and decision before "saving face" issues, such as how to uninvite an invited speaker, come into play.

Jewish students, for example, can let African American students know why having Farrakhan on campus is hurtful. The point might be made at a meeting (coordinated by an intergroup professional) with role plays, transposing Farrakhan's words, substituting "African American" for "Jew," so that the African American students can better understand the hurt. And Jewish students could begin to understand the isolation African American students feel on a white campus with white values -- and why an African American speaker who talks of power is important to them.

A process like this one can be helpful -- especially if it allows the students to see each other as individual human beings. But it will only work if run by people who know what they are doing and if the students are committed to it. Otherwise, it could become an easy process to manipulate -- for example, Arab students objecting to every Jewish speaker.

If a faculty member wants to invite a speaker, the issue is more complex. While he or she has the absolute right to invite anyone, the professor should also be sensitive to the hurt an invitation may cause. At the University of Kansas, for example, the furor over an invitation to members of the Ku Klux Klan was partly diffused when the faculty member (who wanted to teach his journalism students how to expose bigots with interview skills) agreed to hold that class off campus.

Even with the implementation of procedures to make people more sensitive to others' feelings, controversial speakers will still come to campus -- as they should. The administration must insure that students pro and con can exercise their First Amendment rights with minimal interference.

Hecklers should not be allowed, but protests should be accommodated. Innovative protests that show respect for fellow students should be encouraged.

At Oberlin, for example, Jewish students protested an anti-Semitic African American speaker silently. They attended the speech, sitting patiently in their white T-shirts with the Star of David on the back. At the speaker's his first anti-Semitic words, the students stood and turned their backs to the stage. Their silent protest was dramatic and effective. Other people in the audience stood and joined them in sympathy.

CAMPUS SECURITY AND OTHER "FRONT LINE" STAFF

The campus police forces are frequently a source of tension on campus. Sometimes they instigate incidents.[11] Frequently, they exacerbate them.

In many universities male minority students complain that campus police officials are more likely to stop and question them than whites or women. Sometimes campus police use racial slurs, and false detention cases (e.g., presuming the African American student in an interracial brawl is

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[11] For example, an African American student filed a lawsuit against Duke University after an officer allegedly yelled "Hey boy!" and then arrested the student when he threatened to file a complaint, and tried to leave. The university settled the suit.

the culprit) have resulted in lawsuits.

One problem is that many low-paid campus security guards bring with them bigoted attitudes exacerbated by economic resentment.[12]

Administrators, or the agencies with whom they contract, should try to weed out bigots before they are hired. Guidelines for relating to[13] and detaining students should be clear, and the color-blindness of the rules reasserted.

Campus security guards can be screened and educated to act more sensitively. They should know that swastikas and racial and sexual assaults are not pranks, be able to insure that no evidence is destroyed, and make sure that the victim is treated with sympathy.

Larger universities should have one better-trained and higher-paid special campus security team on duty, or on call, at all times. This group should be trained to respond to every type of bias incident. It can soothe the victims and help prevent incidents from turning into riots. Also, the presence of a better-paid antibias group provides the regular security guards with an option for advancement. If they want this better job, they know they have to be sensitive to all students to get it.[14]

It is not only those university employees who come into contact with bias victims who need good intergroup skills. All staff need it. Tensions spread in quiet ways. An African American students feel it when a secretary gives disapproving looks at new "afro" styles, or a Jewish student with a yarmulke is stared at.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS EXPERTS

During and after an explosion of bigotry, the campus is in turmoil. Emotions and anger run high. Rational thought is sometimes difficult.

Students forced to confront ethnic conflict and other potentially divisive issues can react defensively and lash out, or withdraw. There are practitioners in the field of intergroup relations who go to campuses and cultivate ethnic pride and understanding. They also help the university community develop structures and procedures for managing diversity. AJC's Institute for American Pluralism, headed by Irving Levine[15] and Joe Giordano, and Cherie Brown's National Coalition Building Institute are but two of many. These groups provide valuable assistance to campuses even in the "calm" times. Certainly, they should be contacted before, and invited to campus after, any incident of bigotry.[16]

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[12] Security on many public campuses is the responsibility of public employees, such as state police. Training for these officers should be provided in police academies. The campus should provide additional intergroup training if needed.

[13] On some campuses male security guards have been known to treat women students in a sexist manner.

[14] Of course, the existence of a better-trained campus security squad should not be used as an excuse to train the "regular" forces inadequately.

[15] Irving Levine's "soft, nonconfrontational approach" has three goals. First, to empower the campus to fight all forms of bigotry. Second, to enhance a healthy group identity. And third, to depoliticize and professionalize the issues, so that even the most radical students, who "don't think the campus recognizes its cultural norms, will buy into the mainstream when their radical vision is provided a vent."

[16] Some universities are beginning to rely on their own intergroup relations experts. Certainly, campus counseling services should have bigotry management as part of their portfolio.

However, intergroup professionals should not be used as an excuse to overlook other changes needed to promote good

Specialists like Joe Giordano also train faculty members to manage difficult situations in their classrooms -- a dynamic that nothing in their education has prepared them for. Even faculty members who know what to do when a student utters a blatantly prejudiced remark may have no idea what to do when student A says something from which student B infers a hidden prejudiced agenda. And few faculty members are adept at countering the overt sexism that one New York-based history professor terms "pervasive in relations between males and females in every course he teaches." Irving Levine offers a workshop for dealing with racial, ethnic, religious, gender-based and homophobic slurs that "takes hours with faculty, plotting and planning what you say, what you don't say, how you handle it, what has worked, what hasn't worked, what in your own personal view makes you reticent to confront it directly, where that originates from, when you back off, when you open up . . ."

STUDENTS AND FACULTY

The university president must encourage students and faculty to develop their own antibigotry institutions. Antibias student groups can distribute antiracist literature and buttons (such as one with a slash through the encircled word "bias"), organize rallies, empower victims, initiate discussion, and form coalitions with students on other campuses. The more involved students are in developing their own programs, the better they will succeed.

Faculty groups can lend intellectual credibility to the fight against bias. Professors can teach about bigotry both in their classes and at specially designed forums, including first-year-student orientation. They can also preplan ways to exploit incidents for their educational value.

RESPONSE PLANNING OVERVIEW

There is much that can be planned before the onset of the unpredictable but inevitable crisis. The suggestions given here are certainly not all the possible responses. Experience, experimentation, and changing personnel and circumstances will dictate the details of any particular response plan.

Hotlines, response teams, training, a "fast track" for disciplinary cases, improving campus security and many other practical things can be done so that the administration doesn't grope, or give the impression of negligence or insensitivity.

The most important thing, however, is that university presidents articulate a commitment to creating a campus community with zero tolerance for bigotry. This commitment should be communicated not only after an incident but also at calmer times. It must be demonstrated with actions -- actions that build structures so that the campus community can manage conflict better. And the commitment must include another plan, one not for responding to bigotry but for reducing it.

PLANNED BIGOTRY REDUCTION

Ask students about their experiences with bigotry on campus, and their answers will not be about the splashy headlines of the explosions.

"Racial tension is definitely there," a Harvard student said. "[T]here's definite racial ignorance

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intergroup relations. Experts help; they cannot substitute for a real commitment to or viable structures for managing diversity.

that comes out in people's conversations and definite nuances in how the university handles the situation."

"No longer will Brown be a place where I pay $20,000 a year to be called a 'nigger,'" a Brown student exclaimed.

"A friend of mine was the only black student in his class and they had to form groups to work on case studies," another student explained. "No one in the class picked him and no one picked the other minority student in the class, an Asian girl. They ended up having to work together."

"In my 20th-century history class we are up to the 1960s right now, and for our final we have to watch a movie dealing with 20th-century history and write a movie review of it," an Eastern Michigan University student said. "We were given a list of movies to choose from and not one was about black people -- like *Roots* or *The Color Purple* or a movie on Harriet Tubman or *Mississippi Burning*. The teacher's movies were *Tucker* and *American Dream*. I don't know how we got through 20th-century history without talking about black people."

"Students are tipped off about a General Union of Palestine Students' sponsored resolution condemning Israel," Lisa Baron Haet, the Northern California Jewish Community Campus Advisor wrote. "The tip comes from a Jewish student active in student government. The resolution passes. Zionist students, labeled as racists, are effectively shut out of the government process. The tipster makes no move to oppose the resolution. He is too afraid to reveal openly that he is a Jew."

At campuses where the administration has committed itself to fighting bigotry in all its manifestations students are more likely to feel at home, part of the family.

Where bigotry reduction is not a long-range priority, students have harsh words for the administration. One Hampshire student described the administration as "hand-shakers. If you don't press them then they'll sweep it under the rug."

Bigotry exists in all segments of society, and it appears in all parts of a campus community, sometimes subtly.

A faculty member may call on only the male students, or the white students, for answers to difficult questions.

A textbook may analyze African tribes by Western standards -- if they are tall and clean limbed they are attractive and intelligent, if they are stubby they are deformed.

Women at a newly coed school -- still over 90 percent female -- may elect men to three of the top four student leadership posts, and then complain about "male students taking over."

To make all students feel secure, attitudes have to be changed -- not just those of the spray-paint crowd. And for the changes to work well, the changes should not be seen only as necessary steps to reduce the risk of an "incident," but as positive steps that add to the vibrancy of education and to the quality of life on campus.

BIGOTRY SURVEY

No realistic plan to counter bigotry on campus can be crafted without first assessing the problem.

Forums should be held to alert faculty, administration, staff, and students that a full-scale self-examination is a campus priority. Everyone should know that all incidents are to be reported, so that the community can better gauge its bigotry level. The mechanism for reporting incidents (e.g., a hotline) should be explained. The experiences of other campuses should be studied.[17]

Students and faculty, along with experts, should design questionnaires going to every part of campus life. Do people hear slurs? From whom? How often? Do they fear retribution if they challenge slurs? How serious is sexism on campus? Are there "exclusive men's clubs" that refuse to admit women?

Do minority students self-segregate? Is this just normal healthy attraction for people with things in common (like the football team always eating together), or is this a manifestation of survival under siege? What are the class components to the problem? Do students congregate in certain ways based on whether they can afford a car? What neighborhoods do they go home to?

Are dorm rooms assigned on the basis of race? Do minority students prefer living with people who share their experiences?

Do more expensive or newer dorm rooms cost more for students? If so, does this breed resentment?[18]

Do faculty members teach as if all knowledge derived from "dead white European males"? If so, how difficult would it be to change curriculum so that every student can see that people of his and every other background have contributed to human knowledge and history?

Has the school tried to attract a broad base of students? Of faculty? Are minority faculty limited to stereotyped roles -- e.g., African American faculty teaching African American studies -- or do they teach in broader disciplines? Do people feel that minority faculty have been denied tenure unfairly (e.g., their fields of concentration might not be appreciated by the general faculty) or granted tenure unfairly (inferior academics kept as tokens)?

Are there immigrant students and students from other countries on campus? Are they picked on because their English may be deficient?

What are the informal mechanisms for releasing tension on campus? Do casual conversations between faculty and students reduce tensions through informal counseling and advising? Do casual conversations between faculty and administrators help identify pressure points before they explode? If so, what are the implications if there are not enough minority role models in the faculty? Do administrators then not hear of problems in the minority community? Do minority students have no everyday, easy way to vent their frustration to an authority figure who can commiserate?

What do students feel about each other and themselves? Do minority students feel comfortable enough to behave naturally, or do they find themselves acting as they think white students expect them to behave? Do white students see minority students acting in "different" ways, such as playing

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[17] Barnard students visited other campuses to study structures for countering bias and discrimination on campus. The educational nature of the visits depoliticized the issues, and allowed students from different groups to work together on a common antibias goal.

[18] The fee structures on many campuses distinguish only between single rooms and multiple rooms, and not between newer, older, larger, or "better."

different or loud music, and assume that the behavior is intended as an irritant rather than an expression of a different culture?

What manifestations of discrimination have the students witnessed, and how frequently?[19] Are they aware of bias against others?[20] If the campus is located in a predominantly white area, do other students and the administration know about bigotry expressed against minority students on public transportation, in local stores, etc.? Is date rape a problem that no one is willing to talk about?

Do people know enough about the basic assumptions under which each group operates? Does anyone even know what literature each group reads? Do minority students understand that Jewish students -- who have Holocaust-broken branches in their family tree and who are personally threatened when someone clamors about an end to Zionism -- see themselves not as part of the white power structure but as an historically vulnerable people? Do minority students understand that Jewish students are not monolithic, and frequently disagree with each other? Do white and Jewish students understand that many minority students shape their identity around "third world" literature that defines society through a prism of class struggle against oppression? Do administrators appreciate the self-fulfilling prophecy aspect of this ideology -- that those who define themselves as barred from power sometimes see themselves as excluded even when that is not the intent of a policy or action?

What do students, faculty and staff think should be done to make the climate better? Do fraternities and sororities promote sexism, homophobia, and ethnic and religious bigotry? If so, is this a manifestation of what they do, whom they attract, what they stand for, how much alcohol they consume, or some combination thereof? Should there be fraternities for gay and lesbian students, who surveys suggest are the most vilified group on campus?[21]

Is dorm life acceptable? In larger universities, do residence-hall directors reflect the ethnic and religious makeup of the dorm residents, so that students have someone they feel comfortable with with whom to discuss adjustment to college life and incidents of bigotry?

If there is housing for married students, should there be dorms for "married" gay students?

Are "new" groups that want to assert their identity on campus allowed to do so? Do the other, established groups feel threatened? Do they build a hierarchy of groups based on factors such as which is the "most oppressed," or do they see this as an opportunity for more groups to come together as allies?

Do groups know what resources the university offers to improve their environment? For

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[19] New York's Governor's Task Force on Bias Related Violence (March 1988) found that "at a New York State campus . . . [t]hirty-one percent of the 847 student respondents reported [sexual] harassment, as did 21% of the employees."

[20] A National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence study of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County campus found that over 10 percent of sampled students were bias victims. By groups, over 20% of the blacks, 17% of the Asians, 14% of the Jews, and 5% of the whites were victims of bigoted acts.

The study also determined that student perceptions of discrimination differed. For example, 76 percent of the African American students believed they, as a group, suffered from discrimination; 52 percent of the Jewish students, 36 percent of the non-Jewish white students, and 26 percent of the Asian students agreed that African American students were discriminated against.

[21] When UCLA agreed to form a gay fraternity, one gay student commented, "Maybe we'll have pantie raids at the lesbian sorority. . . somebody's got to do it, and it might as well be us."

example, do Jewish students bombarded by anti-Semitic propaganda that proclaims Zionism racism know how to get a course offered on the history of Zionism?

Are there student, faculty and other leaders willing to stimulate the slow process of change by example?

Is there a core of institutional identity that can be cultivated (especially by the president) that defines everyone in common, the "after-all-you-are-all-Whatsamatta-U.-students" approach? Can this "myth of the institution" be used to foster an ideology of intergroup respect?

What is it that students want anyway? Is it, as Dr. Robert L. Hess, president of Brooklyn College suggests, "respect for the community from which he or she comes; their individual dignity respected; and justice in abstract terms -- beyond group interests, for example, the high ideals of the U.S. Constitution." If so, can an institutional identity help cultivate an ideology of respect for personal dignity, intergroup respect, and a thirst for justice?

These and other questions should be asked, answered, tabulated and studied. By counting incidents and charting attitudes with the help of professionals, schools can develop and evaluate long- and short-range plans to fight bigotry on campus.

IMMEDIATE ACTION

Change is a long process, best achieved when people are persuaded by example rather than fiat. A faculty member may see a suggestion to include James Baldwin in his literature class as an invasion of academic freedom. But if he or she sees others he or she respects changing their courses, and is allowed the time and access to outside help to make similar curriculum modifications, he or she may do so enthusiastically.

While some changes take time, others can be made while the university studies itself and encourages change gently.

First, every way it can, the university must make students, faculty, staff and alumni/ae know that it is committed to eradicating bigotry while upholding academic freedom and free speech. The president has to lead, but others must follow.

Symbols of bigotry must be removed. If the university sports Confederate flags, these must be taken down. No African American student could feel at home, and there are less provocative ways to honor southern history.

If the university has an Indian mascot, he must be retired. No suggestion that the mascot seeks to honor Indians as fleet-of-foot or brave-of-heart should be accepted, even if older alumni/ae are disconcerted. (Would they approve someone in a pope uniform as a mascot for a Bible study group, or someone dressed as a rabbi as a mascot for the debate team?)

In addition to creating a hotline,[22] a response team,[23] and victims assistance services,[24] specialized

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[22] As Brown University has.

[23] As the University of Connecticut's April 5, 1989 "Report of the Subcommittee on Discriminatory Harassment to the Student Welfare Committee and the University Senate" suggests.

[24] Ibid.

training should be given to campus security and dorm monitors and anyone else likely to service victims of bigotry.

All members of the incoming class should undergo intergroup training workshops as part of their orientation. Faculty, administration and staff -- including janitors, telephone operators and secretaries -- should undergo this training as well. Everyone should be encouraged and empowered to take a stand when they encounter bigotry.

Since it will take years to integrate examples of the contribution of all groups into the everyday curriculum, ethnic studies courses should be offered and promoted. Students and faculty alike should learn that people interpret their own realities differently, that there is no one perspective that necessarily defines "truth."

Teaching diversity should be an educational mission that saturates the campus.

Programs that help different student groups achieve a healthy group identity, and feel that they can have a real role in campus life, should be encouraged, as long as they are not myopic.

And programs should be developed that draw students from different backgrounds together to work on common goals.

But central to the long-term health of the community is the commitment of the college president. His or her steadfast leadership in combating bigotry must not be an end in itself -- his or her commitment must permeate the community and empower it.

The president must enlist the board of trustees to support plans for change. A long-range bigotry reduction strategy has to plan for the educational institutions of the year 2000 and beyond, not those of the years 1950 and before. Minorities will make up an ever-increasing segment of America in the next century -- a century that will require a college education for over half its work force.[25]

Our universities must teach our students how to live in the America that will be. That America will be multiethnic and multicultural, and demand citizens who understand, appreciate and respect pluralism. The institutional changes needed to meet this future must have the support of an enthusiastic and forward-looking board of trustees.

The entire institution must be energized. It is not enough that faculty and students survey themselves or begin to recognize bigotry as an "issue." That is only the first step. Chaplains, deans of students, staff, administration, faculty and students all have to become involved in the process of change. They all have to be encouraged through forums, presidential statements, and campus debate to remold the institution into one that will be stimulating, relevant, and comfortable for all its members.

These steps, by themselves, announce a university's commitment to minimize bigotry more strongly than any harsh code. These changes would not be traumatic, or challenge academic

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[25] Even some students who may be skeptical about the need for developing good intergroup skills may respond to a message of self interest. Dr. Hess, president of Brooklyn College, tells his students "that by the time they are forty, the work place will be so ethnically diverse that the people who have good intergroup and diversity skills will be the ones who advance and succeed."

freedom. As better campus surveys and ideas appear in the years ahead, improvements can be refined, creating a *status quo* that lets all students thrive.

RESPONSIBILITY TO EFFECT CHANGE IN ALL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING GRADE AND HIGH SCHOOLS

All these long- and short-range plans presuppose a failure, and a difficult problem that has other, easier solutions. Many students come to college bigoted or ignorant about others. They could have benefited from intergroup and values training throughout their elementary and secondary education.

Schools need to incorporate teaching about pluralism into every part of the curriculum, from kindergarten through high school. Before they come to college, students must learn to appreciate and feel comfortable with -- in fact, cherish -- their own backgrounds, and understand and respect those of their classmates. White students should learn of the contributions of African Americans, not through one-day-a-year events on Martin Luther King's birthday, but naturally -- for example, through English classes that include writings from African American authors. In elementary school history classes, students whose ancestors came through Ellis Island, or on the *Mayflower*, should be encouraged to be proud of their heritage; but they should also learn that not everyone who came to our shores on a ship did so willingly, and that there were remarkable people here before the first boat landed.

With changes like these throughout the grade school and high school curriculum, and through multicultural presentations such as the American Jewish Committee's "Ethnic Sharing" and "Hands Across the Campus" programs, students will come to college better prepared to live in a supportive multigroup community with a low bigotry level.

Universities and higher educational associations can instigate change for the next generation of students. Those that train secondary teachers should teach them how to challenge bigotry in the classroom. Few teachers begin their professional careers knowing what to do when confronted with an incident of bigotry. Some will ignore it, others will explode emotionally. Teachers need to be trained in conflict resolution techniques, so that bigotry can be challenged constructively, without any student feeling victimized.

Educational associations[26] also set tones and define agendas. University presidents should press these organizations to make bigotry reduction a key goal, and encourage them to generate long-term plans and programs.

Universities, collectively, also have the power to effect change quickly and profoundly, through their own admissions policies.

If universities (or even one university, setting the example for others) announce that training in intergroup relations and values education will be one factor considered in admitting and offering financial aid to students, the secondary schools will be more likely to offer these classes and programs right away. Certainly, participation in intergroup training should be as much of an

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[26] For example: the Association of Governing Boards, the Association of American Colleges, the American Association of Higher Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of Land Grant Colleges, the American Council on Education, etc. If these associations made the teaching of intergroup relations a high priority, government might follow the lead and implement needed programs in the public elementary and secondary schools.

admissions factor as whether a student participated in extracurricular activities like the chess club or the cheerleading squad.

Some colleges offer admission under open enrollment, so the added criteria would not apply as well as at private institutions. But the message would be clear -- that universities want students who know how to live with and respect each other.

High school teachers, and especially parents of high school students, would be motivated to push for these changes. Parents seek any advantage for their child's college admission or award of a scholarship.

CONCLUSION

All the ideas discussed above are designed to help universities assess and manage diversity on their campus climates as they are now, and as demographic and social changes will shape them in the years to come.

Every idea will come to nothing, however, if the president of the institution lacks the commitment to make the hard choices needed to change the campus environment.

It may seem a good gamble to avoid this troubling issue by hoping that incidents occur at other places, or if they occur at home, that the student turnover will diminish the damage over time. Such a strategy may work -- although in universities with a history of problems, some decade-old incidents have resurfaced as issues in current crises.

Whether a particular college can "get away" with avoiding the problem of bigotry is not the question. Higher education should be a liberating experience. Ideas should flow and stereotypes should be challenged in an environment where everyone is free to express and explore, knowing that faculty, staff, and students respect each other and treat each other as family.

One institution that has had no "explosions" is innovative Bard College, in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York.

One alumnus, who attended Bard during the Vietnam years, is not surprised. "No one ever took over the administration building there," he said, "although once, feeling left out in comparison to the activists on other campuses, students dismantled the president's VW Bug and reassembled it inside the administration building. But that was a sign of respect.

"Every second or third semester there was a crisis. Once some faculty members refused to cancel exams so that students could protest the mining of Haiphong harbor," he explained. "Reamer Kline -- the president -- invited everyone to the old gym. He'd always call a meeting immediately -- before the students could organize anything. I don't remember what he said, but I remember he respected everyone's point of view and made us all feel part of the community, regardless of where we stood.

"My best memory was when Kline called his last emergency meeting. It was in late 1973 or early 1974. He had announced his retirement by then. He stood underneath the basketball backboard, waited for the students to stop talking, and began by saying how much he enjoyed these meetings. He even thanked the students for them. I turned to a friend and said, 'Do you believe that? Kline actually thanked us for all the chaos!'

"For Kline, and for me, those wild moments of turmoil were the best Bard had to offer. Reamer Kline's simple 'thank you' captured the sense of community, the real love of divergent ideas, and the respect that each of us had for each other."

If university presidents make ending bigotry a priority, and have Reamer Kline's skill of using crises as educational and community-building tools, campuses should become better places for future leaders to live and learn in.

APPENDIX

Response Plan Highlights

-- President must proclaim, quickly, loudly, and firmly, that prejudice will not be tolerated.

-- Assemble the predesignated bigotry response team.

-- Consider immediate suspension, if appropriate.

-- Consider reward, if appropriate.

-- Publicize the bigotry "hotline."

-- Consider a rally or community meeting.

-- If major graffiti, plan a community removal.

-- If students threatened or injured, consider overnight community or dean watch at dorm.

-- Make sure victimized students are helped by victims' advocate.

-- Disciplinary "fast track" system should be started if conduct sanctionable.

-- Bring in intergroup relations experts.

Prejudice Reduction Plan Highlights

-- Publicly affirm commitment to bias-free campus.

-- Survey campus bigotry level.

-- Remove all offensive symbols.

-- Train staff and campus security.

-- Consider changes in all phases of campus life, including curriculum, dorm assignments, hiring practices, intergroup relations courses, etc.

-- Enlist every segment of campus life -- from umbrella educational institutions and boards of trustees down to janitors and maintenance workers -- in plans to reduce bigotry.

-- Plan intergroup programs that bring students from diverse backgrounds to work together.

Groups That Need to Develop the Committment to, and the Structures for, Managing Diversity

-- Government

-- Educational Associations

-- Board of Trustees

-- Presidents

-- Vice Presidents

-- Deans

-- Faculty

-- Instructors and Graduate Assistants

-- Dorm Counsellors

-- Students

-- Security

-- Line Staff

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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L.A. TIMES: 05-30-91

Cheney Arrives in Israel for Arms Talks

■ Defense: He will try to reassure officials jittery about Bush's Mideast disarmament proposal. 60 174

By MELISSA HEALY and KIM MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

TEL AVIV—Defense Secretary Dick Cheney arrived here Wednesday for arms talks with the Israeli government that are likely to be conducted in an atmosphere made tense by a Mideast arms-control initiative President Bush unveiled Wednesday.

Bush called on the Mideast nations, including Israel, to freeze their development, production and testing of missiles like the modified Scud missile used by Iraq, or Israel's Jericho missile.

At the same time, he urged Mideast states to adopt a ban on production of nuclear-weapons materials and to "accede" to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which Israel has not signed.

Anticipating the U.S. initiative, Israeli officials here have complained privately that Bush's proposal would rob their nation of its most potent military weapons, including nuclear weapons and their long-range, surface-to-surface Jericho missiles.

En route from a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels, Cheney appeared eager to reassure the Israeli government.

"I think Israel's position in terms of military security is greater today than it's been in a long time because of what we did with respect to the destruction of [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein's offensive military capability," Cheney told reporters traveling with him.

After Bush's speech outlining the proposal, the government here cautiously welcomed it, declaring that "Israel and the United States share the concern about the potential of destruction in the Middle East."

"Israel is studying the [U.S.] initiative in depth and in detail and will approach the Administration in order to work together for peace and stability in the region," said Avi Pazner, spokesman for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

However, Israel, the only country in the region known to possess nuclear weapons, was noncommittal on the issue of non-conventional arms and reiterated its call for an international conference of arms suppliers and recipients in the Middle East aimed at completely stopping the flow of weapons, conventional and non-conventional, to the region.

"Israel renews its call for the convening of this conference and declares its readiness to contribute to its success," Pazner said. But he stopped short of pledging Israel's support for a drive to eliminate chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in the region.

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens earlier this week proposed a conference to cut back the flow of conventional arms to the Middle East, but he did not refer to nuclear weapons. Although Israel has consistently refused to discuss it, regional strategic experts estimate that Israel has 100 nuclear warheads that could be delivered either by aircraft or atop its long-secret Jericho missiles.

In meetings with Cheney, beginning today, Israeli officials are expected to register their concerns that Bush is not focusing enough attention on the stockpiles of conventional weapons in the region.

For weeks during the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi Scuds rained down on Israel, prompting officials to worry aloud that the Jewish state would need to buy new arms to protect itself from powerful Arab adversaries like Iraq.

Cheney told the reporters on his plane that Washington will continue to help Israel develop and build an arsenal superior to those of its potential Mideast adversaries.

"We've been committed for a long time to helping them maintain their qualitative edge, and that's unchanged," Cheney said.

Israeli officials have complained in recent weeks that Washington is dragging its feet on delivering $700 million in arms.

Healy reported from Tel Aviv and en route from Brussels. Murphy reported from Jerusalem.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6/7/91 9:30a.m.

TO: Beth

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST
Assistant to the President
for Communications

[redacted]

H O L D C L O S E

Attached is Draft 2.

Comments please by COB today.

Thanks

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, WELCOME] **DRAFT**

Over the past thirty months, the world has changed at a dramatic pace. America has been called upon to meet one challenge after another. **And we met them -- each and every one of them. From Panama, to Eastern Europe, to Kuwait, our country has stood as a champion of freedom.**

Ninety-eight days ago, I asked the Congress face-to-face to tackle the urgent problems in our own backyard with the same energy we dedicated to tackling the crisis in the Gulf. I asked that they pass just two laws in a hundred days -- a comprehensive anti-crime bill, and a transportation bill. **Neither will be on my desk by Friday, and that tells us something profound.**

America is a hopeful and always optimistic nation. Time and again, we are tested. Time and again, we prevail. Despite the odds, **our belief in ourselves and our future is unshakable.**

That's why it is so hard for the American people to understand why a bill to fight crime cannot be enacted in a hundred days. They don't understand the complication, the paralysis, the inaction. Particularly when they do understand what it takes to solve problems in their own neighborhoods.

I don't mention this to bash the Congress. I don't mention this to run down government. The government is <u>not</u> the enemy -- in many cases the government is part of the solution. Yet, there are still those in Congress that think government is <u>at the center of the solution.</u> The American people disagree. Almost universally, intuitively, they know that **solutions don't begin in**

Washington D.C. If politicians would just listen to the people, they would begin to understand what America is trying to tell us.

Tonight, in the twilight shadow of Washington's Monument, gathered on this South Lawn of the White House are many extraordinary Americans. I want to share some of your successes with the rest of America. I want to talk about the challenges ahead, and ask **all** Americans to lead the way.

We **should** be confident about what lays ahead. America has a track record of success. We have shaped that success with our own hands. Sometimes, in our impatience, we've made mistakes -- but when we do, we dust ourselves off, and go at it again. But we have always acted out of a conviction to do what's right. **Every American should think about that, just for a moment, and feel proud. Now, I believe it's time to imagine more, and better, for this generation and all that follow.**

For many years I have crisscrossed this nation. As President, part of my job -- an exciting part -- is getting out and talking with the people. Small towns, big cities, schools, neighborhoods and playgrounds, factories and farms -- those are the places where you find out what's good and right about our country -- and what's going wrong, too.

You know, I grew up blessed with a loving family, a host of friends, and a lot of breaks. I believed the American Dream was literally around every corner -- it was a family, a career, and a chance to make the world a better place. I believed that all you had to do to succeed was believe in yourself, your family and

your friends, work hard, respect others, and have faith in God. I still try to follow those principles each day. But now, having experienced a lot, and seen a lot, I think there's a little more to the American Dream, and a lot more to achieving it.

It's not as simple as I once thought. But it is really not that complicated either. I believe the state of our nation is the sum of her communities. If our communities are in trouble, our nation's in trouble. So we must seek a nation of communities that are whole and good.

Let's define our terms: **whole and good.** That's a community that cares for the needs of its young people by building character, values and good habits for life. Second, it's a community that provides excellent schools -- schools that spark a lifelong interest in learning. Next, there will be jobs at respectable wages, and job training too. Fourth, it's a place with good health care, and a clean environment. A whole and good community will nurture a sense of well-being and belonging within its people. Finally, its neighborhoods will be decent and safe.

Because thousands of Americans have chosen to lead the way, there are thousands of communities like that in America. They are communities of conscience, where millions upon millions of Americans **have** achieved the American Dream. We should never lose sight of that. Across the board, **America is the most prosperous, educated, enlightened nation on earth.**

But a great nation must have the courage to be self-critical. And we **are** a great nation. No one can deny that we

have enormous problems. Many of our communities are in serious trouble because not all Americans are living the American Dream. Many Americans can't even imagine it.

There is the impoverished America, the poor and the destitute and the homeless. There is the America gone astray, the kids on drugs, the broken families, the teenage mothers. And then there is an America uneasy, troubled and bewildered by the dizzying pace of change.

Over these last twenty or thirty years, despite our best intentions, the ranks of these Americans have grown. **That cannot continue. The question is, what to do about it. I believe, it is time for America to re-invent itself. Time for America to think and act anew.**

Conventional wisdom once held that solutions were in the hands of government: call in the best and brightest and hand over the keys to the national treasury. Bigger government was better government: compassion measured in dollars and cents; progress by price tag. We tried that course. After twenty years, with our economy strangling on inflation, unemployment, and sky-high interest rates, America turned away from government.

And conventional wisdom turned to the genius of the free market. We began a decade of unparalleled economic growth -- **and created twenty million new jobs.** But the rising tide could not lift all boats. Twenty million new jobs later, our streets are still not safe, our schools have lost their edge, and millions

still trudge the path of poverty. We tried the marketplace, and learned that by itself, it didn't solve all our problems either.

America has to ask itself, will there always be those that are left behind? **America must answer unequivocally. The answer is No.**

During this past year we have witnessed America **at her best.** The War in the Gulf was not just a military achievement. It was something much, much more. It was a victory for the parents who believe in the **talent of our young people;** a victory for workers who believe **America can produce quality like the Patriot missile;** a victory for **neighbors who help neighbors** -- the outpouring of support right here at home for our men and women in the Gulf was magnificent. It was also our government at its best. **America's triumph was in short, a conquest over doubt.**

Now we can see how to build communities that are whole and good all across America. It requires all three forces of national life. First, **there <u>is</u> magic to the free market.** Second, **our government <u>can</u> act intelligently.** Third, **the ethic of neighbor helping neighbor -- service to others -- is vital to America's future.** These three powerful forces worked in common purpose in the Gulf. **Right here at home, each is crucial -- and it's time we harnessed <u>all</u> of them to transform America.**

Power belongs where it will work for the greater good. It belongs in the hands of people who seize opportunities. It belongs in the hands of entrepreneurs, like _____; in the

hands of [teacher of the year], in the hands of [point of light]. We have within our reach the power to transform America.

Let's start with the force of the free market. The entrepreneurs who are with us tonight, _____ know exactly what I'm talking about.

What so much of the world only covets, we take for granted: food on the shelves of our supermarkets, cutting-edge products of infinite variety and first-rate quality. Nothing has proved better than the free market at generating in communities across this great land, good jobs at decent wages, in workplaces that are safe and healthy.

The good news is that the free market is now applying its resources and know-how, its creativity and sense of purpose, to many of our social problems. Numerous companies, recognizing that tomorrow's workforce are today's students, are calling for a revolution of American education. Others are leading the way in environmental protection, while still others are actively promotinmg innovation from health care to child care.

But the market can only go so far by itself. To transform America, government needs to be dynamic as well. Today our government guarantees our rights, and our liberties. It provides an important safety net for the needy. It creates economic incentives, settles disputes within the marketplace, and supports our national infrastructure. But to be the government of Jefferson and Lincoln and Roosevelt -- the instrument of the

people -- it must truly be a force for good. A compassionate and competent government can help fulfill America's potential.

I believe in this kind of government. Here tonight, for example is Mrs. _____ . She teaches preschoolers in a marvelous government program called Head Start. Our child care bill is making child care available to those that the market cannot reach. Our Clean Air Act has put the free market in the service of the environment. The Americans with Disabilities Act has brought a new pride to our nation's disabled. Our HOPE initiative will make America's public housing tenants America's newest homeowners. And our crime bill will help make America's neighborhoods safe. This is not big government, **this is good government. And that too is essential to a Good Society.**

Finally, for America to be a nation of whole and good communities, the forces of the free market and the government by themselves are not enough. To them must be added the ethic of voluntary service, what I call Points of Light. It is not a phrase about charity. It is about the light that is within us all -- the light that can brighten the lives of others -- and those that shine it complete as well.

Points of Light is a call to every American to serve another in need. It is a call to the building blocks of our communities -- the schools, businesses, houses of worship, clubs, police and fire departments, and neighborhoods -- to use their power and vitality to overwhelm America's problems. And make no mistake, **every community has that power.**

Whether it's a company's after-hours literacy program for its workers, or a law firm's menoring class, a police station's counseling sessions for tough kids, or third graders who phone homebound senior citizens, **Points of light are giving those in need a sense that someone cares, that they matter and belong.**

We can solve our most difficult problems if we understand the consequence of serving others, if we understand that **every institution must lead in the most serious work of America.** This is how we must bring America into the 21st Century. Every one of us, our associations, our clubs, our churches and companies -- **all of us have the responsibility to lead.**

Only then, can we truly think and act anew. Our challenge has been to break the mold -- understand the successes and failures of the past -- create an ambitious approach for the future. We <u>have</u> broken the mold. **We must now share the success.**

Every problem in America <u>is</u> being solved somewhere. That gloriously optimistic statement is absolutely true. It is our responsibility as leaders to share the successes.

America has always been a nation problem solvers. No house should stand empty while people lack shelter. No business should stand short of people, while young Americans stand idle. No one in America is without a gift to give, a skill to share, a hand to offer. The people gathered here tonight represent those who have seized the day. You represent those millions of Americans who use power to inspire a greater good. **For that your country thanks you, and for that your country will endure.**

L.A.TIMES:05-24-91

Reading Between the Treaty Lines

174

Syria-Lebanon pact may not threaten Israel

The new "brotherhood, cooperation and coordination" pact between Lebanon and Syria is a classic example of an unequal treaty in which the stronger partner—Syria—inevitably comes to dominate the foreign and defense policies of the weaker.

With this agreement Syria has taken a giant step toward asserting a hegemony over Lebanon that it claims as a historic right. For 400 years under the Turkish Ottoman Empire, the area now called Lebanon was part of a Greater Syria administrative unit. Under their League of Nations mandates France and Britain divided that unit, with France splitting off modern Lebanon in 1920. Syria has never accepted the legitimacy of that partition. At the signing ceremony in Damascus this week Syrian President Hafez Assad underscored the point. "We say we are one people in two separate states . . . [with] the same history, geography and blood." How long the smaller of those states will remain sovereign is now in question.

Israel's government is understandably disturbed by this change in the political status quo. Its concerns are strategic. Syria already has about 40,000 troops in Lebanon, sent there as a "peacekeeping" force. But what was originally supposed to be a temporary deployment is increasingly emerging as a permanent one. During the months when the United States and other Western countries were focused on Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, Syria consolidated its own military position in Lebanon, crushing the Christian militia forces that most opposed it. Syria's army now controls two-thirds of Lebanon. Israeli officials worry that the new treaty will give Syria a legal basis for bolstering that army and its firepower.

The perceived threat, in other words, is that Israel could find itself with a new military front to its north. Israelis particularly worry about a buildup in Syrian tanks and missiles. The Soviet Union has moved to shut down its weapons pipeline to Syria, but the Damascus regime, freshly refinanced by a Saudi Arabia grateful for its support against Iraq, is now turning to such countries as North Korea and China for ground-to-ground missiles. Israel sees these as a threat. If they were moved into Lebanon they might well trigger a sudden Israeli attack.

The situation, though, may not be as threatening as some think. Syria has always talked tough to Israel. But at the same time it has tended to behave with prudence. One day it may again plan to wage war on Israel. But in the absence of militarily powerful allies—and Syria has none now—such a course could be suicidal.

Syria's interest in keeping the Lebanon-Israel border quiet for now may in fact be equal to Israel's. To that end it's more than possible that Syria next will move to restrain those forces in southern Lebanon—Palestinians and pro-Iranian Lebanese Shiites—whose militancy and cross-border attacks invite Israeli retaliation. The question is whether an Israel grown nervous over Syria's continuing arms buildup will have the patience to wait and see what develops, rather than moving preemptively in response to its fears.

Baker Views West Bank on Jordan-to-Israel Drive

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

JERUSALEM—Passing within a few hundred yards of one of the West Bank Jewish settlements he has long labeled an "obstacle to peace," Secretary of State James A. Baker III traveled by road Tuesday from Jordan to Israel.

The two-hour trip, which aides described as a spur-of-the-moment detour, followed apparently inconclusive Middle East peace talks with Jordan's King Hussein in Amman.

By walking over the wooden Allenby Bridge, spanning the shallow and narrow Jordan River, Baker apparently became the first secretary of state to cross the fortified border between Jordan and the Israeli-occupied West Bank, State Department officials said.

He had originally been scheduled to fly from Jordan to Israel, following a circuitous route that avoids the requirement of a direct handoff from Jordanian to Israeli air traffic controllers.

As he neared Jerusalem, Baker's motorcade passed Maale Adumim, a large, sprawling Jewish settlement of stone houses that serves as a bedroom community for the capital. He also passed tiny trailer-home outposts established in recent weeks by the settlement movement as "facts on the ground"—making it more difficult for the Israeli government to even consider the sort of land-for-peace swap that the United States has long advocated. Baker did not stop at the settlements.

In Jordan, Hussein pledged "total commitment to the cause of peace" and expressed concern that as good a chance for progress "will probably never come again."

But he refused to say whether Jordan would attend a U.S.-sponsored regional peace conference if Syria does not.

Baker has said he hopes to obtain Syrian participation in the proposed conference, which would be co-sponsored by the Soviet Union. But he is also exploring the option of going on without the Damascus regime if President Hafez Assad refuses to come to terms on procedural matters.

A conference without Syria would be far less significant. But a conference without both Syria and Jordan is virtually unthinkable.

King Hussein is trying to avoid offending either the United States, which he hopes will soon resume economic aid, or Syria, his powerful northern neighbor.

With Baker standing beside him outside the royal palace, Hussein demonstrated his ambivalence.

Will Jordan refuse to attend a conference if Syria does not go? he was asked.

"I haven't said that," the monarch responded.

Well, does that mean Jordan will attend regardless of Syria's decision?

"I haven't said that either," Hussein replied.

In the past, a highway trip by a secretary of state from Amman to Jerusalem would have had almost incendiary political significance. U.S. officials were reluctant to travel in the West Bank because of the disputed status of the territory. But in recent years that taboo has been increasingly ignored.

On Tuesday, both Jordan and Israel cooperated with the trip, even keeping the border crossing open for several hours beyond the usual early afternoon closing.

Escorted by two Jordanian army officers, Baker walked to within a step of the middle of the bridge, where he stopped. The Jordanians saluted and stepped back one pace.

Baker then stepped across into Israeli-controlled territory, where he was met by Israeli Brig. Gen. Gadi Zohar, who saluted and accompanied Baker to his limousine.

Shortly after he arrived in Jerusalem, Baker went into a meeting with three Palestinian residents.

Baker meets today with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

In Washington, President Bush took issue with the suggestion that Baker's mission has so far failed.

"I wouldn't say it's a failure," Bush said at a news conference. "But there are ups and downs in this process. There always have been. Everybody that's ever dealt with the Middle East knows that there are ups and downs in the process.

"I'm not discouraged," Bush said. "We'll just keep working on this."

Times staff writer James Gerstenzang in Washington contributed to this article.

L.A. TIMES: 5-14-91

West Bank Dilemma: 2 Peoples, 1 Land

By KIM MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER 174/140

BEIT IJZA, Israeli-Occupied West Bank—Sabri Gharib's farm was once this village's jewel, 35 acres of grape vines, peaches, wheat, even a few rose bushes wrapped luxuriantly around the crown of a hill. Atop the hill stood Gharib's house, its windows open to a dizzying blue circle of sky.

Then a creeping line of red-tile roofs began making its way up the hill, and occupants of the new Jewish settlement below claimed 25 acres of Gharib's farm for their new Givon Hadashah community. When children from Beit Ijza began throwing stones at the new settlement, the settlers built a fence across the brow of the hillside, behind Gharib's house. Gharib tore it down. The settlers put it up again. He pulled it down again.

The 52-year-old Palestinian farmer was arrested, and when he emerged from jail a year ago, it was to a distinctly different version of paradise. His hilltop home now is closely surrounded on three sides by a towering fence of chain link and concertina wire, reachable only by a narrow path up the hill. The path itself is enclosed by more fence.

The Gharibs' house has become their prison, a small, stone testament to a village that refused to be displaced.

"The way they are spreading, they will fill the mountain with settlers," shrugged Gharib's wife, Umm Samir. "What I'm afraid of is they will build so much, there will be no room left for anybody."

As U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III arrives in Israel today on what may be his final attempt to negotiate a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is the issue of Jewish settlements in the territories Israel occupied after the 1967 war that U.S. officials fear could be among the greatest obstacles to peace between Arabs and Jews.

In the weeks since Baker began his round of Middle East talks, bulldozers and cranes have sprung to life in the West Bank, flattening building pads around existing settlements, laying a highway primarily for Jewish settlers between Jerusalem and the Arab city of Hebron and preparing ground for new settlements and additions that some predict will bring 20,000 new Jewish settlers to the West Bank next year.

Sunday night, Umm Samir said, trucks rumbled through the night at a site across from the Givon Hadashah settlement; by Monday morning, 15 new blue-and-white mobile homes were perched on concrete blocks, and dozens more blocks had been laid on the flatlands around the site.

At the three-week-old Revava settlement, 27 miles northwest of Jerusalem near the Arab city of Nablus, Palestinian workers sweated in the noon sun, digging trenches to lay sewer pipe for a Jewish community with 10 families, 30 mobile homes, a portable electrical generator and a single mobile telephone.

"These new settlements, they are constructing them in a race for time before the negotiations start," grunted one of the men, who refused to be identified. "These are obstacles they put in front of the Palestinian people. Look at the work we are doing here: It is an infrastructure. It is permanent."

An Israel Defense Forces guard walked up, gun slung across his back. The man went back to work. "If it bothers us or it doesn't is irrelevant," he said before he left. "What's important is to have a job, and to work."

New statistics released this week show that the settler population in the occupied territories grew 12% last year, more than twice the rate of previous years.

Already, there are an estimated 165,000 Jewish settlers, in addition to 1.7 million Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; as much as half the land in the West Bank has been dedicated by Israeli authorities for Israeli use. Housing Minister Ariel Sharon has pledged to build 13,000 new housing units in the territories by 1993.

In the delicate negotiations for resolving the Palestinian conflict, opponents on both sides concede that the settlements amount to "facts on the ground" that will be difficult to ignore in any attempt to persuade Israel to give up territory for peace.

More than $2 billion in government funds were invested in settlements in the occupied territories between 1968 and 1985 alone, the independent West Bank Data Base Project reports. The Housing Ministry is spending about 20% of its funds in the territories on behalf of settlers, according to its most recent budget, which sets aside about $180 million for apartments and houses and about $30 million for mobile homes.

Baker, when told of the new Revava settlement, said he was "disappointed" and added that it "points up very visibly that it is easier to obstruct peace than to promote peace."

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir made what first appeared to be a conciliatory statement on the settlements last week, saying they would be subject to negotiation in peace talks aimed at resolving the conflict. But his aides emphasized that the settlements would be one of the last subjects up for discussion, and a number of the country's right-wing Cabinet ministers have come to the defense of the settlements in the past several days.

The settlements "speak stronger than any thesis, any political discussion," against those seeking to pressure Israel, Defense Minister Moshe Arens said. Sharon led a group of right-wing Knesset members on a tour of proposed new settlement expansions near Jerusalem, after which Knesset member Michael Eitan, head of the Eretz Yisrael (Greater Israel) Front, declared: "We saw very beautiful things being done. Mountains are being moved, the whole environment is being changed."

Many Orthodox Jews see the settlements not just as cheap housing for young Tel Aviv and Jerusalem professionals looking to get out of the city. They are milestones in the biblical lands of Judea and Samaria.

Caroline Tabach, 23, a new resident of Revava, pulls an atlas down from a shelf in the tiny living room of her mobile home and opens it to a country labeled "The Holy Land." She points out the site of Rachel's tomb in Bethlehem, and Shiloh, site of a Jewish temple. But she says the real reason she decided to move from the coastal plains near Tel Aviv was to build a new community with neighbors who think as she and her husband do.

Revava, she said, will have a community-feel similar to a kibbutz, except that all the settlers will own their own homes and drive to work in Tel Aviv every day. Already, all the children are assembled in a single day care center in one of the mobile homes; the community gathers at night for meetings, singing and religious lectures, she said.

Leah Filber lives in a shack at a new settlement nearby, next to the site where she and her husband are building their home. "If they decide that we should give them back, then we will leave the house," she said. "It's a democracy. I will obey the law. But for the time being, it's the land of Israel, and I will live in it. In my opinion, at the end of this thing, we will . . . keep the land where the Jews are, and we will give up part of the land to them."

Umm Samir is not so sure, watching the number of tile roofs multiply and creep up the side of the hill. Settlers often urinate through the fence, she said, and drive their jeeps up to the side of the house late in the day, playing loud music.

Umm Samir said the arguments have gone on for nearly a decade.

"God knows what will happen next," she said. "My husband is in Jordan now. But I know him. He will come back, and he will do it. He will take the fence down again."

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
June 5, 1991 8 p.m.
SIMON -- OUTLINE (Draft One)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SIMON WIESENTHAL DINNER
Sunday, June 16, 1991
Los Angeles, California

(ROUGH PROPOSED WORKING OUTLINE)

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Acknowledgements
--Simon Wiesenthal and center's board;
Gov. Wilson;
Jerry Weintraub (will introduce)
Arnold Schwarzenegger (award recipient)
B. Jokes
--Playing on Arnold; Los Angeles; and Rabbi Hier
C. Mention of award to Arnold

II. CUP OF ELIJAH

(will be presented to him by center for human rights work)
A. Meaning (personal and symbolic)
B. Accompanying Hebrew prayer -- "I lift up the cup of redemption in thanks and gratitude"
C. Expand from specific redemption of cup to redemption of world -- world peace

III. WORLD PEACE BEGINS WITH REMEMBRANCE

A. Education -- so don't forget (role of center)
B. Holocaust
1. Affirm, as representative of WWII generation, we will never forget
2. (Elie Wiesel: "I devoted my life to telling the story of the Holocaust dead because anyone who does not remember betrays them again.")
3. Center's work -- education
C. Today --
1. Remember Kurds (at time, Simon W.: "silence is admittance ... silence can never stand")
2. Remember Gulf
3. Ethiopian Jewry

IV. LESSONS TO REMEMBER

A. American flag from concentration camp (presented at beginning)
   1. Reminds us of what America was to them
   2. Reminds us of what America should be to us and to all the world

B. American values

V. SHARED VALUED WITH ISRAEL

A. General shared values
B. Democracy
C. Tolerance
   1. Most important
   2. Means no bigotry
   3. Means individual rights and freedoms
      a. no PC
      b. no quotas
   4. Means no anti-semitism
      a. reaffirm commitment to rooting it out
      b. reaffirm commitment to working with emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, including making sure anti-semitism never happens again
      c. reaffirm administration's pledge to seek out Nazis in U.S.
      d. reaffirm administration will keep issue of Soviet Jewry on agenda with Gorbachev
D. Re-state pledge of commitment to Israel, importance of U.S.-Israeli relations
E. Middle East peace plan update

VI. CONCLUSION

A. Re-state commitment to helping Jewish people everywhere
   1. Jewish people everywhere
   2. Peace in Middle East
   3. End story of Holocaust (Nazi captures, end of anti-Semitism, education and remembrance)
B. Center -- perfect for all of these lessons -- "Museum of Tolerance"
C. Conclusion -- quote from Simon W. -- **"Freedom is not a gift from Heaven. One must fight for it every day."**

# # # # #

BACKGROUND NOTES FOR WIESENTHAL CENTER SPEECH

KEY THEMES: Tolerance
Shared values
Remembering history
Ethiopia Jewry

KEY MOOD: Audience extremely supportive -- wants to react emotionally
Representative of 600,000 L.A. Jews many from entertainment field
Atmosphere expected to be "electrically charged," "powerful"

**

DOUG GAMBLE

91 JUN 5 P5:25
524 38th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

June 5/91

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN
2 Pages

CAL TECH (M.K. Grant)

I BET THIS IS ONE COLLEGE IN AMERICA WHERE THE INITIALS "P.C." STAND FOR "PERSONAL COMPUTER" INSTEAD OF "POLITICALLY CORRECT."

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE AT CAL TECH, EVEN THOUGH IT MEANS MY TRIP BACK TO WASHINGTON WILL BE DELAYED. I'M NOT SURE HOW I'M GOING TO EXPLAIN TO CONGRESS THAT AIR FORCE ONE WAS TAKEN APART AND REASSEMBLED IN THE LOBBY OF MY HOTEL.

YOUR PRANKS ARE LEGENDARY. SO ARE SOME OF WASHINGTON'S, BUT THAT'S A STORY FOR ANOTHER DAY.

SOMEONE TOLD ME THAT EVERY TIME THERE'S AN EARTHQUAKE OUT HERE, HE'S NOT SURE IF IT'S MOTHER NATURE OR ANOTHER STUNT BY CAL TECH.

ONE DAY I EXPECT TO LOOK UP AT MT. RUSHMORE AND SEE THE FACE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE GRADUATING CLASS.

IF FOOTBALL FANS EVER SHOW UP IN PASADENA ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO DISCOVER THAT THE ROSE BOWL HAS BEEN DISMANTLED AND MOVED TO BAKERSFIELD, I THINK THEY'LL KNOW WHO PULLED IT OFF.

MORE...

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN - CAL TECH (CONT'D)

AFTER REMEMBERING HOW YOU DOCTORED THE SCOREBOARD AT THE ROSE BOWL ONE YEAR, THERE ARE TIMES I WISH YOU COULD COME TO WASHINGTON AND CHANGE SOME OF THE ELECTRONICALLY-TABULATED VOTES IN CONGRESS.

I WAS INTRODUCED EARLIER TO SOMEONE DESCRIBED AS A VETERAN OF AN OPERATION INVOLVING COURAGE, MAYHEM, DESTRUCTION AND COMBAT FATIQUE. I ASKED HOW LONG HE'D SERVED IN THE GULF AND HE SAID "NO, IT WAS DITCH DAY."

SO COMPLEX ARE YOUR STUDIES, YOU SPEAK A LANGUAGE THAT FEW PEOPLE CAN UNDERSTAND. OF COURSE, WE HAVE THE SAME THING IN WASHINGTON BUT THEY'RE CALLED "BUREAUCRATS."

I UNDERSTAND YOU RECENTLY INSTALLED THE WORLD'S FASTEST COMPUTER. I HEAR IT'S SO ADVANCED, IT CAN ACTUALLY CALCULATE THE NUMBER OF "TOMMY'S BURGERS" YOU'VE HAD OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

Carolyn: Thanks for the great research.

M.K.: How about your friend Bob Strauss? Strauss told you to tell the President to go to hell, and now the President is telling Strauss to go to Moscow, which is just about the same thing.

Dr meets 6/5/20

- Cong – Dem not bear part of the solution
- 6/12 – high grad – 6 Bhar perpetrator – how been
  Chauvin #1 not bc been day – repeat Dems
  Theses in later rejection –
  – in grander strategy & cumulative effect –
  95% in result of Pol strategy –
- not 2 months before Cong. recess
- edge – numb – teamwork –
- Wed 1st → Mon (Pg. 12)

- Dems, Republicans
  how – commitment —

- include

994-8457
Glen Allen



KIT BARRY, BRATTLEBORO, VT

This Victorian advertisement evoking a connection between music and a dog's superior auditory skills may be a precursor to the more famous RCA Victrola ads featuring the dog Nipper.

THURSDAY
JUNE
1991

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June 17, 1991

Ms. Carol Blymire
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Carol:

Thanks very much for your research on Sunday's speech. Your contributions were essential. Many, many thanks for your wonderful effort.

Sincerely,

Marty Mendelsohn

Martin Mendelsohn

MM/kl

Richard Thomas

Wiesenthal Acknowledgements

Arnold and Maria

head table
on dais → Hier & Mrs. Marlene
Wm. [redacted]
Belzberg, Dinner Co-Ch.
& Barbara (wife)
Gov. & Gayle Wilson
Tracy & Tony Danza
Christine & John Peters, Columbia S.C.
Sen. John Seymour - maybe not at HT
Maria & Arnold
Jane & Jerry Weintraub
Peter & Lynda Guber
Sam Belzberg & Frances B
Nancy & Alan Casden
Ed Snider

Cong. David Dreier
Council Gen. Ronen
John Seymour

Mauthausen
↘ Mowt-how-sen

Michelle Eisman
Comm. Ofcr.

AH lee uh

To Carol

Date 4/13 Time 10:25 am

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Virgil Cox

of ~~staff off~~ in LA

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message FYI

attendees for Simon Wiesenthal dinner (- they'll be in the audience - just FYI)

Michael Douglas

Bruce Willis

Sylvester Stylone

Operator

Sally Field

Clint Eastwood

Jon Bon Jovi

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→ hosted 1st Israeli Ind. Day in the State Capitol

→ [redacted] ~~Mayor of San Diego~~ fighter against hate crimes

Carol M Blymire

Rosalee Zalas, (Gov. Wilson office → Sr. Policy Advisor to the Gov.

Carol B Larkins

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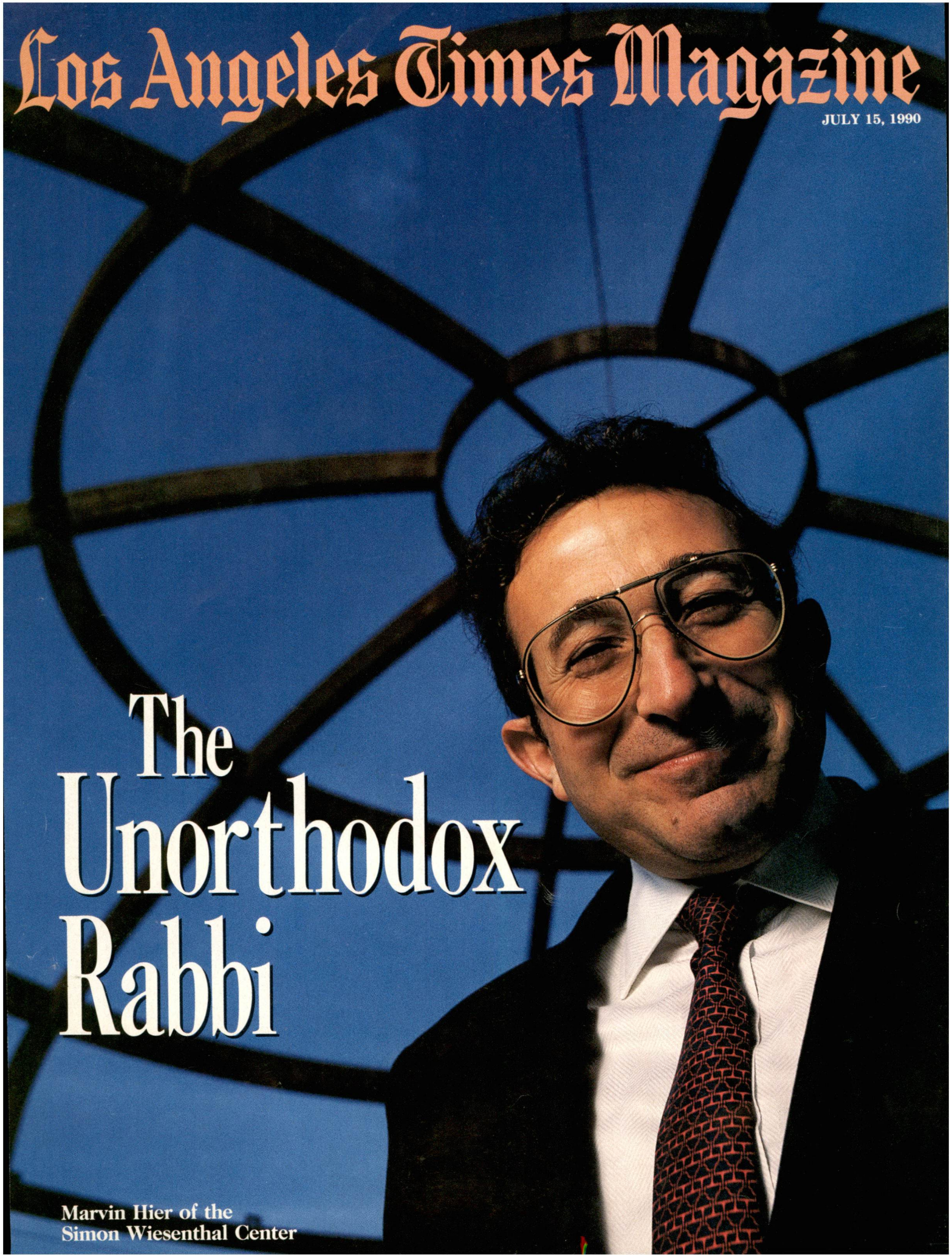
Simon Wiesenthal Center

Rabbi Hier, Dean of Center: (213) 553-9036
Rabbi [redacted], SW Center: (213) " "
↘ spoke to Jennifer ~~at~~ preadvance.
Cooper

This is a dinner honoring Arnold Schwarzenegger with the National Leadership Award for Public Service. It is a fundraising effort to relieve the Center of debt.

1500 attendees, Century Plaza Hotel
↘ mostly celebs

Los Angeles Times Magazine
JULY 15, 1990



The Unorthodox Rabbi

Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center

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Los Angeles Times Magazine

JULY 15, 1990



FEATURES

THE UNORTHODOX RABBI

BY SHELDON TEITELBAUM AND TOM WALDMAN

6

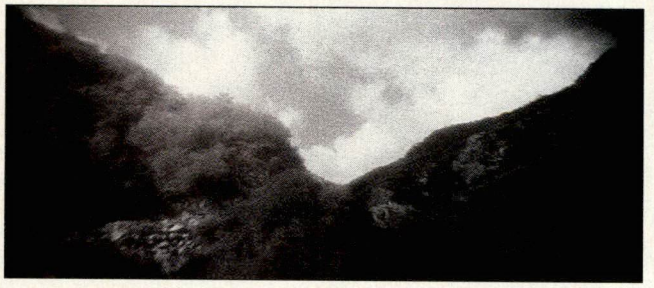
Blunt-talking and messianic, Marvin Hier showed up in Los Angeles 13 years ago and founded The Simon Wiesenthal Center. Since then, the rabbi has turned his brainchild into the fastest-growing, highest-profile Jewish activist organization in the world. He has battled anti-Semites around the globe—as well as some fellow Jews who find his tactics high-handed and self-serving.

TAXI DANCERS

BY MARTIN BOOE

12

Taxi dance halls, which have faded into obscurity in most major cities, are still thriving in Los Angeles. They serve as havens for shy immigrants and lonely men who want a dance and more—social acceptance, a shoulder on which to unload their woes, or a quick encounter in the "Danger Zone."



SHADOW LANDS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVEN NILSSON
ESSAY BY CAROLYN SEE

22

If the freeways, the high schools, the banks, the very mall-ness of urban life make you crazy, you can always go live in a canyon—one of the last wild places in Southern California.

DEPARTMENTS

JACK SMITH

3

Despite reports of its demise, Los Angeles, like any big city, still holds an allure.

LETTERS

4

PRIVATE LIVES

5

Margo Kaufman almost falls to pieces on a horse named after Patsy Cline.



FOOD AND WINE

30

Authentic classics from Nice: *salade niçoise* and a cheeseless pizzalike tart; Bouchard Burgundies.

LOOKS

34

Body and bath products do more than just moisturize.

CURRENTS

36

Mexican advertising art and miniature wedding cakes.

PUZZLER

40

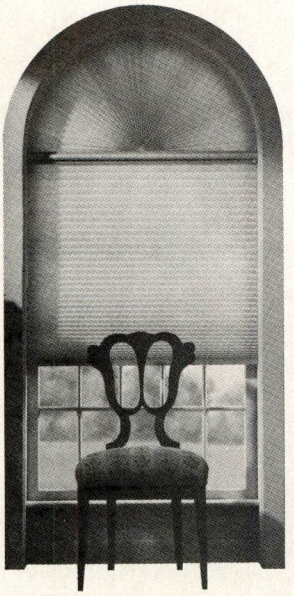
Juggling the books.

COVER

Photograph by Jim Mendenhall/Los Angeles Times.
Story on Page 6.



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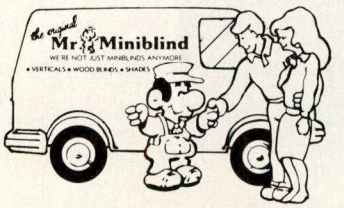
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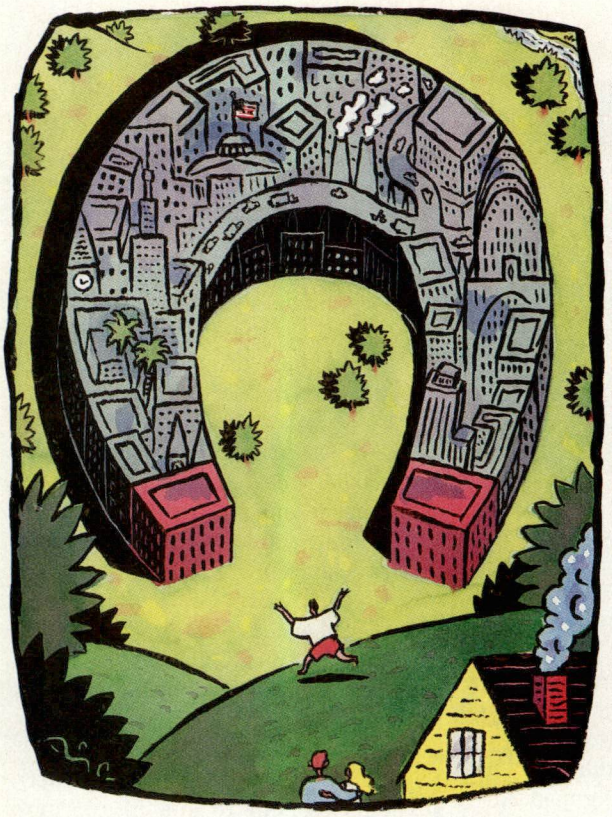
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The Magnet Metropolis

The Call of the City Is Still More Powerful Than the Lure of Wholesome Rural Life



THERE IS A GROWING literature in the American press on the horrors of living in Los Angeles and the advantages of living elsewhere.

As an Angeleno, I am certainly not hostile to this trend. Anything that will discourage people from moving here will help stave off our collapse.

One needs only to visit Cairo to see what Los Angeles will become in 10 years unless more of our citizens decide to move to Oregon, Nevada, Arizona or even North Dakota.

Some years ago, my wife and I drove through North Dakota and stayed overnight at a motel in Fargo. I have never seen an American town so bleak. There was a swimming pool behind the motel, but it was uninhabited. Not only did a cold wind make the pool forbidding, but it also blew over all the deck chairs. It was a wasteland.

But North Dakota has its defenders. My old friend Rocky Spicer recalls that he grew up in Valley City, N.D., and sends me a letter written to the editor of a Valley City newspaper by a girl, Andrea Sather, 15, whose family left California to live in Litchville, N.D.

She wrote: "We used to live in California with all of its gangs, murders, drugs, etc. But now we live in North Dakota with its peaceful prairies, friendly people and a generally relaxed atmosphere."

Ms. Sather took particular exception to an article in Newsweek called "America's Outback," which, she complained, made the Plains states look like "a vast expanse of desolate wasteland."

On the contrary, Ms. Sather observed, North Dakota is "one of the safest places to live." She points out that only a few people have bars on their windows or expensive security systems. "It's not because we don't care about safety, but there is just no need for them."

She said the authors also forgot to mention the best thing about North Dakota—the people. "My 12 years in California taught me to worry about myself first, then think about other people—if I had time. But here, everybody looks out for everybody else. People here care about what happens to everyone—from the little boy next door to the 80-year-old brothers down the road who are still farming.

"I, myself, do not plan on leaving the state. When I get married and have children, I want them to be raised here."

I hope Ms. Sather's hopes for the future are fulfilled. I hope she can find some goal-oriented young man who is literate and not on drugs or in jail. I hope she has healthy children (though not more than two) and that they elect to stay in North Dakota and carry on its peaceful tradition.

But there's the rub. How are you going to keep them down on the farm? Her kids, like most, will probably grow up watching six hours of television every day, will see hundreds of cop thrillers dramatizing the excitement on the streets of Los Angeles—the drug busts, the hookers, the car chases, the rock clubs, the street life—and will drop out of school and run away to L.A. to get in on the fun. Hey, isn't everybody in the movies?

What kid with dreams of driving a Porsche or BMW will be content to plow the fields on a John Deere tractor? What kid trudging off to school in midwinter in long underwear and heavy woolen clothing with ear muffs wouldn't rather go around in cutoff jeans and a T-shirt? What kid eating three hearty meals a day wouldn't prefer to subsist on junk food?

Unfortunately, the big city is a magnet. Its attractions, no matter how sleazy or sinister, are always more powerful than the moral and healthful pull of rural life. The country has become urbanized, and the cities are deteriorating rapidly.

Rocky Spicer himself, like so many whose roots are in the heartland, still has an affection for it. Litchville, he says, is a hamlet of about 500 persons, 35 miles southwest of Valley City, where he grew up. Ms. Sather's letter was sent to him by a boyhood chum who lives in Valley City.

Spicer recalls that his father, a doctor, practiced in Litchville before moving to Valley City. He had finished Rush Medical College, in Chicago, in 1903, and a brother who practiced law in a nearby town persuaded him to settle in Litchville.

"When he got off the Litchville-Dazey-Marion short line, there were three patients waiting for him on the depot platform. After tending to them, he visited an outhouse and found a $10 bill on the floor."

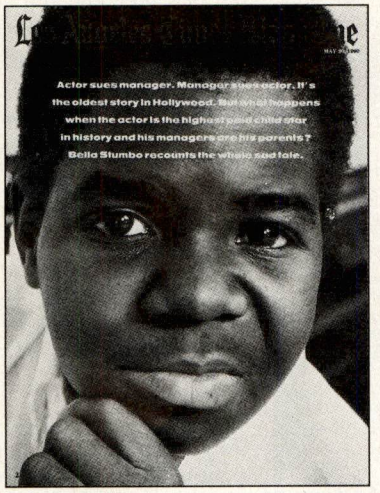
"This really is the land of opportunity," he wrote his mother, who was then visiting her mother in Santa Ana. His mother had tried to get him to come west and locate in Santa Ana, but he wrote her:

"Eva, everyone can't live in California."

But, as Spicer says, "They're sure trying."

Illustrated by Ad McCauley

GARY COLEMAN



I was one of the executive producers of "Diff'rent Strokes" for the show's last two years. "A Tale of a Falling Star," by Bella Stumbo (May 20), states that Gary Coleman's character, Arnold, "was never allowed to be more than 12." In the final two seasons, we jumped Arnold's age a couple of years and began doing dating stories—shows that were made both funny and believable by Gary's talent and ability.

More important, most everything stated in the article is correct. We are given a look at Gary, Willie and Sue Coleman in 1990 with their situation turned sad and ugly. I knew the Colemans. I've seen and talked with both Gary and Willie (separately, of course), within the past year. The knocks on Gary's temperament aside, he was and is a very decent young man.

Willie and Sue were in over their heads with the agents, lawyers and assorted sharks that surrounded them during the glory years. Sure, they made mistakes as parents, but that gives them no claim on uniqueness. They, too, are very decent people. I don't believe anyone connected with "Strokes" ever doubted their love for Gary.

At this point in time, the Colemans don't need accountants, managers, agents, et al. They don't need to meet in a public place (Hamburger Hamlet) with a fourth party. They need to go into a room, alone, put their arms around each other and see what happens.

KEN HECHT
Los Angeles

As reported, we represent Gary Coleman in connection with his action against his parents to recover certain funds received by them while acting as Coleman's personal managers, guardians and trustees.

Any assertion that an action was filed against Coleman's parents with "no substantiating evidence" is absolutely false. More than sufficient evidence existed to warrant the filing of an action against Coleman's parents and his former business manager. Unfortunately, Coleman's damages and the full extent of the defendants' wrongdoing could not then be determined because Coleman's former business manager refused to turn over Coleman's own books and records. Those books and records were finally relinquished only after Coleman's action was filed, and only then could an audit be conducted to determine the full extent of Coleman's injuries.

Your assertion that this firm persuaded Coleman to sue his parents against his will is equally spurious. Neither Coleman nor the members of this firm chose to believe that Coleman's parents would be so avaricious as to take advantage of their son's success in such a way. For that reason, no punitive or exemplary damages were requested of Coleman's parents in his complaint. Yet, the fact remains that his parents have refused to repay a single penny of the monies that they received in excess of that previously authorized.

CHARLES K. WAKE
COOPER, EPSTEIN & HUREWITZ
Beverly Hills

I am a former child star. Uniquely grotesque as it seems, the smashing of the Coleman family's gold-plated communal bowl is only one more in a long train of similar tragedies to befall child stars. The saddest part is that all these woeful endings were as predictable as any seasonal hurricane zeroing in on the Texas Gulf. Reversing roles of dependent and provider leads to almost certain disaster for all concerned. But as long as the performing child's salary continues to shower money on the family, the persons most responsible—adults who should be in charge—ignore the storm warnings until it's too late.

Adults are meant to care for small children, not the other way around. "It's not nice to fool Mother Nature!" the margarine TV commercial proclaimed. Let the greedy parents of today's budding child stars read their own future and take heed.

DIANA SERRA CARY
Carlsbad

Gary Coleman's parents were certainly not given an opportunity to express their side of the story. The treatment of Willie Coleman was almost a laughable caricature. It sounds like Stumbo had been a bit "brainwashed" herself from the beginning.

MEREDITH AND MICHAEL MILLER
Los Angeles

Stumbo demonstrated a lack of understanding about adoption. She stated: "He isn't actually theirs. They won't say how they acquired him." Children are not "acquired" by adoptive parents. I'm sure that to Sue and Willie Coleman, Gary is (as my son is to me) no less "theirs" than a biological son would have been. The adoption process is a personal, family matter, and I admire the Colemans for not publicly revealing the details surrounding his adoption.

The bonds and love adoptive families share are the equivalent of those in biological families.

SUSAN IRVING
Los Angeles

It's too bad that Gary Coleman and his parents are spending lots of money on lawyers today. Instead, they could have spent less money on therapists/counselors with less adversarial outcomes.

Maybe it's not too late.

IM JUNG KWUON
Westminster

Perhaps the only thing more sickening than the subject matter of Stumbo's "A Tale of a Falling Star" was the author's smug observations and editorializing. They have no place in what purports to be serious journalism.

LARRY MATHEWS
Los Angeles

Unhappy Trails

There's Not Much a Rider Can Do on a Horse With Unbridled Animosity

BY MARGO KAUFMAN

SOMETIMES YOU HIT it off. Sometimes you don't. I had a really strong feeling that Patsy didn't like me. But what could I do? She had on the only saddle with stirrups that were short enough to fit me.

Boy, and I'd hoped that this half-day trail ride through Bryce Canyon National Park would be an adventure in which I'd finally get to shine. Horseback riding is one of the few forms of recreation that I'm better at than my husband. For a week, Duke and I had been hiking through Utah's scenic wonderlands, and I was tired of trying to keep up with him.

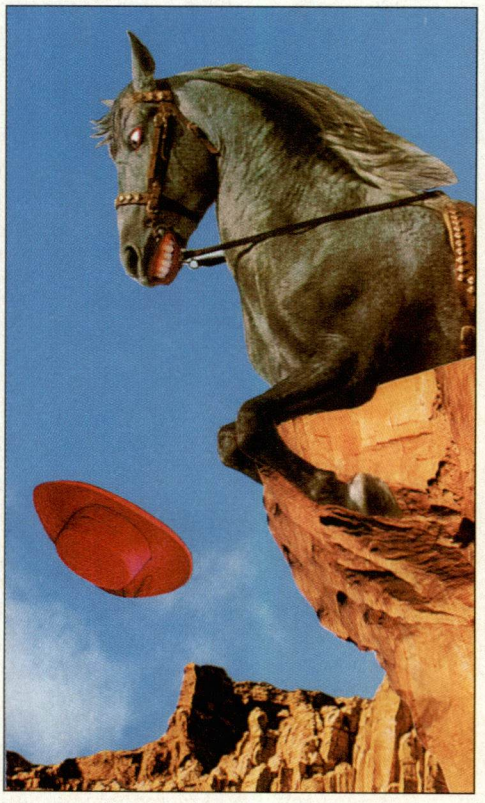
But there I was, being tortured by a four-legged prima donna. Patsy used to be the lead horse, ridden by experienced cowboys—The Star. Recently demoted, she nursed a poisonous hatred for the other horses. I clung to the saddle horn as she gave Blondie, the mare behind us, a swift kick.

She had no love for her new class of riders either. She balked. She rolled. Worse, she spoiled a great opportunity for me to prove that I was brave.

My husband, a former Boy Scout, is fearless in The Great Outdoors. He dreams of sailing a small boat to Tahiti. He swims in Santa Monica Bay. But I, an all-time urban dweller, tend to be a little cautious.

Inevitably, I get cast as the phobic spoilsport. For example, a few days earlier, we hiked the Emerald Pools Trail in Zion National Park. We were at a scenic spot near the lower pool, where we had to walk across a sandstone cliff. My blood froze as Duke ambled off the beaten path and up to the precipice to admire a view like the one you get from God's lap. "Honey," he said excitedly, "come here."

I remained as glued to the trail as lichen on rocks. The National Park Service had posted a large sign: DANGER—CLIFF. SLIPPERY SANDSTONE. UNSTABLE ROCK EDGE. And just in case you miss the point, there's a little drawing of a hiker plunging to his or her doom.



Illustrated by Lou Beach

"The sign's just an attractive nuisance," Duke scoffed. "It's perfectly safe."

If I had a dollar for every time he's said that, I could take an enormous insurance policy out on his life.

Not that Duke was taking any chances on the Bryce Canyon horse trail. He made sure of that at the corral. A casting agent's vision of a cowboy was assigning horses and mules, asking about riding experience. "Do you have one with an automatic?" asked Duke. "I can't drive a stick."

He wound up on Jenny, a sturdy, sure-footed, sweet-tempered Tennessee mule with long, aristocratic ears and a resumé that included a stint at the Grand Canyon. Meanwhile, our guide, Binky, a buckaroo who looked and acted as if he'd done time at the Wild West Stunt Show at Knott's Berry Farm, gave me the petulant Patsy. "Like Patsy Cline," said Binky. What were her hit songs? "Crazy"? "I Fall to Pieces"?

It was not a good sign.

Along with a posse of tenderfoots, we descended through Bryce Canyon's breathtaking labyrinth of fantastic red rock formations with fanciful names. Binky pointed out Queen's Garden, The Cathedral, Seal Castle and Naked Woman. "Only one I see around here," he joked.

Duke rode in front of me, placidly snapping pictures as his mount plodded along as smoothly as an escalator. I tried to appreciate the scenery. But I was busy obeying Binky's orders: "Don't lean, don't scream."

The horse trail, which drops 1,000 feet, is narrow, steep and windy, with hairpin turns. The animals are trained to walk near the edge, to give you a better view. (Who needs that good a view?) My husband says that I'm afraid of heights, but that's not true. What I'm afraid of is falling.

Patsy sensed that instantly. With her glory days behind her, she had little reason to live. Why not take a tourist with me? she thought. Patsy shimmied. She shied. She craned her neck over the brink, looking for the perfect spot.

"Don't jump, Patsy!" cried Binky, and then he burst into merry laughter. Duke focused his camera and told me to smile. I didn't know which one of them I wanted to kill first.

For the record, I'm not a blazing coward. I stayed calm in Death Valley when Duke lost the dirt road up to Dantes View from Amargosa and we wound up in a blind canyon. "There's nothing to worry about," said my ever-resourceful mate. "We can always set fire to the spare tire, and they'll find us."

I knew he'd get us back on track. The spare tire was new.

"Turn, Patsy, turn," Binky yelled as my horse lurched to the brink again. This was getting old fast.

Forty Binky guffaws later, we arrived back at the corral. "If you enjoyed the ride, tip the guide," he coyly hinted. I tipped him anyway.

By then, Duke and Jenny were so chummy that I half-expected them to run away together. He stroked her flanks and bid her a fond farewell. I would have patted Patsy, but she bared her teeth.

Sometimes you hit it off. Sometimes you don't. ■

The Unorthodox Rabbi

By Invoking the Holocaust and Bullying the Establishment, Marvin Hier Has Made The Simon Wiesenthal Center the Most Visible Jewish Organization in the World

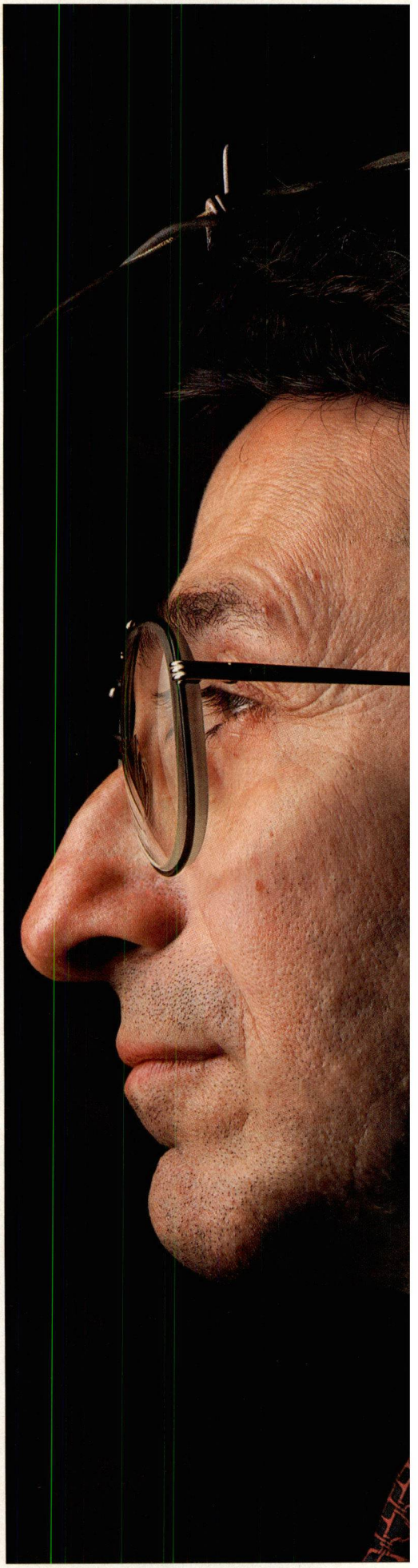
LAST YEAR, WHEN the Berlin Wall fell and the word *reunification* was murmured in the halls of power, the American Jewish community held its breath. Nobody had to be reminded of what happened to European Jewry the last time Germany was one. Reluctant to risk sparking world ire by opposing reunification while television transmitted dramatic pictures of the decimated Berlin Wall, most American Jews were content to let the British, French, Poles and Soviets express concern on their own behalf. Not so Rabbi Marvin Hier. The 51-year-old dean and founder of The Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles quickly fired off a missive to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl articulating his own fears, and those of the Jewish community.

"I must tell you I am not among those in the cheering section applauding the rush towards German reunification. . . . You are undoubtedly aware, Mr. Chancellor, the great fear that German reunification brings to the community of victims of Nazism. . . ."

Kohl responded, albeit coolly. "The vast majority of young people in Germany are fully aware of the inestimable value of a free democracy. . . . Relentless political measures to combat right-wing extremism will continue in a united Germany. . . ."

Hier wasted no time offering the exchange of letters to the New York Times, turning Kohl's response into a public statement of political policy, putting the Wiesenthal Center on the front page once again and, not incidentally, making Hier himself look like the leader

BY SHELDON TEITELBAUM AND TOM WALDMAN



Jim Mendenhall/Los Angeles Times


ZYK

of American Jewry.

Which he may well be. By concentrating on the Holocaust and hyping the threat of anti-Semitism, Hier has, in the span of 13 years, turned his brainchild, the Wiesenthal Center, into the fastest growing, highest-profile Jewish activist organization in the world today. He has certainly become America's most fearless public enemy of aging Nazis, youthful neo-Nazi skinheads and those Jewish soft-headed naifs who don't perceive anti-Semitism an as imminent danger.

Through the center's offices in Toronto, Paris and Jerusalem, Hier keeps an endless vigil against anti-Semitism in world politics, international business and even rap lyrics: It was Hier's second-in-command, Rabbi Abraham Cooper, who last year condemned Professor Griff of the rap group Public Enemy for its pronounced anti-Semitism and gave its leader Chuck D. a much-publicized tour of the center's Holocaust Museum. This year, the Wiesenthal Center forced various European airlines, including Air France and British Air, to stop omitting Israel from the maps they had printed for their Middle East in-flight publications.

Even more celebrated is the center's pursuit of former Nazis. Last year, it was instrumental in the capture of former S.S. officer Josef Schwammberger in Argentina. Hier was credited with bringing world attention to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who had selflessly rescued thousands of Hungarian Jews during World War II. Hier and his center were also key figures in last year's protest against the location of a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz.

Most recently, Hier's attentions have been focused on the increasing incidents of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe; the center has people in various countries working to separate fact from rumor. After a trip to Poland a few weeks ago, Hier met with Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel to discuss Jewish concerns. Havel assured Hier that he considered the apparent resurrection of anti-Semitism "a plague and a scourge" and pledged to do what he could to quell it.

In the process of gaining such influence and prestige, Hier has stepped on more than a few toes. An Orthodox rabbi from New York's Lower East Side, he came to Los Angeles in 1977, by way of Vancouver, to build a yeshiva. What this city got instead was a world-renowned Jewish-defense agency. And, whether it likes it or not, Los Angeles also got Hier, a shrewd and canny operator who, in his subsequent pursuit of success and power, has managed to alienate many of the city's established Jewish organizations, including the Jewish Federation Council, the umbrella organization for the city's Jewish agencies, and the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League.

Hier is an anomaly within the Los Angeles Jewish scene. He is Orthodox where most leaders are assimilated. He is confrontational where they are loath to publicly acknowledge discord; Hier will speak out in the mainstream press while other Jewish leaders prefer to voice their differences only within the community. He is cantankerous and blunt where most are polished, streetwise and suspicious where many are reserved.

"We are very naively optimistic," says Hier of his fellow Jews. "We're always looking for the sunshine. Jews say they feel so secure in America. This is such a wonderful country—and it is. But they have lost all touch with reality. Things could change."

Most important, Hier remains unfettered by the bureaucracies that keep the others hidebound; he plays by his own rules. And his marked Lower East Side accent, his Orthodox regalia and his refusal to bow to secular trends make him a constant reminder of exactly what many local Jewish leaders, with their tans and Southern California cadence, wanted to escape when they, or their predecessors, moved west.

"Marvin Hier and the center will always cry anti-Semitism," says a renowned scholar whose previous criticism of Hier's use of the Holocaust drew Hier's wrath. "And they always make sure their name is spelled right."

Yet he has apparently become something of a folk-hero among the city's 700,000 Jews; the center is perpetually deluged by $10 donations from even the most non-observant. Last year, when many other Jewish organizations had to cut corners and go begging, the center pulled in $9.7 million in contributions, and another $5.3 million for its new Museum of Tolerance (scheduled to open next year adjacent to the center on Pico Boulevard). And Hier has powerful friends who might withhold their significant contributions to many of the city's other Jewish organizations if they felt it would benefit, or avenge, him. Hier knows this. In all these ways, he has used his muscle to become one of the most imposing figures in world Jewry.

"Rabbi Hier," says Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, "is one of the foremost spiritual leaders in the United States, and in the entire Jewish world."

THE TENSION BETWEEN Hier and the Jewish Federation Council reached new heights last November when Prime Minister Shamir refused to reschedule his visit to Los Angeles after he was told that federation bigwigs would be out of

Hier was born with the soul of an activist. Since he was child, he dreamed of taking revenge upon the Nazis who wiped out most of his parents' families in Poland.



Seven-year-old Hier was a promising student at New York's Yeshiva Rabbi Shlomo Kluger.

Photographs courtesy Simon Wiesenthal Center

Sheldon Teitelbaum, a frequent contributor to The Times, is an L.A. correspondent for Cinefantastique. Tom Waldman regularly covers Los Angeles politics for California Journal and other publications.

town. But Shamir made time for Hier; the two had a two-hour heart-to-heart schmooze in Hier's study. The symbolic blow was soon returned. A few months later at federation headquarters, former federation president Stanley Hirsh buttonholed David Peleg, a high-ranking official from the Israeli Embassy in Washington, who had just finished briefing ranking members on "the Situation" in Israel. According to several onlookers, including former Anti-Defamation League executive Hyman H. Haves, an angry Hirsh loudly protested Shamir's scheduling, insulted the prime minister's diminutive stature, and said, five minutes."

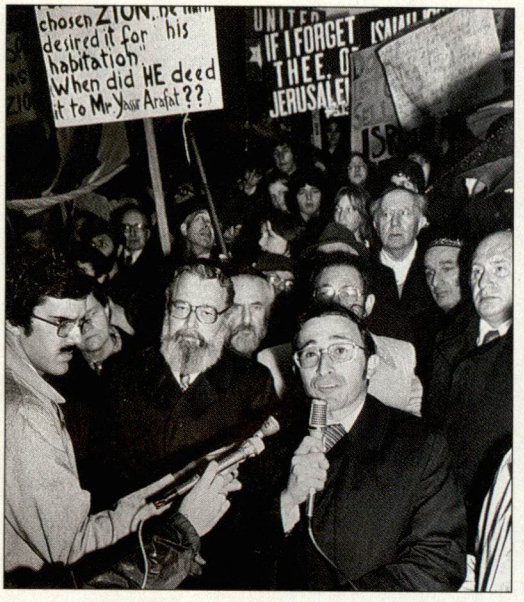
He ignores all charges of sensationalism and designs the center's fund-raising mailings with great marketing savvy. A typical piece notes that the head of a little-known Canadian fringe party seeks a "constitutionally racist state," a rock concert involving neo-Nazis and skinheads held near London included a song denying the existence of the Holocaust and a Cairo newspaper alleges that Israel is exporting AIDS to Egypt.

Not everyone appreciates Hier's tactics. Some accuse him of throwing oil on the flames of anti-Semitism to scare people into opening their wallets to the Wiesenthal Center. Hier, however, cares little about community approval. Though Orthodox in his religion, he employs highly unorthodox tactics, including riding roughshod over the established channels and methods of the Jewish community. He openly courted Republicans before it was fashionable in Jewish circles—to Hier, political party is incidental, recognition for his center is everything. He voted for Ronald Reagan for President, Tom Hayden for the Assembly. He even cultivated a friendship with Menachem Begin when the former Israeli prime minister was still considered *tref*, or unclean.

He also has no compunction about asking government officials for funding, which many Jewish leaders view as a step toward a dangerous marriage of church and state. Five years ago, when the Wiesenthal Center received $5 million from the California Legislature for its $46.7-million Museum of Tolerance, several Jewish leaders complained bitterly—but not publicly. (The center will also receive $5 million from Washington, through legislation sponsored in the House of Representatives by Democratic Congressman Henry A. Waxman.)

Politicians eager to capture Jewish votes and money regularly visit the center. In recent years the center's guest book has been signed by President Bush, Sen. Ted Kennedy, gubernatorial candidates Dianne Feinstein and Pete Wilson and other luminaries. The massive federation headquarters is all but ignored.

"They talk about a recent improvement in relations," says the liaison to the Jewish community for a prominent legislator, "but I can tell you that Hier, the federation and the ADL [B'nai Brith's Anti-Defamation League] are still at each other's throats, no holds barred."



Hier and his Vancouver followers protest the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism, 1975.



In a well-publicized disapproval of President Reagan's visit to Bitburg Cemetery in 1985, Hier marches through the town arm in arm with Rabbi Abraham Cooper.

in effect, that the next time Shamir wanted contributions or financial support, he could forget the federation and go straight to his friend Hier. (Peleg confirms there was a public disagreement; Hirsh denies being there.)

Never has anyone with such genius for publicity headed a Jewish organization in Los Angeles. Hier, a slight, dark-suited, fedora-donning rabbi, has regularly pulled end-runs around the city's established Jewish agencies and organizations. Hier has accrued unprecedented clout in the Legislature, on Capitol Hill, in the city's boardrooms and even in Hollywood. He has so effectively mastered the art of headline-grabbing that the federation, insiders say, has trouble getting comparable publicity, even from its own house organ, The Jewish Journal.

"Success is not a crime," says Hier. "It's not a sin to be successful. My style is you take a point of view. The worst thing in the world is to go to a football game and see both teams refuse to move off the 50-yard line. You'll leave after

HIER WAS BORN with the soul of an activist. Since he was child, he dreamed of taking revenge upon the Nazis who wiped out most of his parents' families in Poland. For Hier—as for most Jews—the Holocaust was the searing event of the 20th Century. But later, as a student of history, he saw the Nazis' war on European Jewry as part of a horrific pattern.

"I remember thinking about the Book of Esther, the story of the first genocide—Haman's plot to destroy the Jews. I was always fascinated by the historical validity of that narrative—how it repeats itself in generation after generation," he says. "There was always a plotter out there who wanted to destroy the Jews."

Unlike Holocaust survivors and authors Elie Wiesel and Primo Levi, Hier's tools are not pen and paper but muse-

ums, speeches and movies. In 1982, he won an Oscar for "Genocide," a documentary about the Holocaust, narrated by Orson Welles and Elizabeth Taylor, that he co-authored with distinguished British historian Martin Gilbert. (Hier accepted the award wearing his yarmulke.) Hier trades on emotion, not intellect. He realizes that the vast majority of the center's members are not steeped in the culture and traditions of Jewish life. To get people to pay attention to his battle against anti-Semitism, Hier refuses to let anyone forget the Holocaust even for a moment. For Marvin Hier, it is simply "the minimum where otherwise unaffiliated Jews weigh in."

"It's a sad fact," adds Hier's chief financial backer, Canadian financier Sam Belzberg, "that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer serve to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time."

Hier gives the Holocaust a uniquely California spin. He likens the potential of another such cataclysm to predicting earthquakes. "If you chart the history of earthquakes," he says, "you find that some are more severe than others. You also recognize that they are not freak accidents. No one would conclude that we shouldn't have any research into earthquake prediction, or that we shouldn't prepare ourselves for the possibility that there might be another."

To that end, Hier has dedicated himself to, among other things, Nazi hunting. In 1979, when the center was in its infancy, Hier successfully lobbied West Germany to rescind a proposed statute of limitations on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. Since then, the center has forced the Canadian government to set up systems for pursuing resident ex-Nazis and other war criminals. And he has urged identical legislation in Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. He was also instrumental in publicizing and promoting the career of Viennese Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal. "Before meeting up with Hier," says one Wiesenthal Center insider, "Simon was nickel and diming it in Vienna. He couldn't even pay his phone bills."

In the deadly serious business of protecting Jews around the world, Hier is an affable, charming activist. He can seem quite childlike—offering Cokes and candy to important visitors—and, when not battling anti-Semites, he follows his beloved Chicago Cubs on his office TV. He and his wife, Marlene, an urban planner who is director of membership for the center, live in West Los Angeles, in Beverlywood. His oldest son, Ari, 26, was just appointed director of the Hillel Student Union at USC. Avi, 25, is a vice president at Bear, Stearns, a stock-trading house.

And despite his mission, "Moish," as Hier's friends call him, doesn't always take himself too seriously—at a 50th birthday party for Bill Belzberg, Sam Belzberg's brother, the good rabbi jumped out of a cake.

Michael Berenbaum, project director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, believes that the style and message of "Genocide" are completely indicative of Hier. " 'Genocide' is a substantive piece of work," Berenbaum says. "But watching it is like sitting in a dentist's chair where the drill begins at the first moment and doesn't let up till the end of the two hours. If it had, it might have been more effective. In a real sense, that is Marvin Hier."

Yet Berenbaum has nothing but praise for the man's achievements. "Hier has essentially taken what could have been regarded as a small, parochial, peripheral institution and transformed it into the largest single membership organization in American Jewish life."

For the 380,000 families worldwide who support the center with their contributions, Hier is refreshing. They cheer his abrasive public manner, his fondness for confrontation and hyperbole, his doom-and-gloom *pronunciamentos* and even his lapses into Holocaust shtick: For example, Hier returned from a visit to the site of the Treblinka death camp in Poland bearing ash-covered stones uncovered in a field. "Moish used to shlep those stones around on satin pillows," a Hier intimate says. "He was perfectly sincere, but it was awfully kitsch."

"He's a ballsy little guy," says producer Dan Curtis, who raves about Hier's creative input into his acclaimed TV miniseries, "War & Remembrance." "He hangs in there; he's tougher than hell, and he won't take bull from anybody."

> 'My style is you take a point of view,' says Hier. 'The worst thing in the world is to go to a football game and see both teams refuse to move off the 50-yard line.'



Accepting his 1982 Oscar for "Genocide" with producer Arnold Schwartzman.

Simon Wiesenthal is even more effusive. "He's dynamite," says Wiesenthal, in his broken English, from his home in Vienna. "The man is never quiet. He is always trying to do things no one else has ever tried. I know that he makes other Jewish organizations nervous. This center is young and aggressive. I hope this aggressivity will survive me."

By all indications, it will. In fact, the center's newest project, designed by James Gardner (who also designed the Museum of the Jewish Diaspora in Tel Aviv), is rising now on Pico Boulevard. The Hebrew name of The Museum of Tolerance is *Beit Ha'Shoah*—the House of the Holocaust. However, its focus will extend, in substance and appeal, beyond the Holocaust and document other genocides, including those of the Cambodians and the Armenians. As planned, the first floor of the museum will trace the history of racism and prejudice in the United States and relates the story of the Holocaust. The second floor will

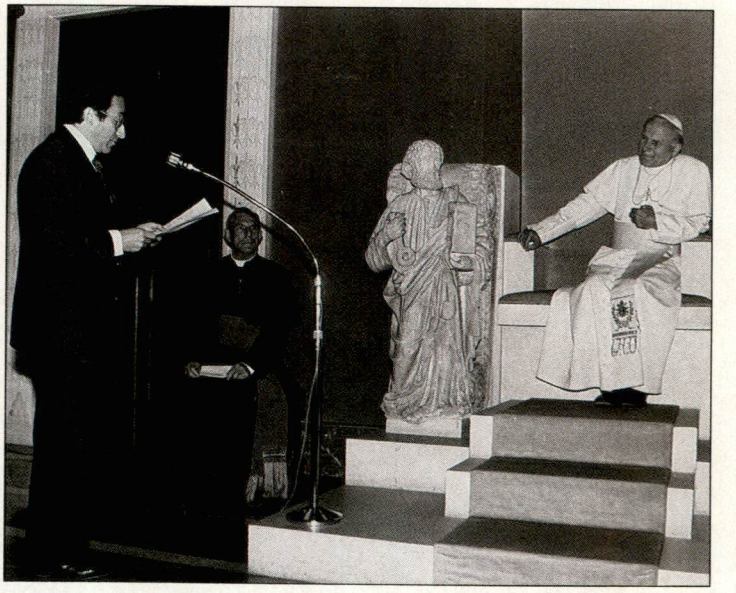
Photographs courtesy Simon Wiesenthal Center

have a bank of 33 interactive computer consoles linked to videodiscs containing, among other resources, the center's newly published, four-volume "Encyclopedia of the Holocaust." The third floor will include a 324-seat theater that will regularly show motion pictures relevant to the themes of the museum. The museum will also house one of the country's most complete Holocaust archives, containing 500 hours of videotaped interviews with survivors, liberators and others, and 1,200 archival collections of historical documents, correspondence, photographs, diaries and artifacts.

There is no doubt that Hier intends the museum to become a tourist attraction. This is not, he insists, a place just for Jews. "Hatred did not die in the bunker with Hitler," he says. "These are not dinosaurs that you can walk away from at the Museum of Natural History and then forget about. The haters are still among us."



Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and President Bush schmooze it up with the rabbi at a 1989 White House dinner.



On a 1983 mission of rememberance and renewal, Hier addresses Pope John Paul II on behalf of The Wiesenthal Center.

THE SON OF a Polish immigrant lamp polisher who arrived in the United States on the White Star ship in 1917, Hier was not always eager to take on the world's assorted Jew-haters and baiters. Certainly not in New York, where he was raised in the city projects. Young Hier spent his early life within three circumscribed blocks along Cannon Street, his birthplace, among, he recounts, largely "Sabbath-observant look-alikes and think-alikes."

He was studious, not a street fighter. "I'd like to claim that when we were 13 or 14, we fought back. But when the gangs [from other neighborhoods] pounced on us," he says, "we just ran."

Hier did well in school. Soon after he was ordained at the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Theological Seminary, his teachers recommended him to an emissary from the fledgling Jewish community in Vancouver, Canada, who had come to New York looking for someone to take over the city's premier Orthodox synagogue. For the newly married 22-year-old rabbi and his 19-year-old wife, swapping the insular streets of their neighborhood for Canada's lush and laid-back Pacific Coast was like moving to the moon. But Hier was adventuresome, and discouraged at the prospect of achieving prominence in New York's long-established Jewish community. For Hier's Yiddish-speaking father, who had never heard of Canada, the move was incomprehensible.

"My father did not know geography very well," recalls Hier. "When I told him I was going to Vancouver, he thought I told him I was going to 'Van-Cuba.' He said, 'What Jewish boy goes to a communist country?' "

In 1962, some 7,500 Jews lived in Vancouver. In salmon-rich British Columbia, these truly were bagel-and-lox Jews: They drove to *shul* on the Sabbath, in violation of strict Jewish law; most did not keep kosher homes, and intermarriage was not uncommon. Other Orthodox rabbis would have been dismayed at this lack of piety. Hier saw opportunity. As rabbi of Congregation Schara Tzedek, Hier discovered a facility for inspiring young people. It dawned on him that through the synagogue youth movement he could reshape the lives of all his congregants.

Marc Belzberg was one of Hier's first disciples. A child of startling self-assurance, Marc would become scion of a financial empire that grew out of the furniture business that his grandfather, Abraham, had established in Edmonton. He would also become Hier's inside track to Sam Belzberg, Marc's father and the man who would make the Wiesenthal Center financially possible.

When Hier met Marc, Sam and Fran Belzberg were happily non-observant newcomers to Vancouver. Because of Marc's fascination with Hier, however, the curious Belzbergs joined Hier's congregation. But they became angry and perplexed with the boy's sudden and forceful swing toward Orthodoxy.

Fran Belzberg's distress over her son's religiosity grew daily. And soon her other children, under Marc's influence, began to fall into strict religious observance "like dominoes." "Travel was especially tough," she recalls. "We'd go to Maui, and I'd have to bring along 50 pounds of kosher meat."

Despite Fran's demands that Hier stop "brainwashing" the children of the community, the Belzbergs eventually warmed to Hier. In the Canadian business community, the Belzbergs were outsiders with a seldom-appreciated instinct for making profitable corporate acquisitions. Hier, too, was an outsider. The couples became friends.

When Hier began to engage in open political activism, Belzberg was his most fervent supporter. Vancouver Jews were alarmed at Hier's outspokeness, especially at the spectacle Hier provided to Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin in 1975: When Kosygin arrived at the Vancouver Hotel, Hier, with the city's Reform and Conservative rabbis, all re-

Continued on Page 35

TAXI DANCERS

It's No Longer 10 Cents a Dance, But Lonely Men Can Still Hire Partners by the Minute in Dim Downtown Clubs

BY MARTIN BOOE

HE WAS 23 and as shy as they come. To hear Toni tell it, he'd fall down at the very sight of a woman. So he came to the only place he knew where the women always said "yes" when he asked them to dance: Club Flamingo. For 35 cents a minute, he could dance with the woman of his choice and not have to worry about saying something stupid or embarrassing.

"I was giving him lessons on how to talk to girls," recalls Toni, a hostess at the Flamingo. She's pleasant-looking, tall, with curly brown hair and brown eyes, somewhere in her late 20s or early 30s. "He came in here wanting to find a girlfriend. And I told him: 'Go somewhere else and find yourself a nice girl.' "

Toni glances around the dance floor this blustery night. Most of the couples dancing match up like polka dots and plaids. Old, worn-out guys with faces like unmade beds drape themselves over 19- or 20-year-old girls. In the booths and at the tables, couples cuddle in the dim light. The girls wear short, tight, low-cut dresses. They rest their heads on the men's shoulders, forcing blissful smiles. The men's faces radiate a certain amount of triumph, as if they've won their partners over with good looks, great intellect, strength of character and charisma.

"Then he decided he was in love with me," Toni continues. "He'd come in here and say, 'Toni, I can't help it. I'm in love with you.' I said, 'Look, you can't be in love with me—I'm married.' Believe me, this isn't any place to go looking for a girlfriend."

The signs outside usually advertise "hostess dancing," but history has saddled the Flamingo and other clubs like it with the less delicate phrase *taxi dancing*. It's an apt-enough name. When you ask a girl to dance, she rises wearily to her feet, goes to the rack, pulls out her time card and punches the clock. She hitches her purse over her shoulder as if she's afraid someone might steal it (conceivably you), and together you go to the dance floor.

In most cases, the meter runs at 35 cents a minute, or $21 an hour. During this time, you're entitled to complain that your wife doesn't love you, that your girlfriend is cheating on you or that your boss is a miserable ogre and you don't know how much longer you can take it. Or, depending on the girl and your reputation as a tipper, you may indulge in something akin to a poor man's lambada.

Taxi dance clubs were once abundant in Chicago, New York, Detroit and San Francisco during the late teens and early 1920s. Today, however, they're scarce to the point of extinction.

The grand exception is Los Angeles, where at least seven taxi dance clubs represent the fruition of a revival that began in the early '70s, fueled in part by the loosening of sexual mores and later by droves of lonely immigrant men seeking a few dollars' worth of tender, loving care.

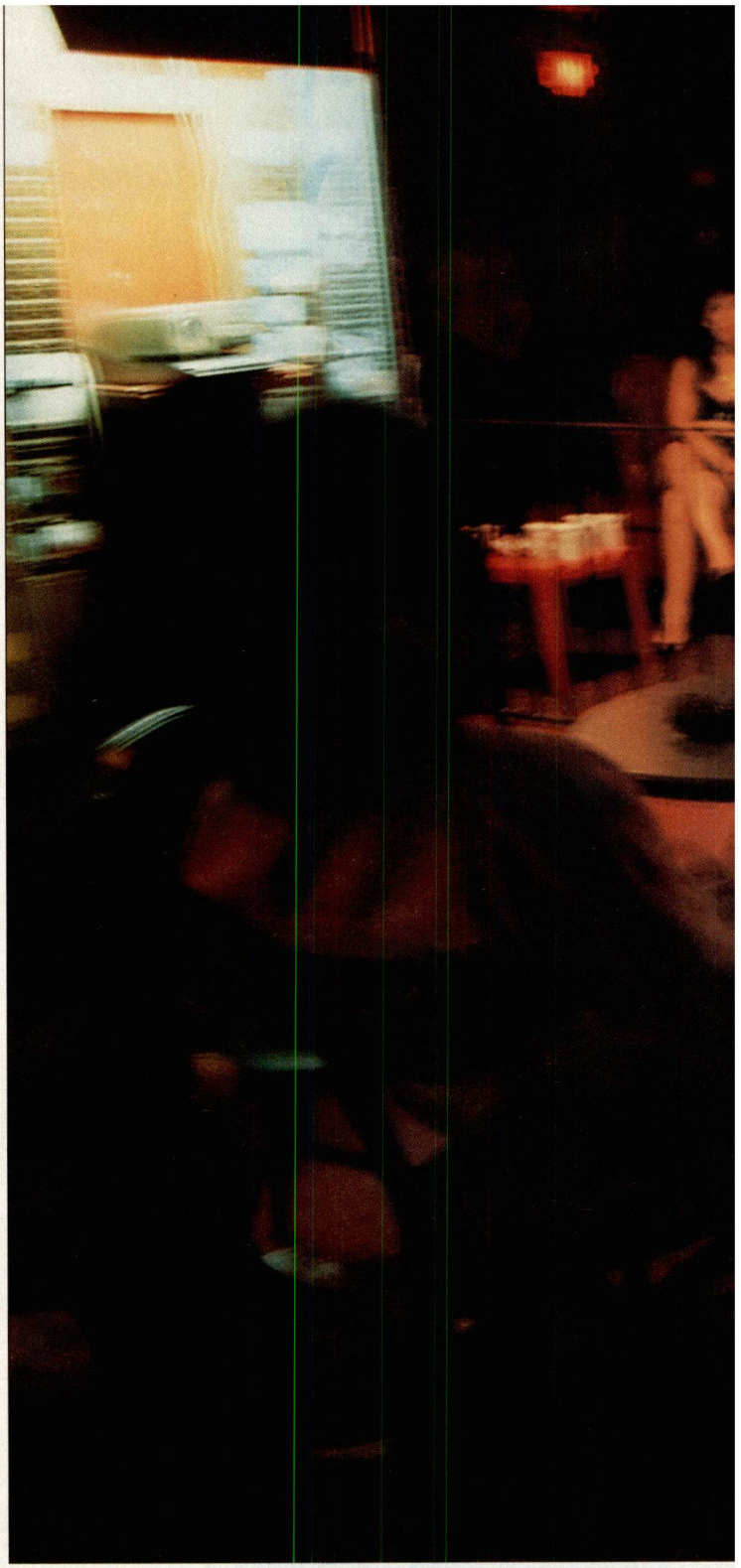
All of the clubs are situated within a mile of the Los Angeles Convention Center, in the kind of neighborhoods that are haunted by wailing junkies

In the fantasyland of taxi dance halls, men find women who always listen and never turn down an invitation to dance.

Photographed by Mark Richards







In 1941, above, dancers at New York's Roseland gathered in a corner, awaiting ticketed customers. At Club Flamingo, the waiting game is still the same.

and belligerent panhandlers. The clubs bear names laden with romantic possibility—Club Paradise, Las Palmas, Roseland Roof, Danceland, Club Starlight—but the reality is a world of disorienting ambiguity, governed only by the laws of supply and demand, the language of the dollar.

LOCATED IN A RUN-DOWN BUILDING on 12th Street, the Flamingo is typical of Los Angeles taxi dance clubs. Among other things, that means down-at-the-heel, a lot of seams showing. You climb the steps to the second floor, pay $3 to the man at the door, and there they are, sitting on rows of red vinyl couches, like curios gathering dust in a junk store window: Girls wagging their crossed legs, smoking cigarettes and gabbing like women in a small-town beauty parlor. Girls with crack-of-dawn eyes, high heels and cheap perfume. Girls with sad stories. Girls, 70 or 80 of them on weekend nights, hoping you will take them away from all this.

The men, many of whom roam from club to club, sit in small, uncomfortable chairs at small, tottering tables, drinking coffee, smoking and staring with varying degrees of wistfulness, salaciousness or inscrutability. As many as 150 show up on weekend nights. Beyond the girls lies the dance floor, dark except for the spangles of light refracting from the globe overhead. A cardboard sign taped to a column admonishes COUPLES ONLY.

The stags are also barred from the TV room, where a half-dozen couches allow couples to snuggle and become better acquainted. Between the dance floor and the TV room, there's a snack bar that serves soft drinks and fruit juices and fills the air with the acrid smell of microwave popcorn—a staple of the girls' diets. The clubs are prohibited from serving alcohol.

"The ones who dance with me keep coming back because they like talking to me," says Toni, the hostess at the Flamingo. "I'm the one they tell their problems to." She lives in a downtown hotel with her husband and 3-month-old son, pays her rent week to week and claims that she has made a $17,000 deal to become a surrogate mother. She also unspools a confusing personal history involving the Mafia, multiple personalities numbering in the double digits, a pregnancy by rape and her flight to the West Coast because her father wanted to sell the baby. If half of it is true, there is no God.

Toni, a former stripper who now aspires to be a flight attendant, came here 10 months earlier from her native New Jersey, and she's been dancing for four months. She figures she can last another two, until the surrogate deal comes through. "I can't wait to get out of here," she says.

Most of the taxi dancers, who must be 18 to work in the clubs, say they would rather be doing something else. The majority of those who try dancing don't make it past the first week, and it's rare to find anyone who's worked longer than six months. Sometimes dancing is their sole means of support. The girls earn minimum wage and a commission based on how much they dance. The real money is in the tips. On a good night at the Flamingo, a girl can take home $100.

Tuela, a dancer at Roseland on Spring Street (before it was temporarily closed last month), gets minimum wage, only a $75

UPI / Bettmann Newsphotos

Martin Booe is a free-lance writer based in Los Angeles.



commission for each 1,000 minutes she dances, and the tips aren't very good. She wants to quit, but she's stuck working nights because during the day she looks after the children of her brother and sister. Carolina, from Guatemala, cuts hair during the day and works at Club Paradise on Olympic at night.

At Club Starlight on Broadway, frequented mostly by wealthy Asian men, aspiring models and actresses try to keep their days free for auditions. Most of them are blond, in their early 20s and range from attractive to beautiful. Ritzier than most of the other clubs, the Starlight has valets who rarely go the night without parking a Rolls or two. The girls, decked out in slinky but generally tasteful dresses, wait behind a glass partition. Janine, a 20-year-old would-be model, sits in a booth and sips a *café au lait* that seemed to appear out of nowhere and would wind up on her customer's tab.

"Some of these girls support boyfriends. Some support children. Some support drug habits," she says.

Janine's pretty, with chestnut hair, though her eyes seem somehow vacant. She might be a model yet. But she overslept yesterday, missed an interview with an agency and hasn't done much lately to advance her career.

"I've just got to get motivated," she says mopishly.

She started out dancing at the Flamingo and remembers her first night vividly. "I locked myself up in the manager's office and wouldn't come out for three hours. I was scared to death."

She turns her head to watch her colleague, a blonde wearing a tight black skirt, a black blazer and a pink halter top, tug the venerable Ed to the dance floor. Suddenly, the music shifts from



a dreamy ballad to hyperpaced rhythm and blues, worthy of an aerobics class. The dancer wiggles her hips, arches back her shoulders and kicks up her heels. All for the benefit of Ed, who the girls say is 78. He tries to jump start his feet, but the best he can do is zigzag them across the floor. He wears a gray cardigan, a white sport shirt and gray slacks and is bald as an egg.

He is also known to be a good tipper.

Today's shadowy clubs are home to the poor man's lambada. One hostess' secret to better tips is to "dance not too tight, not too loose."

WERE IT NOT FOR the fragility of the male ego, taxi dance clubs might never have been invented. "I'd say about 80% of the men who come here are single guys who don't like being rejected," says Larry Jones, a 55-year-old electronics salesman who is single. "Here, your ego doesn't get hurt." Jones can be found at the Flamingo or one of the other clubs about four nights a week, a custom he's been observing for nearly 10 years. He comes by himself, and he pulls up a chair close to one of the benches where the girls wait for dance partners.

"It's just something to do, a way to get out of the TV rut," Jones says with a shrug. He's a bald, friendly man who favors shorts and white socks under leather shoes. He sits there most of the night with his arms folded, head cocked, occasionally striking up a conversation with one of the girls or another customer.

The girls have divided most of the patrons into several neat categories. First, there are the "looky-loos," who sit there rubbernecking without ever paying for a dance. Almost nightly at the Flamingo, three old men dock their considerable girths into the uncertain harbors of three spindly chairs and chomp cigars that they wave like batons whenever a pretty—or at least voluptuous—girl walks by.

Then there are the "grabbers," whose offending behavior is self-evident, though it may be that a tip of sufficient size can mitigate the offense. The antics of the fetish mongers are better left to the imagination. One, however, has become a legend. The girls call him "The Foot Doctor." He peels out $20 bills for the privilege of massaging a girl's foot—generally back in the TV room where there's more privacy—while muttering obscure biblical quotations. Most highly regarded are the "dates," the men who clock a girl out for an hour or two at a time, sit and talk with her and tip her generously.

Certainly, married men are no strangers to these clubs. "The first thing they do is tell you they're married," complains Tanya, a dancer at Club Paradise. She's 19, a tall, strapping blonde in a denim skirt, a red sweater and red cowboy boots. "It's like they need to confess. Stuff like, 'My wife and I don't love each other anymore.' And you always have to hear about their sleeping arrangements: 'Yeah, we're sleeping in twin beds now, or separate rooms.' "

Tanya left a small Oregon town two months ago with vague hopes of attending college. If you ask her why she chose Los Angeles, she answers, "Big City?" as if she's not sure.

Sometimes I think I've found my hero
but it's a queer romance
all that you need is a ticket
Come on, big boy
Ten cents a dance

—"Ten Cents a Dance"
Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart

IN THE WEST, taxi dance clubs were the direct descendants of San Francisco's notoriously lusty Barbary Coast, or " '49" dance halls, where dancing was the drawing card and women earned their keep by enticing men to buy drinks. But the Barbary Coast's picaresque revelry ultimately aroused

the indignation of the city's more stalwart citizens, who had the dance halls shut down in 1913. The void left by the halls' closure was swiftly filled by "closed halls"—ones where the only women admitted were those working. There, dancing and drinking were separate enterprises. Dancers were introduced to the ticket-a-dance system, and women earned revenue based on the number of tickets they accrued.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, legitimate public ballrooms, along with dancing schools or academies, were having a rough time staying afloat. Those in declining neighborhoods were forced to adopt the ticket-a-dance system, with proprietors reasoning that patrons would shell out more money in the long run at 10 cents a dance than for a flat $1 admission. Tickets sold for 10 cents each; the girls kept a nickel.

The businesses were known also as "dime-a-dance halls," "monkeyhops," "stag dances." And as the system evolved, catering increasingly to the socially isolated, it didn't take long for them to acquire a shady reputation. "Shimmying" was the nomenclature of the day assigned to the slow, grinding dance still performed today.

"The taxi dance halls are organized to exploit, for a profit, a situation of promiscuity," noted a special agent for Chicago's Juvenile Protective Agency in 1925. "It is a mercenary and silent world. Feminine society is for sale, and at a neat price. The dwarfed, the maimed, even the pockmarked, all find social acceptance there. Together with the other variegated types, they make, of the institution, a picturesque and rather pathetic revelation of human nature and city life."

But Los Angeles attorney Ben Fenton, 81, remembers a more jovial atmosphere, with prominent local businessmen, sports figures and politicians in attendance. Fenton is a former owner of Roseland, Los Angeles' oldest hostess-dance ballroom. Fenton and his brother, Edward, acquired it in 1943 and ran it until 1980, when they leased out the operation. He says the ballroom has been operating since the 1920s.

"It was a fairly nice group of people," Fenton recalls. "A lot of business people. There were some lonesome people; some of them wanted to be away from their wives."

A six-piece band provided music. Neckties, part of the dress code, were sold at the door for 10 cents, which was what a dance cost until Fenton installed the time-clock system after seeing it in a Honolulu dance hall. The Fentons also operated Dreamland, the only other hall in town until the early 1950s.

In those days, the halls were regulated by the Juvenile Protection Agency. Hostesses, who had to be 21, were licensed, fingerprinted and photographed. "We never had a single arrest," Fenton claims.

Above all, he says, "the girls had to be good conversationalists. People didn't care that much about dancing. They mostly wanted someone to talk to."

Whatever the criteria for successful taxi dancers, today's clubowners find that just keeping enough girls around is a full-time job in itself. Although there seems to be no shortage of newcomers for the job.

"Some of the girls are new in town, living in cars, and they're just trying to get the money together to go home," says Josephine Walker, blowing a plume of cigarette smoke toward the dance floor at the Flamingo. She and her husband, Marty, have owned and operated the club for eight years since they moved here from Hawaii. "Some aren't very well-educated. Lots of aspiring actresses. Some part-time college students. A certain percentage are married."

On the average, the girls last about two weeks, which creates a constant demand for others to fill the dance shoes of those who've waltzed out of whatever misfortune drove them there in the first place. The club's principal form of recruitment is through the classified ads, which, Marty grumbles, cost him $2,300 a week.

But it's not all gloom and desperation, Josephine says. The Walkers know of at least three marriages that have bloomed from the interminglings of hostesses and patrons.

Marty presides over the operation from a cluttered office equipped with a surveillance system that includes a TV monitor overlooking the dance floor and audio monitors in the restrooms that enable him to interrupt any unseemly monkey business. "We run as straight a club as we can, considering how many people come in here," he says.

He claims that the proclivity for taxi dancing is passed from grandfather to father to son. "Once you've been in three times, it's in your blood." What draws men into the clubs, he says, is "the thrill of the chase. Guys want to see if their lines still work. This is fantasyland."

Now acquiring Roseland, which was owned by former Los Angeles police officer Dave Brewer, operator of other taxi dance halls, the Walkers say business is so good that they're considering a twist on the theme: a club where women would pay to dance with men.

The taxi dance business is considerably more vigorous than it was a few years ago, when the clubs nearly died out. By the late 1960s, there were only four in Los Angeles, but they began to rally in the early '70s, doubling in number. Sociologists chalk up the initial resurgence to the sexual revolution, with its free-for-all attitude toward sex and seduction. Larry K. Hong, professor of sociology at Cal State L.A., conducted an intensive, four-year study of the clubs during their revival. In those days, the clubs seemed to develop a social club atmosphere, sort of a Playboy Club-in-training. With most of the clubs in decaying parts of downtown, however, they were soon reclaimed by their original denizens: lonely men looking for a little sympathy or a cheap thrill.

Gentrification thwarted, Los Angeles clubs found eager patrons in the city's booming immigrant population, which provides a steady supply of the socially estranged. The clubs now tend to cater to one ethnic group or another, with the bulk of the clubs—such as El Gaucho, Danceland and Savoy—employing Latina dancers for Latino customers. Others, such as the Flamingo and the Paradise, feature a mix of white, Latina and Asian girls, a fair number of them immigrants themselves, for a more diverse clientele.



Dance halls like New York's Roseland, below, are nearly extinct now. But in Los Angeles, they can attract as many as 150 men per club on weekend nights.

"The two biggest immigrant populations in Los Angeles are Asian and Hispanic, and those are who the clubs cater to," says Hong, who pointed out in a 1976 article about his findings that "taxi dance halls offer special attraction to foreign-born males because they have difficulty finding female companionship in the natural setting. Being new to this country, they have not yet mastered the skills and strategies of the American dating-courtship game. Consequently, they find it convenient to go to the taxi dance halls where essentially the same goals could be achieved with minimum efforts."

'The first thing they do is tell you they're married. It's like they need to confess,' a dancer says of many patrons.



A recent visit to several clubs, however, revealed to Hong a more regimented environment. In the '70s, he says, the halls were places where men would gather with friends. "The girls were encouraged to interact more informally with the customers," he says. "The customers were younger. Often, they'd bring candy and flowers to the girls. There would be buffets, and they'd even have Christmas dinner." The problem apparently was that all that friendliness wasn't profitable.

Hong pauses, trying to remember something. "Oh, yes. And there used to be a very strange character who went around to all of the clubs. They called him The Foot Doctor."

THE "DANGER ZONE." That's what the girls at the Flamingo call a mirror-lined nook off the dance floor. It is haven to the inextricably intertwined. It's where the heavy necking and petting take place. Sometimes the men lead the women back there, hoping that they'll prove affectionate. Sometimes the women are the initiators—a ploy for good tips. To make things even more interesting, asserts one dancer, "a lot of those girls don't even wear underwear."

The job of maintaining the appearance of propriety falls to the sex police. Every 10 minutes or so, a behemoth guard dressed in a militaristic black uniform muscles his way into the Danger Zone for a close look. The large flashlight he carries could double as a nightstick. "Hey, you two back there. Cut that out! I mean it now." Management has a vested interest in making sure that the fun, if not altogether good and clean, doesn't stray too far below the belt.

Although prostitution has always been at the periphery of taxi dancing, law enforcement is difficult because almost all the prostitution occurs after hours, at other locations. Girls are not allowed to leave the club with a customer during work hours.

"Our arrests are minimal compared to what's going on out there," says Detective John W. Grogan of the Los Angeles Police administrative vice division, which patrols the clubs. "Less than one a week. We just don't have the resources to deal with it in depth." In fact, Grogan can't think of a single case where a club's management was prosecuted for prostitution. And, Grogan says, club managers don't necessarily discourage prostitution because it's good for business.

What do taxi dance clubs have to offer that brothels don't? In a taxi dance hall, money is more an instrument of ingratiation than negotiation. The key perhaps is the thin veneer of romance, however artificial. On the other hand, sometimes it's more basic than that.

"[Certain guys] are nasty, they never tip and they start grabbing right away," says Marilyn, 30, who figures her three years as a taxi dancer make her the senior member at the Flamingo. "Once they start grabbing, we ask for the tip."

Marilyn, who emigrated from the Philippines in 1986, says taxi dancing has its advantages—mainly that she can come and go as she pleases. She takes trips to Las Vegas and San Francisco. During the day, she works at swap meets. With the two incomes, she has managed to buy a condominium. For her, it's a living.

The secret, Marilyn says, is to "dance not too tight, not too loose. If you dance too tight, they lose interest. If somebody asks for a date or to go to bed, I say, 'Maybe later, but first I have to know you better.' That keeps them coming back."

So, deprived of the usual benefits of natural selection, the men narrow their circles, craftily (or so they think) instilling in the girls a burgeoning sense of obligation with tips.

Meanwhile, the dancer, having convinced her suitor that there just might be a special place in her heart for a gentleman of sufficient means and proper sensitivities, finds herself walking the razor's edge, working to keep expectations high while deferring delivery.

"You get to know the girls pretty well," says Jones, the electronics salesman. He himself dances rarely, if ever. "I'm real nice to the girls. If you treat 'em real nice, then they're nice to you. Most of these guys are jerks. They treat 'em like hookers."

Not everyone comports himself in such a chivalrous fashion. For instance, there is the hulking, chain-laden Winnebago of a man who has dragged his friend to the clubs for the third time this week. Asked about the proprieties of tipping taxi dancers, the hulk's eyes sweep the floor disdainfully, seeming to see a room filled with women who don't live up to his qualifications. "A couple of bucks, man—if I'm feeling generous!" he boasts. "Hey, if she don't satisfy your needs, don't tip her!"

His friend, meanwhile, has been sizing up the room like a property tax evaluator. "The ones with the bodies are over there, man. Look at that one!" He eyes a long-legged blonde in a tight, nearly see-through skirt.

"Then there's the ones who aren't so hot," the friend goes on, "like those two over there." He points to two women distractedly munching microwave popcorn on a bench away from the flock. "I don't see how they make any money. They sit over there all night, and nobody asks them to dance. It makes you kind of feel sorry for them."

Outside, the homeless have parked their shopping carts and settled in for the night, leaving only the junkies to browbeat passers-by for spare change and cigarettes. Somewhere out there, The Foot Doctor is playing piggly wiggly with another perfect pedicure. Although the girls all said the parking lots would be full of action once closing time rolled around at 2 a.m., it is early yet and the cars are all empty.

And from the Flamingo to the Paradise, from the Starlight to Danceland, the dingy signs of the taxi dance clubs still beckon to the lonely men and desperate women like false hearths in the ash-colored buildings of downtown Los Angeles. ▬

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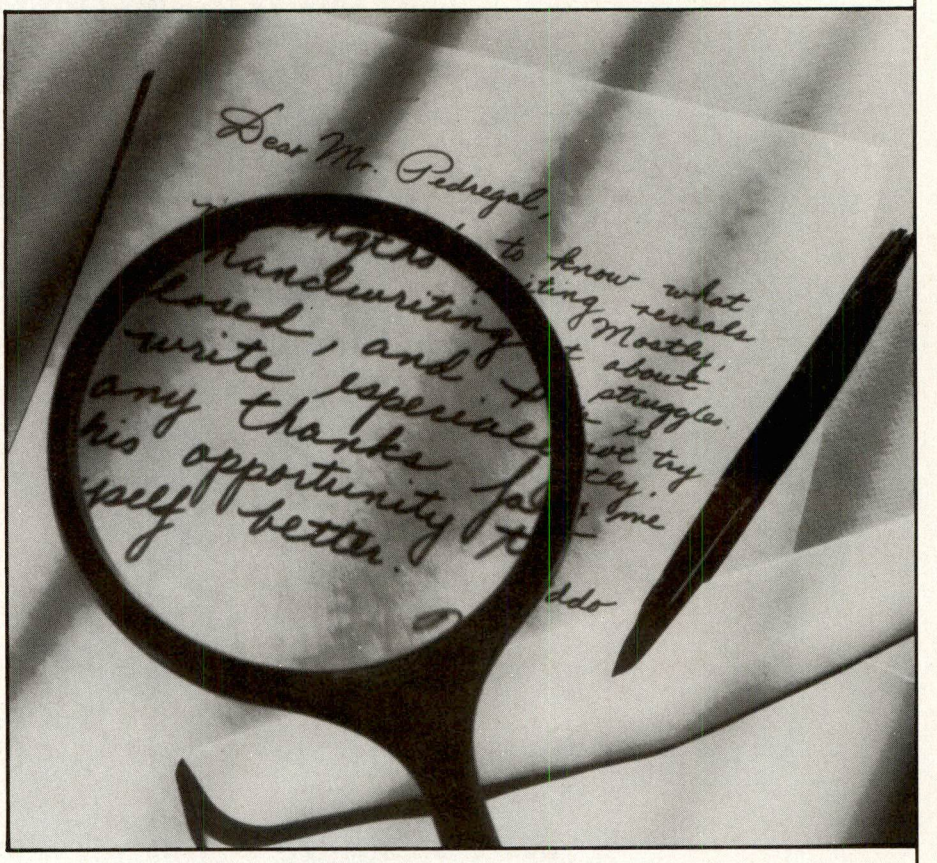
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That's Write!

Want to find out what makes you tick? Just pick up a pen.

By J. J. Leonard



I guess, I'm a skeptic at heart. I make it a point not to trust in things like graphology. So I never expected anything to come of having my handwriting analyzed. A few laughs, maybe. But certainly nothing revealing. Nothing of consequence.

I was wrong.

I recognized the truth of most of graphologist Carlos Pedregal's assertions right away. But, when he announced that I was very decisive but often not patient enough, I was sure that I'd caught him in a mistake.

It took me a week to accept the fact that, as much as I didn't want to believe it, signs of my impatience stood out like highway markers in both my professional and personal life. I'd simply chosen to ignore them. I had to confess, Carlos Pedregal knew me—or at least certain aspects of my personality—better than I knew myself.

Had I known more about the science of handwriting analysis at the time, I might not have been so surprised. Graphology operates on the same principle as, for example, the Rorschach psychological tests. In putting words on a piece of paper or in interpreting inkblots, a person projects her unconscious personality. The physiological and neurological impulses that shape our handwriting and reveal our personalities are reflected in everything from the choice of writing implement and pressure applied to the page, to the slant of the letters and our signature.

In all, a graphologist examines over 300 aspects of a person's script. The result? "Your handwriting will tell an expert things that your best friend or mate wouldn't know after a full 10 years," says Pedregal. Not surprisingly, a graphologist can actually provide new insights into yourself, your relationships and your life, by simply scrutinizing your scrawl.

Take Mike and Susan (not their real names) as an example. For the most part, husband and wife were pleased with the results of their handwriting analysis. Each, however, adamantly disagreed with one of the characteristics listed in their respective analyses. Mike's handwriting had revealed that he placed too much importance on himself and his family. His attitude: "The rest of the world can die so long as we're okay." His wife, however, felt that the analysis was right on target.

Susan's point of contention was about a characteristic in direct opposition to the quality Mike had argued about. Her script showed a tendency to put other people's needs first, before her own or her family's, something which Mike had accused her of time and time again.

The conflicting reactions sparked numerous discussions between the two. Finally, Mike and Susan realized that they—and not the graphologist—were mistaken. Their opposing personality traits had blinded them to each other and fueled their conflict. That awareness allowed them to look at the situation from a new angle and put it in perspective.

Graphology can also reveal character traits that people who've been close to each other most of their lives aren't aware of. For years, one 65-year-old Canadian had felt that his five children didn't know who he really was. When he received his handwriting analysis, he felt it was so accurate that he ended up mailing a copy to each of his now-adult kids. "For the first time, I felt that somebody understood me," he explained.

Graphology can even shed light on "real life" mysteries. The adoptive mother of a 15-month-old foundling wrote Carlos Pedregal asking for help. "All my baby has of her natural mother is the note she was found with. Could you please see what you can discover about the woman who left her from the note? I would like to be able to tell my daughter something about her mother when she is old enough to question her abandonment."

What Does Your Writing Say About You?

This is your chance to find out what your handwriting reveals. Though most experts charge $100 or more, Carlos Pedregal has agreed to make the following offer to L.A. Times readers. For only $12, your handwriting sample will be analyzed by this internationally renowned graphologist and his staff. You will learn which characteristics surface in your handwriting and you will receive a comprehensive printed explanation of their conclusions. To take advantage of this offer, simply follow the instructions on this page. Anyone over sixteen may participate.

The note was very short, written on a corner of what looked like a brown paper shopping bag. Though there was not enough written material to be able to do a comprehensive analysis, Pedregal was able to learn a lot about the child's real mother. And, while the analysis may not have turned up the specific woman who left her baby on the church steps, it satisfied the child's new mother. "Thank you," she wrote Pedregal. "You've added substance to the shadow of the person who gave us such a wonderful gift."

Occasionally a graphologist can actually foresee the future when examining a person's handwriting. One young couple who'd recently become engaged was told that their marriage would not last more than six months. They married in spite of the graphologist's warning. Five months later they separated. What the expert had concluded, based on two handwriting samples, turned out to be all too true.

These examples may astound you, but they shouldn't. After all, "brainwriting" is what graphologists call handwriting, and they should know.

Get the Write Idea

To find out what your writing reveals about your personality, just follow these easy directions.

- Copy the letter on the right, designed to provide Carlos Pedregal with the sample he needs for the analysis. Use an ink or ballpoint pen and write in the blank space at the bottom of the page. (You can also use a sheet of unlined writing paper . . . just make sure to attach all the necessary information that's been requested.) And remember, don't try to write neatly. Just relax and write the way you usually do, and then sign your name.
- Be sure to complete the order form below. If you are sending more than one sample, include payment and an order form for each.
- Send the entire page or clip along dotted line and send order form and sample with a check or money order for $12 plus $2 postage & handling to:

GRAPHOLOGY OFFER, 108 Robinson Ave., P. O. Box 9010, Medford, NY 11763. Orders must be post-marked by September 30, 1990.

Dear Mr. Pedregal:

I'd like to know what my regular handwriting reveals about my personality. Mostly, I'd like to find out about my strengths and my struggles. My handwriting sample is enclosed, and I did not try to write especially neatly. Many thanks for giving me this opportunity to know myself better.

(Signature)

Don't forget your signature! If you use two different signatures, please include both.

I want to have my handwriting analyzed. Here is my check or money order payable to: GRAPHOLOGY OFFER. Enclosed are _____ writing sample(s) at $12 each, for a total of $_____

Postage and handling $2.00

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TOTAL $_____

Money back guarantee

(Please print information in block letters)

NAME _____

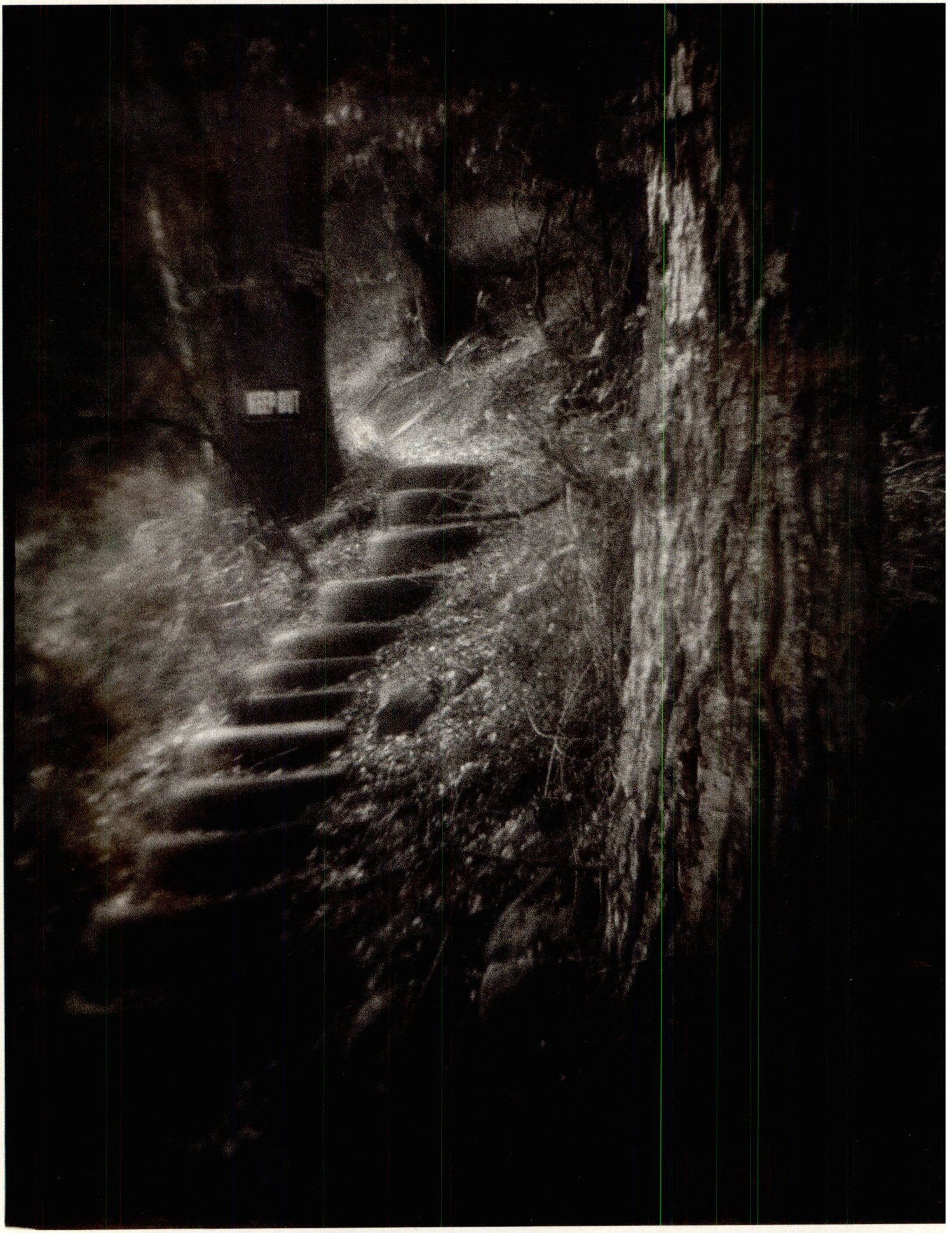
ADDRESS _____

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City State Zip

AGE _____ SEX (M or F) _____ Right- or left-handed (R or L) _____

BE SURE TO SEND SAMPLE AND ORDER FORM



Tire steps lead to the Will Geer Theatricum Botanicum in Topanga Canyon.

SHADOW LANDS

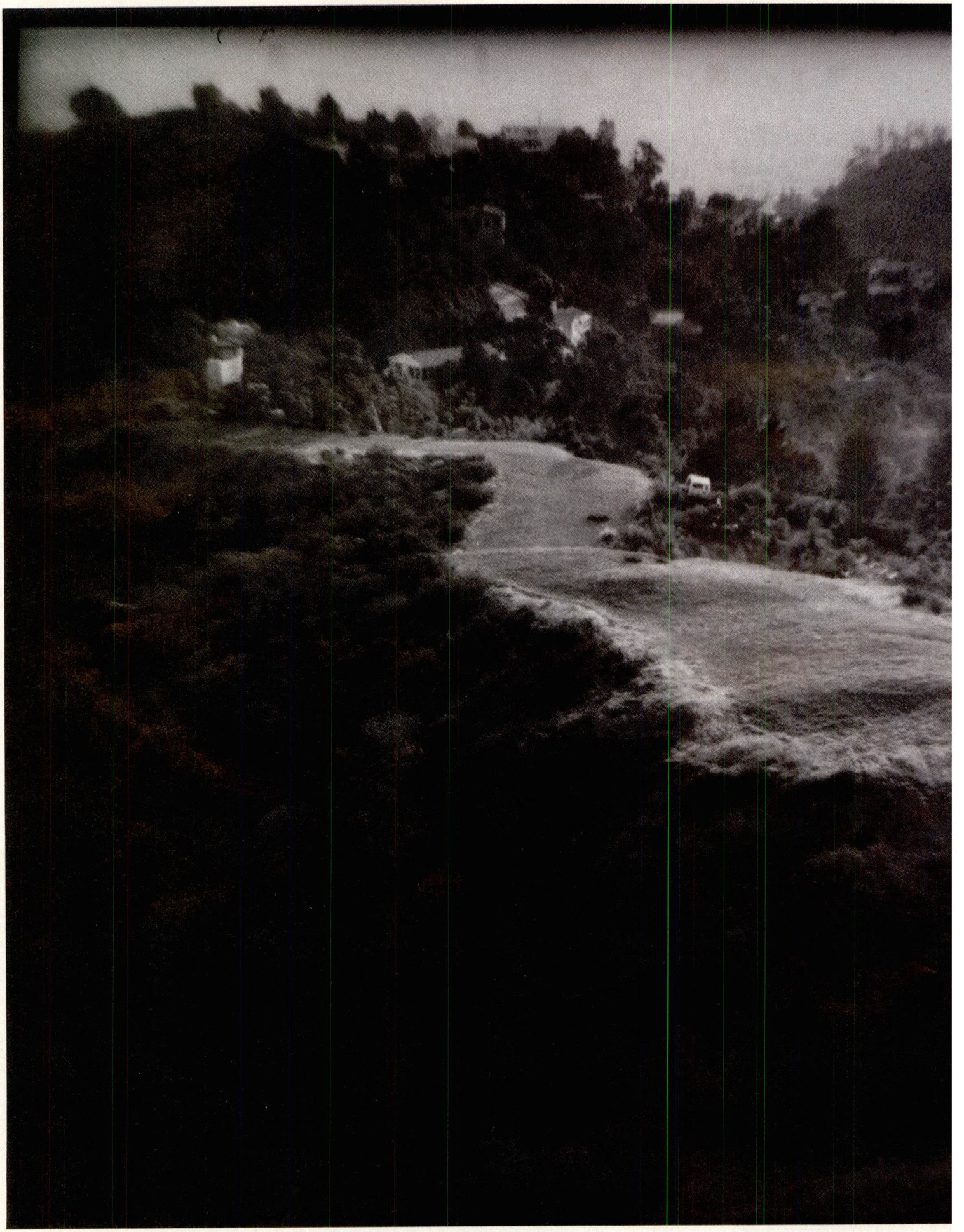
PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVEN NILSSON
ESSAY BY CAROLYN SEE

When you live in a canyon, you come face to face with the id, and the id's wildness isn't always pretty. Yes, you have your bougainvillea, your *Lupinus hirsutissimus* and great, wide, beautiful green and blue and gold spring days. But you also have bonfire summers, when you hear fires coming before you see them, and they sound like trains, top speed, coming straight at you. And in winter, or each night at dusk, or at dawn, you see the canyons as they look in these photographs. Life has a dark side, and, in Southern California, you find that dark side in the canyons.

"You won't ever catch me living in a place like this," one of our house guests—shack guests would have been the more accurate designation—told me the first time we cranked him up to the front door of our Topanga Canyon home on a splintery tramline that dated



Tuna Canyon is perhaps the least traveled and developed.



Looking south to Laurel Canyon from an observation point on Mulholland Drive.

back to 1916. No road at all to that first old house in the canyon—just the tram and a switchback path so precarious that my best friend once disappeared into one of its sinkholes. It took maybe half an hour to get her out. That kind of stuff happens in canyons all the time; it hardly ever happens in Sherman Oaks.

People in Sherman Oaks might be glad of that, but the people who live in the canyons are unabashed by such things. Because that's the division. Between law-fearing citizens and outlaws. Long ago, a friend dished to me about a movie star he knew who lived a double life. The star kept his wife, children, horses, cats and cinema-size screening room in a big spread in the Valley. "But," my friend asked, "if you have a mistress in L.A., where do you keep her? You keep her in a canyon."

From the beginning of California history, outlaws have hidden in the canyons. A hero of a hard-boiled novel took 33 bullets in downtown L.A. but drove miles into a canyon's stark tranquillity to spill his blood onto steep banks of non-judgmental shale. Even now, when you call the cops, it takes them an hour and a half to get to your house. But that's all right, because the robbers are just as lost as they are.

All our canyons are the veriest retreat from what we are pleased to call civilization. Where did Manson live before he found his ranch? In the canyon right where I live. If the freeways, the high schools, the banks, the very mall-ness of Los Angeles make you crazy, you can go live in a canyon: Laurel or Coldwater, Tuna or Nichols, Malibu or Trabuco, Encinal or Topanga.



Steep stairs are a common sight in hillside homes; these are in Laurel Canyon.



Topanga State Park.



A bend of Mulholland Drive curves west of Malibu Lake



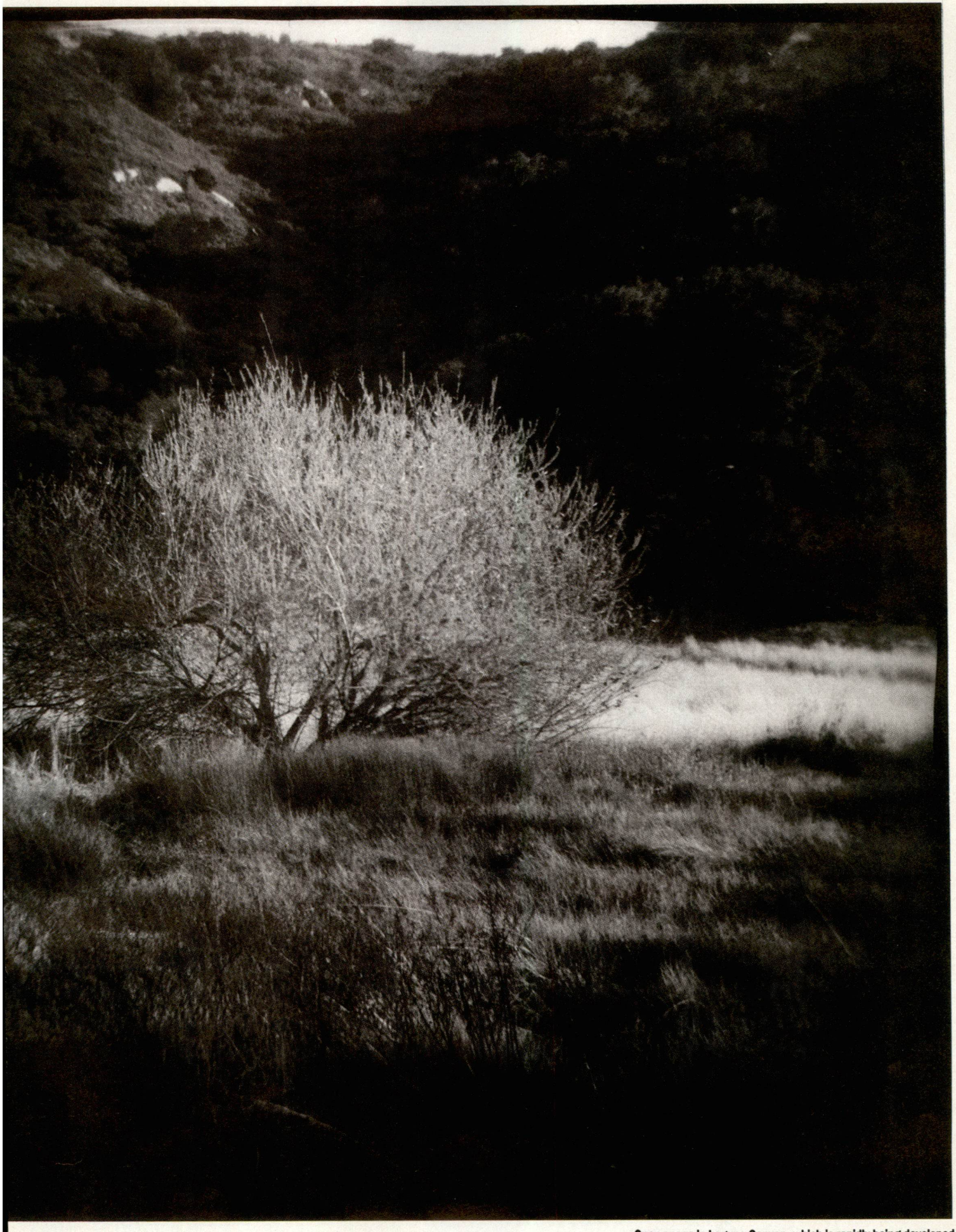
A basketball hoop tacked up in Topanga Canyon.

The canyons that slice up Southern California have their differences. Rich rock 'n' rollers live in this one, survivalists in that one; Laurel has traffic problems, Tuna doesn't. But basically all of them are alike. They are what this country was before the sprinkled lawn became a way of life. The elements that control canyon life are plants first, animals second, fire third and rain fourth. Humans come so far down on any canyon list it isn't even funny. The Chumash Indians didn't have development plans for any of this property. Their thoughts on this subject, if they had any, might have been: We are part of a perfectly humming cosmic system here, a system that's neither good nor bad but simply is. We don't need to mess with it.

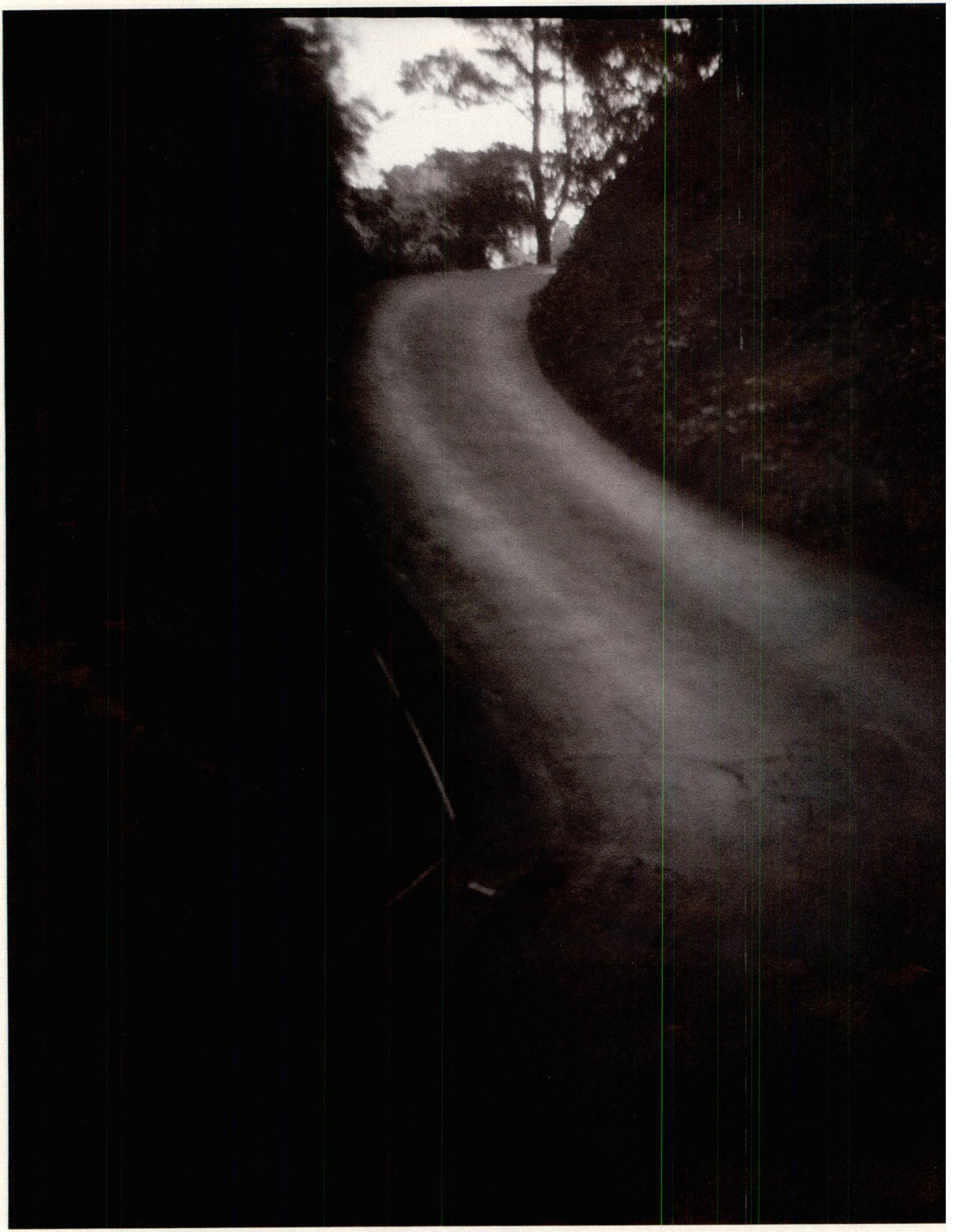
You look at an oak tree in these canyons, and you don't have to say, "Oh, how beautiful." The truth is, some days it is, some days it isn't. Some days the larvae from oak moths rain down on you like tree dandruff. Some days the trees look as if they need washing. A plant like greasewood, which can explode if fire even gets near it, isn't beautiful, except sometimes it is. Sumac: What a pain. But it smells like heaven. And ceanothus—California lilac—blindingly beautiful three weeks out of the year, thorny and sullen the other 49. This isn't necessarily nature to write poems about.

Ryegrass is nasty in August, but mild and velvety in April and May—which is also the best time to start your weeding if you want to live through the steam-engine fires from August through December. But April and May are when the





Open space in Laguna Canyon, which is rapidly being developed.



A private driveway leads to a hidden house in Beachwood Canyon.

rattlesnakes wake up and come out in the sun and introduce their babies to the larger world. Firemen and welfare mothers without other male protectors conduct courtships around these exquisite reptiles.

"Where's that snake you were calling about, ma'am?"

"Right there, by your foot."

"Oh! My goodness!"

After the snake has escaped or been squashed, the fireman comes in for coffee, and love blooms.

Generally, though, humans make themselves scarce. That's the whole point. There are signs: The basketball hoop tacked up precariously in the wilderness, the roads that go nowhere, the jerry-built houses that everybody knows are no more than kindling for the next conflagration. You can hear party sounds, wind chimes, survivalists shooting their guns, or, often, sounds of ecstasy from somewhere around.

But off the main highway, humans are scarcer than coyotes. Some of the houses look pretty sturdy, with concrete pilings and three-car garages. But once, after a bad rain, I saw a new car washed up in a tree. We may live here in the present, but it could all go in a minute. The other afternoon, we saw a coyote out on the point. Something nice to look at. Then another one. Another one. Four of them. Partly together, partly alone. Their time was different from ours. They lived in a different world—the one you see in these photographs. A place where a human would never be boss. It's good to keep that in mind. ▬

Novelist Carolyn See lives in Topanga Canyon.



Native coastal live oaks in Topanga State Park.



A dog crosses a bridge off Old Topanga Canyon Road.

Provençal Classics

Champagne Chef Patrick Healy Shares Richly Flavored Niçoise Recipes

BY COLMAN ANDREWS

"NICE IS A LOT like Southern California," observes chef Patrick Healy. "It has the same climate, the same lifestyle, the same kind of geography, the same food products."

One thing that the great capital of the Côte d'Azur does *not* have, of course—as Healy is in a good position to attest—is California-style cuisine. But the cooking of the region does have certain things in common with the contemporary California culinary style: It depends heavily on fresh, seasonal ingredients; it's full of bright, vivid flavors—garlic, fresh herbs, good olive oil and vinegar, and it draws readily from the traditional kitchens of both France and Italy. And like its California counterpart, it tastes great.

Healy, former chef at Le St. Germain and Colette and now chef and co-owner—with his French-born wife, Sophie—of Champagne in West Los Angeles, discovered the cuisine of Nice on his first trip to Europe, traveling through the region with his sister in 1979. "It was distinct," he recalls. "The food was very different from any 'French food' I'd ever had in America and even different from food I'd tasted in other parts of Provence. If nothing else, the way Provençal cuisine uses olives, garlic and tomatoes in almost everything really sets it apart. So does the way it adapts so many Italian dishes, such as French versions of *gnocchi* and ravioli. It's also richer cooking than you expect to find in such a warm climate—but at the same time, somehow, it still seems light. I think that might have to do with all the olive oil and fresh herbs and with the fact that there's not a lot of wine used in sauces."

Healy learned to cook niçoise specialties when he returned to France the next year to work. He ended up not in Nice itself, but in the village of Plasscassier above Cannes, in the sunny, aromatic back-country of the Côte d'Azur—a place he found, he says, because his grandmother was a friend of Julia Child.

"Harriet Healy was at the Cordon Bleu with Julia in the 1950s," he explains, "and they stayed in touch over the years. Harriet wrote several cookbooks of her own and then, for about 15 years, ran a combination cooking school and antique shop in Palm Beach. When my grandmother wanted to take a sabbatical in France, Julia suggested Plasscassier, and my grandmother ended up renting a house there for a while. And when I said that I wanted to go to France myself to learn to cook, Julia arranged for me to get a job as a temporary assistant to the local butcher and *traiteur* [a maker of take-out delicacies], Boussageon—where Julia later shot an episode of her TV show, incidentally, showing the owner making *pâté en croûte*."

Healy met Sophie Urosevitch in Plasscassier. Her family lived in the area, and she used to come in to buy meat. "You know how it is in small towns in France," he says. "The regular customers drop by the shops at 5 in the afternoon for apéritifs. That's how I got to know Sophie." Three years later, in Los Angeles, they were married.

First, though, Healy completed his apprenticeship in the south of France, work-

BALZER ON WINE

Bouchard Burgundies

WHEN I WAS INVITED by Jean-Francois Bouchard, the young scion of the famed Burgundian house, to a Burgundy tasting of barrel samples from the '89 vintage, I cleared my calendar. The word was already out that an early, sunny harvest in '89 had produced a banner year, making two good years in a row for Burgundy.

At the tasting, the barrel samples of nine red wines contained amazing surprises. Most of the Burgundies were of a beguiling softness, with little of the tannic bite one expects in red wines so young. How come?

In ripe grapes, tannins reside in the pomace—skins, stems, seeds—and they give young red wines their puckery tastes. When the newly fermenting wine is left in contact with the pomace for as long as 21 to 60 days, at least three times the usual maceration time, a dramatic change occurs. More tannins are extracted from the wine. And the tannins increase to such a concentration that smaller chain molecules merge with the larger ones, become heavy and fall to the bottom of the wine, giving the wine a gentleness.

As I sipped the 1989 Beaune-Gréves, Vigne de L'Enfant Jésus and the '89 Pommard Premier Cru, I wondered whether the technique, called pomace-cap extended maceration, had found its way to Burgundy. Reports about studies on the process had been published just a few months previously. I asked Jean-Francois.

Yes, he said, most of the nine wines were made with a new vinification process and new equipment. Hmm. I tasted the big one, Le Chambertin. Spectacular. Black currant elegance, haunting depths. I rated it 19.5 out of a possible 20 points.

Most of the '89s will not be coming along for a year or two, whites before the reds, but there are some super Bouchard titles here now. You'll find the Beaune-Gréves de L'Enfant Jésus '85 for about $58, the 1986 for $48, the Pommard Premier Cru '86 for $30. You'll have to wait a couple years to obtain the 1989 Le Chambertin, but an outstanding '86 is here now for $76. If you love Pouilly-Fuissé, the Bouchard 1988 (100% Chardonnay) is good: $17. And the softer, more poetic Meursault-Genevriéres, from the memorable '85 vintage, is superb with salmon: $46. —*Robert Lawrence Balzer*

Photographed by Gerald Bybee; food stylist: Diane Elander.



Pissaladière, the niçoise version of pizza, has no tomato sauce or cheese.

ing for a year at André Surmain's Relais a Mougins, for a few months at the now-defunct but once highly regarded La Mourachonne in nearby Mouans-Sartoux, and then for another year back in Mougins at Roger Vergé's three-star Moulin de Mougins. And all the time, says Healy, while learning both classic and contemporary French food, he kept eating and loving the food of the region.

Two niçoise specialties are world-famous and are found, in various forms, on restaurant menus all over Southern California—ratatouille, a sort of vegetable ragout of onions, zucchini, eggplant and bell peppers cooked in olive oil with garlic and herbs, and, of course, *salade niçoise.* A third dish of the region, a salad of assorted baby greens (including arugula, curly endive, wild chicory and chervil) called *mesclun,* can be found at some Southern California restaurants.

Other niçoise classics, though, remain curiously unknown here, among them *pissaladière*—a pizzalike, cheeseless tart topped with onions, black olives, garlic and both whole anchovies and the Provençal anchovy purée called *pissala* (from which the tart takes its name); *farcis niçoises*—assorted vegetables stuffed with meat, bread crumbs and herbs; *bagna cauda,* literally "hot bath"—a warm dressing of olive oil, garlic and puréed anchovies in which assorted raw vegetables are dredged; *socca*—a thin, crisp crêpe made from chickpea flour and olive oil and traditionally eaten as street food; *soupe au pistou*—a kind of local minestrone, with a paste of basil, garlic, olive oil and sometimes tomato and/or cheese stirred in; *alouettes sans têtes,* literally "larks without heads"— thin slices of veal or beef stuffed with herbs and rolled, tied and braised (so that they do indeed end up looking a bit like the headless carcasses of small birds), and such borrowings from Italy as raviolis, usually filled with Swiss chard, ground meat and cheese, and *gnocchis,* dumplings of flour, egg and puréed potato.

"I can't imagine why somebody isn't serving food like this in Los Angeles," Healy says. In fact, he adds, he is seriously thinking of opening a casual, inexpensive, Provençal-style bistro here at which dishes of this sort would be served. In the meantime, he sometimes creates niçoise and other Provençal menus for his Sunday- and Monday-night regional French dinners at Champagne. And he offers the following recipes, adapted to the American kitchen, for the home cook. (For more on niçoise cooking, see "The Cuisine of the Sun, Classic French Cooking from Nice and Provence" by Mireille Johnston, Random House.)

"You get all kinds of things that call themselves salade niçoise *in America," Healy says, "and most of them don't bear any resemblance to the original. But, then, a lot of people make it wrong in France, too."*

SALADE NIÇOISE

1 pound fresh fava beans (optional)
Salt
3 baby artichokes
Juice of 1 lemon
1 tablespoon plus 1 cup extra-virgin olive oil (a Provençal brand such as Puget or L'Olivier if possible)
Pepper
2 ripe plum tomatoes, very thinly sliced
1 cucumber, peeled and very thinly sliced
1 green bell pepper, seeds and ribs removed, sliced thinly lengthwise
3 hard-boiled eggs, quartered
1 small white onion, about the size of a lime, peeled and sliced thinly lengthwise
1 stalk celery, very thinly sliced
1 small bulb fennel, very thinly sliced
4 red radishes, very thinly sliced
2 cloves garlic, peeled and minced
⅓ cup good-quality French red wine vinegar
1 teaspoon Dijon mustard
1 pound (2 standard-sized cans) best-quality tuna (preferably imported from Italy, Spain or France), well-drained and broken into large chunks
1 bunch fresh basil, chopped
1 bunch fresh Italian parsley, chopped
12 anchovy filets

If using fava beans, remove from pods and blanch in boiling, salted water for 4 minutes; plunge beans into ice water to cool. Drain and slip off skins. Cool beans in refrigerator.

Peel about half exterior leaves from artichokes; peel back outer green skin from base and stem. Place artichokes in cold water to cover; add lemon juice. Let stand 10 minutes, pour off lemon water into a small saucepan, add 1 tablespoon olive oil and pinch each of salt and pepper. Bring liquid to boil, reduce heat to low, add artichokes and cook, covered, for about 8 minutes or until knife-tender. Cool artichokes by immersing in cold water for several seconds.

Whisk garlic, vinegar and mustard together in mixing bowl; slowly pour in 1 cup olive oil, mixing well to form an emulsion. Salt and pepper to taste.

Place tuna in middle of large round or oval platter; arrange artichokes, tomatoes, cucumber, green pepper, eggs, onion, celery, fennel and radishes around tuna, alternating colors for contrast. Salt and pepper lightly, pour dressing over all ingredients and sprinkle platter with basil and parsley; lay anchovies across top in a crisscross pattern. Makes 4 servings.

"At Boussageon," recalls Healy, "the owner's mother-in-law didn't make the pissaladière *in big rectangles like some places did. She'd make it as a kind of round, free-form pizza, and she'd always spread it generously with* pissala. *I remember watching her make the* pissala *with a mortar and pestle, grinding up the anchovies with the cloves and herbs and garlic. I do it just that way."*

PISSALADIÈRE

5 cloves garlic, peeled and crushed
3½ pounds onions, very thinly sliced
½ bunch fresh thyme leaves
Salt and pepper
5½ cups high-gluten or all-purpose flour
1.8 ounces fresh yeast, crumbled
1 teaspoon sugar
2 cups cold water
1 teaspoon salt
3 cloves
1 teaspoon dried thyme
2 garlic cloves, peeled and crushed
30 anchovy filets (2 tins), soaked in water for 20 minutes and patted dry
3 white peppercorns
½ cup extra-virgin olive oil
30 niçoise olives, pitted

Finely chop three garlic cloves and lightly sweat in heavy saucepan with onions and thyme. Season mixture with salt and pepper, and cook, covered, until soft. Set aside to cool; refrigerate. In food processor or mixer fitted with dough hook, mix flour, yeast and sugar at low speed 2 to 3 minutes. Add water until dough forms ball; knead at low speed 10 minutes. Add salt, and continue to knead 1 more minute.

Lightly flour hands, and remove dough from mixer. Place dough on lightly floured cutting board and let rise until doubled in size. Punch down dough and knead until firm; allow to rise again until doubled in size. Fold in half and refrigerate. When

cool, roll out dough to form circle 12 inches across and ¼ inch thick, and place on lightly oiled baking sheet. Refrigerate.

Combine cloves, dried thyme, remaining garlic, 6 anchovy filets and peppercorns in mortar, and crush with pestle, forming paste. Add half the olive oil and mix well.

Preheat oven to 475 degrees. Remove dough from refrigerator and cover thoroughly with anchovy mixture, using pastry brush or back of spoon. Spread chilled onion mixture in middle of dough, leaving 1-inch rim. Lay anchovies over onion mixture in crisscross pattern, and sprinkle with olives. Brush rim of dough with remaining olive oil. Bake 25 minutes. Cut into pieces as you would pizza, and serve warm or at room temperature. Makes 6 servings.

Healy calls farcis niçoises *"real niçoise home cooking—about the first thing you'll taste if you get invited to somebody's house for dinner in the region." Many different varieties of vegetables are used; three-star chef Roger Vergé, Healy recalls, stuffed new potatoes and miniature cabbages as an accompaniment to his roasted baby goat. More common are zucchini, eggplant, onions, mushrooms and these tomatoes.*

FARCIS NIÇOISES

6 small vine-ripened tomatoes
½ pound sausage meat, without casings
¼ pound ground veal
1 small onion, minced
3 cloves garlic, minced
1 bunch Italian parsley, minced
1 cup unflavored bread crumbs
Salt and pepper
Olive oil

Wash tomatoes well and cut ½ inch off bottoms. Set bottoms aside, then scoop about half the meat out of each tomato from exposed bottom side. (Bottom sides now become, in effect, tops.)

Mix together sausage meat, veal, onion, garlic, parsley and ¾ cup of bread crumbs, and season with salt and pepper.

Preheat oven to 350 degrees. Season insides of tomatoes with salt and pepper, fill each with meat mixture, and sprinkle tops with remaining bread crumbs. Oil roasting pan just big enough to hold tomatoes; place tomatoes in pan side by side, cut side up, and bake 35 minutes. Replace tomato bottoms, to serve as tops, and bake 10 minutes more. Makes 6 servings. ■

Colman Andrews is the author of "Catalan Cuisine" (Atheneum).

What does it take to be the world's best aerobic exerciser?

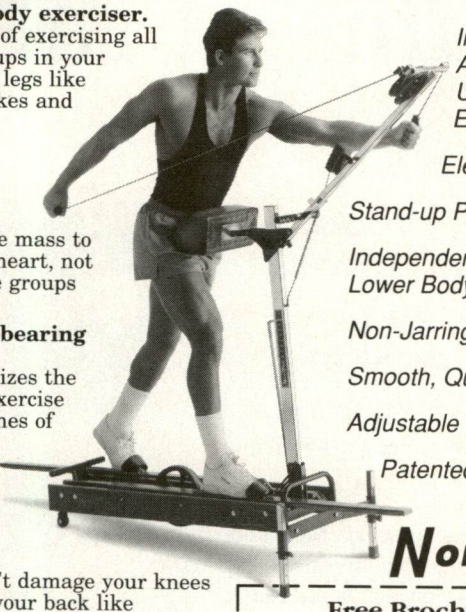
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Creams of the Crop

Expensive Products Promise to Firm, Unwrinkle and Smooth Dry Skin

BY PADDY CALISTRO



SOME PEOPLE are so worried about facial wrinkles that they're willing to spend $100 on a jar of moisturizer. Taking note, the cosmetics industry has expanded its skin-care focus to the rest of the body and offers such products as $50 jars of green mud that promise younger-looking, radiant skin from the neck down. That product's manufacturer says it sells "hundreds of thousands" of jars every year.

Last year, cosmetics products that promised to moisturize and revitalize the body accounted for about $50 million in U.S. sales. Now, according to recent industry surveys, that number is increasing by 15% each year. But it's not only hopes of alleviating parched skin that motivates people to buy these creams, lotions and oils, nor is it merely the ads that promise a younger, sexier look. Many consumers look upon these products as a way to help them relax while they try to improve their skin.

"It's more than a dry-skin issue," says Mary Tumolo, training director at Princess Marcella Borghese, makers of Fango, the green mud. "It's a given that a product will moisturize; that's the norm. Now women want a product that does more." Tumolo contends that consumers who plunk down big dollars for body creams and lotions are trying to re-create the feeling of a spa in the home.

"I can't afford the time to go to a spa," says Linda Freedman, director of marketing for a Los Angeles computer-software firm, "and even if I could, I wouldn't spend $2,000 for a few days at the Golden Door." Instead, she gets massages twice a month and spends several hundred dollars each year on body creams and bath products.

Manufacturers insist that relaxation and pampering are only partial explanations for the body-care boom. "Throughout the '80s, the trend was toward sophisticated face treatments," says Carol Schuler, a vice president at Clarins, a firm that specializes in treatment products. "Everyone became body conscious," she adds. "The awareness that creams could make a difference on the face led women to look for solutions to body-skin problems."

The Food and Drug Administration, which monitors cosmetics claims, constantly reminds consumers that no cosmetic product will lift a breast, flatten a stomach or smooth a cellulite-plagued bottom. But the popularity of such products as Biotherm's Actif Ventre Ferme Stomach-Firming Treatment or Clarins' Cellulite Control Gel indicate that consumers think they're getting results.

Most of these cosmetic creams work in one of two ways. Some, such as bust creams, plump the skin cells by adding and trapping water on the surface, causing the skin to feel temporarily firmer. Others, especially anti-cellulite products, draw water out of the surface cells so the skin looks thinner and firmer. Results are sometimes noticeable but are always temporary.

These products are no alternative to cosmetic surgery. On the other hand, many products promise to help soothe, relax and moisturize the body in the bath, and those often deliver on their promise. The therapeutic benefits of a leisurely soak, which relaxes the muscles, have long been acknowledged by the medical community. In addition, psychologists such as Dr. Ellen Siroka Robinson, a New York-based therapist, recognize the bath's psychological benefits. Robinson, who leads corporate stress-reducing programs, advocates the bath as a safe and beneficial alternative to tranquilizers or alcohol for overstressed individuals who have trouble relaxing.

"A tepid bath helps relax muscles, and the addition of oils and things appealing to the senses, such as smell, helps soothe and calm," Robinson adds. That line of thinking has led manufacturers to concentrate on many new products for the bath. Quite a few, such as Avon's Aroma Spa collection, emphasize the benefits of aromatherapy, which uses naturally scented essential oils to affect the mood. Scientists who study scent have found that when certain oils such as chamomile, basil and rose are added to a bath or massaged into the skin, the body apparently relaxes more completely. Couple a mood-altering scent and some moisturizers in a warm bath, and there seems to be a case for manufacturers' claims that a product "nurtures" or "relaxes the mind and body."

But it's important for consumers to keep in mind that no matter what these products are called, all of them are still cosmetics, items that are designed not to substitute for medical treatments but to make good grooming easier and more pleasurable. ▬

Photographed by Jennifer Y. Cheung

Rabbi Hier

Continued from Page 11

plete in prayer shawls and *tefillin*, or phylacteries, greeted him with loud prayers for the consolation of their oppressed Jewish brethren in the Soviet Union.

Soon Hier was hobnobbing with royalty, but even then on his own terms. On one occasion there was a noted Jewish Canadian jurist who took issue with Hier over the yarmulke he insisted on wearing at a Victoria reception for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip. To his dismay, the royal couple was captivated by the head covering, engaged Hier and his wife in friendly conversation and ignored the judge.

In 1975 Hier took a year's sabbatical in Israel. There, he encountered the Or Same'ach ("happy light") Yeshiva in Jerusalem. Or Same'ach's scouts used to scour the city for the many young, disheveled Jewish Westerners who flocked to Israel during their travels. They would bring them to the yeshiva where the youths would be bombarded with Sabbath good feeling and *haimish*ness. Eventually many would enroll as students, and some would become *ba'alei tshuva* (newly observant Jews).

It occurred to Hier that if the key to spreading Orthodox Jewish observance was young people, then he was wasting his time in Vancouver, where he was preaching to the converted—the same people who flocked to his synagogue week after week. When Hier returned home in September, it struck Sam Belzberg that the fire had disappeared. Belzberg decided the man needed a drink and a sympathetic ear and invited him into his study. "Hier said, 'I don't drink,' " recounts Belzberg. "I said, 'You'll have one anyway.' " He drank. And Belzberg heard his story. Los Angeles, said Hier, was becoming a vibrant center for Jewish life. And that's where he wanted to move.

Hier and Belzberg flew to Los Angeles in early 1977, where they quickly snatched up the old Reiss-Davis Center building on Pico Boulevard; real estate maven Joe Tannenbaum of Toronto had agreed to match Belzberg's half-million-dollar contribution to open a West Coast branch of Or Same'ach.

Word quickly reached the ears of Rabbi Maurice Lamm, then head of the Beth Jacob Congregation of Beverly Hills, the largest Orthodox synagogue in the western United States. He reportedly got his brother Rabbi Norman Lamm, president of Yeshiva University in New York, to call Hier and offer an affiliation with Yeshiva University. L.A.'s nascent Orthodox community was virtually *kvelling* that, finally, there would be an Orthodox college for their children. Hier was equally delighted, having unexpectedly upgraded his operation from a yeshiva to a university affiliate called Yeshiva University at Los Angeles (YULA).

HIER DROVE TO LOS Angeles with his wife and two young sons in July, 1977. During the course of the summer, Hier enlisted real estate developers Roland Arnall and Esther Cohen, who became his lay leaders, and Mara Kochba, a native New Yorker who had worked in communal public relations and fund-raising. With Sally Arnall and Marlene, they sat in the courtyard of Hier's rundown building and planned a fund-raising banquet. A cursory glance at the calendar revealed that Nov. 12—the date of the banquet—was the anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Nazis' first pogrom. Upon discovering this, Kochba says, Hier chortled with childlike glee. "We're in business," he declared.

It was during the next month that the idea for a commemorative museum for the Holocaust with a strong activist, Jewish-defense orientation jelled. Then, while planning the banquet Hier proposed honoring Simon Wiesenthal. Hier and his associates realized that if they could convince Wiesenthal to back their efforts, they could have both a school and a center. With characteristic decisiveness, Hier got on the telephone and set up a meeting in Vienna.

Upon arriving a week later, Hier discovered that his luggage had been lost. Unable to shave, he went down to the hotel barbershop. As Hier sat in the barber's chair, he noticed a framed, autographed photograph of Adolph Hitler. He doesn't remember what he said to the barber, but, for Hier, this was clearly an epiphanous moment. Although in the post-Holocaust world it was impolite to be openly anti-Semitic, there were clearly people out there who regretted that the Final Solution had not been final.

Wiesenthal was flattered. The center would become America's answer to Yad Vashem, Israel's national Holocaust museum in Jerusalem. And Hier assured Wiesenthal, who detested the idea of a museum in which files and photographs would merely gather dust, that it would be run as an activist operation. "If they had said they wanted to set up on the East Coast," Wiesenthal says, "I'd have said no. It is built up already. But the West Coast was, from the Jewish point of view, a spiritual desert. And I felt that something should be done."

Although Weisenthal's support of the center was what Hier wanted, it immediately embroiled the center in controversy. A few years before, a group of Holocaust survivors led by wealthy Jewish financier Abraham Spiegel, chairman of the board of Columbia Savings, had invited Wiesenthal to a dinner aimed at funding a Holocaust memorial in the federation's headquarters. What came out of that event is still debated. There are those within Spiegel's group who contend that they had cut a deal with Wiesenthal, that he had agreed to back their proposed memorial. Hier says that Wiesenthal had never agreed to lend his name to the Martyrs' Memorial Museum, and Wiesenthal concurs. Wiesenthal's withdrawal cost the group some $25,000 (but the memorial was eventually built). Although Hier reimbursed them, he was accused of underhanded dealings.

Rabbi Chaim Seidler-Feller, director of the Hillel Jewish Student Union at UCLA, recalls confronting Hier at the time. "I asked Hier why he was doing this when the Martyrs' Memorial had been in the works for 10 years and was reaching its culmination. His response was: 'We will do it bigger, better, faster—and without the survivors.' There was no regard on his part for communal niceties or respect for the survivor community. It was a venture that he viewed as competitive. Whoever had the biggest center would be king."

What's more, after the euphoria of the first dinner faded, the local Orthodox community became disenchanted as members recognized that Hier's commitment to the college was overshadowed by his commitment to the center. "He had a new toy," says one former center employee, "so Moish put aside the old toy."

Their fears were well-grounded—the school never evolved into a full-scale affiliate of Yeshiva University in New York. Today, YULA is, in essence, a high school. Indeed, when Hier recently made his appeal for a further $5 million in federal funding for his museum, some parents of YULA students threatened to withdraw their children, and there was serious talk of building a new Orthodox Jewish high school. Hier responded to this threat with customary aplomb; in late May, he outbid the city's Sikh and Sephardic Jewish communities for a school building on Robertson Boulevard, into which he plans to move

Continued on Page 37

CURRENTS

A Guide to the Best of Southern California



THE ARTS

Olé! Mexican Ad Art Revival



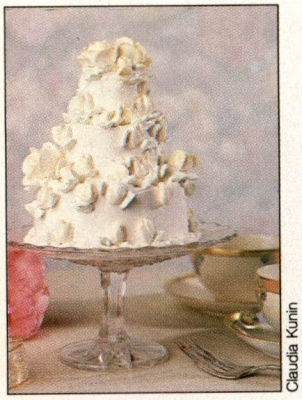
THE MEXICAN Revolution of 1910 drastically altered Mexico's artistic climate, freeing native artists from the prevailing French and Spanish standards of the time. Later, in the 1930s, with the importation of modern offset presses to print large color images, many painters discovered they could earn a living as commercial artists in the growing advertising business. The sophistication of Mexican advertising art (used most often in the 1930s to publicize cigarettes and beer) is showcased (through Sept. 16) at The Old California Store, an antiques shop in Ventura specializing in California Rancho themes.

"There's a similarity in styles in '30s Mexican and American art," says Don Shorts, co-owner of The Old California Store, though, he says, the Mexican pieces are more ethnic and regionalized, stressing pre-Columbian and Aztec influences. The collection includes about 30 rare color lithographs, most dating back to the '30s, the art form's heyday. Prints measuring 16x24 inches run about $175. —SEAN PRESANT

The Old California Store, 1528 E. Thompson Blvd., Ventura; (805) 643-4217.

FOOD

Baby Cakes



Claudia Kunin

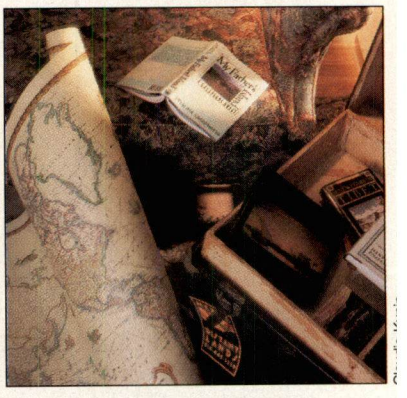
SOMETIMES THE grandest gesture is best served by the smallest of trinkets. And while the miniature wedding cakes sold at The Bakery on Melrose aren't exactly Cartier, they are jewels in their own right. Just 5 inches in diameter and 6 inches high, these three-tiered cakes are perfect, tiny versions of the traditional wedding cake.

The mini-cakes ($22.50 each) come in white- or chocolate-cake versions with apricot or raspberry filling, and The Bakery prides itself on using only pure, natural ingredients and flavorings. What could be more perfect for an anniversary celebration—or perhaps to sweeten a marriage proposal? —DEBORAH SROLOFF

The Bakery on Melrose, 7261 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles; (213) 934-4493.

SHOPTALK

Books to Travel By



THESE DAYS, Adrian Kalvinskas isn't traveling much, but he's learning a lot about the world. As owner of Distant Lands—A Traveler's Bookstore, Kalvinskas gets a lot of off-the-wall questions about a lot of off-the-wall places. "It's a real education," he says.

The small, comfortable shop invites intense browsing. In addition to maps, 4,500 travel titles and a wide selection of travel videos, Kalvinskas stocks an extensive armchair-travel section. "It's less dry to take an armchair adventure than to read a guidebook," he believes. "Travel literature gives a better idea of people and place."

Kalvinskas grew up in the Pasadena area and, after following his own wanderlust, decided to become involved in the evolution of Old Pasadena. "It's a lot of fun," he says of running such a bookstore. "Ninety-nine percent of the time people come in happy because they're excited about traveling." —ROBIN TUCKER

Distant Lands—A Traveler's Bookstore, 62 S. Raymond Ave., Old Pasadena; (818) 449-3220.

Rabbi Hier

Continued from Page 35

at least the girls school. Heir says it cost the center $2.25 million.

Indeed, Orthodox Jews have never been givers to the Wiesenthal Center. Hier, for his part, has not actively sought their support. "My appeal was always beyond the Orthodox community," he says. At times it has seemed that Hier has offended his fellow Orthodox. Some academicians were reportedly disturbed that Hier, who possessed no academic credentials beyond his yeshiva ordination, had appointed himself "dean" of Yeshiva University of Los Angeles. And that, despite his lack of academic standing, he would not permit the parent organization in New York to exert any direct influence on his operation.

Not all Jewish leaders keep their sentiments private. For the past several years, Hyman Haves has been Hier's equal in tenacity and verve. The 74-year-old former ADL executive has publicly battled the center over its foray into politics. Haves believes the center—which is affiliated with the yeshiva and thus a religious institution—has no business seeking money from the government. Haves, in fact, testified before the Legislature against the approval of the $5-million grant in 1985.

Like Haves, UCLA's Rabbi Seidler-Feller has not always hidden his criticisms of Hier and the Wiesenthal Center. Seidler-Feller claims that his outspokeness almost cost him his job. At a Yom Kippur service several years ago, Seidler-Feller lectured that the center was an aberration from traditional Orthodoxy. "In Orthodox communities," says Siedler-Feller today, "you are never browbeaten with anti-Semitism. The Holocaust is not a force for promoting Jewishness. The agenda for Orthodoxy after the war was not to build memorials and not to cry, but to promote learning and create the positive capabilities for the survival of Judaism."

As a result, he says, an irate member of the center tried to have him fired. Hier says he, himself, would never have done such a thing, and knew nothing of it.

In its fervid pursuit of anti-Semitism, the center also sometimes slips. Last February, Donald Dean Hiner, a part-time history instructor at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indiana, taught that the Holocaust never took place and the Nazis had no plan to exterminate the Jews. Marcia Goldstone, director of the Jewish Community Relations Council in Indianapolis, worked behind the scenes on the Hiner case with university officials and the ADL. The university agreed to suspend Hiner with pay, indicating that he could be fired later. But a Midwest member of the center—unaware of these moves—called Cooper demanding action. Without telling the local Jewish establishment, Wiesenthal Center Director Gerald Margolis contacted the university and urged Hiner's dismissal.

Goldstone learned of his effort from the newspaper. She was not happy. "From the outside it looks like the Jewish community doesn't know what it's doing," she says. "From the inside it confuses and upsets people."

Hier offered a grudging apology. But he hates the idea of having to observe Jewish organizational etiquette. "There is no such thing as somebody 'handling an incident,'" says Hier. "Who pre-assigned it? Was it a group that got together 90 years ago and said this is our turf?

"Sometimes there is a danger of being too organized," says Hier. "Being too organized sometimes stifles creativity, individuality. Sometimes the organized Jewish community, by its democratic nature, becomes too unruly. It's hard to

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conduct a committee with 200 people."

There have been occasions, however, in which Hier's disregard for diplomatic prerogatives could conceivably harm the very Jews he has sought to protect. For example, in 1985, Hier decided to commemorate the Armenian genocide in his museum, despite criticism from some elements of the Jewish community. The Turks soon responded to Hier's plan with veiled threats about no longer being able to "protect" the Jews living in Muslim Turkey. (Israel has been quiet regarding the Armenian genocide for precisely that reason.)

Hier says he took the position in service to historical truth. The Armenian genocide happened, he says. That, in itself, is sufficient to be commemorated in his museum.

"What Hier has done," said Berenbaum, Washington's Holocaust Memorial director, "which is an act of almost singular integrity, is not to allow the rewriting of history to the exclusion of Armenian genocide. He is saying if you can rewrite one history, you can rewrite another."

As far as Israeli politics go, Hier believes it is not the place of American Jews to tell Israelis how to run their country. This does not preclude all criticism: He is aghast at the breakdown of Israel's electoral system and at its inept public relations. But he says he will always profess unqualified support for the government in power—as long as certain lines are not crossed. For instance, Hier says he would never support or acquiesce to the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Having gone through the Holocaust, he says, Jews must never subject another people to similar horrors.

It all always seems to come back to the Holocaust, to Hier's burning dedication to never let anyone forget, and his use of its horrors to rally Jews everywhere. Rosalie Zalas, an advisor to Sen. Wilson and a member of the center's board of directors, believes Hier's attitude is not fanatical, but necessary. In 1964, Zalas and her young children followed her husband, a doctor assigned to the United States Army, to West Germany. She knew German, and was shocked by what people said to each other about the Holocaust when they thought she couldn't understand.

"It was appalling to find out there was such a large number of Germans, particularly older Germans, who never really regretted the Holocaust," she says. "They only regretted that they had not finished the job and there were still

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people left to talk about it." When she asked the location of the Dachau concentration camp, people feigned ignorance.

When Zalas moved to Los Angeles a few years later, she was distressed to find that the city's Jewish community also largely ignored the Holocaust. "Before the Wiesenthal Center, nobody knew anything about the Holocaust, nobody talked about it." The sole exception, she said, was Marvin Hier.

Of course, some people wish he would keep quiet about it once in a while. Seidler-Feller keeps a "Holocaust abuse file" in his office that is filled with news of the Wiesenthal Center's activities. Raising the specter of the Holocaust at every turn lessens its horror and denies its singularity, Seidler-Feller says.

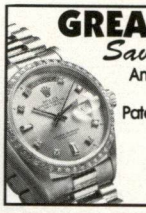
Nationally respected leader Rabbi Harold Schulweis, of Valley Beth Shalom in Encino, has his own misgivings: "Ideologically, I am concerned with the imbalance in the center's regard for the Holocaust," he says. "It is the predominant event in the Jewish psyche. Jews have the Holocaust clinging beneath their skin, in their nostrils. The majority of the people out there find their strong and their visceral identification through the Holocaust, and Hier has been able to tap into that." That ability is harmful to Jews, he says. "I think there is that one-sided, mono-dimensional aspect to the center's take on the Holocaust that I honestly believe is inimical to Jewish flexibility, creativity and innovativeness. It is a sad shortcut to Jewish loyalty."

Hier finds these criticisms irrelevant. In his view, memory and warning are inseparable. The Holocaust must be recalled so as to never be repeated. His message is that Jews are never safe, that anti-Semitism is pandemic, occurring everywhere and in various degrees of virulence, and no matter the occasion, Jews must always stand up for themselves.

"I have experienced anti-Semitism in public life in a very profound way," says Hier, harking back to his dinner with the Queen. Sitting at his table—Hier had ordered a kosher meal—was a kilt-clad Canadian admiral holding forth on the ethnicity he declared was ruining Canada. The admiral turned to Hier and said: "Take you, rabbi. Here we all are having dinner. And you have to eat differently."

Hier turned to the admiral in disgust: "With all due respect, sir," Hier said, "if you are not embarrassed to sit amongst us wearing a skirt, I don't think I have to be embarrassed about what I choose to eat." ■

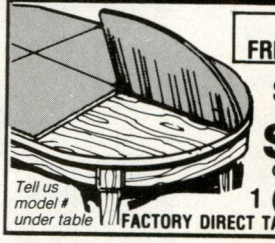
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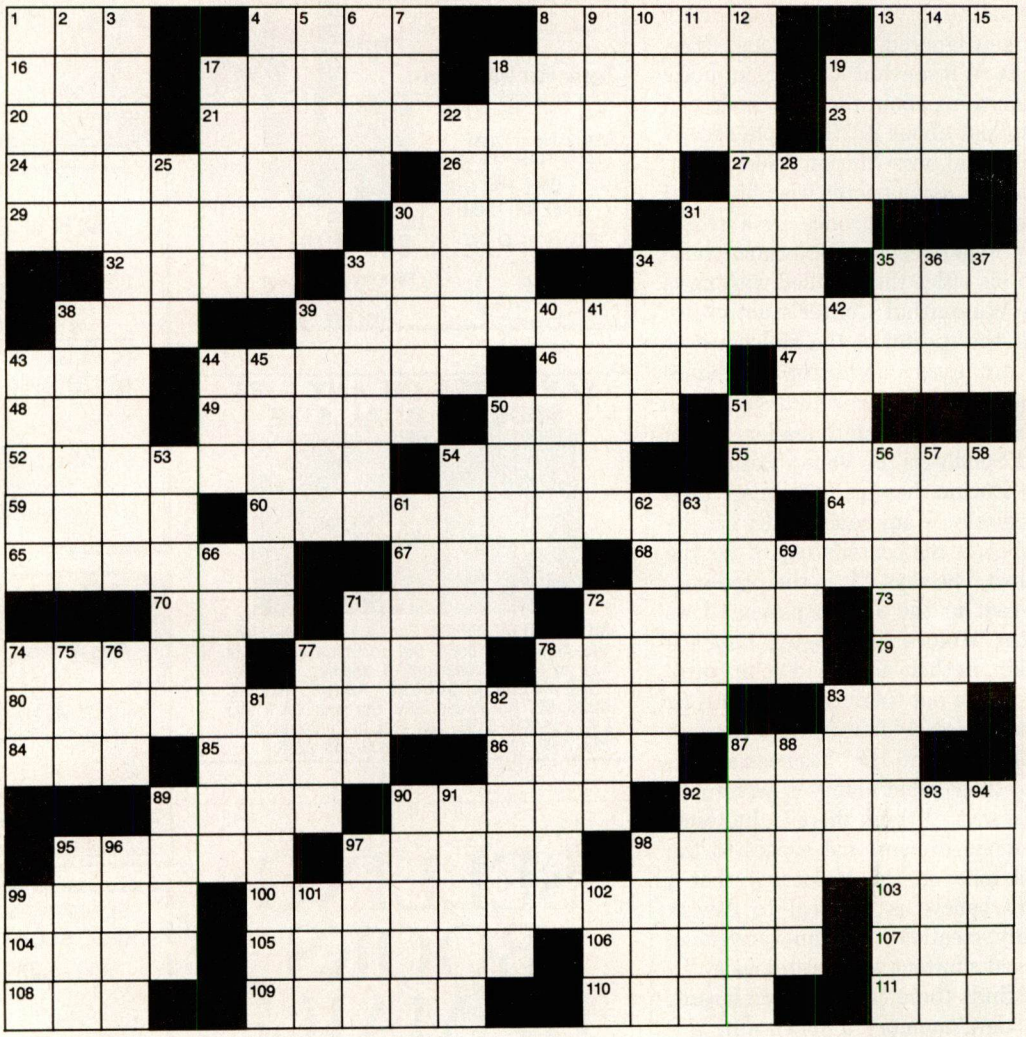
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BY BARRY TUNICK AND SYLVIA BURSZTYN



ACROSS

1 UK air arm
4 Story line
8 Lanai hi
13 Jokester
16 In the manner of
17 Purplish red
18 "Be prepared," e.g.
19 — mark (service stripe)
20 Besmirch
21 Dickens' hot heroine?
23 Repulsive
24 Furnishes with an introduction
26 Capt. Nemo's creator
27 Fibber or Molly
29 Do a slow burn
30 Succinct
31 BLT dressing
32 Charges
33 North Star St.
34 Husk-y food
35 Sigma's successor
38 Bay Area airpt.
39 Chaucer's ducky classic?
43 Hobbes, to Calvin
44 Embryonic oaks
46 Ireland, in Irish
47 Silent screen star?
48 Golfer Alcott
49 Follower of yours?
50 Levee load
51 Dogfaces
52 Overflow
54 He gave us a shot in the arm
55 Gab
59 *...in corpore —*
60 Hersey's paean to sushi?
64 Gracious!
65 Take on
67 Raggedy fellow
68 Stuff to the gills
70 Positive about
71 Muffet mouthful
72 Roman writer
73 See 64A
74 Arouse
77 Garden veggies
78 *Crème —*
79 Hockey's Bobby
80 Hemingway's L.A. football saga?
83 Scale starters
84 Hog haven
85 *Casablanca* café owner
86 *Cocoon*'s Cronyn
87 Hooked nail
89 Whiter than red
90 Starts the bidding
92 Manhandle
95 Son or daughter
97 Ain't the right way?
98 Shore thing
99 Navy recruit
100 John Gay's supermarket musical?
103 What Hester wore
104 West Point team
105 Bee flats?
106 "Nevermore" sayer
107 Joined the 10K
108 Zip A–Doo Dah link
109 Apes
110 Produced
111 Pro shop purchase

DOWN

1 Ways on or off
2 Tocsin
3 Jong's airline food opus?
4 Costs
5 More in arrears
6 Chooses
7 — Aviv
8 *Zut —!*
9 Greene of the screen
10 Grimm character
11 "Bali —"
12 College of William —
13 Carry on
14 Seagirt spot
15 Your, among Friends
17 Forest clearing
18 *Shandy* man
19 Jean Valjean creator
22 Blessed and current followers
25 Bend an elbow
28 Artemis
30 Like an unheavy metal
31 Glutton's cry
33 Oscar-winner Matlin
34 Remedy
35 Peat product
36 Heidi height
37 It sends troops troupes
38 Shanghai houseboat
39 What the doctor ordered?
40 No kidding!
41 Silvers' sergeant
42 Steinbeck's — *Eden*
43 No longer hot
44 *QE2*'s ocean
45 Meteor's mark
50 Risqué
51 Leatherneck
53 A shoe for a penny
54 Least unbalanced
56 Pearl Buck's magnanimous masterpiece?
57 OPEC VIP's
58 Painter Albert Pinkham
61 Indy winner Bobby
62 TV control
63 Depravities
66 Lear daughter
69 Bar choice
71 "Champagne" music maker
72 Brits' baby buggies
74 Has been
75 Evg. preceder
76 Starr of music
77 Bushel quarter
78 Heaviest parts
81 Blowhard
82 Porter's nom de plume
83 *The Forty Days of Musa —*
87 Flew like an eagle
88 Korean seaport
89 Feel for
90 Keys for the church?
91 Equals
92 Canadian official
93 Cubitus bones
94 Shaping tool
95 Reactor part
96 Diamond pentagon
97 Exchange fee
98 Box at the gym
99 Reprehensible
101 GI mail center
102 Scepter companion

Solution to last week's Puzzler

P	E	T		A	M	A	H	L		S	C	R	A	P	E		C	L	O	D
E	A	U		S	A	V	I	O		L	O	A	D	E	D		I	A	G	O
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M	E	S		A	R	D	O	R		C	A	B	A	L		A	R	L	E	N
P	R	A	I	R	I	E			C	A	R	O	M		A	M	O	E	B	A
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G	A	U	Z	Y		C	A	T	T	Y		V	A	P	O	R		N	I	L
O	S	S	A		T	E	H	E	E		D	E	C	A	Y	S		C	R	I
S	A	G		R	E	D	O	N	D	O	O	R	R	I	O		P	L	E	A
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C	L	I	N	G	E	R		R	A	B	B	I	S		G	E	R	M		
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R	O	S	A		T	H	E	C	A	T	S	K	I	L	L	S		N	O	T
I	N	O	N		I	M	L	A	T	E		E	V	A	D	E		C	U	E
S	A	M	E		S	O	A	P	E	D		G	Y	G	A	X		Y	E	W

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