

A vision is all Rudy needs

WE MAY NOT SEE a kinder, gentler Rudy in 1995 — but, then, would we want to? He was elected, after all, to storm the bureaucratic barricades of our decrepit “permanent government” — the ranks of clubhouse politicians, ethnic and racial hustlers, social-welfare and school-system hacks, special interests and media alarmists who fan every flame of mayoral controversy.

Cutting these fakers down to size isn't a kind and gentle business, even if Rudy tempers his terminator's edge.

But we can hope to see a nobler, more visionary Rudy, a mayor who makes fewer personal assaults on “villains” such as Public Advocate Mark Green or Chancellor Ramon Cortines and leads crusades for sounder schools, safer neighborhoods, saner social services and stronger small businesses.

Here are some glimpses of that once and future mayor. Look ahead, to next Thursday, when Rudy unveils his first Strategic Policy Statement — a blueprint prepared by the Department of City Planning, the mayor's law, budget and operations offices and all his commissioners.

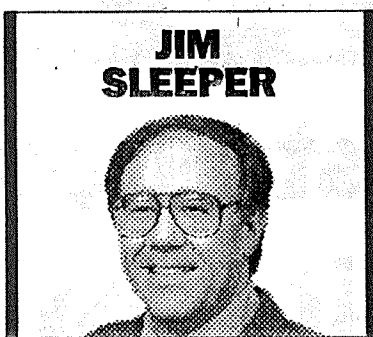
The document puts the flesh of specific policies on the bones of two recent Giuliani insights: The city is the engine that drives the state; and, unlike Newt Gingrich's Georgia, the city sends more tax dollars to Washington than it gets back.

The plan's vision is regional and national, not parochial. It shows why New York, with its high social-welfare burdens, has a bigger stake in real welfare reform than any place else. It shows that unfunded federal and state mandates that micro-manage social services not only pump up costs; often they don't accomplish anything humane.

“When I met the other day with six mayors from the state,” Giuliani says, “we found we face exactly the same issues. They, too, want mandate relief, welfare reform and more direct control of their schools systems. It's a newly elected, bipartisan group. This is no longer a tincup brigade of mayors. We're into reprogramming, not just cutting.”

For a mayor who's often accused, rightly, of cutting government without reinventing it first, Giuliani is taking a bold step. Thursday's plan will offer, for the first time in one place, broad proposals to improve schools, the economy, public safety, the environment and the quality of life.

“It's the most coherent articulation of our approach to government reform I've ever seen,” says Planning Com-



JIM SLEEPER

mission chief Joseph Rose. “This is the right moment for it in national politics, with so much up for grabs.”

Will it make a difference? Only if Giuliani's new initiatives draw him and his critics from personalized assaults toward new policies. That may require a shift in the mayor himself. For example, the nobler Rudy has been struggling to emerge from behind his assaults on Cortines, who talks a good pedagogical and budgetary game, but too often chokes in the clutch.

“Our disagreements center around too much middle



MAYOR Giuliani takes time out to chat with chief of staff Randy Mastro in his office at City Hall on Friday.

management, budgeting from the top down, not bottom up,” Giuliani said. “I assure you we will be pressing very hard for control of the education budget.”

I was present when Cortines wowed an East Brooklyn Congregations assembly of 1500 at the St. John Neuman School in September 1993. They'd founded two “high schools of public service,” and Cortines promised to help find and prepare two sites, in Bushwick and East New York.

The crowd roared. “This makes it all worthwhile,” he told them. “I should come back every week for a shot in the arm.”

He came back twice, the visits months apart. He lost control of the Bushwick site, apologized, but failed to prepare a replacement.

As hundreds of 9th and 10th graders packed the East New York site, Cortines rebuffed desperate Bushwick parents whose kids were

shipped there. Recently, the Board of Ed told EBC that since no site will be ready before 1996, the current one can admit no more students.

Forty Bushwick parents picketed 110 Livingston St. “You want to know about Cortines?” says an EBC leader. “Ask people whose 8th-graders will go to Bushwick and Jefferson high schools despite years of organizing and planning” for a school.

On the merits, Rudy's right; Ray's boo-hoo crowd is wrong. “The group that established and maintains this system — the education experts and unions — are comfortable that the chancellor won't make any radical changes,” the mayor says. “I went back today to look at speech I gave on education. I outlined 5 things to be done to make it a functioning system again. ... First, to improve the basics. Second, to return to promotion on merit. Third, create a much safer environment in schools, by turning primary responsibil-

ity over to police. Fourth, remove the massive middle management layer. Finally, redirect the money to classrooms and schoolrooms.” The mayor said on some areas, Cortines agrees. “We're in dispute only where he's undercut” the mayor's agenda.

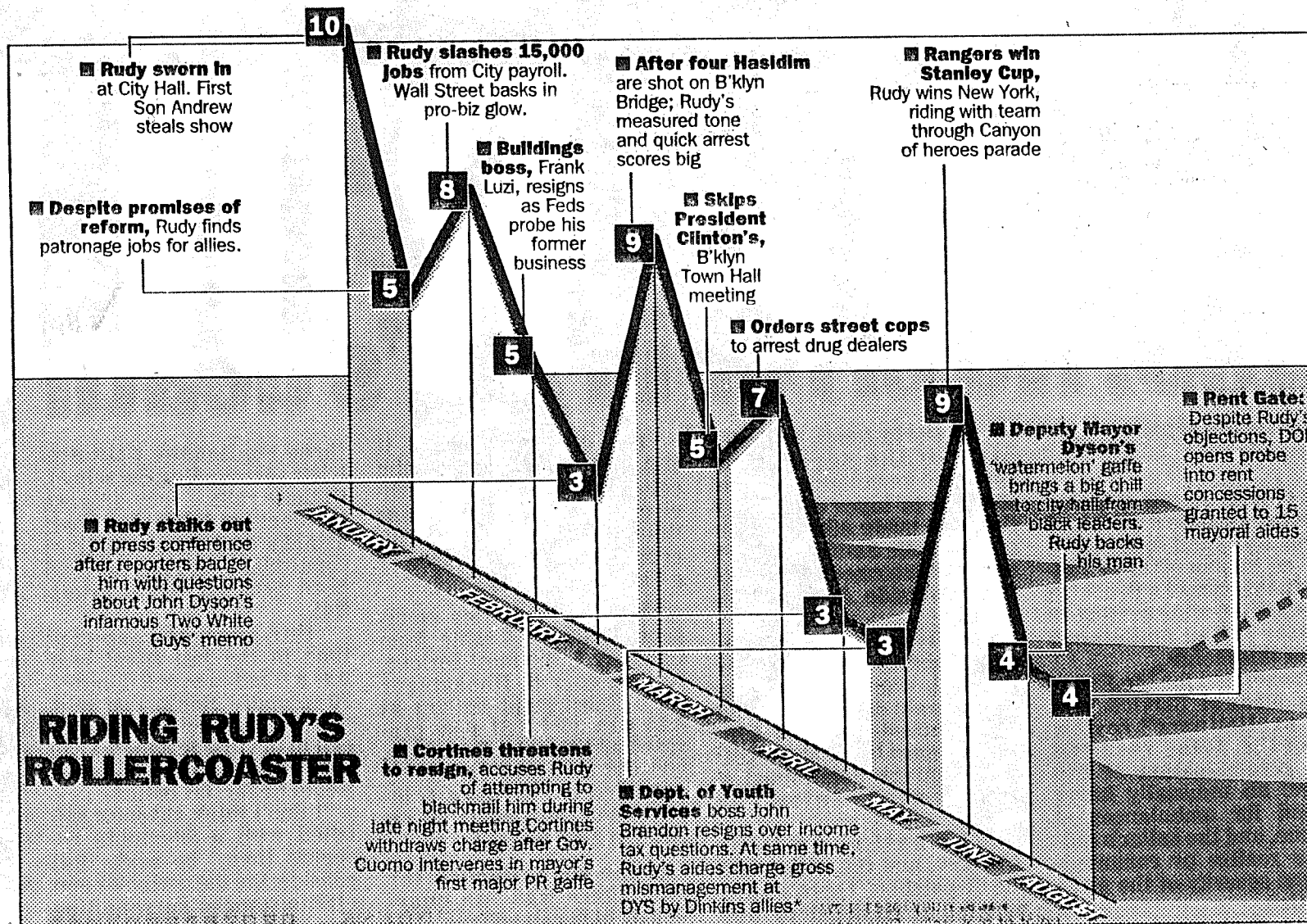
No, Rudy doesn't look great goading Cortines. And he has his own fence-mending to do with EBC.

But there's a great opportunity here for the nobler, more visionary Rudy: Just as the city is the engine that drives the state, some of its best citizens' groups could be the engines that drive the school, housing and other developments a fiscally strapped city can no longer do itself.

MOST NEW YORKERS agree with the mayor that more jobs and better schools could curb our costly, counter-productive welfare state. But they need to be led in that direction, not harangued.

It's up to you, Rudy.

Sunday, December 18, 1994 • DAILY NEWS



**N. KOREA
CAPTURES
U.S. CREW**

PAGE 4

EXCLUSIVE

**ROOKIES
ON THE ROCKS**

RECORD NUMBER OF NEW COPS
BOOTED FROM FORCE - PAGE 5

**SHOTS
AT WHITE
HOUSE**

PAGE 4

DAILY NEWS

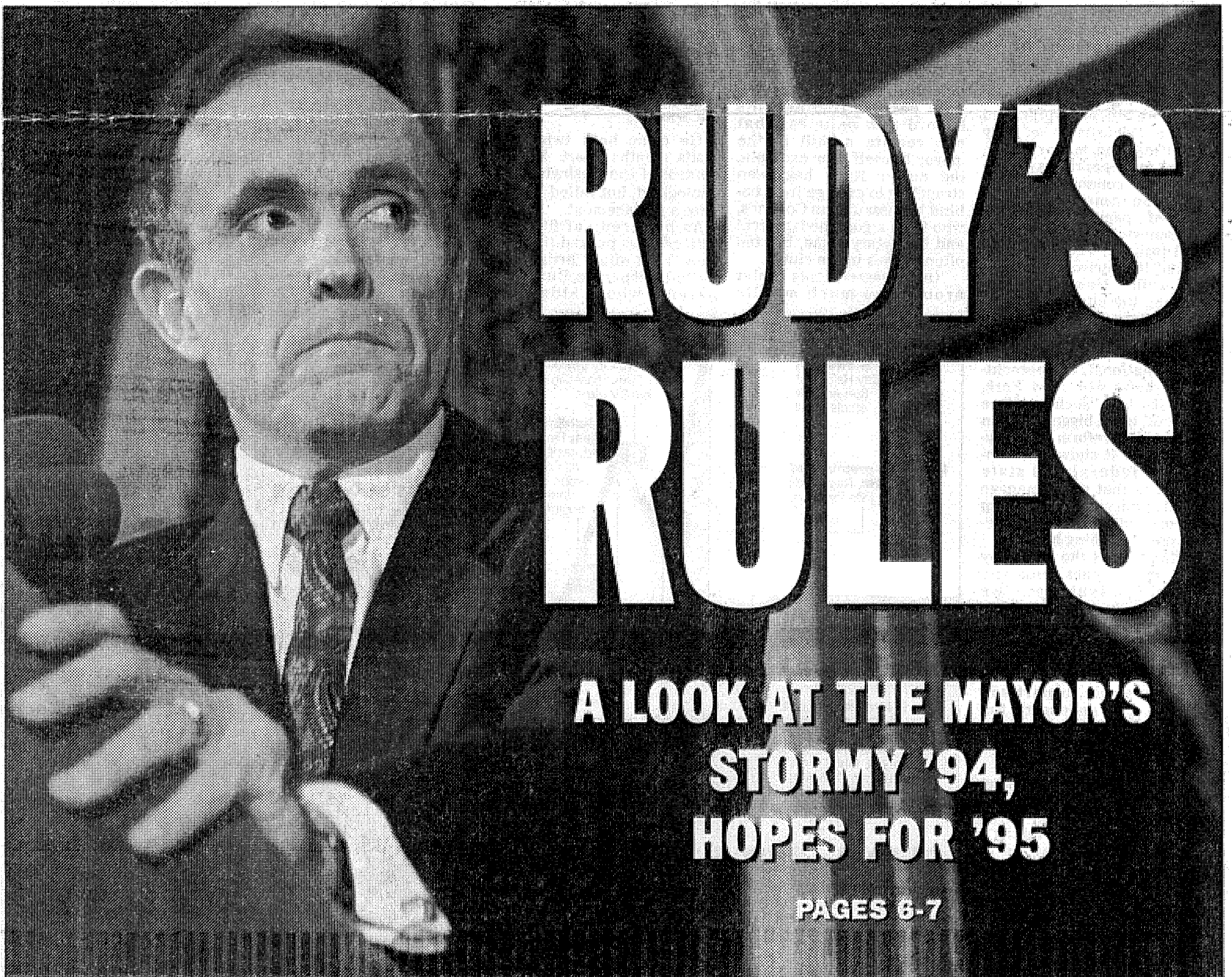


NEW YORK'S HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER

Sunday, December 18, 1994

SPECIAL REPORT

**After a year in office, strong-willed
Giuliani has made the city play by ...**



RUDY'S RULES

**A LOOK AT THE MAYOR'S
STORMY '94,
HOPES FOR '95**

PAGES 6-7

9/28

JIM
SLEEPER

Giuliani's choice shows no vision

IT'S EASY to understand that mayoral control of the school system could improve school-based management and enrich the learning process. When New York mayors controlled the Board of Education, schools ran better and kids got better educations. Even now, in

Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley's schools takeover is producing improvements, described on this page last week.

What's hard to understand is why Rudy Giuliani thinks Leon Goldstein could drive mayorally inspired reforms in New York. Goldstein's slippery deal making and management style reveal an operator without a thought in his head about reform, without a vision or coherent plan. So damning is this vacuity and the ridicule it inspires that Goldstein should withdraw from consideration.

But assume he stays in and gets four votes from a board that Giuliani has attacked as visionless and worse. What would Goldstein's ascent to the big leather chair at 110 Livingston St. tell us about *Giuliani's* vision and plan for schools?

That Giuliani has no more of either than Goldstein.

This problem emerged many months ago, when people noticed that attorney Edward Costikyan's brilliant, ambitious prospectus for school reform, prepared at Giuliani's behest, had been politely received but buried by City Hall.

Questions about a mayoral vision vacuum resurfaced this summer, when Giuliani invoked the Catholic schools as a model of discipline and local governance. Alas, his parochial school model came with no road map showing a public system how to get from here to there.

Goldstein knows the system as a place where one hand washes the other. No wonder all the streets on *his* map run in circles and have only a few, familiar names.

I've heard excuses for Goldstein since portraying him Tuesday as a deal-making Ingratiator. The crudest excuse is actually the most plausible: Rudy's wishes would be Goldstein's commands. So claimed self-appointed mayoral flack Ray Kerriison in the New York Post. Goldstein may be a toady, but he'd be *the mayor's* toady.

Moreover, say Goldstein's apologists, he'd make the mayor's school agenda palatable to its opponents because it's his nature to stroke bureaucrats, patronage-hungry pols, union chiefs and activists. He'd give each camp a dollop of the politically correct sweeteners and access that Giuliani personally finds so distasteful to dispense.

In no time the Board of Education could resemble Giuliani's Department of Youth Services — whatever that is, besides a visionless patronage haven. Actually, that's what the Board of Ed is now, but Giuliani must believe Gold-

stein could downsize it after a lifetime demonstrating that most people can be bought far more cheaply.

This is nonsense. Being a chancellor demands much more than that. Even if Goldstein were the mayor's own man, City Hall couldn't shield him from the press, as it does its own commissioners. He'd also have to face Board of Ed members and well-networked constituencies that have clout.

He'd find that while you may buy a City Council member with a beach pass or a district leader with a gofer's job, you can't so cheaply buy a union leader or Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, a key obstacle to reform. You'd have to do things alien to Goldstein's infinitely flexible nature:

Shake up these people and radically shrink programs that employ their friends.

Would a Board of Ed majority let him lay off assistant principals, downsize local boards and end bi-lingual and special education scams? For what? To reform itself out of business? To save City Hall money? On behalf of what *visionary plan*? Its own? Rudy Giuliani's? Where is it?

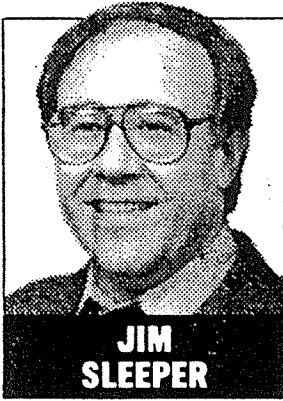
Mayoral control of the Board of Ed does make sense. But a mayor who recently championed a great administrator and policy maker like Richard Ravitch for chancellor must give us broader, better reasons for running the schools with a yes-man like Goldstein.

*It's hard to see why
Rudy thinks Goldstein
can push reform*

(Ten days before his inauguration)

Rudy the reinventor nowhere in sight

12/21/93



JIM SLEEPER

The problem with Rudy Giuliani's new official inner circle isn't a lack of racial or gender diversity. Nor, strictly speaking, is it a lack of City Hall ex-

perience, for veterans aren't always innovators. The problem is that Giuliani's deputy mayors, budget director and corporation counsel don't radiate the commitment he promised to make to reinvent government. Without it, New York will crash. No wonder policy advisers who rallied to Rudy out of enthusiasm for reform are grumbling.

On the diversity front, except for lacking a black deputy mayor, Giuliani has done as well as Mayor Dinkins, whose corporation counsel, budget director and four of six deputy mayors were white when he began. A black deputy mayor is desirable; Giuliani tried to hire Richard Parsons. But the claim, "We didn't vote for you, so you really owe us" goes only so far in politics.

Nor is past service the issue. Remember the fuss about whether Giuliani would rein-

state the Ed Koch government in exile? Under Dinkins, Deputy Mayor Norman Steisel, Budget Director Phil Michael and press secretary Lee Jones were senior Koch veterans. Under Giuliani, only corporation counsel-designate Paul Crotty fills that bill. Had Robert Wagner Jr. lived, Giuliani would have offered him a top post. But as things stand, this is no Koch inner circle.

The real problem is in the fact that a dozen policy analysts who helped Giuliani to scope out reform are out in the cold. Their calls to him and his deputies aren't returned. For all they know, their memos on how to restructure the city sit on a shelf.

Economist Steven Kagann is speaking out. He has long been controversial, but others whom Giuliani seemed to be consulting last year — the people he used to build the image of a thoughtful innovator — are complaining that, on the eve of taking office, Giuliani has forgotten they exist. They compare him to Bill Clinton, who used "New Democrat" thinkers to burnish his image, then forgot them — and stumbled.

"Rudy has assembled an impenetrable circle of loyalists who, except for Paul Crotty, don't even know what questions to ask," says one of these jilted advisers, who

spoke anonymously. "They won't know how to guide his commissioners. Some of the best potential commissioners aren't putting their names in because they can't find out what reforms City Hall would expect or allow them to make."

In fairness, Giuliani doesn't want strong deputy mayors blocking commissioners' access to him, as Dinkins' deputies did. But even if he plans to command his commissioners personally, who'll help set policy? Wagner might have. No one else in the inner circle clearly can. Yet, aside from some education specialists and Port Authority Executive Director Stanley Brezenoff, few policy gurus are actively involved. Will Giuliani run the city as he ran an Emergency Medical Service crew last week?

Too much is at stake for that. Giuliani can't downsize government without Civil Service, work-rule and mandate reform. That requires tough bargaining and state legislative and courtroom strategies, backed by civic groups and advocates strong enough to face down unions and bureaucrats.

Unless Giuliani can lead such a coalition to victory in Albany, and unless his commissioners and labor negotiators can win work-

rule reforms, it'll be impossible for the Human Resources Administration to move employes among boroughs or hire Russian-speaking welfare workers.

It will be impossible for a shrinking clerical staff to do the paper work on state mandates, leading to more fines against the city.

It will be impossible to discipline Child Welfare Administration workers, under whose care more kids die yearly than at cops' hands.

It will be impossible to direct school custodians or to fire lousy teachers.

It will be impossible to reform city hospitals — the local equivalent of Bill Clinton's huge national health-care initiative.

That's just for starters. Everything I've named falls under one deputy mayor, Ninfa Segarra. Giving all this to a novice is folly, unless Giuliani backs her with policy gurus. The jilted could serve as aides to deputies or commissioners, except that some are too accomplished to be mere assistants.

So what role will they play? Either the next appointments will reveal a dazzling, hitherto secret plan to reinvent government, or we'll be watching an administration taking off in a storm with a very loyal flight crew and no radar.

One vote against Giuliani

The former New York mayor is imperious and overreaching, and often vilifies opponents.

Jim Sleeper

is a lecturer in political science at Yale University

The deluge of commentary on Rudolph Giuliani's presidential prospects has forced me finally to break my long silence about the man. Somebody's got to say it: He shouldn't be president, not because he's too "liberal" or "conservative," or because his positions on social issues have been heterodox, or because he seems tone-deaf on race, or because his family life has been messy, or because he's sometimes been as crass an opportunist as almost every other politician of note.

Rudy Giuliani shouldn't be president for reasons more profoundly troubling. His methods and motives suggest he couldn't carry his skills and experience to the White House without damaging this country. Two problems run deeper than current "horse-race" liabilities, such as his social views and family history.

The first serious problem is structural and political: A man who fought the inherent limits of his mayoral office as fanatically as Giuliani would construe presidential prerogatives so broadly he'd make George Bush's notions of "unitary" executive power seem soft. Even in the 1980s, as an assistant attorney general in the Reagan Justice Department and U.S. attorney in New York, Giuliani was imperious and overreaching. He perp-walked Wall Streeters right out of their offices in dramatic prosecutions that failed. He made the troubled daughter of a state judge,

Hortense Gabel, testify against her mother and former Miss America Bess Meyerson in a failed prosecution charging, among other things, that Meyerson had hired the judge's daughter to bribe her into helping "expedite" a messy divorce case. The jury was so put off by Giuliani's tactics that it acquitted all concerned.

At least, as U.S. attorney, Giuliani served at the pleasure of the president and had to defer to federal judges. Were he president, U.S. attorneys would serve at his pleasure — a dangerous arrangement in the wrong hands, we've learned.

As mayor, Giuliani fielded his closest aides like a fast and sometimes brutal hockey team, micromanaging and bludgeoning city agencies and even bodies that weren't under his control, such as the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and Board of Education. They deserved it richly enough to make his bravado thrilling to many of us, but it wasn't very productive. And while this Savonarola disdained even would-be allies in other branches of government, he wasn't above cutting indefensible deals with crony contractors and pandering to some Hispanics, neoconservative and Orthodox Jews, and other favored constituencies.

Ironically, his most heroic moments as mayor spotlighted his deepest presidential liability. Giuliani's 9/11 performance was sublime for the unnerving reason that he'd been rehearsing for it all his adult life and remained trapped in that stage role.

What really drove many of his actions as mayor was a zealot's graceless division of everyone into friend or foe and his snarling, sometimes histrionic, vilifications of the

foes. Those are operatic emotions, beneath the civic dignity of a great city and its chief magistrate.

I know a few New Yorkers who deserve the Rudy treatment, but only on 9/11 did the whole city become as operatic as the inside of Rudy's mind. For once, New York rearranged itself into a stage fit for, say, Rossini's *Le Siege de Corinth* or some dark, nationalist epic by Verdi or Puccini.

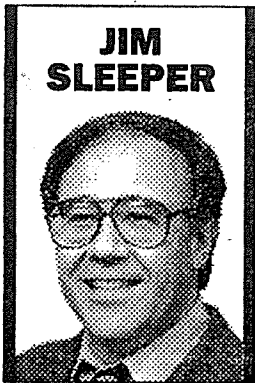
It's wrong to call New York's 9/11 agonies "operatic," but it was Giuliani who called the Metropolitan Opera only a few days after 9/11 and insisted its performances resume. At the start of one of them, the orchestra struck up a few familiar chords as the curtain rose on the entire Met cast, stagehands, administrators, secretaries and custodians — and Rudolph Giuliani, bringing the capacity audience to its feet to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" with unprecedented ardor. All gave the mayor "an ovation worthy of Caruso," as the New Yorker's Alex Ross put it.

A few days later, Giuliani proposed that his term be extended on an "emergency" basis beyond its lawful end on Jan. 1, 2002. (It wasn't, and the city did as well as it could have, anyway.)

Should this country suffer another devastating attack before the 2008 primaries are over, Giuliani's presidential prospects may soar beyond recalling. But the very constitutional notion of recall could soar away with them. Even a stopped clock is right twice a day, and Giuliani was right for his time on a stage with built-in limits. But we shouldn't have to make him the next president to learn why even a grateful Britain dumped Churchill in its first major election after V-E day.

Contact Jim Sleeper at jimsleep@aol.com.

Rudy grandstands, George ducks



JIM SLEEPER

The fight between Rudy Giuliani and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority over student transit passes has been like phony TV wrestling.

So are most charges that MTA "fat" blocks good

budgets and service. Both charades have hidden the truth that the mayor and governor want to plug their own deficits by cutting transit and making you pay the difference in a tax disguised as a higher-than-usual fare hike.

But while Rudy Giuliani has demagogued the student-pass issue a bit, history may put more responsibility on Silent George Pataki, who's tried to grin and shuffle his way out of transit funding as Rudy shouted and pointed fingers. More than the city, it's the state that would leave you, the rider, paying still more.

What's wrong with that? Fairness, for one thing. In the MTA's 1995 budget, city riders pay 60.3% of operating costs through fares — far more than in any other big city in the nation.

In our region, Metro North riders from Pataki's and MTA Chairman Virgil Conway's home turf — people whose incomes exceed urban transit riders' — cover just 56.5%. Pataki's 1995-96 budget cuts \$86 million from the city Transit Authority and raises commuter-rail budgets \$12 million. Such disparities would only widen under the plan the MTA board is expected to endorse today.

Economic health would be hurt, too. Mayors since John Lindsay (during whose tenure the MTA was born) have



Pataki & Co. play a shell game with the transit fare

rightly tried to shift some transit costs to the state. Our city has 2.5% of the nation's people but almost 30% of its mass transit riders. Our mass transit is a powerful economic engine for the whole nation because it undergirds a true world city. No way could or should the city government and passengers carry the full costs.

Lindsay rightly pushed the state to create a regional authority to spread costs more fairly.

During Ed Koch's mayoralty, the state passed a 0.25% regional sales tax, a mortgage-recording tax and a petroleum tax to help fund transit. But Gov. Mario Cuomo and legislators diverted some of those revenues to other purposes.

In partial retaliation, a budget-

strapped David Dinkins cut city contributions to the MTA's rebuilding plan. Giuliani, who criticized him for that, did the same. In the 1996 budget, he wanted to cut \$128 million that the city supposedly pays the MTA for student transit, arguing rightly that it doesn't really pay for the kids' passes. "It's just a line on a sheet of paper, a 'political' way to label the revenue," says a transit analyst.

Because of that label, the city gets a 54% student-transportation reimbursement from Albany, which subsidizes student transit statewide. (Yes, where upstate MTA board members live, students get free busing.) Giuliani's \$128 million cut here actually saves him only \$59 million, since the state would've paid him back \$69 million (54%) anyway. But if he won't commit the \$128 million, the state needn't pay anything, and the MTA loses \$128 million for real. So the MTA must raise fares more — and blame someone.

Hence, the wrestling match. The MTA's Conway tossed the kids' transit hot potato back to Giuliani by threatening to kill free passes, even though the \$128 million in question really has nothing directly to do with them. And Giuliani seized on Conway's threat to portray the MTA as mean, fat and lazy.

"Sure, there's bureaucratic bloat, bad work rules, bad procurement — maybe a whole \$50 million worth," says another transit expert. But this isn't really about that or MTA board members' noxious perks. It's about politicians' passing the buck to you.

When the wrestling ends in a compromise, the city will pay less than \$128 million; Albany will pay less than its \$69-million reimbursement to the city; and kids will still ride free, as they should.

Who, then, will pay for them? You, dear rider. And who will claim credit for saving the the kids? The politicians who are stampeding you into a higher fare.

4 Rms w/ vu - of haunted past

By LAWRENCE BLOCK

News item: Gov. Pataki yesterday signed a law exempting real estate agents and owners from disclosing the dark pasts of New York houses and apartments — ghosts and murders, suicides and illness — to prospective buyers and renters.

SO I AMBLED over to Barnegat Books on E. 11th to get Bernie Rhodenbarr's spin on the new "haunted house" law.

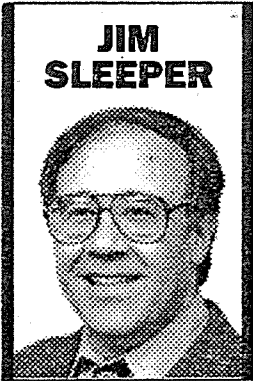
It was lunchtime, and my favorite bur-

18th where Colcannon was murdered? Or Abel Crowe's place on Riverside Drive, where the podiatrist killed him? You know, the place with the great view of the Hudson."

"Or E. 67th St., where J. Frances Flaxford was bludgeoned," he said. "Or Gramercy Park



Rudy's silence speaks loudly



JIM SLEEPER

I HAD A feeling of *déjà vu* last month as Rudy Giuliani withheld his support for a Pathmark complex in Harlem after his ally, Councilman Antonio Pagan, called its mostly black and white sup-

porters "anti-Latino" because the project might hurt bodega owners.

Now that the U.S. Supreme Court is about to rule on two racial redistricting cases, I remember why Giuliani's silence about Pathmark feels so familiar. The first time he set aside principle to court Hispanic politicians whose horizons are smaller than his, it was to promote the kind of racial redistricting the high court should strike down.

Different stories, same lesson.

In 1991, once and future mayoral candidate Giuliani helped the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund promote a "Hispanic" 12th Congressional District under ill-advised 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. "I represented them as a lawyer," he told me, "because I felt they had a legitimate argument under the law."

Well, sure they did, thanks to VRA amendments that don't square with Giuliani's philosophy. "I want to help break people out of group thinking and see that our rights derive not from our ethnic and religious subgroups but from our biggest groups — as humans, Americans and New Yorkers," he said often in 1993.

Yet in 1991, before a reapportionment based on those amendments, Giuliani rode a Metroliner to Washington with Puerto Rican defense fund President

Ruben Franco — who condemned "status-quo coalition politics" in favor of ethnocentrism — and helped him lobby for the Hispanic district.

After impressing Franco with his intelligence and warmth, Giuliani swept him past low-level lawyers to see John Dunne, the assistant attorney general for civil rights (and a former state senator from Long Island), whose division had reported to Giuliani when he ran half the Justice Department in the 1980s.

Franco got a new Hispanic district and quit the defense fund to run in it. When Rep. Stephen Solarz, whose old turf was cut to make room for the 12th, ran, too, Giuliani stood quietly with

group thinking" — was lost to ethnocentrism. As now, with Pathmark.

"Group thinking" can be tricky. The original Voting Rights Act rightly blocked politicians from drawing districts to keep minorities *who live in geographical communities* from choosing "their" legislators. But the 1982 amendments, as interpreted by lower courts, say: If you can connect even far-flung, unrelated enclaves to make a "minority" district, *you must*.

To satisfy this ludicrous notion of "empowerment" by surname, the 12th snakes across Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens, following miles-long corridors only a few blocks wide, to connect wildly different enclaves. It divides Puerto Rican public-housing residents on the lower East Side from blacks in projects nearby and joins them to South American homeowners in Elmhurst, Queens. It has bits of so many community and school districts that Velazquez is the Congresswoman from Nowhere.

Such districts also isolate representatives from trans-racial politics. No wonder conservative Republicans joined with Franco's defense fund and the NAACP to promote them. Republicans *wanted* minorities more isolated — and districts around them whiter. Racial activists played into their hands to get a few more (but more isolated) minority legislators. GOP pundit Peter Brown gleefully dubbed this "the ultimate political one-night stand," knowing well who'd feel betrayed by morning.

Giuliani could be good at explaining what's wrong here — as good as he's been at explaining how superstores can help most communities. True, he couldn't explain *anything* we'd listen to if endorsements like Franco's hadn't made him mayor. But surely Latinos deserve better than ethnocentric cheerleaders who corral their votes in ways that scare even a Rudy Giuliani.

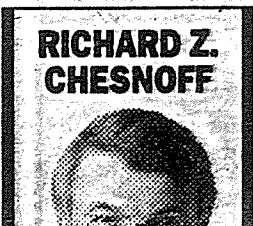
How Giuliani set aside principle to promote racial redistricting and court Hispanic pols

Franco and others outside City Hall as Latino voting-rights activist Armando Montano Jr. griped that "the Jewish community is getting everything."

I can't tell what now reminds me of that incident more — Pagan's ethnocentric denunciations of Pathmark supporters or Giuliani's silence about it, so like his silence about Montano.

Franco lost to Nydia Velazquez, as did Solarz. But Franco returned Giuliani's favor by endorsing him for mayor, and now he runs the Housing Authority. He's smart and gracious, and politics is politics. But somewhere Giuliani's larger principle — to "break people out of

Polish prez must put bigots on notice



RICHARD Z. CHESNOFF

WHAT in the world is wrong with Polish President Lech Walesa? The Nobel Prize laureate



more than 40 postwar years systematically used Jew-baiting as camouflage for the crimes and failures of their totalitarian regime.

Even now, with fewer than 8,000 Jews in all of Poland, anti-Semitism remains a mainstay of life for many Poles. Jews a convenient scapegoat for economic problems, the Holocaust something to