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Cultures Clash As Hasidic Jews Compete for Turf

Sect Uses Politics, Law To Overpower Hispanics

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—There is a corner of Brooklyn like no other place in America. Men walk the streets in long black coats, wide-brimmed hats and long side-curls; children chatter in Yiddish in the hallways of public housing; women cover their shorn heads with wigs and scarves; tenement posters warn, in six-inch high Hebrew letters, that video machines are the work of Satan.

Despite its 19th century air, this enclave of Hasidic Jews, an ultra-orthodox sect rooted in Eastern Europe, is a model of modern machine politics. U.S. senators, Cabinet officers, mayors and Washington bureaucrats pay regular homage, courting its bloc vote. Hasidic lobbyists draw millions of federal dollars here.

And, in the block-to-block trench warfare that has pitted the growing numbers of Hasidim against their Puerto Rican neighbors for more than a decade, the Hasidim have nearly always had the upper hand.

The neighborhood known as Williamsburg was spawned in full view of the Statue of Liberty by immigrants who came across the bridge from Manhattan's Lower East Side. But this is no celebration of the melting pot. It is a story about the unreconciled passions of race and religion. Most of all, it is a story about turf.

On Sept. 30, a group of Hispanic parents stormed the front doors of P.S. 16, a squat brick elementary school, pushed past a phalanx of guards and barricaded themselves in the principal's office for several hours before police arrested 17 of them.

The sit-in, accompanied by shouts of "Bring Down the Wall," protested steel partitions built by the city to isolate Hasidic girls who had come from a nearby religious school to attend remedial classes. For a month, P.S. 16 stood nearly empty as 750 Hispanic and black students boycotted classes.

On Oct. 3, a federal appeals court issued a preliminary injunction against the city in a suit by public-school parents charging that the partitions created illegal racial segregation and violated the separation of church and state. The city tore down the walls, but the legal battle continues over how to accommodate the Hasidic girls, who, according to their religion, must not sit with, share drinking fountains with or mingle with boys and must be taught only by Yiddish-speaking women.

"Apartheid in Williamsburg" was the headline in the Spanish-language paper "El Mundo." The Williamsburg weekly "Der Yid" denounced the "Jew haters and their helpers" who staged the confrontation.

The case of P.S. 16, like cases involving Roman Catholic and Lutheran students in San Francisco, Louisville and Kansas City, Mo., may define a new front in the church-state dispute.

Since 1966, as part of a \$3.7 billion federally funded remedial education program, school systems across the nation had sent public school teachers into parochial schools in poor neighborhoods. But since the Supreme Court ruled that practice unconstitutional, school systems must bring religious students into the public schools for such classes or search for neutral sites. Reagan administration rules for implementing the decision are under court challenge in Washington.

'Separate but Equal Can't Exist'

For Nelida Morales, a candy store owner who has seen five of her children graduate from P.S. 16 and has a 10-year old there, the grander issues are with small in daily indignities. For years, Hispanics and Hasidim here have fought over playgrounds, racial quotas in public housing projects, private ambulances, landlord-tenant harassment, the use of community centers, the private purchase of public buildings and political boundaries under the Voting Rights Act.

"Separate but equal can't exist," said Morales, who heads the school's Parents Association. "If we left that wall up, our kids would understand that all their life there would be a wall. If we didn't take a stand now, we would teach our kids never to take a stand."

But Rabbi Neftali H. Frankel, an administrator in the 7,500-pupil Hasidic school system, said the fight "wasn't a question of segregation. The separation is more logistical than anything else . . . These classrooms in the public school were empty and collecting dust." He added that Hispanics "did not want our children in their school system. They made threats to our children in the streets: If you come to our school, we'll cut your heads off."

Forty miles north of the city in the town of Monroe, the all-Hasidic village of Kiryas Joel, formed 10 years ago for the overflow from Williamsburg, has fostered the same bitter conflict. Under state law, public school systems must provide transportation for private school students, but in September 600 Hasidic boys who attend religious academics refused to board county school buses driven by women. Female bus drivers filed a discrimination suit against the school system for barring them from Hasidic routes.

In a separate case, a state court ruled last week that the Orange County schools must pay to provide education outside the public schools for handicapped Hasidic students. Kiryas Joel parents had sued, saying that their children would be traumatized by attending such classes in public school.

In Brooklyn, two Hasidim serve on the community school board that controls P.S. 16, although no Hasidic children attend public school. At Kiryas Joel, when two Hasidim from the 5,500-resident village ran for the school board last spring, voters turned out in record numbers to defeat them.

'You Can't Stop the Hasidim'

The Hasidim's geometric population growth—birth control is forbidden and the average family has eight children—portends more friction. More than 100,000 Hasidim live in Brooklyn, 35,000 in Williamsburg and the rest in neighborhoods such as Borough Park and Crown Heights, where conflict with black residents periodically explodes. New communities are being founded upstate and in New Jersey.

"You get the feeling it's manifest destiny: You can't stop the Hasidim," said Luis Gardén Acosta, a Williamsburg community leader. "The Latinos feel like Arabs on the West Bank. This used to be our community. Now we are a minority in an area totally controlled by them."

Rabbi Albert Friedman, a Hasidic leader, shrugs off the disagreements. "The Hispanics think we look down on them," he said. "It's not true. We don't even look at them. We keep to ourselves as much as possible."

In its bricks and mortar, South Williamsburg looks like any other any low-income neighborhood. Three- and four-story tenements rise over small shops. High-rise public housing complexes, built under urban renewal programs in the '60s and '70s, stand grimly along the waterfront.

Along the bustling avenues south of Broadway—the DMZ north of which the Latinos still dominate—a few bodegas are closed and the local Catholic church is in disrepair. But on nearly every street corner synagogues thrive.

Across from Itzv's Kosher Restaurant, Flaum's store advertises "the finest smoked fish, homemade herring and pickles." Carpenters in yarmulkes are busy rehabilitating apartment buildings with government grants. Special buses shuttle in and out, transporting Hasidic workers to Manhattan's midtown Diamond District, where they have a near monopoly on the trade of precious stones. The buses are divided by a high curtain: Men sit on one side, women on the other.

The Hasidim live by a strict interpretation of the 2,000-year-old Talmud, and the ancient and modern coexist here in curious juxtaposition. At sundown Friday, the Sabbath is announced by an ear-splitting siren, and the streets empty quickly as black-frocked men rush to their synagogues and

women head home. Tiv-Tov, the hardware store, does a brisk business in timers that automatically turn electric lights off on Fridays and turn them on the following night.

The mikvah, ritual rainwater baths where believers must regularly cleanse themselves, sit by the Brooklyn Queens expressway. Hasidic men with beepers patrol the streets to ward off criminals. In the cramped newsroom of "Der Yid," writers with long white beards hunch over computers programmed with Hebrew letters.

Hasidic men do not shake hands with women nor touch their wives in public. Under Talmudic laws of modesty, women wear long sleeves, high-necked dresses and longish skirts; married women cut their hair very short and wear wigs in public.

The Hasidim, who emigrated from Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland in the 1940s after persecution by the Nazis, play hard and fight hard. Weddings, arranged by parents or rabbis when youths are in their late teens, are wildly festive. A few weeks ago, a Williamsburg wedding of the children of two prominent rabbis was held on a platform in the street with 30,000 invited guests. Feasting and dancing—men with men and women with women—lasted until dawn.

When an elderly man was stabbed to death in 1978, 2,000 Hasidim stormed Brooklyn's 66th precinct, injuring 62 policemen. Three years ago, when police tried to arrest a Hasid who threw a brick through a bus window, 300 worshipers poured out of a synagogue and attacked the officers. The police had tried to take the man away in a patrol car, although it is against their religion to ride in a car on the Sabbath.

Protests Easy to Organize

Because men attend synagogue twice a day and obey the commands of the rabbis, demonstrations are easy to organize. Last year, 10,000 Hasids poured across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall, protesting plans to build a trash incinerator near Williamsburg.

Rival sects feud. A group of Satmar, the dominant group in Williamsburg, once trashed a synagogue of Belz Hasidim in a dispute over religious courts in Israel. In 1983, five Satmar youths cut off the beard of a Lubavicher rabbi—the ultimate sacrilege—when they caught him proselytizing in Williamsburg. The Lubavicher, who dominate Crown Heights, periodically clash with the Satmar, fierce opponents of Israel who believe that a Jewish state should not be founded before the coming of the Messiah.

Around the corner from P.S. 16, the marble-floored mansion of Grand Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum was guarded by uniformed police officers a few weeks ago when Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) paid his respects. Donning a velvet yarmulke, the senator, an Italian American Catholic, was ushered into the presence of the satin-robed leader and 24 fellow black-garbed rabbis. Raising a crystal glass of orange juice, D'Amato told a joke.

A Hasidic precinct in Monroe had voted for him 340 to 20, he said. "Now I understand you've found who 19 of them are and you're looking for the 20th."

It was a joke with a message. "The politicians know that no one else can deliver bloc votes like we can," said Rabbi Friedman, a delegate to two Democratic presidential conventions. In recent weeks, New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo (D), State Comptroller Edward Regan, State Attorney General Robert Abrams, who were all up for reelection, have come calling.

After toasts in the Persian carpeted room, the Hasidim got down to business. Yes, they were pleased about two housing projects D'Amato was bringing into the neighborhood, but they wanted him to find out why federal Pell grants were being denied to their rabbinical college and to help them in their battle over education for handicapped children in Kiyas Joel. "We'll pursue that tomorrow," D'Amato promised.

Earlier, he had dropped by the Opportunity Development Association, a Hasidic-run community agency that has attracted \$3.5 million in Commerce Department minority business funds. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, keynote speaker at the ODA's 10th anniversary dinner, has certified the Hasidim, staunch supporters of President Reagan, as a "disadvantaged minority" eligible for special grants and contracts as are blacks, Hispanics and Asians.

In a converted Wonder Bread factory, a federally funded ODA health clinic serves 14,000 people a year, overwhelmingly Hasidic. About half of the patients are on Medicaid, reflecting the Hasidim's low per capita income because of large families and an educational system that prohibits them from attending secular universities or professional schools.

The Hasidic-run Women, Infants and Children (WIC) nutrition program, also federally funded, is the largest in New York state, serving 9,400 families.

'No Politician Would Help Us'

The embattled Hispanics of South Williamsburg, politically lethargic and divided, envy such Hasidic clout. They have no Latinos representing the area in Congress nor in the state legislature. When P.S. 16 parents boycotted the school, Schools Chancellor Nathan Quinones, a Puerto Rican, refused to meet with them, changing his mind only after the parents won in court.

"No politician would help us," said Miriam Perez, whose 5-year-old, Melissa, attends P.S. 16. Perez, a teacher trainee, spent a week in the hospital for a neurological injury after scuffling with a guard in the school takeover and is suing the city. "I went to P.S. 16," she said. "I was born and raised here, and it's where I chose to raise my daughter."

In recent years, the Hasidim have expanded their numbers in five public housing projects, occupying about 70 percent of the units. Hispanics charge political favoritism by the city housing authority. "I applied for housing," Perez said. "They told me no apartments were empty. I knew six apartments were empty, but they were being held for Hasidim."

In 1976, when the Roberto Clemente project was ready for occupancy, Hispanics said they had been promised 70 percent of the units to compensate for the imbalance in the other projects. But 8,000 Hasidim staged an angry protest, a Catholic priest was beaten up and, after a long legal fight, a federal court set a quota of 51 percent Hispanic and black and 49 percent white tenants.

Now Hispanics complain that they are confined to top-floor apartments, even when they have heart conditions or handicapped children. Hasidim say they need the lower floors because they cannot ride elevators on the Sabbath. Tensions escalated when Hasidim insisted on early closing hours for a public housing community center that has been a haven for Hispanic youths.

Brooklyn Legal Services lawyer Martin Needelman, who is representing the P.S. 16 parents, said legal services also has represented Latino families and, merely, non-Hasidic Jews threatened with eviction from their tenements and denied heat by Hasidic owners or their representatives.

Needelman points out, however, that while non-Hasidic Jews have fled Williamsburg for the suburbs, Hasidim are among the few whites in the city who choose to remain in buildings with Hispanics and blacks. "They are pragmatic," he said.

'We Have Decided to Stay Here'

Zvi Kestenbaum, a cheery 65-year-old rabbi who lobbies for the ODA in Washington and Albany, points proudly to renovated housing: "Slums" when the Hispanics lived there, he remarks. "They have choices. They can move out. But we have decided to stay here. If I moved five blocks away, I would be isolated because there would be no synagogue."

Kestenbaum, a concentration camp survivor, has "maybe more than 40 grandchildren," he said. "I'm not counting. I had three last week." Many Hasidim, he said, live in two-bedroom apartments with eight or nine children, and they have naturally expanded into neighborhood housing because "we have 10, 20 times more people" than do Hispanics.

As Rabbi Frankel put it, "There's a competition. Everyone is trying to get the housing that's left. Whoever gets it gets it."

With their burgeoning religious school population—now twice the district's public school enrollment—the Hasidim have bought or leased three former public schools, the former police station and the former YMHA. They make no secret of wanting P.S. 16, which has lost more than one-fourth of its students in the last 14 years. The local library, with its collection of Spanish heritage books, is also on the list, according to Hispanics who say the city sold the buildings unnecessarily and for low prices.

"Latinos have let this happen because we don't like to quarrel," said Morales, the P.S. 16 parent leader. "We were dispirited. We have preferred to move on. But P.S. 16 became a symbol of all the pressures that the Hasidim have put on us. It would make our children feel like second-class citizens. We decided we had to fight."

Garden Acosta, who runs a community center north of Broadway, said, "This wall has galvanized the Latinos. There is no stopping them now. They want to protect their homes. It could get dangerous." Last week, the parents' association met to organize a district-wide group to press for the firing of the area school superintendent who erected the wall. They also vowed to step a city development plan which, they feel, favors the Hasidim.

But whether it is housing or schools, the Hasidim say the Latinos are complaining about the inevitable march of demography. "This is the American system," Frankel said.



BY CLAUDE BIRRO THE WASHINGTON POST

MICHAEL NOVAK

Stirrings of a family policy

The United States, Daniel Patrick Moynihan pointed out many years ago, is the only major nation without a family policy. It looks as if the nation is suddenly going to get one, if President Reagan has his way.

And just in time. The fastest-growing segment of the poor in the United States consists of young, single women and their fatherless children. In some areas of our central cities, as many as 85 percent of black children are being born into unformed families. "A lot of women are more married to welfare than to just the guys layin' in bed next them," says a black Newark detective who is trying his best to be a father to many fatherless children.

Children without fathers during their growing years are far more likely to be poor than other children. They are likely to miss out on many kinds of fatherly discipline, instruction, counseling, and protection.

The family is the original department of Health and Human Services, and Education. When the family fails to form, or when it breaks down, too often the state is

asked to play Father Sam. This is a form of serfdom and dependency far inferior to having a real father.

The beautiful, young black women from Newark recently shown on the sensitive Bill Moyers "CBS Reports" melt the heart. One can only admire their bravery and determination as they accept the full burdens of motherhood with joy and affection. They want their children. They love their children. Hardly more than children themselves (although I remember that my grandmother was married at 16, to an older widower who already had three children), they seem in some ways much older than their years.

Columnist Carl Rowan has written that young black males need special understanding and help. They were taught, he says, to think of themselves as "inferior." They face deprivation in education, employment, and housing.

1. Feelings of inferiority.

The best — the only — cure for feelings of inferiority is a sense of self-mastery and accomplishment. Human persons achieve personal dignity in two ways: from the look in the eyes of others, and from the look

emanating from the inner eye of their own consciences. The latter is the only one that counts.

History shows that people most discriminated against typically show more determination and do better than the others. This is true of Jews, Asians, and "outsiders" around the world, in culture after culture. Discrimination can be a spur to excellence.

It will not help those who feel inferior to tell them that they are victims. That is to deprive them of responsibility and strength for self-achievement. It is to teach them passivity.

2. Deprivation in education.

Education is not like oats to be fed to a horse; it does not come from outside in. All education is self-education. Teachers can inspire, help, and lead. Mostly, though, each person must educate himself. The thirst for learning is deep in the human breast. Books are cheaper than sneakers. Thus, study circles for young males should be formed outside of school. Evenings and weekends should be used for reading and

self-improvement. Nearly everyone can teach himself to read. Neighborhoods can be organized as learning circles. They have been in the past.

3. Deprivation in employment.

Thirty years ago, teen-age employment among blacks was higher than among whites. Today, very few are organizing black teen-agers into working groups, to undertake the immense amounts of work quite visible in black neighborhoods. Windows need to be repaired. Almost everything needs to be painted. Countless objects need fixing and repair. Self-help in upkeep can be a matter of pride and inner satisfaction. It imparts a range of working skills. It imparts habits of self-discipline.

Who is today organizing work squads in neighborhoods?

4. Deprivation in housing.

Those who own their own homes have every reason to improve them, thus gaining value for resale or for their children to inherit. The Homestead Act helped to give the United States one of the world's highest proportions of home-owners. We need a movement of home ownership

among blacks. Converting public housing to private ownership would be a tremendous step forward.

For many poor families, the bequest of the family home is one of the major transfers of capital to the younger generation. Wages only stay about even with inflation, but property tends to appreciate.

Meanwhile, even renters can reap advantages from the upgrading of homes and rooms. At the very least, they learn basic skills and gain a sense of dignity and satisfaction.

On all four of these points, there are many things that all of us can do. The nation needs to encourage inner pride, inner growth, a strong sense of personal accomplishment. Every skill learned at home becomes one more skill available for employment outside the home. Every discipline acquired and every responsibility well-acquitted becomes the foundation for future learning.

What is clearly wrong is a sense of floundering, passivity — and yes, victimhood. The struggle is spiritual as well as material. "Confirm thy soul in self-control" run the words of a crucial American hymn. The project of self-mastery and self-improvement used to be the main project of private American life. That project still beckons us.

And, as Carl Rowan says, "a sex-filled society in which Ryan O'Neill

and Farrah Fawcett or Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall can produce babies out of wedlock and never lose stardom and acceptance" supplies for young people no image of self-mastery. Our celebrity culture has a lot to answer for. The cult of impulse-release is devastating to those who indulge in it, but to no one more than to the poor, who need all the inner strength they can muster.

And the truth is, God shed his grace on thee — on thee and thee — and perhaps upon no one more frequently than the poor. God lavishes talents on science, art, entrepreneurship, and invention upon the poor, perhaps even more so than upon the slightly spoiled children of the affluent. Again and again in our history, the great creative talents of the morrow have been born among the poor. So it was with astronaut-hero Ronald McNair, born among the poor of South Carolina, only to excel at MIT and NASA.

Such talents must be nourished in the home, the church, the extended family, the neighborhood. The effective call to excellence is local. The spirit of self-mastery, self-improvement, and excellence is within our own power.

The mass media would help tremendously if they made this their primary message to our young.

Michael Novak is a nationally syndicated columnist and a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Administrative - Jewish Res

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PALM BEACH JEWISH WORLD August 8-14, 1986

By Larry Cohler

Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist's legal record provoked far more concern than his property records among some Jewish groups last week.

As Senate confirmation hearings on his nomination to be Supreme Court chief justice continued, the American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress in particular voiced strong worries about his stands on church-state issues.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith noted its opposition to Rehnquist positions in various church-state cases. But it backed his record against affirmative action programs involving race conscious quotas or timetables.

Despite their concerns, none of the Jewish groups joined the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of which they are members, in its call on the Senate to reject Rehnquist as "an extremist—a man dramatically out of step with the bipartisan consensus on civil rights in the country." Members of the council who joined the statement included the NAACP, the National Organization of Women and the AFL-CIO.

Nevertheless, the Jewish groups all stressed they found his decisions on religious liberty and civil rights issues much more important than the flap last week over discriminatory provisions in the deeds for two properties he has owned.

Church-State Opinions

During the course of his Supreme Court tenure, Rehnquist has:

- *Voted with the majority last year in ruling that a creche set up on government property by a private group was constitutional;

- *Wrote the majority opinion this year ruling that an Orthodox Jewish army officer had no right to wear a *yarmulke* in the face of regulations prohibiting such head gear;

- *Voted with the minority last year to allow a "moment of silence" in public schools that the majority found to be merely a subterfuge for introducing prayer into the classroom;

- *Voted with the minority finding that aid to parochial schools posed no threat to the constitutional separation of church and state;

- *Dissented from a court ruling that a Connecticut state law giving sabbath-observing employees an absolute right to take their sabbath day off represented an unconstitutional establishment of religion;

- *Registered the sole dissenting vote and opinion against a court ruling that

Rehnquist's civil rights record concerns Jews more than his property record

A Non-Jewish Issue?



Chief Justice nominee William H. Rehnquist responds to a question during his confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Capitol Hill last week.

the Internal Revenue Service was acting within the intent of Congress in denying tax exempt status to a racially discriminatory Christian school under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The school, Bob Jones University, claimed its policy

was based on its interpretation of scripture.

At his hearing last week, Rehnquist also expressed some reservation about the doctrine of incorporation, which holds that state governments, like the

federal government, are bound by the Constitution's Bill of Rights. Those rights, in Rehnquist's view, "do not apply to the states with the same degree of specificity."

'He's A Statist'

"He's a statist," said Marc Stern, co-director of the American Jewish Congress' legal department. "Whatever states do is generally OK with Rehnquist."

Said Irving Levine, director of national affairs at the American Jewish Committee: "We've been very critical of his positions on church-state and affirmative action... On many issues of Jewish interest he appears to have the least regard for (our concerns) on church-state."

Justin Finger, director of the ADL's civil rights division, said simply: "We agree with him on some positions and disagree on others."

Levine also criticized Rehnquist's stand on affirmative action and questioned his candor in explaining his views on segregation while working as a clerk for Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson from 1952 to 1953.

It was during this period that the historic case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, challenging the legality of segregated public schools, arrived on the courts' docket. The justices ruled such schools unconstitutional in 1954, after Rehnquist's departure. The unanimous decision found that "separate but equal" public facilities were not, in fact, equal and thus a violation of the 14th Amendment's promise of equal protection under the law. The decision overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*, an 1890 ruling approving such separation.

Rehnquist Memo: Uphold *Plessy*

But in a memo to Jackson on the case while he was still clerking for him, Rehnquist urged the justice to reaffirm *Plessy*. And in another memo to Jackson, headed "Your ideas," Rehnquist said, "It is about time the court faces the fact that the white people in the south don't like the colored people; the Constitution restrains them from effecting this dislike through state action, but it most assuredly did not appoint the court as a sociological watch dog to rear up every time private discrimination raises its admittedly ugly head."

Questioned about this in his 1971 Senate confirmation hearings to become an associate Supreme Court justice, Rehnquist claimed the memo was prepared at Jackson's request and reflected his views, not Rehnquist's. Jackson

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"very definitely did not either expect or welcome the incorporation by a clerk of his own philosophical view of how a case should be handled" in such memoes, Rehnquist stated.

But a prominent lawyer who clerked with Rehnquist for Jackson has since disputed the contention that these were Jackson's views, as have the late justices' family and biographer. Jackson also served as chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials after World War II, noted his biographer, and had strong views on racial prejudice.

Last month, the *Washington Post* printed several Rehnquist memoes it found in Jackson's public papers in which the young clerk was clearly pressing his own opinion.

In one, dealing with the case of a Jehovah's Witness who had challenged Rhode Island's right to prevent him from preaching in a public park, Rehnquist told Jackson: "I personally don't see why a city can't set aside a park for ball games, picnics or other group activities without having some outlandish group like Jehovah's Witnesses commandeer the space and force their message on everyone."

In another memo, Rehnquist, writing about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, told Jackson bluntly, "In my opinion, if they are going to have a death sentence for any crime, the acts of these (petitioners) in giving A-bomb secrets to the Russians years before it would otherwise have had them are fitting candidates for (execution). It is too bad that drawing and quartering has been abolished."

Claims He Felt Mixed Views

In his confirmation hearings last week, Rehnquist was not asked about these other memoes. But he indicated

the views he once attributed solely to Jackson on school segregation might have been partly his as well.

"I thought that (*Plessy*) was wrong in saying that when you segregate by race you're not depriving anybody of equal protection," said Rehnquist. But he added, "I also thought that *Plessy* had been on the books for 60 years, that the same congress that promulgated the 14th Amendment had required segregated schools in the district (of Columbia). I saw factors on both sides, I think."

The AJCommittee's Levine, who scored Rehnquist's stand on affirmative action, said of his amended ambivalence on the memoes, "I think there's room for speculation as to whether everything he's saying is exactly on the point."

Stern of the AJCongress termed the issue of Rehnquist's truthfulness in the 1971 hearings important, since it raised the question of perjury. But he added, "It's at least arguable a clerk should be able to take a devil's advocate position without it coming back to him 30, 40 years later."

Stern also said that while Rehnquist's reference to Jehovah's Witnesses might be insulting, the legal position he took could be merely a variation on the view the court itself actually adopted. In the case, *Fowler v. Rhode Island*, the court ruled that local governments could, in fact, designate certain public areas for exclusive purposes, excluding speech making. But if a government implemented such a ban, it must do so against all would-be speakers, regardless of religious or political viewpoint, the court ruled. In *Fowler*, the justices found that Rhode Island was permitting some speakers while prohibiting others.

"If Rehnquist was just saying that people should be able to use certain public areas without having to listen to

speeches, that is what the court itself decided," said Stern. "But there is another not-so-benign possibility — if, by his reference to 'outlandish' groups like Jehovah's Witnesses, he meant people ought not to have to put up with speech from particular kinds of people."

Incorporation Doctrine Views Controversial

On the question of whether states are fully bound by the Bill of Rights, Rehnquist is walking along the outer margins of settled jurisprudence, said Stern.

"For 40 years the Court has assumed the Bill of Rights applies to the states because of the 14th Amendment's due process clause," he explained. "There was a big, historic debate if this was so. But it's now become accepted that most of the Bill of Rights applies to the states with full vigor."

Still, said Stern, in the '50s and '60s, justices John Marshall Harlan and Felix Frankfurter took a minority view that states could impose certain limitations on the Bill of Rights that the federal government could not — restricting pornography being one example. That view passed from the scene when they did.

"Is Rehnquist's view mainstream?" said Stern. "Right now it's not. But can he raise the issue again?" Stern let the question hang.

Rehnquist's attitude toward settled case law is important given the Leadership Council's view that he should be rejected as "out of step with the bipartisan consensus" on civil rights and liberties.

"He's not in the mainstream as we'd like to see it, surely," said Stern. If his views are "far from settled legal doctrine — like *Manion*," he should be rejected, said Stern. Daniel Manion, a right wing lawyer with John Birch Society associations, was recently ap-

proved by the Senate as a federal district judge. But Stern added, "If he's just on the conservative side, then it should probably be left to the president's discretion."

"Rehnquist's a tough call."

Levine, asked if he thought Rehnquist was an extremist, replied, "The extreme position begins to change as certain ideas become more acceptable in society. And the line is shifting. This is our concern."

Believes Government Can Favor Religion

Rehnquist, he noted, "does not believe the government must be neutral when it comes to religion versus non-religion — only that it must not show favor between religions. But the more the government favors religiosity over non-religiosity, the more it will inevitably end up favoring the majority religion."

Still, none of the Jewish defense groups have come out against the Rehnquist nomination explaining that their general policies are not to take a position on such matters. All three groups did oppose Manion's nomination and that of Jefferson B. Sessions, another Reagan choice, whom the Senate rejected. But the clear extremism and lack of qualifications of those two prompted a rare exception, all said.

Confided an official of one Jewish group, requesting anonymity: "It's very unlikely the nomination will be turned aside. The question is being asked if it's not quixotic to take a position on this and instead husband our energies for where we can have an effect."

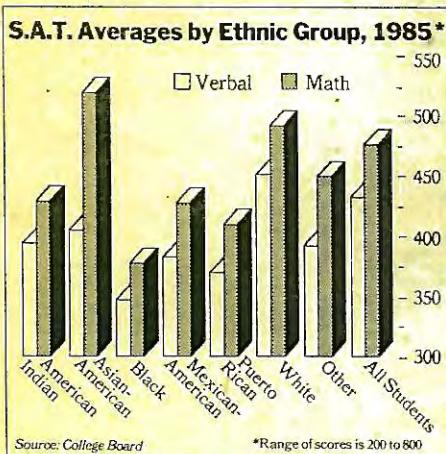
The Senate is expected to vote on Rehnquist's nomination this September. The Judiciary Committee will turn this week to confirmation hearings on Antonin Scalia, Reagan's nominee to replace Rehnquist as associate justice. □

(Special to PBJW)

Why Asians Are Going

By Fox Butterfield

'They are similar to the Jewish immigrants of the 1930's with their emphasis on learning and the family and the sheer energy they get from their opportunity in America.'



Le Thi Ngoc, a 32-year-old computer technician in Fremont, Calif., follows a set schedule when she comes home from work. After preparing dinner, she spends the next two hours helping her 10-year-old son, Alan, with his homework. Alan is not allowed to watch television on weeknights, and if he plays with his G.I. Joe toys when he is supposed to be doing his schoolwork, his mother throws them away. "Helping my son to do well in school is a sacred duty; you want your family to do well," said Ms. Ngoc, who fled Vietnam in 1975. "I'm not like Americans who believe in freedom, freedom to let their kids do whatever they want."

Not surprisingly, Alan is near the top of his fourth-grade class, another in a rapidly growing list of academically successful Asian-American students.

Suddenly they seem to be everywhere. Last spring Asian-Americans were awarded the top five prizes in the Westinghouse Talent Search, the most prominent science award open to American high school students. Asian-Americans typically score around 520 out of a possible 800 on the math section of the college-admissions Scholastic Aptitude Test, about 30 points higher than whites.

Although Asian-Americans make up only 2.1 percent of the population of the United States, they are surging into the nation's best colleges like a tidal wave. At Harvard University they constituted 8 percent of all undergraduates and 11 percent of the freshman class in the last school year. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology they made up 19 percent of the school's undergraduates and 21 percent of the freshmen. In California, which has the heaviest concentration of the nation's 4.8 million Asian-Americans, the figures go even higher. One-quarter of the undergraduates last year at the University of California at Berkeley were Asian-Americans. And at the University of California at Irvine, outside Los Angeles, Asian-Americans accounted for more than a third of the freshman class.

This extraordinary record by Asian-Americans has prompted a new series of studies to find out what lies behind their success. So far there is little agreement on the answers. Some scholars believe Asians are genetically superior, possessing higher I.Q.'s. Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, Harvard's eminent pediatrician, suggests that Chinese and Japanese babies are more alert and sensitive at birth, making them faster learners. Other specialists feel the secret is cultural, rooted in the emphasis people like Ms. Ngoc place on the traditional Confucian values of education and the family. Still others caution that the Asian-American children doing so well today are the offspring of a unique group of immigrants, drawn largely from the intellectual and professional elite of their home countries. Why, they ask, didn't earlier generations of students from the nation's older Chinatowns do as well as Asian-American youngsters perform now?

Whether they favor nature or nurture, the new

studies also offer challenging insights into the state of the American family and school. "There is something going on that's not related to the family processes that we as Americans know," said Sanford M. Dornbusch, a professor of sociology and education at Stanford University. In a survey he recently conducted of 7,836 students in six San Francisco area high schools, Professor Dornbusch found that Asian-Americans consistently got better grades than other students regardless of their parents' level of education or their families' social and economic status.

Indeed, the more English that was spoken in the students' homes, the less well they tended to do in school. "To put it bluntly, America may be a melting pot with low standards," Professor Dornbusch said.

Similarly, a report on 6,800 Indochinese refugees who have arrived in the United States since 1978 found that their children's performance in school was not adversely affected by having large numbers of brothers and sisters at home. All previous studies of American

Shift in Origins

ONE problem in trying to penetrate the mystery of why Asian-Americans do so well academically is that the term Asian-American itself can be misleading.

The situation was simpler before 1965, when President Johnson changed the immigration law, dropping the old quota-based restrictions that had effectively limited Asian immigration since the 1920's. At the time, two-thirds of all Asian-Americans were of Japanese or Chinese descent and most were members of families that had been in the United States since the late 19th or early 20th century. But now Asian-Americans are the nation's fastest-growing racial group on a percentage basis, according to Leon F. Bouvier, vice president of the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, a private demographic research group. Their number jumped from 1.4 million in the 1970 census to 3.47 million in 1980, and Mr. Bouvier predicts there will be 6.5 million by 1990 and almost 10 million by the turn of the century. By the middle of the 21st century, he estimates, Asian-Americans will be as big a proportion of the United States population as Hispanics are now: 6.4 percent.

Equally important is a dramatic shift in the origin of these new immigrants. Where in 1970 Japanese formed the largest group, in the 1980 census Chinese had surpassed them. Since the end of the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in 1975, 750,000 Indochinese, and an even larger number of Koreans and Filipinos, have joined their ranks. By 1990, in fact, Mr. Bouvier predicts, Filipinos will become the largest Asian group. There are also a half-million Indians and Pakistanis whom demographers are not quite sure where to place.

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to the Head of the Class

children have found a strong correlation between family size and school grades, with the greater the number of children in the family the lower the scores. In the study, directed by Nathan Caplan, a professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, one-quarter of the Indochinese earned straight A's and 44 percent got an A average in math, though two-thirds of them arrived in the United States knowing no English.

BUT THE MOST provocative findings come in a six-year study headed by another University of Michigan psychologist, Harold W. Stevenson, who compared students in kindergarten, first grade and fifth grade in cities in the United States, Japan and Taiwan. Taking 240 children at each grade level in each of the cities — Minneapolis, Sendai and Taipei — Professor Stevenson found no difference in the students' I.Q. levels. But he found significant disparities in performance. "What we found was that whether it was kindergarten, first grade or fifth grade, the Japanese kids were on top in math," he said. "The kids in Taiwan started out just below the American kindergarten kids in math, but they were better by the first grade. And as the American kids do progressively worse in math, the gap widens."

Using carefully devised standardized tests, Professor Stevenson's team of researchers found that in reading, the Chinese children scored the highest, with the Americans in the middle and the Japanese lowest. But he attributed the poor performance of the Japanese students to the greater difficulty of learning to read Japanese, one of the most complex written languages.

In seeking to explain these differences in academic performance, Professor Stevenson discounts the genetic factor. "We didn't find any difference in I.Q.," he said. "But if the differences are already appearing at age 5 in kindergarten, there must be something in the home." It is here that almost all the studies converge. They find that Asian or Asian-American parents are able to instill in their children a much greater motivation to work harder. "My bottom line is, there's no question these Asians are working a heck of a lot harder," said Professor Dornbusch of Stanford.

In his survey in the San Francisco area, he found that male Asian-Americans spend an average of 11.7 hours a week doing homework, compared with 8 hours for whites and 6.3 hours for blacks. Among girls, the figures were 12.3 hours a week for Asian-Americans, 8.6 for whites and 9.2 for blacks. Asian-Americans also registered the best figures on other measures of work: attendance, cutting class, paying attention to the teacher and daydreaming. Professor Dornbusch said these numbers, taken together, represented what he termed a "powerhouse statistic in effort." His findings are repeated in virtually all studies.

A recent nationwide survey titled "School Experiences and Performance of Asian-Pacific American High School Students," for example, found that nearly half of Asian-American sophomores spend five or more hours per week on homework, compared with less than a third of whites and a quarter of blacks.



The New York Times / Joe Wrinn

Mia Chung, a Korean-American who hopes to be a concert pianist, credits her parents, shown with her at June commencement, for her Harvard education.

The author, Samuel S. Peng, of the United States Department of Education, also found that half the Asian-American high school students were never absent from school, compared with only a quarter for whites. Asian-American high school students were also more likely to enroll in college-preparatory courses than other ethnic groups, earned more total credits and took more courses in science, math and foreign languages. The Department of Education survey studied 400 Asian-Americans among 58,000 students in 1,015 high schools across the nation.

The results are even more striking in Professor Stevenson's comparative study of Chinese, Japanese and Americans in elementary school. The American first-graders spent an average of 14 minutes a night on homework and hated it; the Japanese spent 37 minutes and the Chinese youngsters 77 minutes and both liked their homework. Because Chinese and Japanese children go to school on Saturday mornings and have fewer holidays, they attend school for 240 days a year. By contrast, American elementary-school children

generally go only 178 days a year.

There are also more subtle differences. In observing classrooms, Professor Stevenson's team found that American students spent a third less time engaged in academic activities in class than their Chinese and Japanese counterparts and that the American teachers spent more time giving directions and less time imparting information. Moreover, the researchers also discovered that even when American fifth-graders were known to be at school, they were out of the classroom 18 percent of the time, running errands for the teachers or at the school office. Among Chinese and Japanese students this happened well below 1 percent of the time.

"It's an old-fashioned story, if you work hard, you do well," said Thomas Sowell, a conservative economist at the Hoover Institution at Stanford who has written extensively about race and education. "Work works," he concluded.

Asian parents "are teaching a lesson that otherwise isn't being taught in America anymore," said Mr.

'I Promised My Father to Uphold Our Family Honor'



The New York Times/Joe Wrinn

Jason Tang, a scholarship winner from Vietnam, has become Americanized enough to love playing basketball.

WHEN Jason Tang arrived in the United States in 1980, after two years in a refugee camp in Malaysia for Vietnamese boat people, he barely spoke English. All he could say was, "How are you? I'm 12." What was worse, Jason had not been in a regular school since 1975, when the Vietnam War ended and he was a second-grader. The new schools set up by the victorious Communists "only taught about Lenin and Marx and Ho Chi Minh," he recalled. So his family kept him home.

Instead his father, an ethnic Chinese shopkeeper, saved money and borrowed more to buy passage on a fishing boat for Jason and his three sisters, hoping they could escape and find a better life in the United States. Jason's parents stayed behind.

With great personal effort and devotion to his father's wishes, Jason has succeeded. In June, at the age of 18, he was graduated from Brighton High School in Boston with a straight-A average. His achievements earned him a four-year scholarship to Boston University, where he intends to major in electrical engineering.

How Jason succeeded against so many obstacles offers insights into what has helped Asian-Americans achieve their record of academic excellence.

A slight young man who now speaks with only the trace of an accent, Jason rejects the idea that Asians are more intelligent than Americans. "Some American kids are really smart, but they just don't work as hard as Asians," he said. "If they did, I wouldn't have gotten a scholarship to B.U. Asians pay more attention to their teachers, then go home and spend more hours doing their homework instead of watching TV or going on dates. American kids are spoiled by America." Jason says this not with a sense of contempt or smugness but only as an obser-

vation. He himself has become Americanized enough to love playing basketball and wish he could be "Larry Bird's younger brother."

What has helped his motivation, Jason said, is his sense of obligation to his faraway parents. "I promised my father to do good and to uphold our family honor," he said. "My father spent so much to send me here, and I am determined to repay him."

Jason writes to his father once a month, and he has been able to preserve his family ties because he still lives with two of his sisters, one of whom is a student at Northeastern University, the other at the University of Massachusetts, both in Boston.

They came to Boston because they had an uncle who lived in the city, and they have been virtually self-supporting. Jason and his sisters share a small two-bedroom apartment in Allston, a lower-middle-class section, and manage to pay the \$400 monthly rent out of their joint earnings from part-time jobs.

Jason's story is not unusual at Brighton, one of Boston's local high schools that do not require an examination for admission. Of Brighton's 900 students this last year, 200 were Asian-American, including 100 Vietnamese and 25 Cambodians, said Virginia DiFranza, the assistant principal. While they make up less than a quarter of the total, Asian-Americans accounted for 18 of the school's 30 members of the National Honor Society, and more than 90 percent of the school's Asian-American students will go to college, compared with 55 percent of the rest of the students.

The school's valedictorian this year was also a Vietnamese, Dien Lan Nguyen. The young woman, who received a scholarship to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is part of a family that is so poor that they live in a tiny apartment without a telephone.

Sowell, who grew up in Harlem and attended Harvard. "When you see a study that says Asian kids study harder than white and black kids and are getting better grades, it tells you something."

The real question, then, observed Julian Stanley, a professor of psychology at Johns Hopkins University, "is why Asian-Americans work so hard. That's the fascinating thing." Professor Stanley is director of a program at Johns Hopkins called The Study of Mathematically Precocious Youth. To qualify for inclusion in his study, students must score at least 700 on the S.A.T.'s math section before the age of 13, an achievement reached by about 1 in 10,000 youngsters. At present, 22 percent of his 292 subjects are Asian-Americans, including half the girls in the program.

Professor Stevenson feels Asian-Americans work harder largely because they share a greater belief than do other Americans in the efficacy of hard work and the malleability of human nature.

"When we asked the parents what determined success in school," he said, "the Japanese mothers gave the strongest rating to the idea that anyone can do well if they study hard." Conversely, he said, the American mothers attributed success to natural talent. These findings suggest to him that the old American belief popularized by Horatio Alger — making good by sheer hard work — may no longer be widely held.

This conclusion was underscored by other data in the report. Mr. Stevenson's researchers found that American mothers consistently gave their children the highest average ratings for intellectual ability, and Japanese mothers the lowest, although the Japanese did so much better in math. Professor Stevenson attributed this to "an excessively positive attitude" by the American parents. In addition, the American mothers expressed more satisfaction with their children's teachers and schools than did the Chinese or Japanese mothers. Equally striking, "The average American kid rated himself above average, while the average Asian kid rated himself average or below," Professor Stevenson related. "When you are so satisfied with yourself, you don't feel the need to work as hard."

Confucian Ethic Is a Dynamic Factor in Asian Behavior

The belief that people can always be improved by proper effort and instruction is a basic tenet of Confucianism. This philosophy, propounded by the Chinese sage in the fifth century B.C., in time became a dynamic force not only in China but also in Korea, Japan and Vietnam, sanctifying the family and glorifying education. In the view of William Liu, a sociologist who directs the Pacific-Asian American Mental Health Research Center at the University of Illinois in Chicago, the Confucian ethic remains the strongest determinant of behavior by Asian-Americans. "In the Confucian ethic," he said, "there is a centripetal family orientation that makes people work for the honor of the family, not for themselves. In Confucianism, one can never repay one's mother and father, and there is a strong sense of guilt. It is very compelling, like the Protestant ethic in the West, a great inducer of motivation."

A classic exemplar of these values is Katherine Chen, who graduated in June at the top of her class from Lowell High School in San Francisco. Dating from 1856

Lowell has been the city's most prominent public school, with admission based on a combination of grade-point average and competitive exams. Until the 1950's it was heavily Jewish, according to Alan Fibish, the principal. But it is now 65 percent Asian-American, and 45 percent of the students are of Chinese ancestry. Almost 60 percent of the students are female.

Miss Chen, who plans to enroll in Stanford in the fall and eventually to become a doctor, was a straight-A student at Lowell. "In the Chinese family," she said, "education is very important because parents see it as the way to achieve. With that environment, it's natural to study. My friends are that way, too. It's not a chore. They know the benefits."

Miss Chen's father, who was from Taiwan, died in 1970 while studying for his Ph.D. in physics at the University of Minnesota, and her mother then took her back to Hong Kong, where she had been a nurse. But when Katherine reached the age of 10, they moved to San Francisco for her education.

In high school she regularly did four hours of homework every night. She did watch some television after dinner, she said, "because my mom makes it a point that I relax." But Katherine, in common with many Asian-American students, does not date. The preoccupation of American teen-agers with the opposite sex is seen as dangerous and distracting by many Asian parents accustomed to a more traditional society where children grow up more slowly.

That Asian-Americans have replaced Jews as the predominant group in academically demanding institutions such as Lowell High School is not a coincidence, many educators believe. Much the same thing has happened in New York City, in schools like Stuyvesant High School, one of the city's three elite schools that require an examination for admission and that emphasize science and math. About 36 percent of the 2,600 students at Stuyvesant are now Asian-American, according to Murray Kahn, the assistant principal. "The Asian-Americans are very similar to the Jewish immigrants of the 1930's and 40's," Mr. Kahn said, "with their emphasis on learning and the family and the sheer energy they get from their new opportunity in America."

The importance of the sanctity of the family and education are themes that recur in interviews with successful Asian-Americans. Mia Chung, for instance, who graduated from Harvard this June, is a Korean-American who hopes to become a professional pianist. At 13 she played with the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and at 14 performed Beethoven's "Emperor" concerto with the National Symphony Orchestra at the John F. Kennedy Center in Washington. Whenever she performs, her father, mother, grandmother and two brothers (one is now a student at Harvard Medical School, the other at Harvard Business School) join her to pray. "My family is there to help," she said. "They are a support group for each of us."

Miss Chung's father, an accountant, converted from Buddhism to Christianity after immigrating to America. A strong faith in Christianity now is critical to the family's life — in a way that is like a transmuted form of the Confucian ethic, Miss Chung acknowledged. Partly because of her religious views and partly because of her devotion to practicing the piano, Miss Chung still does not date. "There will be plenty of time for that," she said. "Americans place more importance

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Researchers question if Asians will continue their record of achievement as they are assimilated into American society

on their social life than we do."

College officials find this single-mindedness of many Asian-Americans charming but sometimes limiting. Fred Hargaden, for 15 years dean of admissions at Stanford and now a vice president of the College Board in New York, recalled that the university decided to turn down some Asian-Americans because their only strength was good grades. Stanford, in common with many other schools, uses what he termed "an academic plus factor" in deciding on admissions and looks for students with other interests, such as sports, music or extracurricular activities.

'Academic Plus Factor' Stirs College Admissions Dispute

Despite gaining admittance far out of proportion to their numbers, some Asian-Americans in the last few years have begun to argue that the "academic plus factor" has been used to discriminate against them in admissions. And some educators are troubled by what has become the increasingly difficult issue of deciding between class balance and individual merit.

In addition, some American students have begun growing nervous, and at times resentful, about the academic success of Asian-Americans.

Donald Kennedy, Stanford's president, recalled an incident in which a professor of engineering called in a white American who had received a B on an exam when the teacher felt the student could have done better.

"What do you think I am, Chinese?" the student asked.

Others tell of white students who withdraw from courses with a large number of Asian-Americans because they feared their standings on the grading curve would suffer. And more and more the term "grind" has been directed at Asian-Americans by some of their classmates in particularly uncomfortable ways.

Probably the most controversial research on why Asian-Americans do well has come from Arthur Jensen, the educational psychologist at the University of California at Berkeley whose theories about differences in intelligence between whites and blacks have been widely assailed. Professor Jensen conducted a study several years ago among 500 students in San Francisco's Chinatown, most of them new immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong. The results, he said, showed that the Chinese had an average I.Q. of 115, 15 points above the national average. "They scored remarkably well, like upper-middle-class white children," Professor Jensen said.

This summer he is evaluating test-score data he gathered in Hong Kong from a representative sample of 8,000 schoolchildren. His preliminary analysis, he said, is that the Hong Kong students scored about the same as the San Francisco Chinese. He is cautious, however, about interpreting what these high I.Q. scores mean. They may simply reflect the selectiveness of the sample, he said, which is composed of the children of ambitious immigrants. Richard Lynn, a British psychologist, is more definite, maintaining that the

Some Fear Colleges Use Quotas to Limit Admissions

THE remarkable academic success of Asian-Americans has touched off a growing national debate about whether some colleges are erecting informal quotas to limit their admissions. Administrators from Harvard and Princeton to Berkeley and Stanford strongly deny there are such quotas. But more and more Asian-American students, faculty members and community leaders have complained that some Asian-Americans are being turned down despite having higher scores than other applicants.

"It is a very sensitive subject," said Fred Hargaden, for 15 years dean of admissions at Stanford and now a vice president of the College Board in New York. "People are tiptoeing around it."

What makes the debate particularly difficult, those involved agree, is that the data on admissions numbers can be used to support arguments on either side. In California, for example, Asian-Americans make up only 6 percent of the state's population but accounted for 24.7 percent of the undergraduates and 27 percent of the freshman class last year at Berkeley, the most prestigious campus of the state university system. By contrast, Hispanics form 19 percent of California's population but only 7.1 percent of Berkeley's undergraduates, while blacks were 7.7 percent of the state population and 5.1 percent of the school's undergraduates. Such statistics can be used to show that Asian-Americans are perhaps the most overrepresented ethnic group on many of America's leading campuses.

But there are Asian-Americans who maintain that they must have better records than other applicants to gain admission, and even when they do, they get turned down. Those who feel this way cite numbers, too. At Harvard, for example, 12.5 percent of Asian-American applicants were accepted in 1985 as against 15.9 percent of all applicants. At Brown, Asian-American students studied figures supplied by the admissions office for the classes of 1984 through 1987. They found that 21 percent of the whites, compared with 18 percent of the Asian-Americans, who applied to Brown were accepted. The Asian-American students who were admitted during the same period averaged 1 point higher on the verbal portion of the S.A.T. than successful white applicants and 18 points higher on the math portion.

One consequence of Asian-American success, many feel, is that they are forced to compete against one another in disciplines in which they excel. At Berkeley, Wang Ling-chi, an associate professor of Asian-American Studies, said he knew of several Asian-Americans who had been rejected for admission even though their grades were high enough. Each, he said, had wanted to major in electrical engineering, a field already crowded with Asian-Americans.

A task force of Asian-American community leaders, including several judges in the San Francisco Bay Area, has also charged administrators at the Berkeley campus with feeling "that there are too many Asians on campus" and trying to shift some

of them to other universities in the state system.

The basis for their accusation is statistical. California guarantees that the top 12.5 percent of graduating seniors from each high school, generally those with B averages or better, will be admitted to its universities. But nearly 40 percent of Asian-American seniors in California qualified last year, intensifying competition among them for admission to Berkeley.

At Stanford and Ivy League colleges the issue becomes more touchy because the schools use what Mr. Hargaden called "an academic plus factor"; that is, they look beyond test scores and include such criteria as athletic ability, musical talent, extracurricular activities or family ties to the institution.

Mr. Hargaden said that in the past Stanford probably turned down some Asian-Americans because their only qualification was high grades, and the college felt a need to insure that each class contained a broad variety of students. But in the last few years, he said, highly motivated Asian-American parents, noting Stanford's policy, "began coming to my office when their kids were in the ninth or tenth grade to ask what attributes the school wanted."

"You tell me what you expect, and we'll make our best effort to do it," Mr. Hargaden recounted their saying. "It was a striking attitude. They didn't complain, like American parents, who had excuses about why their son or daughter didn't have the grades or activities. I'm sure if I said, 'You have to jump over the Hoover Tower' [a campus landmark], they'd take me seriously."

Japanese score 11 points higher on I.Q. tests than the American average. His conclusions have been challenged by Mr. Stevenson, of the University of Michigan, among others, who charge that his methodology is faulty.

Dr. Brazelton, the Harvard pediatrician, whose books on child development are read around the world, also questions any claims that Asians have higher I.Q.'s. But he has put forward one of the most novel theories about Asians' performance. During research in the Goto Islands in Japan and visits to Hong Kong and Peking, he has applied his Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale, a widely accepted means of scoring an infant's response to his environment. He was impressed that Chinese and Japanese babies, from birth up to two weeks old, appeared more "quiet, gentle, sensitive and alert" than American babies.

"This sets them up for the rapid acquisition of knowledge," Dr. Brazelton said, especially given the different way Asians have of learning. "They do it by modeling," he said. "The teachers model it and the kids sit passively and imitate it. We do it more by experimentation, with infants watching and then acting it out, trying it out bit by bit."

Dr. Brazelton traces the alertness of Chinese and Japanese babies to "a different intrauterine shaping." This is partly a result of their different genes, he speculated, and partly a consequence of their mothers' environment. "Their mothers lead a less stressful life during pregnancy than Americans," he asserted. "They are not rushing around as much, there are fewer horns honking, things are quieter."

Current Immigrants Viewed As the 'Cream of Their Societies'

Ezra Vogel, a Harvard sociologist who has written extensively on both Communist China and the reasons behind Japan's economic success, suggests that all these theories should be treated with caution. It is important to remember, he said, that the current group of Asian immigrants, whose offspring are doing so well in American schools, "are a very biased sample, the cream of their own societies."

The first of these groups were students from China who got stuck in the United States after the Communist triumph there in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Then there have been the brain-drain groups of engineers, doctors and scientists from Taiwan, South Korea and the Philippines who found better jobs in America than at home. I.M. Pei, the architect, An Wang, the computer-company pioneer, and Samuel C.C. Ting, the Nobel laureate in physics, are all members of this wave of migration. So too are the parents of Katherine Chen and Mia Chung.

"If you could get the grades for kids from Chinatown before World War II, they wouldn't be in the same league," Professor Vogel contended. Their forebears, often illiterate laborers who came to the United States to work on the railroads, represented a very different segment of Chinese society.

Jeanne F. Nidorf, a psychologist at the University of California at San Diego who works with young Indochinese refugees, thinks a similar argument explains the success of many Vietnamese and Cambodians in the United States. "I call it Social Darwinism," said Ms. Nidorf. Not all Indochinese youngsters do well when they reach the United States, she is careful to point out. But those who do succeed are



The New York Times/Robert Burroughs

Kim Chi Trinh, a Vietnamese who survived pirates and refugee camps to become her junior high school's valedictorian, with Dr. Jeanne Nidorf, right, and her foster mother, Elizabeth Wakefield.

often from middle-class families whose parents were well educated themselves. Then the hazards of refugee experience — persecution by the Communists, a mortality rate of 50 percent among boat people and the hardship of life in the camps in Southeast Asia — create a caste of survivors, Ms. Nidorf said.

"Those who survive are physically, mentally and emotionally stronger," she added. They also still have their traditional values of family cohesiveness and respect for education to support them, she noted.

Take the case of Kim Chi Trinh, a 15-year-old Vietnamese girl with sparkling eyes. When she was 8, Kim Chi's father, who was a teacher in Saigon during the war, put her on a fishing boat in the hope she could escape. But before the boat reached safety in Malaysia, it was attacked by pirates, the supply of food and water ran out and 18 of the passengers drowned. Then, after two miserable years in a refugee camp, Kim Chi in 1982 managed to get to the United States, where she has been shunted through five foster families. Despite these hardships, and her initial embarrassment over her poor English, Kim Chi has earned straight A's in school, skipped ahead a grade and was valedictorian of her junior high school class in San Diego. For good measure, this spring she won a citywide science prize.

One of the unanswered questions is whether Asian-Americans will continue their record of achievement as they are assimilated into American society.

Barbara Schneider, a professor of education at Northwestern University who studied Asian-Americans in two Chicago area high schools, thinks they may not. "One of the disturbing things we found," she said, "when we looked at first-, second- and third-generation Asians, was that the highest level of academic performance came in the first and second generation. By the third generation they were more socialized in American ways and less interested in school. So my suspicion is that the curve for Asians will level off."

But the experience of Rob Ohno, a third-generation Japanese-American who graduated from Harvard this June, suggests that some Asian-Americans may find new, more American ways to draw on their resources. Mr. Ohno, a center on Harvard's hockey team, which finished as runner-up in the intercollegiate championship this year, belies the stereotype of the bookish Asian-American. His nickname around Harvard was "Mad Dog." Because he grew up in Bloomington, Minn., where there were few Japanese and he dated "mostly blondes," Mr. Ohno doesn't see himself as Asian.

But he proudly carries some of his traditional Japanese values. His family still comes first in his life, he said, out of a feeling of duty. And his father taught him the importance of hard work and education. "It's something innate in me," he said. This summer he is going off to Europe to play professional hockey for a year. Then he plans to come back to business school. ■

Mastery in Math

FOR the last decade, Asian-Americans have scored about 30 points higher than whites on the math portion of the Scholastic Aptitude Test — about 520 of a possible 800, compared with 490 for whites.

Some experts believe the explanation is simple enough. They suggest that though Asian immigrants are troubled by learning English when they arrive in the United States, they do not have similar problems with math because the numbers and symbols employed are a universal language. Lending possible evidence to this theory is the fact that Asian-Americans score lower on the verbal portion of the S.A.T. than do whites — 404 last year compared with 449.

Other specialists believe the explanation may be more complex. Harold W. Stevenson, a professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, found, for example, that grade schools in Japan and Taiwan spend much more time teaching math than do their American equivalents. By contrast, American schools put more stress on reading.

Some scholars have suggested that Asians are better at math because they feel more comfortable with abstract symbols, given the nature of the Chinese and Japanese written languages, which use characters rather than an alphabet. Other authorities regard this as oversimplified, since other Asian languages, including Vietnamese and Indian and Pakistani tongues, do use alphabets.

Jeanne F. Nidorf, a psychologist at the University of California at San Diego, points out that immigrant children from Europe and Latin America, who also face a language barrier in the United States, do not do nearly so well in math as do Asians. Ms. Nidorf, who works with refugee children from all parts of the world, says she has been especially struck by how Asian youngsters take pride in their math abilities. She also said she had observed that Asian girls in school did not have the same fear of math that many non-Asian girls do.

"The troubled Asian kids who come to me in my office always want to show me how good they are at math," she said. "It's also true of the girls, which is very unusual. I'm prepared to believe there is something genetic about it."

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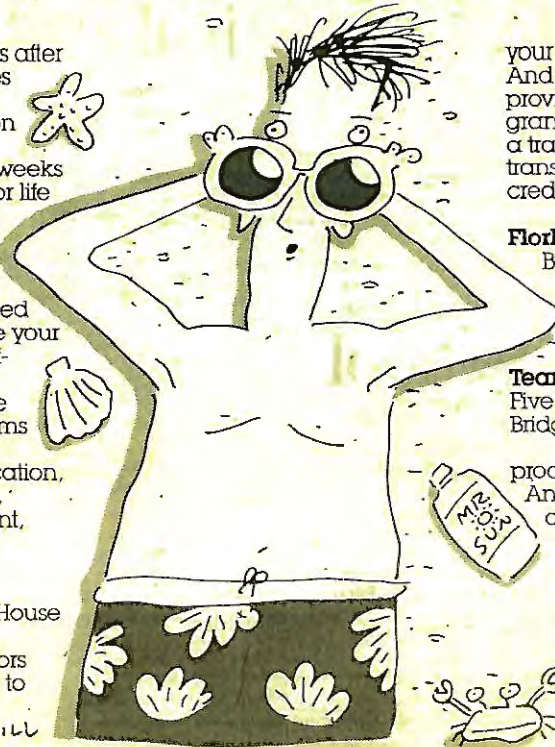
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George F. Will

And Now The Right Not to Know

The Supreme Court, trying to concentrate and condense all the confusion in the universe into its rulings about abortion, has ruled (5-4) that a woman considering an abortion has a constitutional right not to be "intimidated" by being provided information about that choice.

A 1982 Pennsylvania statute required, among other things, that a woman must be told: that there may be "detrimental physical and psychological effects"; the medical risks of the particular abortion procedure and of carrying the child to term; the probable gestational age of the fetus; the availability of assistance for prenatal, childbirth and neonatal expenses; that the father must assist child support.

The statute also required that the woman be informed of state publications that describe the fetus and list agencies offering alternatives to abortion. The material must describe the "probable anatomic and physical characteristics of the unborn child at two-week gestational increments," and must contain the statement that many agencies exist to help the woman keep her child or place the child for adoption and "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania strongly urges you to contact them before making a final decision about abortion."

Justice Blackmun (joined by Brennan, Marshall, Powell and Stevens) noted that the court had previously ruled unconstitutional the provision of information by the state, that the state hopes will "persuade" a woman to choose an alternative to abortion. By 1981, the court decided that a state had, well, an unconstitutional frame of mind if it hoped to persuade a woman not to choose an abortion. In 1981, the court also held that requiring the provision of information about the nature of and alternatives to abortion "intrudes upon the discretion of the physician."

Hmmmm. Presumably that violates the physician's constitutional right of privacy.

Now Pennsylvania is found to have violated the Constitution with "intrusive informational prescriptions." Ponder that phrase.

The woman's privacy right now involves a right not to have information other than that produced at the physician's discretion. Blackmun says that providing facts about fetal characteristics may "confuse" the woman and heighten her anxiety. That frail vessel, woman, now has a constitutional "privacy" right to be protected against information that might confuse her.

Blackmun says that even information about alternatives to abortion "places the physician in an awkward position." Now there is a constitutional right of physicians not to feel awkward. Besides, says Blackmun, the information is not "always relevant." Now there is a constitutional ban on information that is not invariably "relevant."

In 1973, when the court discovered a "privacy" right that rendered the abortion laws of 50 states unconstitutional, it said the right to an abortion "is not unqualified" and must be weighed against important state interests, one of which is "protecting the health of the pregnant woman." In 1986, the court says a state is constitutionally forbidden to provide even accurate medical information about risks in abortion—the sort of information a state could provide concerning any other medical procedure.

In 1973, the court said states have a "compelling interest" in protecting fetal life after it has reached "viability." In 1986, the court finds unconstitutional Pennsylvania's requirement that a second physician be present during an abortion performed after viability, to care for a child born alive. Is there a "privacy" right to a dead fetus? And what has become of the 1973 holding that a state may forbid all third trimester (the viability criterion) abortions except when the abortion is necessary to protect the health of the mother?

In 1973, the court, with its morally and medically meaningless distinctions between the trimesters of pregnancy, effectively legislated a universal right to unlimited abortion on demand. In 1986, the court is saying that it is unconstitutional for a state to influence the demand by providing information.

In 1973, the court said a state has a legitimate interest in "protecting the potentiality of human life." In 1986, the court says it is unconstitutional for the state to present information on alternatives to abortion.

The 1973 decision has been defended in terms of "freedom of choice." Now it is construed to proscribe, in the name of that freedom, provision of information by the state that might make childbirth seem an acceptable alternative to choice.

How did we come to the point where the Constitution is construed to forbid the provision of accurate information? Consumer-protection laws require all sorts of safety and other information to be given to consumers.

Manufacturers and advertisers of cigarettes are compelled to provide health-risk information. Citizens have a right to choose to see pornographic movies, but governments have a right to try to influence that choice by confining such movies with zoning regulations.

Abortion, however, is now the premier American right, constitutionally protected against any government action that might influence the exercise of the right. The right to abortion, created by judicial arbitrariness, is, 13 years later, the subject of judicial fanaticism.

ONE FINAL VIEW ON THE DRUG TESTING ISSUE

Art Buchwald

Drug Testing: The Cup Overfloweth

It all started when someone got the idea to test horses for drugs.

Then somebody else said, "As long as we're doing it for horses, why don't we test football players?" It seemed like a good idea, except the baseball teams complained that if the authorities were screening football players, they should do the same for baseball players. The track stars said they wanted to be in on it too, and before you knew it, they were testing basketball players, croquet teams, wrestlers and bowlers.

A female volleyball team in Alaska went to the state Supreme Court complaining that men were being tested 10 times as often as women. The court ruled that women were entitled to equal drug checks under the law.

Although the dope screening started in sports, it soon hit the civilian population.

Politicians urged that every schoolchild in America be tested. Corporations gave all employees little paper cups as they lined up for their paychecks.

Banks demanded drug checks on customers in exchange for mortgages. No one could use a credit card unless he had a favorable report from the lab.

The Army, Navy, Air Force and the Marines declared mandatory testing for our boys in uniform. And the White House ordered everyone from the secretary of state to the lowly secretary of agriculture to bring in samples before a Cabinet meeting.

President Reagan declared that everybody in Nicaragua had to be tested by the *contras*, who were already tested by the CIA.

There was some hell to pay when the White House leaked a story that all heads of state would have to take a drug test before they met with the President. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was particularly disturbed

when they sent her a kit in the diplomatic pouch.

To show there was nothing to it, President Reagan took a test. As everyone suspected, the President passed it with flying colors, and Nancy was shown giving him a kiss when the results were announced.

Drug screening became the most serious obstacle to foreign relations.

One of the big stumbling blocks to holding a summit concerned the question of whether or not Gorbachev would take a drug test. The Soviets insisted that Reagan had to take their word that Gorbachev was not on dope. The Americans held out for on-site inspection.

Not only the White House but other branches of government are now insisting on checks for drug use. Congressional candidates are filming commercials holding up the results of their tests on television and demanding their opponents to do the same.

A suggestion to have the nine members of the Supreme Court take a test before deciding a case was greeted with stony silence by the court. The reason is that the Supreme Court will have to decide sooner or later whether mandatory screening is constitutional or not. And if they take the test and fail, they could be held in contempt.

I don't wish to give the impression that everyone in Washington is being checked on a regular basis.

Many of us are just being subjected to random testing when we're in a public place.

I've only been randomly tested three times—once when I was drinking from a public water fountain outside Jesse Helms' office, once when I bought boxer shorts at Bloomingdale's, and once when I asked Atty. Gen. Ed Meese at a press conference if he was having trouble understanding the Constitution of the United States.

FOCUS

Comment/Opinion/Insight

Every concern in the world is a Jewish issue

By SHELDON ENGELMAYER

THE CURRENT DEBATE over single-issue political action committees vs. multi-issue Jewish organizations is curious—and disturbing.

The single-issue committees argue that there are many non-Jewish organizations doing battle on "non-Jewish issues." And, they say, Jews have enough with which to concern themselves: the continued survival of Israel, Jews held against their will in unfriendly lands and guarding against another Holocaust.

For the multi-issue Jewish organizations, however, everything—from affirmative action for non-whites to uses of nuclear power—is of Jewish concern, no matter whether such issues appear to relate in any way to our survival as a people.

While it is true that we must concern ourselves with our people, the weight of our heritage also demands involvement in all other aspects of life.

We are God's "own treasure among all the nations" (Exodus 19:5-6), "chosen" to live apart from those nations to fulfill a special mission to enable others to compare our mode of life (presumably based on moral and ethical principles that are our special burden) to theirs and to learn from how we conduct our lives how to conduct theirs. And, as the Yalkut Me'am Lo'ez notes, this "choice as God's treasure is conditional and depends on" our fulfilling this mission.

The first chapter of Genesis provides a perfect starting point for exploring the scope of that mission. However one views the Torah—as God-given or the evolution of various folk traditions—it stands, nevertheless, as the basis for our being. And its theocentricity is pre-eminent. It does not tell tales for the sake of tale-telling. There is always a higher purpose.

This is as true for Genesis 1 as it is for any other part of the Torah. This chapter's purpose is not to tell us that the Creator can create; it is to deliver a series of messages from Him dealing with modes of behavior.

The most obvious message—because it is clearly stated over and again—is that if the Creator can rest one day in seven, so can all that He created. No one—not even an animal—can be worked seven days a week. (Environmentalists can take heart in the biblical injunction granting a "Sabbath" even to the land—which must lie fallow one year in seven.)

THERE ARE OTHER MESSAGES, however, and they deal with apartheid, women's rights, birth control, even nuclear war.

As explained in the Mishnah (Sanhedrin 4:5), *ha'adam* (literally "the human") "was created alone for the sake of peace among [all] humans, so that no one might say to his fellow: 'My father was greater than yours.'" There is no reference to whether this first human was white, black, yellow or red (although the word "adam" implies the color red). They even is a deliberate effort made to avoid sexual preference. "And God created *ha'adam* in His own image...; male and female created He them." (Genesis 1:27)

This sexual equality message is made even stronger in Genesis 2, when it becomes clear that the first human was a hermaphrodite and that God only later divided the creature into man and woman. The newly created man does instantly assume supremacy over the half that has become woman. "This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh," he proclaims haughtily (Genesis 2:23); "she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man."

Not so, the next sentence seems to proclaim. "Therefore [because man sees himself as the superior of woman, rather than her equal], shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife [rather than the other way around, as might be expected, if man is the superior being], and they shall be one flesh," thus completing the adam—the human—of Creation.

Thus, racial and sexual equality clearly are issues of Jewish concern.



Caring for poor and homeless are matters of Jewish concern.

So are birth control and abortion. It is in Genesis 1:28, after all, that the first of the Torah's 613 commandments is given: "Be fruitful and multiply."

Some commentators argue that "be fruitful" alone would make the commandment absolute: A couple must continue to have children without regard to the mother's mental and physical health, for example, or the well-being of children born into environments too poor to support them. The "and multiply" is the modifier. Multiplication is not addition, they note. If a couple has two children, each of whom has two children who in turn also have two children, there are 14 children in three generations. And, if the original couple's great-grandchildren each have two children, the total rises by 16 more people.

In other words, the law allows for both birth control and abortion, with only the circumstances to be defined.

The Torah's moral and ethical code is a Jew's special burden.

Another issue-oriented message is the pronouncement that the human was created in its Creator's image and given "dominion" over all He has created.

Thus, "the universe is always in an uncompleted state..." as Rabbi Simcha Bunim of Przysucha taught, "[and] it requires continuous labor and renewal by creative forces." In other words, humankind's dominion over Creation makes it the stewards of that Creation—the watchmen who must see that nothing is unleashed that may destroy Creation, the laborers whose eternal task it is to fine-tune the Creator's work.

This creates a host of Jewish issues, from environmental concerns to the potentially destructive force of nuclear power. While the messages of Creation are for all people (there were no Jews then), they become obligatory for the one people who avowed for time immemorial, "All that the Lord has spoken we will do." (Exodus 19:8)

SO MANY ISSUES derive from but the first two chapters of the first book of five that together comprise the Torah—and it is just a beginning.

There are, for example, numerous admonitions regarding the treatment of strangers: "You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him (Exodus 22:20)... The stranger who resides with you shall be to you as one of your citizens; you shall love him as yourself..." (Leviticus 19:34).

According to the 19th-century scholar, Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, the "Torah" tells us in categorical terms: "All your misfortunes in Egypt were caused by the fact that you were foreigners here, and that as such... you had no right to land, honor or existence there, so that anyone could deal with you as he chose. Because you were aliens, you were outlawed in Egypt..."

The memory of Egypt makes the civil rights of an alien a matter of very specific Jewish concern—from the level of social services and employment opportunities for aliens to the granting of sanctuary. Because we were the victims of political oppression in our enslavement, we must provide safety for all who are similarly afflicted.

IT MAY BE ARGUED—and quite fairly—that today's sanctuary movement is politically motivated in favor of leftist regimes and against right-wing ones. That does not mean, however, that we—as Jews—can avoid the issue. Rather, we are obligated to involve ourselves in it and to demand with full vigor that the movement include all who flee oppression, whether from the right or the left.

The stranger also stands beside the widow, the orphan and the poor, as far as rights are concerned, and their well-being becomes a Jewish issue.

"[The] Lord your God... upholds the cause of the fatherless and the widow, and befriends the stranger... You too must befriend the stranger," states Deuteronomy (10:17-19). "When you beat down the fruit of your olive trees, do not go over them again... When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, do not pick it over again; [these] shall go to the stranger, the fatherless and the widow." (Deuteronomy 24:20-22)

"And when you reap the harvest of your land," enjoins Leviticus (19:9-10), "you shall not wholly reap the corner of your field, and you shall not gather the gleanings of your harvest... or gather the fallen fruit of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and for the stranger."

When it comes to those in need, the law not only requires the proffering of aid, but provides for it to be doled out with a minimum of embarrassment to those seeking it. The intention is not to make the needy work for their aid by collecting gleanings, but to keep them from being forced to ask for help.

When they are forced to ask, however, the law insists that no conditions be attached. "If you at all take your neighbor's garment in pledge [for a loan], you shall restore it to him by sundown, for that is his only covering..." we are warned in Exodus (22:25-26). If a person is so needy that all he or she has left to pledge is clothing, taking that clothing as security is an abomination.

The same goes for all other matters relating to widows and orphans. As Exodus (22:21-23) states: "If you afflict them in any way... My wrath shall wax hot." So even such matters as probating wills and handling by the courts of estates are matters of Jewish concern.

THE QUALITY OF JUSTICE is a Jewish issue. It must be true and complete—based only on what is right morally and ethically and on no other consideration, whether it be legal technicalities or popular will. "You shall not follow the multitude to do evil, and you shall not [support] a popular cause [if the effect is] to pervert justice," says Exodus (23:2).

Similarly, ethical business practices are Jewish issues. The Torah declares: "You shall not remove your neighbor's boundary marker" (Deuteronomy 19:14). As the late chief rabbi of Britain, Joseph Tzvi Hertz, has noted, this law has "an ethical extension": "Thereby, any unfair encroachment upon another man's honor or livelihood, any poaching on another man's preserves or sphere of activity is strictly prohibited."

Product liability as a Jewish issue can be discerned from the laws regarding "the ox that goes" (Exodus 21:28-29) and similar pronouncements. The same goes for ethical labor practices. Aside from mandating one day of rest in every seven for everyone, employees for example,—no matter what their faith—must be paid promptly and fairly (Leviticus 19:13 and Deuteronomy 24:14).

Jewish issues also extend to the treatment of the handicapped and the elderly. "You shall not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind... You shall rise up before the gray-haired and honor the face of the aged, and you shall fear your God; I am the Lord" (Leviticus 19:14,32).

As for warfare, Deuteronomy 20 begins by making all matters concerning conscription Jewish issues.

It does the same for the methods of war. By declaring that fruit-bearing trees may not be destroyed, for example, it raises serious questions about such techniques as defoliation, the use of nuclear weapons, "scorched-earth" policies and the like.

All this, of course, merely scratches the surface of our special burden. And, while there can be no question that single-issue committees are worthwhile and do have their place, it is through the multi-issue groups that we fulfill our destiny.

FOCUS

Making aliya, they face challenges with enthusiasm

By ELENORE LESTER

RUTH WEISS is a 21-year-old Columbia University student planning to settle in Israel because she doesn't want to be an "armchair Zionist." She and about a dozen friends feel that it is up to them to lead their generation in a new youth aliya movement to Israel because "Israel needs us in order to survive."

Joel Bloch and his wife, Ilana, and their four children, aged 11 months to 5 years, are making aliya because it's something "we've dreamed of our whole lives. If we don't do it now, it'll be harder for the kids later." Bloch is leaving a comfortable home in Yonkers and high-level job, vice president of Columbia Artists Management. He plans to continue his career of managing classical musicians in Israel.

Alex Falcon is retired. He and his wife, Molca, are leaving behind three of their four grown children and are making aliya because, "after 30 years we felt it was time to do what we really want to do."

Falcon has been involved in Zionist activities for three decades. He was director of community services for the Jewish National Fund for 18 years, president of the Zionist Organization of America for Long Island in the late '70s and vice president of the national ZOA for the past five years. He was assistant to the late Yehuda Hellman, executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, for the year prior to Hellman's death in May.

Weiss, the Blochs and the Falcons are among the 2,500 Americans who are expected make aliya this year. They recently joined more than 200 Israel-bound women and men and children for a weekend of socializing and preparation, sponsored by the North American Aliya Movement, at the Homewack Hotel, Spring Glen, N.Y.

ENTHUSIASM WAS THE COMMON denominator as the potential olim (new immigrants) learned about the opportunities, challenges and problems they are likely to face in Israel.

Most showed little anxiety about security, but they were concerned about conflict between religious and secular fanatics.

"The way the world is today, I feel more secure in Israel than in Paris, London or New York," says Joel Bloch. "As for Jews fighting among themselves, that's tragic. But it is nothing new. Unfortunately, it's been that way all through history."



Israel-bound Ruth Weiss has a lively Zionist debate on the Columbia campus with Bruce Schlanger and Benni Tripp.

Zipporah Liben, former secretary to the executive director of the World Council of Synagogues, international arm of the Conservative movement, points out that "every country has difficulties, but you don't run away from them. Israel is our home, as Jews. If your house is on fire, you don't just leave it. You try to put the fire out."

Her husband, Norman Liben, says: "We can be a constructive force in Israel." He is giving up his New York law practice of 36 years and plans to work as a clerk in a law office in Israel.

The idea that Americans can act as a moderating force in internecine strife in Israel was echoed by Sara Meckler, who is making aliya with her Israeli husband, Yaakov, and her 10 month-old son, Asher Anahel. She is an Orthodox woman with a degree in advertising design from the Fashion Institute of Technology here.

"The violence is very disturbing, but I think there should be more respect for the feelings of the religious," she says. "I personally think that some of the advertising they have is, well, in poor taste. And some is actually pornographic. I'd like to do attractive advertising design that isn't like that."

None of the prospective olim expressed concern about economic problems. The fact that Mordechai Kriner, an American, who made aliya in 1966, told them they would have to

adjust to a lower standard of living didn't perturb anyone. Kriner is one of Israel's success stories. He started doing menial labor for a food company and is now vice president of SuperSol, Israel's highly successful supermarket chain.

MOST OF THE PROSPECTIVE olim, how showed little interest in business. The group included physicians, nurses, teachers and computer programmers.

Among these young professionals was Susan Friedman Becker, president of the North American Aliya Movement, and her husband, Mitchel. She has a degree in city planning and has worked in that field for two New York City departments. Her husband is a psychologist. They will live in Hoshaya, a lower Galil settlement, which now has 29 families.

"I guess I won't be doing city planning immediately," Susan says with a smile. But I hope to eventually. The Galil needs Jews, and we are committed to it. Hoshaya is an interesting community made up of secular and modern Orthodox people, all committed to practicing tolerance and setting an example of integrated living. For instance, there will be a Shabbat parking lot, located some distance from the settlement. In that way people who want to drive or have visitors on Shabbat will be able to do as they please."

Miriam Glazer-Tassa, chairman of the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee, who flew in especially to greet the prospective olim, said she was "inspired" by their enthusiasm. She noted that she was born in Yemen and brought to Israel at age 4 under the most difficult circumstances in 1934.

"There is a lack of Jewish education and Zionist education in the diaspora," she said. "The establishment has not supported aliya. They have collected money, instead. Money is not a solution to our problems. Philanthropy is therapy for the Jewish conscience. These young people are the only answer to the yordim (those who leave Israel)."

Bobby Brown, deputy director of the Israel Aliyah Centers in North America and emissary for Community and Urban Settlements in Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Galil, said he was confident that the number of olim in 1986 would be up from last year.

"There was a downturn for several years, probably caused by economic problems," he said. "Now the economic outlook is bright. But more important the new olim are different. They are more aware of the realities of Israel. They are idealistic, yes. But they also have their feet firmly planted on the ground. As a result I think there will be a much lower rate of return."

For the love of Yiddish and love of the truth

Yiddish and English. By Sol Steinmetz. University of Alabama Press, University, Ala. 172 pp. No price listed.

Rooftop Secrets and Other Stories of Anti-Semitism. By Lawrence Bush. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York. 157 pp. Softcover \$7.95.

By DAVID C. GROSS

SOL STEINMETZ is a distinguished lexicographer and scholar who has had a lifelong love affair with Yiddish. Those Jews who heard Yiddish spoken around them as they grew up or are fortunate enough to enjoy hearing or speaking Yiddish today will thoroughly enjoy this new, popular academic study of Yiddish—especially the story of its gradual osmosis into the daily language of America, and to a lesser extent England.

It was about a century ago that the large masses of East European Jews, fleeing pogroms, persecution and poverty, brought Yiddish with them to these shores. The Sephardic Jews who came earlier, of course, did not know Yiddish, and the German Jews who arrived in the mid-19th century spoke German. But the Yiddish language was the daily spoken tongue of millions of Russian, Polish, Romanian and other Jews. Soon after their arrival, there developed in the United States, a network of Yiddish newspapers, schools and theaters, and it was from these cultural sources that Jewish writers, actors and just plain folks found nourishment as they struggled to adapt to their new surroundings.

In recent decades, the author points out, there has grown

up in America a virtual "Jewish-English" argot, spoken not only by Jews but by gentiles, too. Words like *shtick*, *shames*, *shekels* have become part of modern American usage—indicating the full integration of the Jewish community in the United States and their linguistic contribution to the national language.

The author has included a delightful glossary, in transliteration—words like *nebish*, *shlemiel*, *shiker* are defined, perhaps for many people for the first time. Altogether, a highly readable contribution to popular Jewish culture.

A recent Harris poll published in *The Jewish Week* reveals that anti-Semitism in the United States is alive and well—despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Americans are favorably disposed to Israel. One-fourth of the people living in America's farm and rural areas are classified as anti-Semitic, pure and simple, according to the Harris survey.

Since most American Jews live in large urban centers, they may find it hard to accept these reports. But Jewish leaders are aware of them and worry about them, as well they might. Worrying however is not enough. The real question is what to do. Is there really any way that this bigotry, this blot on the fabric of mankind vis-a-vis the Jews, can be removed?

Maybe, and maybe not, but certainly it is worth the effort to try. The national organization of Reform synagogues in America has now published a unique volume written by Lawrence Bush. It is a collection of short stories for young readers aimed at demonstrating dramatically how hatred for Jews is a distortion of truth, how it is harmful to its prac-

tioners and how it is a historical disease that goes against everything religion and ethical behavior teach.

One story deals with the time of the Inquisition in Spain 500 years ago. Another touches on the arrival of the first Jews in New Amsterdam in 1654. There are stories about the murder of the Jewish residents of Hebron in 1929 and of an anti-Semitic incident that took place in this country this year.

Even if vast numbers of his books were to be purchased by schools and libraries across America, and even if millions of American young people would read these stories and gain new understanding of the Jewish people, it does not, of course, follow that anti-Semitism will be reduced.

On the other hand, even if only one young American child, raised in a household where the word "Jew" is equated with Satan, or greed, or deception or whatever, is deflected from this path, the book is more than worthwhile. Yes, as has been said, anti-Semitism is a gentile problem, but we all know who bears the full weight of the suffering from this problem.

Bush's stories are well-told, moving and memorable. They do not preach, but instead simply unfold a truth and leave it to the young reader to decide what is right and what is wrong.

"Rooftop Secrets" is published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations' publications department and is intended primarily for young Jewish students, for use in class or as extracurricular reading. What is unique about this volume is that it offers young non-Jews a rare opportunity to understand Jewish life through the prism of a young Jewish reader.

SOVIET THREAT

NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, AND CHEMICAL
DEFENSE
AND TECHNOLOGY
INTERNATIONAL

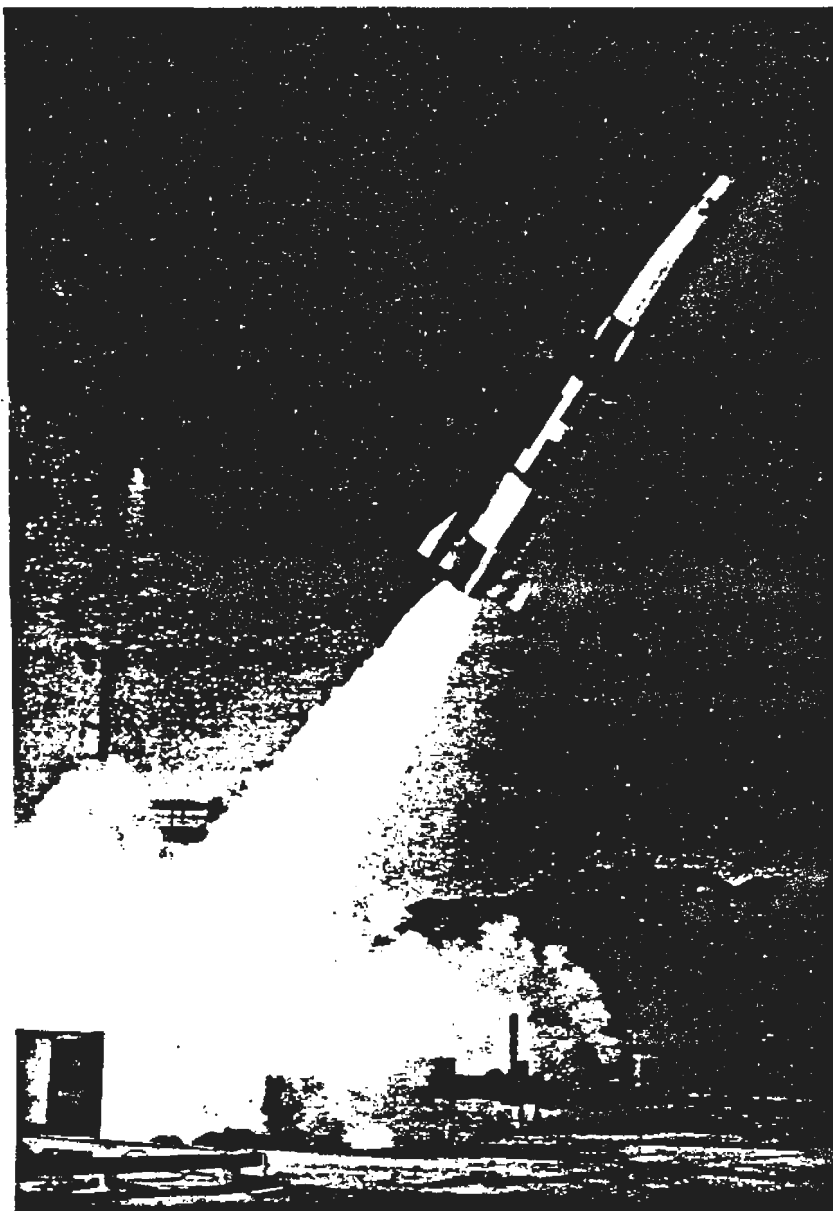
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THE SS-20: TRIPPING WESTERN EUROPE'S ALARM SYSTEM

Deployment of Soviet SS-20 mobile missiles has triggered concern about the U.S. commitment to the defense of Western Europe and the future of NATO

by Jonathan Haslam

Europe's defense



Appearance of the SS-20 ushered Pershing II missiles into Europe.

The Soviet SS-20 mobile missile can carry multiple warheads and has a longer range and greater accuracy than its predecessors, the SS-4 and SS-5, but the controversy surrounding the deployment of this weapon, which can be targeted to bases as far away as the U.K., has prompted concern over a potentially greater threat to Western Europe's security: weakening of the U.S. commitment to the defense of its European allies.

SS-20 is the Western designation (WD) for the Soviet intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) which the Soviets call Pioneer, also known as the RS-19. It is a two-stage, mobile, solid-fuel, surface-to-surface ballistic missile with a 3,100-mi. range, first deployed in 1977 and directed at targets in both western Europe and the Far East. The appearance of this weapon precipitated a crisis within NATO in 1977 and led ultimately to the "dual-track" decision of December 1979, which in turn ushered the Cruise and Pershing II missiles into Europe beginning in 1983. Few weapons in history have acquired such rapid notoriety and, therefore, it is worth reconsidering what exactly is the real significance of the SS-20.¹

Why the USSR deployed the SS-20

By the end of the '60's the Soviet Union was fast attaining parity with the U.S. in strategic nuclear weapons. The USSR began to consider balance at the theatre level. "The dynamic equilibrium now existing between the U.S. strategic forces and those of the Soviet Union increases significantly the importance of the U.S. general purpose forces (including theatre nuclear forces)," stated the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Moorer, on 5 March 1974.²

The Soviets had reason for concern, and not merely in the Far East where China had recently emerged as a new challenge to Soviet power. In Europe the USSR faced growing British and French nuclear forces as well as mod-

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ernizing U.S. forward-based systems (FBS), which stockpile huge numbers of U.S. nuclear weapons. Throughout the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), the Soviets pushed for the limitation of, or compensation for, U.S. FBS. From the U.S. viewpoint, however, the FBS are non-negotiable, because they represent a unilateral advantage and provide extended deterrence to cover the U.S.'s allies, above all in Western Europe. Given strategic parity, any reduction in U.S. nuclear forces in Europe without a compensating increase in NATO's conventional strength would leave NATO Europe facing a preponderance of Soviet conventional forces on land without a compensating superiority in nuclear systems at each level of escalation. This particularly applies to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), which is forbidden by treaty to possess its own nuclear weapons.

To the Soviets, the FBS represented an increasingly significant unilateral U.S. advantage ever since global parity was attained—particularly U.S. lighter delivery aircraft (LDA). "In Europe alone the U.S. continually maintains more than 600 fighter aircraft, of which more than 500 are equipped to carry nuclear weapons." LDA were based in Britain, the FRG, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Turkey, and could be reinforced by some 200 aircraft, of which 100 were nuclear-capable, from carriers in the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. The Seventh Fleet in the Pacific possessed an additional 500 nuclear capable aircraft.³ As Gerard Smith, U.S. delegation chief at Geneva, recalls, the Soviet military "were said to stress the ability of these aircraft to reach the Soviet Union in a short time. They were reported to consider U.S. FBS aircraft more effective in some respects than B-52 bombers, because their flight time was shorter, they could fly at lower altitudes, and their bomb release was said to be more effective."⁴

The air war in Vietnam heightened Soviet sensitivity on this issue. The unexpected effectiveness of U.S. LDA, especially those operating from aircraft carriers, and the relative ineffectiveness of the Soviet air defense system alarmed Moscow. The speed with which the U.S. Air Force (USAF) successfully adapted both technologically (particularly electronic counter-measures) and tactically (low flying) to overwhelm Soviet-installed air defenses in North Vietnam gave the Soviets an unpleasant surprise. The question they asked was: If the USAF can penetrate North Vietnamese air defenses employed by the USSR, cannot the USAF also breach similar defenses on Soviet soil?

In Western commentary much is made of the sheer scale of the Soviet air defense system. Don't the Soviets

have thousands of interceptor aircraft and even more thousands of surface-to-air missiles criss-crossing the country? Yet how is it that South Korean airliners could fly for two hours through Soviet airspace before being intercepted in both 1978 and 1983?

In the '70s the Soviets did not have the proper equipment to defend against low-flying penetration. Introduced in 1976, the MiG-23 (WD: Flogger-B) was "the first Soviet aircraft with a demonstrated ability to track and engage targets flying below its own altitude," though it had only a "rudimentary system" according to the U.S. Dept. of Defense. Not until the early '80s, with the deployment of the MiG-31 (WD: Foxhound-A), did the world see "the first Soviet fighter-interceptor to have look-down-shootdown and multiple target engagement capabilities." The situation with respect to surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) was only outwardly better. Not until the introduction of the SAM-10 in 1980-81 did the Soviets acquire some sort of surface-to-air capability against small, low-altitude targets, and even this should not be exaggerated.⁵

Theatre level threats also existed elsewhere for the Soviet Union. The Chinese began serial production of medium-range nuclear-capable bombers in 1969, the year battles on the Sino-Soviet border added a new enemy to the pre-existing forces of the U.S. confronting the USSR in the Far East. They also began testing a ballistic missile in 1971. Britain's first Polaris submarine armed with nuclear missiles became fully operational in the British Royal Navy and was assigned to NATO for targeting in the spring of 1968.⁶ Three more entered service by late 1970. In addition to some 50 Vulcan bombers loaded with nuclear weapons—still a significant threat to the Soviets given their air defense deficiencies—the British also deployed nuclear-armed strike aircraft in the Fleet Air Arm.⁷ France had 45 bombers and was forming 18 IRBMs into two squadrons—the first due to become operational in 1971. Five nuclear missile submarines were also to enter service between 1971 and 1979.⁸ Gerard Smith sums up the position during SALT I:

"The British and French strategic missile force in 1970 totaled 84 SLBMs, with 100 to 125 more launchers to become operational in the next few years. By the Soviet definition of strategic systems, which included LDA, the two U.S. allies then had 375 strategic launchers and some 250 more under construction or planned."⁹

Attempts by the British and the French to have these weapons excluded from all accounts ultimately rebounded to their disadvantage. Then Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko captured the essence of Moscow's incredulity: "Imagine that a ghastly tragedy

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occurred: an English missile with nuclear warheads is in flight. Would it, perhaps, carry the label: 'I am English?' ... Or a French missile is in flight. Perhaps it will also fly bearing the label: 'I am French, there is no need to count me?'¹⁰ These systems were not counted in to the SALT totals because the U.S. refused to allow it, so the Soviets reserved the right to match any increases in French and British forces by other means.

Soviet intermediate-range weapons arrayed against targets in Western Europe and offshore were both vulnerable to a pre-emptive counterforce strike and increasingly obsolescent. The SS-4 medium range ballistic missiles and SS-5 IRBMs, deployed from 1959 and 1961 respectively, were due for replacement. The SS-11 variable range ballistic missile would have served this purpose but it was to be counted as an ICBM under the SALT I agreement. Further, the Soviets were gradually withdrawing aging medium-range bombers from service and had apparently decided not to replace them one for one by the new bomber, the Tu-22M (WD: Backfire), which was deployed from 1974. In fact, the Tu-22M was mostly allocated to a naval role during the '70s and its output dallied far behind the rate of retirement of its predecessors.

What the Soviets needed was an efficient intermediate range nuclear weapons system with the highest degree of invulnerability. As it was, several factors coincided to give birth to the SS-20. The Nadiradze design bureau had long been frustrated in attempts to create a mobile ICBM secure from existing U.S. counterforce capability. Tests on the RS-14 (WD: SS-16) were repeatedly dogged by failure, evidently because of weight.

U.S. intransigence to concede to FBS limitations in the early '70s finally led Brezhnev in November 1974 to drop his insistence on the limitation of or compensation for the FBS and allied systems in order to reach agreement with President Ford on limiting strategic warheads.¹¹ The Soviet military were infuriated. Brezhnev had little choice but to appease their concerns by approving proposals for the SS-20.

Testing of the experimental SS-20 thus began early in 1975.¹² At this stage the Soviets could scarcely have anticipated the storm this ingenious and money-saving improvisation would

cause. But then their assessment of the balance in Europe diverged significantly from that of the West and one always discounts the expressed fears of one's opponents while treating one's own as incontestable.

The SS-20 impact

The Soviets did not begin deploying the SS-20 until late 1977,¹³ but sites for the missile were under construction a year earlier. Each site included a main building, nine mobile launchers, and protective earth revetments and it was these that were spotted by satellite, certainly well before the autumn of 1977 when FRG's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt sounded the alarm at a speech to the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London.

But how real was the new threat? Opinions vary as to the degree to which the SS-20 actually represented a significant enhancement of Soviet theatre nuclear capability, but it is generally agreed that it has a longer range and greater accuracy than the SS-4/5, it is more survivable as it is mobile, and it can become a multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV), in which each missile carries three warheads instead of the one carried by each SS-4/5. A MIRVed SS-20, though, would not have as effective a target coverage as an ICBM MIRV.

Extended deterrence had hitherto depended upon NATO superiority over Warsaw Pact forces at the theatre nuclear level. This enabled NATO to control the escalation of conflict at the sub-strategic level: If the Soviets attacked with conventional forces, the West could respond in kind and, if necessary, resort to battlefield nuclear weapons. If the Soviets persisted, the West could move to longer-range nuclear weapons, such as the nuclear-armed F-111. The SS-20 and the deployment of other more sophisticated theatre nuclear weapons systems—such as the Sukhoi 24 (WD: Fencer) nuclear-capable fighter-bomber deployed from 1974—represented an attempt to negate this important unilateral advantage.

The increased range and accuracy of the SS-20 threatened the security of the British Isles, for example. Apart from its Polaris submarines targeted by NATO and of which at least a part would be at sea and thereby out of range of a Soviet nuclear strike, Britain still pos-

sessed 'V' bomber forces whose airfields were obvious targets for the SS-20, as were the U.S. FBS such as the F-111 deployed in the U.K. The question was whether the F-111, dependent as it is upon long runways, could be relied upon, even when dispersed on warning, to survive a possible pre-emptive strike by more accurate Soviet theatre nuclear weapons. The SS-20 thus raised the threat to the U.S. FBS and some allied systems, while simultaneously reducing the West's ability to destroy Soviet theatre nuclear weapons in a pre-emptive strike. It thereby made Soviet superiority at the level of conventional forces all the more menacing to Western European countries.

Deepening doubts, particularly in Bonn and London, about the continued U.S. commitment to the defense of Western Europe, even at the cost of good relations with the Soviets, cast the SS-20 in an even darker light.

Politics and symbolism

The testing of the SS-20 coincided with a turning-point in the continuing strategic arms limitation talks (SALT II) between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and a crisis of confidence in U.S. leadership within NATO Europe. Agreement at SALT II was stymied over U.S. insistence on the exclusion of all Cruise missiles from the count of strategic warheads to be limited by treaty. Eventually the White House realized that Cruise would have to be sacrificed at the altar of SALT II, in spite of resolute opposition from the Pentagon and alarm in the leading governments of Western Europe that the U.S. was trading away a weapons system that might compensate for the SS-20 and in the longer term replace the F-111 (expected to lose its effectiveness against Soviet air defenses in the '90s).¹⁴ Was the resolve of the U.S. to defend its allies in Western Europe weakening at a time when U.S. power was so irrefutable and Soviet influence on the rise?

It was not merely the withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam that raised questions about the steadfastness of the U.S. obligation to its allies. Just as West Europeans grew anxious when the U.S. and the USSR were at daggers drawn, so did they fret when the superpowers shut themselves away in confidential talks. Add to this the moves within Congress

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to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe, disputes over the devaluation of the dollar, the nuclear alert involving the FBS in Europe called by the U.S. government in October 1973 without prior consultation of NATO Europe, the backwash of Watergate, and apparent U.S. indifference to the spread of Soviet power in Africa, and the alliance clearly stood on uncertain ground by the mid-to-late '70s: "The thing that is troubling our European allies in particular... is not our military capability but what they perceive to be shaky coherence and national unity which may make it impossible to use those military capabilities," Amos Jordan, Principal Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs, acknowledged in December 1975. "It is the credibility of our commitment, not the existence of our commitment or the strength of our forces that is in doubt in their minds."¹⁵

In this sense the SS-20 acquired a symbolic significance as a test case for U.S. determination to answer a cry of help from its dependents in Europe. More than mere weaponry was at issue: it was the entire nature and future of the trans-Atlantic relationship. Thereafter continued Soviet deployments combined with the renewed resolve of the U.S. to rescue its reputation as leader of the alliance to ensure the future deployment of both Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe from December 1983.

Setting off alarm bells?

Until General Secretary Gorbachev grasped the nettle on 15 January 1986 by proposing an arms reduction package including the offer to remove and destroy all of the SS-20s based within the radius of Western Europe in return for the removal of all Cruise and Pershing II missiles, it seemed unlikely that the events of 1977-83 could be undone.¹⁶ The Soviets may not be willing to reach a settlement on long-range theatre nuclear weapons without an agreement prohibiting further development of space-based weapons systems. Indeed, the very threat posed by

the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative prompted moves to appease West European opinion in the first place.

But circumstances that gave rise to the appearance of the SS-20 would not disappear with the removal of Cruise and Pershing II. The Soviet military, in particular, will remain nervous at the continued presence of U.S. FBS at the threshold of fortress Russia, just as the U.S. remains ever vigilant at whispers of Soviet nuclear-capable aircraft arriving in the Caribbean.

While West Europeans are incapable—due to lack of resolve rather than lack of ability—of organizing common defenses without U.S. support, U.S. FBS will continue to be seen as vital to the balance of power in Europe. The Soviets, meanwhile, will continue to see them as a unilateral advantage. For although the FBS offer extended deterrence to cover NATO Europe and U.S. allies in the Far East, they also serve a purely unilateral function that is no way circumscribed by the multilateral services rendered to NATO.

During the 1973 Middle East war, for example, the U.S. called a nuclear alert involving the FBS in Europe without even consulting those countries in which the FBS were based. The alert was called as a means of intimidating the Soviet Union, to dissuade Moscow from sending combat forces to the Middle East. It is not surprising that the Soviets tend to see the FBS apart from their essential NATO functions and seek to limit or gain compensation for them in any strategic arms limitation agreements.

In such circumstances, the SS-20 might be negotiated out of existence—much to the dismay of the Soviet general staff—but unless there is a more far-reaching political détente to sustain this sacrificial disarmament, an SS-20 surrogate will surely appear in the future, once more setting off alarm bells in Western Europe.

Perhaps the lesson to be learned from this is that, for all its importance, too much should not be loaded onto the shoulders of arms control. As the SS-20 story demonstrates, a large part of the

significance of new nuclear weapons systems lies in their political symbolism rather than in their war-waging capability.

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MEDIA PERSPECTIVES

WASHINGTONIAN

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Yes, Journalists Are Different

The Evidence Is Compelling: The Media Are More Liberal Than the Public. So Why Won't They Admit That They're Biased?

By Fred Barnes



Abe Rosenthal, Ben Bradlee, Ted Koppel, and Lesley Stahl are four leaders of the media elite. They are rich and live extremely well, but odds are that none of them voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. And neither did the majority of their fellow journalists, with whom they share views and backgrounds that are quite different from most Americans'.

Back in 1983 when President Reagan ordered the invasion of Grenada, he offered as rationale the threat to the lives of American medical students on the tiny Caribbean island. Nearly every reporter I talked to at the time was suspicious of this explanation. So was I. It seemed too pat, too convenient an opportunity for the overthrow of a Marxist government that had just seized power.

Only a few days before the invasion, remember, the administration had suffered a big setback in Lebanon when 250 Marines were blown up in their barracks. Grenada raised the possibility that the administration was trying to draw attention away from Lebanon. And then the White House lied to reporters about its invasion plans and barred the press from accompanying the invading force to Grenada. Could there be better evidence that the administration had something to hide?

The expectation among reporters in Washington was that the medical students, once reporters could interview them, would knock

down the Reagan rationale for the invasion. The *Washington Post* didn't even wait to interview them, running a piece before the students' return that said they hadn't really been endangered.

When the students did arrive at Charleston Air Force Base, they didn't live up to reporters' expectations.

On the contrary, they praised the military and the administration to the hilt. One woman student said that the President had saved her life, literally. Another kissed the ground. Absolutely, the

students said, they had been in great peril. The American people had supported the invasion from the start, so the students' testimony merely strengthened the public's backing—and their scorn for press complaints about being kept away from the action in Grenada.

There may be better examples of the divergence of opinion between the national press corps and the public, but I don't know of any. Yes, there is a national media elite, and it doesn't look at things quite the way most Americans do.

This may or may not be ominous, but it is a fact. In 1984, Reagan won re-election with 58 percent of the vote. But only 26 percent of the reporters and editors contacted in a large *Los Angeles Times* poll voted for him.

The antipathy to Reagan wasn't traditional press hostility toward those in power. In 1980, according to a UCLA poll of journalists at the 50 largest newspapers, 51 percent voted for President Jimmy Carter, 25 percent for Reagan, and 24 percent for John Anderson. And so on.

Poll after poll, not to men-



Washingtonians Robert and Linda Lichter (above), along with co-author Stanley Rothman, compile powerful evidence in *The Media Elite* that the press tends to be more liberal and more anti-establishment than the general public, and that that orientation colors its coverage of issues.

The price of making the private sector more efficient in this instance, however, is to increase the economic resources available to government. Consequently, the new jobs created by the aid-cum-reform package will be public-sector jobs, not private-sector ones. Moreover, politicians will determine who gets how much of the aid. Thus, while the poor country can be presumed to be better off with the reform measure tied

United States granting unlimited access to its vast market. The United States could use trade against the Soviets as they use aid against the Americans. Let the United States declare war on communism in Central America, for example, not by sending in American troops but by forming a common market with all countries in Central America who want to participate.

The United States should agree to elimi-

There is no way the U.S.S.R. could possibly match the economic impact of the United States granting unlimited access to its vast market.

nate all obstacles to imports from any Central American country that agrees to reciprocate by removing all obstacles to U.S. exports. A "common market" with the Caribbean Basin countries would help fight communism in four important ways: (1) It would increase the exports and economic well-being of the Central American countries. (2) It would create an allegiance to capitalism in a part of the world where the economic process has been dominated by the political process for too long a period. (3) It would improve the efficiency of the Caribbean Basin economies by imposing more-liberal trade policies upon them. And (4) it would place Uncle Sam in a new light.

Americans should not underestimate the resentment many Caribbean people feel toward the United States. A common market with the Caribbean Basin would help ameliorate that resentment by showing the people of that region that the United States practices the competitive ethic it preaches. Economic aid, on the other hand, reinforces Uncle Sam's image as a rich bully, all too willing to use its enormous wealth to manipulate others for its own selfish reasons.

When faced with the choice of linking up with the Soviets or plugging into the American economy, what sane Central American leader would choose the former? Even

Nicaragua should be asked to join a U.S.-Caribbean Basin Common Market. Should it join, the pressures of free trade would dampen Sandinista control over the economy. The common market would have rules, and Nicaragua would have to conform. Moreover, anti-American paranoia would sell at a discount rather than a premium in Managua if both countries belonged to the same common market.

For these reasons, it is doubtful the Sandinistas would join a Caribbean Basin Common Market even if asked. But this, too, would be good; a refusal to join such an enterprise would help isolate the Sandinistas in their own region. A U.S.-Caribbean Basin Common Market is the type of initiative in which the Sandinistas lose no matter what they do.

Objections to the formation of a U.S.-Central American Common Market can be expected to come from protectionist interests in the United States that fear the increased competition from Central American exports. Countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and others are rich in labor and thus could be expected to be efficient in the production of such labor-intensive products as textiles, apparel, toys, and plastics. American labor and management in these industries undoubtedly will use their considerable political clout in Washington to try to sabotage the initiative.

Under normal circumstances, the protectionists would have a good chance to succeed, since the opponents of protectionism usually are not well organized and are scattered throughout the population. But the linkage of the Common Market to combating the communists in Central America gives the plan a much broader base of political support than it otherwise would enjoy. The strategic importance of the proposed U.S.-Caribbean Basin Common Market might be able to defeat American protectionists, just as it might be able to defeat the Central American communists.

A Caribbean Basin Common Market is one example. The general point is that in countering Moscow's moves in the Third World, Washington must develop tactics and strategies appropriate to America's institutions, values, and strengths—not simply imitate the tactics of our rivals. America's strong suit is its economy, and this country must learn how to use its enormous economic power to improve the material standard not only of its own citizens but of foreigners as well. Other things being equal, the better off our neighbors, the more secure they—and we—will be. I

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to the aid than with the aid alone, conditionality in no way alters the conclusion that economic aid, tied or untied, increases the power and influence of politicians and creates allegiances to government rather than to the private marketplace.

Trading Communism Away

Instead of playing a game in which the Soviets can compete, and compete effectively—buying foreign leaders with economic aid—we should select a game to play where the Soviet disadvantage is so great as to guarantee a U.S. victory. There is no way, for example, that the U.S.S.R. could possibly match the economic impact of the

age, the results were consistently one-sided," the authors say. "The media . . . gave greater credence to the advocates of busing than to its opponents. They were more sympathetic to the critics of the oil industry than to its opponents. In every instance, the coverage followed neither the middle path nor the expert evidence. Instead, it veered in the direction one would expect on the basis of the attitude surveys and psychological tests [of journalists]."

It's not that reporters were pursuing advocacy journalism, the authors caution. But when the direction of coverage was unclear, they followed "inner road maps that mark out routes of ingrained expectation."

Now, I think there's a name for this that can be put in less frothy terms. It's media bias or, put another way, liberal bias. Not a single survey or study cited in *The Media Elite* shows journalistic attitudes or coverage tilting in a conservative direction. It always leans the other way.

This doesn't mean that liberal bias is always the controlling factor in coverage. It isn't. There are others—a yen for bad news, an inclination to champion underdogs against the authorities. Sometimes these factors clash. Lichter and company found that in coverage of busing disputes, journalists sacrificed their proclivity to report bad news in favor of upbeat pieces about the virtues of busing. Experts may have cooled on busing as a method for improving the educational achievement of blacks, but the media elite hasn't.

"If journalists' sympathies sometimes override expert evidence, they presumably also influence coverage on the many topics where such evidence is either missing or irrelevant to the story," the authors write.

Reporters do, in fact, see things from their own perspective—upper-middle class and educated. They judge people and events from this vantage point, which is only natural.

From where most journalists stand on the left side of the political spectrum, there's vast territory to the right. Those furthest away are "ultraconservatives." To the left of journalists, there's not as much room. No one is an "ultra-liberal."

Or in dealing with experts, say, on oil, journalists find the field cluttered with shills for the oil industry. Thus, they rely on a few "independent" souls, who happen to be sharp critics of the industry.

Journalists aren't purposefully following an ideological agenda. They're just following their instincts, which aren't the same as everybody else's.

No wonder they expected the case for invading Grenada to collapse. ☐

tion common-sense observations by anyone who has chatted with a few print or TV news reporters, shows the same thing. The press, especially the media elite in Washington and New York, tends to be more liberal and more anti-establishment than the American people.

If any further proof is needed, you can turn to *The Media Elite* (Adler & Adler; \$19.95), by three political scientists, S. Robert Lichter and Linda S. Lichter of Columbia University and Stanley Rothman of Smith College. Their findings, based on their own surveys and those of others, have dribbled out in recent years, and now they are packaged in a book.

It is rather dry reading, and some of the evidence they present is silly. But the case they make is compelling. In fact, it is irrefutable.

Why? Because all the evidence points in the same direction. The national press may posture as the representative of the public, the little guy, but the journalistic elite comes from a drastically different social and political milieu than most Americans.

As recently as twenty years ago, many successful journalists came from working-class backgrounds and had skipped college. Their roots were the same as those of most Americans. No more.

The authors draw a remarkably homogeneous picture of the media elite, by which they mean reporters, editors, and producers at the three national newspapers (the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*), the three newsmagazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *US News & World Report*) and the three television networks (CBS, ABC, NBC). These people are cosmopolitan and secular. "Drawn mainly from cities in the northeast and north-central states, their parents tended to be well off, highly educated members of the upper middle class," the authors write. "... In short, the typical leading journalist is the very model of the modern eastern urbanite."

Not surprisingly, there is a "dominant perspective" among the media elite. Leading journalists are not religious, are politically liberal, regularly vote Democratic, and are "alienated from traditional norms and institutions." Their liberalism isn't the stale New Deal brand

but the up-to-the-minute social liberalism of yuppieism.

"They differ most from the general public on the divisive social issues that have emerged since the 1960s—abortion, gay rights, affirmative action, etc.," according to Lichter and company. "Many are . . . quite critical of America's world role. They would like to strip traditional powerbrokers of their

*Leading journalists are
not religious, are
politically liberal, and
regularly vote Democratic.*

influence and empower black leaders, consumer groups, intellectuals, and . . . the media."

You'd better believe that Ben Bradlee, Abe Rosenthal, Tom Brokaw, and the rest think they are a lot smarter than Ronald Reagan.

It wasn't journalism that made the media elite this way. According to popular myth, reporters saw the underside of life, the part that needed changing, and the experience made them liberals. Were this true, older journalists, those who have seen the most, would be the most liberal. Except that's not the case.

In their own polling of journalists, the authors found that 43 percent of those over 50 said their views were liberal, compared with 70 percent in the under-35 category.

Most liberal of all, they discovered from a 1982 sampling of students at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, were prospective media elitists. About 85 percent pegged their views as left of center, and they looked more kindly on the Sandinistas and Cuban dictator Fidel Castro than on President Reagan. By itself, the authors' survey isn't conclusive. But every other poll of journalists matches their finding about the dominance of liberal opinion in the media.

At least two pieces of evidence from *The Media Elite* are ridiculous. They questioned reporters on what sources they might use on stories about welfare reform, consumer issues, the environment, and nuclear energy. By and large, the national press prefers liberal sources. But who can blame them? Liberal, activist groups are less suspicious of reporters and more willing to feed them information. Perhaps they look on journalists as allies, but the result is simply that they are very useful sources of

information, notably in Washington. The fact that reporters rely heavily on them, even too heavily, indicates only that they are good sources.

The authors also cite the response of journalists to something called the Thematic Apperception Test, in which they were shown pictures of several social situations and asked to write fictional stories about the people in them. I won't bother to tell you the results. Who could care?

The touchiest subject for the authors is media bias. They insist that they are not accusing the media elite of bias in news coverage. And you can't blame them for avoiding the buzz phrase "liberal bias" like the plague. Leading journalists tend to dismiss out of hand any findings that allegedly prove such bias, and the authors want to be taken seriously.

"The whole notion of bias has become a straw man that obscures the far less obvious (and less nefarious) processes that mediate between journalists' perspectives and their product," the authors write.

Okay, so reporters don't cover a story about the White House with the intent of persuading their readers to vote for a liberal Democrat in 1988. What happens instead, the authors suggest, is more subconscious. Journalists have a view of the world and how it should work, and this subtly but inevitably affects their coverage. Who could argue with that?

The strongest part of the authors' case is their detailed examination of the coverage of three long-running stories—nuclear energy, busing for racial integration, and the oil industry's role in the energy crisis. Their approach was to compare the attitudes of journalists and experts (scientists, academics, etc.), and then look at coverage in light of this.

On nuclear energy, scientists and engineers were optimistic about its future and about finding solutions to its problems. Journalists, including those specializing in scientific issues, were pessimistic. The experts favored rapid development of nuclear power, while the journalists didn't. As you might guess, the predilection of journalists has dominated. The coverage of nuclear energy has been negative, reflecting the views of journalists, not those of experts. "Scientists, engineers, and others designated as experts cited in news stories tended to reflect the overall tenor of media coverage, even though this clashed with the survey findings on the actual attitudes of energy scientists and engineers," write Lichter and company.

A similar phenomenon has marked coverage of busing and oil. "Even according to an arbitrary standard requiring that each side receive equal cover-

Fred Barnes is a senior editor, writing mostly about politics, for the *New Republic*, a hotbed of Harvard graduates and other moneyed members of the media elite. But Barnes was born in Arlington, still lives there, goes to church almost every Sunday, and probably voted for Ronald Reagan in both 1980 and 1984. He graduated from the University of Virginia, worked for the *Washington Star* from 1967 to 1979 with a year off in 1977-78 as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, and covered politics here for the *Baltimore Sun* from 1979 to 1985, when he joined the *New Republic*. He appears frequently on *The McLaughlin Group*.

The Luxurious Mercedes-Benz: A Holy Roller

By Warren Brown

TO JIM AND TAMMY Bakker and all other evangelists who bought Mercedes-Benz cars with money earned from preaching the Gospel: I forgive you.

Though I condemned you mightily when news of your transgressions hit America's front pages and airwaves, I now understand.

Who among us would not have done the same thing, given the opportunity? I mean, these are real fine cars, the finest in the world. You folks sinned, but did it with class — automotively speaking.

I was thinking about you the other day, cruising down I-66 en route to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, wrapped in the leathery splendor of the 1988 Mercedes-Benz 300 CE. The car stereo was playing my version of spiritual music, "Graceland," by Paul Simon, interspersed with lots of down-home blues.

At one point, I started praying, à la Janis Joplin: "Oh, Lord, woncha buy me a Mercedees-Benzzzz. That's the only way I'll get one. Poverty sure don't make senzzz . . ."

Anyway, I understand. Sin in the name of impeccable quality seems almost reasonable. And the 300 CE, Daimler-Benz AG's first mid-size coupe in the U.S. market in the last 10 years, certainly is a high-quality act.

Complaints: Even winners can be sinners.



The splendid 1988 Mercedes-Benz 300 CE.

The 300 CE's instrument console is cluttered with so many buttons and dials, it's maddening. People who complain about General Motors' high-tech, touch-sensitive, cathode-ray-tube instrument displays in the Buick Riviera and Reatta oughtta get a load of this: 54 push-em, spin-em, roll-em buttons and dials! Verry goofy.

Also, back-seaters in this luxury, rear-drive, four-seat coupe could use a bit more room. The rear cabin has enough space (35.5 inches of headroom and 29.6 inches of leg-room) for short types, but taller and wider people complained of being cramped.

Praise: The 300 CE is a thoroughly well-made car. It takes "tightness" — the quality with which all body parts fit together — to a higher level. The interior is as quiet as an empty church, even when the car is moving at highway speeds. (Some other drivers complained of mild wind noise. I drove the car several times with the stereo off. I didn't hear anything.)

And then there's safety: A driver's-side air bag is standard, plus motorized, automatically tensioning shoulder-harness belts in front. Shoulder-harness belts also are installed in the rear. Halogen headlights with lamp wip-

ers (like small windshield wipers) are standard. Anti-lock brakes, rear seat headrests, and, er, a first-aid kit behind the rear seats are part of the package. Impressive.

Head-turning quotient: You don't have to beg parking attendants for attention.

Ride, acceleration, braking, handling: The ride is aces — firm, comfortable, pleasing.

The car's 3-liter, inline, 6-cylinder engine is smooth and powerful — 60 mph in eight seconds flat, 177 hp at 5,700 rpm.

There's some body roll in handling, but it's nothing upsetting. Braking? If you can't stop in time in this one, you're going way too fast.

Sound system: AM/FM electronic stereo radio and cassette, Becker Grand Prix model. It's improved, but it still requires too much effort to obtain tonal quality that still pales in comparison with GM's Delco/Bose systems and Ford Motor's Premium Sound and JBL-designed systems.

Mileage: About 19 to the gallon (18.5-gallon tank, estimated 345-mile range on usable volume), combined city-highway, running with mixed loads (one to four occupants).

Price: \$52,603, including \$103 for the optional, button-down floor mats. Virtually no other options. Mercedes-Benz declined to give the destination charge and dealer's invoice price. However, retail sources familiar with the company's pricing put the dealer's cost at \$42,082.24.

Purse-strings note: The 300 CE coupe is mechanically identical to the Mercedes-Benz 300 E sedan, which costs \$43,700 and has five seats.

Warren Brown covers the automotive industry for The Washington Post.

Will Anne Henderson Pollard die in prison?

By EMANUEL A. WINSTON

IN A PERSONAL LETTER to Herb Brin, Heritage Publications of California, Jonathan Jay Pollard relates a story that is chilling and strikes a responsive chord in all Americans who expect fairness from their country.

He charges that U.S. Attorney Joseph diGenova, appointed by former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, is so consumed with the theory of a "Jewish conspiracy" that he is withholding medical care from Pollard's wife, Anne, for Jonathan's refusal to implicate prominent American Jews as spies. DiGenova has presented a list of 25 American Zionist leaders for Jonathan to choose an alleged "X" as a co-conspirator.

Pollard was arrested for espionage charges in November 1985, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment. His wife, Anne, was sentenced to five years for possession of secret documents. Pollard, a U.S. Navy counterintelligence analyst, had obtained and transferred to Israel information on Arab troop movements, Libyan air defenses that enabled Israel to bomb the Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Tunis, Soviet deliveries of military equipment, the location of Syrian poison gas facilities, the status of nuclear weapons developed by Pakistan with money from Arab states, etc. This information would have been available to Israel based upon the U.S.-Israel Exchange of Intelligence Agreement of 1983, except that as-yet-unknown persons had bottlenecked this previously open two-way exchange. For transmitting this vital information to an ally, Israel, Pollard is serving a life sentence.

The following story was assembled from available news stories, letters by Pollard, family members and a phone interview with Anne Pollard's father, Bernard Henderson. I have speculated on conclusions that could be drawn from this information. My research has merely scratched the surface, and I would caution the reader to be aware that all facts may not be available as yet.

Why was it so important to discredit Israel and intimidate the American Jewish community? Pollard had already confessed fully to transmitting information to Israel but could not identify a second spy from diGenova's list of 25 American Jewish leaders, because no other American Jews were working with him. "This was confirmed by nine months of polygraphing," Pollard told the Associated Press.

APPARENTLY, DIGENOVA viewed this refusal to incriminate others as a lack of cooperation. In January, Pollard was transferred to solitary confinement in a hospital room after 10 months in a psychiatric ward, while investigators tried to force him to implicate other American Jews. George Diefenbacher, head of the penitentiary's social services department, said that Pollard was not a "mental patient," but "there are other considerations for keeping him there."

Pollard is, by his own admission, guilty of espionage for an American ally; however, diGenova has attempted to force Pollard to name names by withholding medical attention from his wife, Anne, and showing him daily medical reports about her physical deterioration. Pollard told Herb Brin, editor of the Los Angeles Heritage newspaper: "[The] veil of distortions and misrepresentations ... were intended both to poison Americans' perceptions of Israel as a valuable strategic partner and to frighten the Jewish community into accepting the administration's ... insistence that Israel comply with the demands of Arab nations."

Anne, 27, suffers from biliary dyskinesia, a rare gastrointestinal disorder. In the first 95 days of her isolated detention in the Lexington, Ky., federal prison, she lost 60 pounds, her hair turned white and she claims to live in constant and untreated pain. As of Nov. 19, she could not eat solid food, weighed 95 pounds, was no longer able to stand but was continually bent over with her arms on her stomach, and walked with difficulty.

She now walks with a shuffling step and has approximately 2 percent body fat, which approximates the emaciated survivors of the Nazi concentration camps. Photos of her are not permitted. Interviews are not allowed. Authorities maintain that she refuses to be interviewed and considers it an invasion of her privacy. Her father states that this is untrue, that Anne has signed several requests for release of information and is pleading for contact. Prison officials and diGenova claim that she is faking illness.



Bernard Henderson

Photo Robert Kallus

According to other inmates, Anne Pollard looks as if she is dying, and it appears that prison authorities are allowing her debilitation to proceed until she dies of "natural causes." Henderson indicated in his phone interview with me that he has received shocking letters from other inmates (letters he has since forwarded to me) that corroborate what he has personally observed on his brief visits to Anne in the prison.

He claims that his daughter is being methodically weakened and aged before her time. The question of whether her health is being manipulated to force her husband into false statements begs for an answer.

Anne Pollard was never charged with espionage, nor with aiding and abetting, nor with being an accessory to her husband's actions; she was accused of trying to remove a suitcase containing documents at the behest of her husband. Polygraph tests showed that she knew nothing about her husband's actions on behalf of Israel.

In December, Anne was transported to St. Matthews Hospital in Rochester, Minn., adjacent to but not the Mayo Clinic. She was chained hand and feet to her bed continually, with two male guards overseeing her every moment, even during a proctoscopy (rectal exam).

The Bureau of Prisons claimed that a Dr. Rollin Williams Hughes Jr. would be in charge of Anne's treatment there, but when she saw him once for several minutes, he informed her that "the medical community did not recognize biliary dyskinesia as a legitimate disease." Not surprisingly, no manometry test was done, although this is a standard test for biliary dyskinesia. Her family was later told by Hughes' secretary that he had no such patient named Pollard.

IT WAS REPORTED THAT the prison officials have refused to release her medical records, even under the Freedom of Information Act. The prison officials also have refused to send for her earlier medical records from Dr. Michael Goldberg of Chicago, a renowned expert on biliary dyskinesia, who diagnosed her disease in August 1986, nor have they permitted him to examine or treat her. And they have denied her the two modern medications known to be of possible help in this disease. She cannot even receive the necessary painkillers, but relies on an over-the-counter preparation.

Dr. Herbert A. Moscovitz, a gastroenterologist in Washington, D.C., in a pre-sentencing letter to Chief Judge Aubrey Robinson of the federal district court, wrote that he first began examining Anne Pollard in June 1984 and discovered that she had a "motor abnormality of the stomach," meaning that she cannot digest food properly. He wrote: "Undigested food residues accumulate and coagulate with mucus and bile to form soft masses, which are known as 'bezoars.' These have to be removed or broken up endoscopically to pass through the digestive system. She requires the continuous use of drugs which stimulate the stomach to empty."

In a Nov. 10, 1986 letter to the judge, Dr. Robert Baker, chairman of surgery at the University of Illinois in Chicago, recommended and performed specialized surgery—which he said had a 50 percent chance of survival—and, in fact, did the

carceration would be detrimental to her clinical condition. All these medical recommendations were ignored.

Upon her return from Minnesota, Anne was placed in the general population of the Lexington federal facility, where there is no medical supervision. She had to walk four times a day in great pain to the pharmacy to get her pills, often to be told that they weren't there. On Jan. 4, she was taken from her cell in a semi-comatose state, bleeding rectally. Hours later, a doctor finally examined her and found that she had a 103-degree fever and was losing significant amounts of blood. Only then was she admitted to the prison hospital.

Why was she forced to undergo a charade of an examination, chained to her bed and pronounced healthy? Why were her guards male when women in prison are normally guarded by female guards? Since she was in a substantially weakened condition, why two strapping male guards? What are they supposed to keep Anne Pollard from telling or doing? Why is she being kept in solitary confinement?

Federal prison officials keep Anne Pollard in total isolation, insuring silence, and refuse requests for independent, qualified medical care for her deteriorating medical condition. Her attorney is not permitted to see her privately, but must meet with her with federal marshals present. J. Michael Quinlan, director of the Justice Department's Federal Bureau of Prisons, has refused or ignored requests for proper medical treatment, release of records and legal rights for attorney-client privileges, according to Henderson.

Are we one day soon to hear that Anne Pollard, age 27, suddenly died of a heart attack or found a way to commit suicide in her cell? Perhaps she may be driven to suicide by medical maltreatment and what could be considered a refined psychological torture.

What is going on here? This is beginning to sound like the psychiatric internment of dissidents in the Soviet Union, of which American human rights groups complain so rigorously. Mistreating one prisoner to force another prisoner to confess to something is not the American way, particularly if the manipulators' purpose is to serve other goals, such as weakening American support for our ally, Israel, and advancing certain Arab aspirations.

RECENT EFFORTS TO commute the Pollards' exceptionally harsh sentences under Rule 35 were sidetracked by a rumor floated to the effect that they could be part of a spy swap with Russia. Their presence in jail, therefore, is needed so that they can be pawns for such a swap.

Why did the Pollard case send the usually unflappable Caspar Weinberger into an uncharacteristic frenzy, to the point of demanding Jonathan Pollard's death by hanging?

Even 16 years of espionage by the Walker brothers, who sold our most vital NATO secrets to the Soviets, did not anger Weinberger nearly so much as did the Pollards. John Walker will be eligible for parole in 10 years, although he was directly responsible for the deaths of Navy pilots, U.S. intelligence agents and informants, and for the loss of technological and strategic information to the Soviets.

The Pollards, by comparison, are not eligible for parole and are the only U.S. citizens in the 20th century to be prosecuted for acting on behalf of an ally. Other individuals, even Americans caught in other countries, have been dealt with quietly through diplomatic channels. This method was rejected by the FBI and the Justice Department for the Pollards, despite pleas from William Casey, then chief of the CIA, to drop the charges. Casey was aware of the rich intelligence harvest that the Israelis had been furnishing the U.S. for years, which could dry up under the circumstances.

Regrettably, this story has the makings of another Justice Department scandal under the stewardship of U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese. Haven't Americans had enough of "all the president's men" who end up in jail or are acquitted on a technicality, or of officials who deliberately flaunt the laws of Congress for personal gain or power?

It is time to have an independent court, including a new judge — not influenced by secret briefs — review the whole Pollard matter. American fair play and conscience dictate that Anne Pollard should be released into the care of qualified doctors who specialize in her rare ailment and who are free from any possibility of covertly working for the people who would use Pollard's medical condition to coerce her husband into false accusations.

To those who know all the facts, it is clear that there is dirty work afoot in the Pollard case. Congress, the media and the public had better get onto it — or we may find that our judicial system and our political system have become corrupt and definitely not worthy of our proud democracy.

Bourbon Distillers Rush to Roast Jack Daniel's for Lowering Proof

By GREGORY STRICKHART
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

Bourbon makers, after years of trying to detourne industry giant Jack Daniel's, now think they have the Brown-Farman Inc. unit over a barrel.

Jack Daniel's has claimed in advertising since 1955 that its whiskey has been the same way it was back in 1866. This year, it started wailing about the industry's plan to raise the proof to 86 from 80. As a result, rivals seized the opportunity to launch an advertising blitz in what is a declining industry.

Indeed, Evan Williams, the sixth leading brand, this year unveiled an aggressive ad campaign touting "Jack's" whiskey as its headline slogan. "In your favorite whiskey changes the rules, you should change to Evan Williams." Another ad offers buyers the option of "choosing" between Evan Williams or Jack Daniel's as "America's best premium whiskey."

I think Jack Daniel's is making a mistake," declares Max L. Stabile, executive vice president at Heaven Hill Distilleries of Louisville, Ky., which makes Evan Williams. "This industry doesn't like their products messed with."

Even tiny bourbon maker Schenley says it will support the industry's move. "It's a flagrant brand is George Dickel," increased its ad budget this year 30% to \$1.3 million.

Bourbons have been falling out of favor with consumers. Dale Turner, president of Schenley, says bourbon sales this year are expected to decline 5% to 7% after six years in which they declined averaged 10% to 15%. He says his company intends to challenge Jack Daniel's to taste tests and will stress that its George Dickel brand is "bourbon that is 100 proof."

"Proof is a measure of alcohol content. For instance, 80 proof is 40% alcohol," Turner says. "If you're drinking 80 proof, you're getting 40% alcohol, which means you're getting 40% of the volume, a system used by wine and beer makers."

At Jack Daniel's, consumer trend Allen L. Rabinowitz, president of the company, mainly because of "the consumer trend toward lighter beverages," adding, "About

Top Bourbon Brands in 1987

In millions of cases	1987
Jack Daniel's black label	3,332
Early Times	2,555
Too High	1,870
Too Good	1,551
Absolut Vodka	678
Old Crow	677
Old Charter	630
Old Grand Dad	643
Wild Turkey	630
Source: Distillers' Liquor Handbook	

90% of distilled spirits are sold at 80 proof or below." The price of Jack Daniel's, which was made in Lynchburg, Tenn., remains the same.

Mr. Stabile said Jack Daniel's spent more than two years testing lower-proof bourbon in states such as Pennsylvania and Colorado, and said the company was not going to cut from a cask in the 1980s and Wisconsin and New Hampshire. "Sales in the lower-proof states are increasing."

Despite the lower proof, Mr. Hovius said Jack Daniel's won't change its advertising "because we've made no change in the process. Jack Daniel would be prouder of his whiskey today than when he was making it. All we've done is added more water."

So far, Mr. Hovius said lowering proof hasn't stirred up consumers nearly as much as when Jack Daniel's switched to a plastic jug for its cask in the 1980s. Mr. Hovius said the reduction in proof bolsters profit because the company will pay less in federal excise taxes. "If we had made 80 proof, we would have had to raise prices," he acknowledged.

Hal Riney Loses Sterling Car Account Due to Its Selection by GM's Saturn Unit

By ANNEA RUTENBERG
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK—Austin Rover Cars of North America Inc. it dropped Hal Riney & Partners as the advertising agency for its Saturn Series, a new car line, after the conflict created by the selection of Riney to handle General Motors Corp.'s Saturn account.

David Riney, marketing director for the unit of Rover Group PLC of Britain, said the firm notified Riney yesterday of its decision. But he said it would be "a difficult decision" for the firm, which has many agencies already handle car accounts and which said to be unable to comment for Sterling's business because of similar conflict.

Austin Rover declined to say who it might consider for the Sterling account. Jack Connors, president of Boston-based David Riney & Partners, is one of the finalists for the Saturn account, said his agency won't compete for Sterling. The Boston agency said \$15 million in combined billings for New England and New Jersey Ford dealers. The New England dealers have said they would put their account up for review, but was before the agency was told the bidding for \$30 million to \$100 million Saturn account.

Industry executives noted that Ally & Gargano Inc., which recently lost the Saturn account to Riney, is a potential candidate for Sterling. Agency officials didn't return calls seeking comment.

Another problem for Austin Rover is the Nissan Motor Corp. in U.S.A. is currently looking for an agency for its new Infiniti division. The account is expected to be worth \$60 million a year. There are also several other agencies in the market that Volkswagen Group's Audi division may put its account up for review, but the company says it doesn't plan to move.

David Riney, however, says he is not worried that the Saturn account might divert the agency's energies from their own accounts. Saturn will make up more than

one-third of Riney's total billings of about \$300 million.

Riney's contract for Amherst-Busch Cos., Riney's third-largest client, said his agency is "happy for Hal" and has "no concerns relating to this development." A fourth-largest client, Amherst-Busch, said Riney's second-largest account, said Saturn could be considered a rough substitution for the E-Z-J, Gallo Winery account, which accounts for more than 25% of Riney's billings. Other Riney clients said work on their own accounts didn't suffer because of the Saturn account, but Riney abandoned the account last year, citing excessive demands made on its time.

Conflict Escalates Between Drivers, New York Times

By JOHNNIE L. ROBERTS
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK—A work slowdown by union newspaper drivers has cost New York Times Co. \$1.5 million in lost advertising revenue, according to a report by Arthur O. Sulzberger, chairman and chief executive officer, said.

In a memo to Times employees about the strike, Mr. Sulzberger said that the company is headed toward an escalating confrontation with the drivers, with whom it is trying to negotiate a new contract. "It is a very difficult situation," he said, "and it is a very difficult situation to remain optimistic about the outcome of the negotiations." Mr. Sulzberger said, adding that the company's "options are limited."

In recent days, there has been widespread speculation among employees that the company might temporarily cease publication of the newspaper. Mr. Sulzberger said that the company is "not considering" such a move. A spokeswoman said the company is "reviewing all our options."

Separately, Marshall Lippman, the union's general counsel, said it filed initial labor charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board. But he denied rumors that the union, which represents 30 full-time truck drivers at the Times, is considering a walkout.

"We obviously don't want to strike the New York Times," Mr. Lippman said. Adding to the slowdown, he added that "obviously, the union is not considering" such a move. The Times has been seeking separate six-year contracts with the drivers and 13 other unions since the three-year agreement expired March 30, 1987. The newspaper has reached agreement with five already, said its spokeswoman. With longer contracts, the Times would have avoided to negotiate new agreements in 1990, when it is scheduled to begin operating a \$400 million printing plant under construction in Edison, N.J.

Mr. Lippman, the union's attorney, said the Times wants to address only a few issues besides its demand for six-year contracts. He said the union is dissatisfied with the Times' attitude toward its workers and work-rule issues.

In his memo, Mr. Sulzberger said that 1,600 subscribers in Boston alone called on May 15 to cancel subscriptions. The Times has said that each day some 70,000 papers from Boston to Washington have reached wholesale distributors hours late.

CBS Defends Price It Bid to Broadcast '92 Winter Olympics Lost Proxy Bid

By DENNIS KNABE
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK—CBS Inc. officials defended their \$34 million bid for U.S. broadcast rights to the 1992 Winter Olympics despite claims in the industry that the network paid too much.

Separately, the CBS network is expected today to unveil its fall television schedule, including the network's "West 57th" and "48 Hours," two low-rated shows that CBS had billed as the rebirth of its troubled news division.

"We made a good business decision based on a lot of homework," Mr. Jankowski said after the briefing, adding, "If you've agreed to buy something at a price you can afford, why play what-if?"

The CBS bid was \$4 million more than the \$30 million minimum set by the International Olympic Committee. It also was significantly higher than the only rival bid, by the NBC network, which had offered \$175 million for all of its gross advertising sales over \$325 million.

CBS officials contend the NBC bid would have totaled more than \$200 million after the Olympic committee's share of ad sales. But NBC officials felt the share of ad sales. But NBC officials felt the share of ad sales.

"You always want to be a winner," the NBC vice president said, adding, "The winning bid was announced. 'But you don't want to commit suicide at the same time.'"

In announcing its fall TV schedule last week, CBS had set its eye for a big hit through hit to rebound from last place among the three major broadcast networks. CBS hasn't had a big hit since the 1970s of "Murder, She Wrote" four years ago.

Many in the TV business were watching whether CBS would renew its two new prime-time shows despite their dismal ratings. Mr. Tisch had reassured the news division that the programs would get ample air time, but an audience of 100,000 would make good on that promise today.

"48 Hours," a news-magazine show anchored by Dan Rather, finished 33rd among 44 programs last week, with 1.7% homes with televisions tuning in. "West 57th," a youth-oriented magazine show anchored by several journalists, finished 43rd last week, with a 1% rating.

Saatchi Posts Rise Of 11% in Profit For Fiscal 1st Half

By JOHN MARCONI
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

LONDON—Saatchi & Saatchi, the world's largest advertising agency, reported a 11% rise in profit for its fiscal first half. It also renounced ambitions to move into areas such as banking, declaring that it will keep its focus on advertising and consulting.

Net income in the six months ended March 31 rose to \$14.6 million (\$84.6 million) from \$13.1 million a year earlier. Pretax profit, the measure most widely followed in the U.K., gained 12.3% to \$43.1 million from \$38.2 million. Revenue rose 9.6% to \$1,002.2 million from \$927 million.

Mr. Saatchi said the company's "strategy" was to focus on the core business, rather than broad boundaries of its current business areas. That could allow worries lingering since its unsuccessful merger with the U.K. firm of Midland Bank PLC, a huge British bank.

In a statement, Chairman Maurice Saatchi outlined a strategy for the "Nineties." "We want to be the best design and advertising agency in every major country. Its two main agencies currently rank first and second in the world, and we are far back in some countries. It also wants the premier positions in marketing businesses such as public relations, design and advertising."

Mr. Saatchi said achieving these goals would produce annual pretax profits greater than the firm's current market capitalization. David Newlands, finance director, said that would imply pretax profit greater than about \$750 million a year, more than five times the current level.

Mr. Saatchi said the company was "not considering" such a move. The Times has been seeking separate six-year contracts with the drivers and 13 other unions since the three-year agreement expired March 30, 1987. The newspaper has reached agreement with five already, said its spokeswoman. With longer contracts, the Times would have avoided to negotiate new agreements in 1990, when it is scheduled to begin operating a \$400 million printing plant under construction in Edison, N.J.

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In his memo, Mr. Sulzberger said that 1,600 subscribers in Boston alone called on May 15 to cancel subscriptions. The Times has said that each day some 70,000 papers from Boston to Washington have reached wholesale distributors hours late.

Media General Says Sugarman Lost Proxy Bid

By JOHNNIE L. ROBERTS
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

Media General Inc. has defeated lobbyist producer Bud Sugarman in a bitter proxy bid to elect rival state of directors to represent the company's class A shareholders, according to preliminary results disclosed by President James S. Ryan.

If the final results confirm the election of Media General's three-man slate, it will represent the company's second defeat in a row. Sugarman had proposed a 15.7% acquisition of the Richmond, Va.-based newspaper and broadcasting company.

As a statement, Mr. Sugarman said a court battle to require holders of Media General's class A and B shares to vote as a single group on his proposal.

In a statement, Mr. Sugarman said, "I believe it is in the best interests of the company that it would be an uphill battle." He added that he expects Media General and its directors will support the opinion of its large group of shareholders who have been acting to increase the value of the company's stock.

Ryan said the preliminary tally showed the management slate with 56% of the vote and Mr. Sugarman garnering 43%. Mr. Sugarman's campaign against Media General's two-class system found a sympathetic ear with many institutional investors, but he was apparently hurt by published reports that he attempted to exploit the company's financial problems.

Both have ruled out greenmail, and Media General has steadfastly rejected a drastic restructuring or going private.

Mr. Sugarman, however, could continue court battles in an attempt to force directors to consider his acquisition offer.

BRIEFS

Maxwell Communication Corp.

Robert Maxwell, chairman and chief executive of Maxwell Communications Corp., said the company expects to invest \$50 million in Canada to launch a new Canadian channel to 1 billion Canadian dollars (around US\$500 million) in Canada this year.

He said the Toronto-based company is mainly interested in Canadian newspaper, radio and television stations. He said, "In compliance with (Canadian) law, accept minority positions" in Canadian communications companies.

He said that Maxwell Communications is in negotiations with several potential partners regarding possible "takeovers and investments" in Canada. He would not identify the partners or offer details. He said he would expect any major acquisitions or investments to be largely debt-financed.

Mr. Maxwell said the company is in the recently launched Montreal Daily Planet and a Maxwell Communication unit's interest in Quebec City-based Donohue Inc. represents the latest investment to date in Canada of about \$250 million.

WPP Group PLC

WPP Group PLC said contracts were exchanged for the acquisition of PPGH Group B.V., a Dutch advertising agency, for about \$71.6 million (\$135 million Dutch guilders).

The final price will depend on PPGH meeting certain earnings targets, a WPP spokesman said. He said PPGH's 1987 earnings were more than \$10 million.

Proposals are for PPGH to be merged with the Netherlands operations of WPP's J. Walter Thompson Co. unit. WPP Group is a London-based advertising and marketing company.

GM Woos House Buyers With Incentives on Cars

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

DETROIT—Three General Motors Corp. divisions introduced incentives that they hope will induce house hunters to do some car hunting.

GM's Buick, Cadillac and Pontiac divisions are offering a special leasing incentive rate of 1.9% for lessees of at least 48 months on Buick Century, LeSabre and Electra cars, as well as on Cadillac Seville DeVille and Coupe DeVille models, and on Pontiac 600, Grand Prix and Bonneville cars.

GM also is giving home buyers who use GMAC mortgages a \$500 rebate on the purchase of a new GM car. But the rebate and the home purchase plans are scheduled to run until the 1988 model year ends in September.

Two Insurance Firms Set Plans to Reduce Their Work Forces

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

PRINCETON, Conn.—Two insurance companies announced plans to cut their work forces to reduce costs and meet increasing competition.

Travelers Corp. said it had offered 8,000 of its 37,000 employees in the U.S. the opportunity to leave voluntarily with a payout and benefits depending on years of service.

A Travelers spokesman said each department is being asked to trim their employment budgets as much as 40%. Non-office employees are offered two weeks' pay for each year of service up to a total of 52 weeks; officers, four weeks pay for each year of service up to 100 weeks; and non-office employees, two weeks pay for each year of service up to 100 weeks.

Phenix Mutual Life Insurance Co. said it plans to reduce its annual operating expenses by \$25 million, or 17% of its total operating expenses, by a combination of through operational reductions, reassignment of personnel and attrition.

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each year of service up to a total of \$2 weeks; officers, four weeks pay for each year of service up to \$2. Both receive accrued earnings and vacation pay during the period the payout is received.

The Travelers spokesman said an estimate of savings from the cutbacks hasn't yet been determined.

Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Co. said it plans to reduce its annual operating expenses by \$25 million, or 17% of its total operating expenses, by 1990. The savings, through operation reductions, reassignment of personnel and attrition.

A first step is elimination of a 16-person service unit that maintains records and renders tax advice for corporate pension accounts. The 16 will be reassigned throughout the company, a spokeswoman said.

Robertson, an actuarial consulting firm based in New York, to take over the service contracts, she added.