

Articles on the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL)

Click on an article title to go straight to that article. Page numbers are listed to the right of each article.

Undated

ADL – A History of Disinformation and Intimidation	6
ADL Applauds President for “All-out Assault on Hate Crimes”	11
ADL Campaign Against Tolerance	13
ADL Defends Pillsbury Doughboy	19
ADL Wants Senate to Censor Internet	21
ADL Will Continue to Fight \$9.7 Million Jury Award	61
A Mockery of Justice: The Great Sedition Trial of 1944	63
An Act of Censorship: American Library Association Becomes Another Israeli Occupied Territory	84
A New Outlet for American Dissident Voices	96
Anti-Defamation League Suffers Major Legal Defeat	98
Anti-Defamation League’s National Director is “Crazy Like a Foxman”	101
Behind the Mask of Respectability	131
B'nai B'rith and ADL Hypocritical Say Critics	141
Desperate Fanatics: The ADL Pounds the Table	157
Freedom Under Attack	160
Israel's Bellin Rips U.S. Jews For Undercutting P.A. Chief	169
New Film ‘Defamation’ is an Expose of Israel	173
No Place for Hate Withdraws from Hamilton	177
Propagandizing the Police	180
Resolution of ADL Spy Scandal Case	191
Smith is One of the Top Ten Extremists in America According to the ADL	193
Tell the ADL: Stop Silencing Jewish Dissent	199
The ADL The drive to outlaw free speech and thought	200
The Defamation League – Censors of the Universe	215
The Ugly Truth About the ADL	219
Trapped in a Nazi Fantasyland	227
UC Santa Barbara Students Confront ADL’s Genocide Denial	230
Why Im Leaving After 25 Years	232

20th Century

May 1933	B'nai B'rith and the German-Jewish Tragedy	238
1988	Days of Remembrance	240
June 13, 1988	ADL Report Diminishes its Reputation	247
1989	Noam Chomsky Describes the ADL	250
1993	Hitler's Apologists	251
May 11, 1993	ADL Turned Notion of Human Rights on Head	258
May 29, 1993	The ADL: America's Greatest Enemy	280
May 31, 1993	ADL Spy Probe	294
June 1993	The Changing Role of B'nai B'rith's ADL	296
Fall 1993	ADL Ties With Mossad	301
January 1994	ADL Didn't Do Anything Wrong and Promises Never to Do It Again	303
July/August 1994	Its Informant Sentenced But ADL Criminal Charges Dropped	308
1996	Gathering Wind – The Rise of Mental Flatulence in America	310
February 1996	The ADL Targets Shortwave Stations	315
February 2, 1996	Pentagon lambasted by ADL for doubting Jews' US loyalty	317
July 1996	The ADL's 1995 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents	320
October 1996	Earning My Living as a Writer: The Year the ADL Changed My Job Description	325
October 24, 1997	ADL/AOL Blocking Software	329
December 1997	Bookburners and Their Victims: First-Hand Accounts of Pro-Israel McCarthyism	332
1998-99	The ADL Snoops: Were the Spies Journalists?	336
September 17, 1998	Secrecy Defended by ADL	340
September 18, 1998	ADL and Mossad	343
September 18, 1998	ADL Info Helped HUAC in 1947 Witch Hunts	345
September 18, 1998	Cal on Spying and Names	348
October 1998	A Closer Look at the Enemy	360
October 1998	The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	367
November 1998	The Corruption of Americas Police by the ADL	373
November 16, 1998	California Appeals Court Decision on ADL	380
November 17, 1998	ADL Accused of McCarthyite Tactics	411

November 17, 1998	ADL Told to Open Files	413
November 17, 1998	Court Rules for Activists on ADL	415
November 27, 1998	ADL Claims Court Ruling Victory in Spying Lawsuit	416
December 30, 1998	ADL's Journalistic Status Reaffirmed by California	419
December 30, 1998	ADL Suit Reinvigorated	420
1999	Fact Sheet on the ADL	424
1999	The ADL and the Great Sedition Trial	429
January/February 1999	ADL Releases Software to Block Internet Hate Web Sites	439
February 1999	Were the Spies Journalists? The ADL Snoops	442
August 12, 1999	Stopping Extremism Before the Crime	449
August 16, 1999	Protecting Privacy, Monitoring Hate	452

2000

February 2, 2000	Spy vs Spite	454
May 13, 2000	Neighbors' Spat Leads to a Huge Award Against the Anti-Defamation League	468
June 19, 2000	A Victory Against Hate	473
August 28, 2000	FBI Calling the Kettle Black	478
September 11, 2000	Israel Now for Journalists of the Future	482
September 12, 2000	Close the Book on Hate	485
September 27, 2000	Hate Hurts Book Review	488
October 2, 2000	Where 'Caught in the Crossfire' Can Leave No Room for Doubt	491
October 5, 2000	Hate Hurts But Bullets Kill	493
October 12, 2000	B'nai B'rith Award Now Under Review	496
October 17, 2000	Now Here's a Chance to Raise the Hate Crimes Card	501
October 19, 2000	Despite Questions, Parks to Get Award	502
December 10, 2000	Helping Police Probe Hate Crimes	506
December 14, 2000	Police Get Help Putting Hate in its Place	510

2001

2001	A Revisionist Response to the ADL	513
2001	Couple Tarred as Anti-Semites	519
2001	Safire: Abe Should Resign	525
January 2001	Censoring the Internet on Behalf of Israel	529
February 21, 2001	ADL Urges Bush to Blacklist Nation of Islam from Faith Plan	532
February 26, 2001	David Duke Exploiting Anti-Semitism in Russia's ADL	534
March 26, 2001	Working Its Will	535
March 28, 2001	Rabbi Calls ADL Leader Jews Worst Enemy	538
March 29, 2001	The ADL and Rich	541
April 4, 2001	Anti-Defamation League Case Upheld	544
June 2001	'Jewish' Group Touts Homosexuality in Hingham Schools	545
June 20, 2001	Jewish Anti-Defamation League to Monitor Pro Life Web Sites	547
July 19, 2001	Polish Magazine Under Fire for Wartime Memoir	548
August 2001	Abe Foxman A Disgrace to My Religion	551
October 22, 2001	The Corruption of Americas Children by the ADL	555
October 26, 2001	Rightist Rally Hears Speech From Giuliani	558
December 27, 2001	B'nai B'rith Canada Offers Consultation, Training, in Wake of Hate Incident	562

2002

February 25, 2002	The ADL Spying Case Is Over But The Struggle Continues	564
April 1, 2002	Adversaries Go Inside ADL's Spying Operation	567
June 6, 2002	ADL Infiltrates the FBI and Subverts its Agenda	575
June 14, 2002	ADL Backs Ashcroft Bush Surveillance	577
August 18, 2002	ADL Targeted Black Congresswoman Critical of Israel	581
November 18, 2002	ADL Offers Guidance for Negotiating 'December Dilemma'	586
December 29, 2002	Anti-Defamation League and the FBI	588

2003

March 2003	AIPAC and Iraq Playing Politics at Ground Zero	595
March 3, 2003	AIPAC & ADL Refuse to Condemn Ethnic Cleansers	606
April 23, 2003	Libel Award Against Anti-Defamation League Upheld	610
September 19, 2003	ADL in 1933 and Berlusconi Now	611

2004

February 10, 2004	Peninsula Professor Targeted by ADL for Criticism of Israel	615
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May 21, 2004	ADL Offers Damage Control for War Criminals	619
August 12, 2004	Nader vs. the ADL	620
August 21/22, 2004	Ralph Nader as David Duke?	623
September 25, 2004	How Bush's grandfather helped Hitler's rise to power	625
October 16/17, 2004	Nader: Criticizing Israel is Not Anti-Semitism	637

2005

March 14, 2005	Censoring Thought and the ADL Effort to Deny Tenure to Joseph Massad	642
April 16, 2005	Frist Accused of Exploiting Religion Issue	684
May 8, 2005	Professors in Britain Vote to Boycott Two Israeli Schools	687
June 3, 2005	Witch Hunt at Columbia	692

2006

April 22, 2006	Who's the Dog? Who's the Tail? And the ADL	697
May 30, 2006	ADL Deplores Ontario Union's Vote to Boycott Israel	703

2007

August 22, 2007	Armenian Genocide Debate Exposes Rift at ADL	704
August 27, 2007	Abe Foxman's Genocide Denial Roadshow	708
October 4, 2007	Israel Lobby	711

2008

March 16, 2008	Jewish Labor Committee Attempts to Shut Down Boston Conference on Zionism	717
May 17, 2008	Uncomfortable Truths	721

2009

January 28, 2009	Defamation League	726
February 2009	Abe Foxman's Anti-Semitic Pandemic	728
April 20, 2009	American Jews Support Direct Negotiations	731
April 28, 2009	ADL National Director Abraham Foxman Pushed UC Santa Barbara to Investigate Professor	733
June 24, 2009	A Heated Argument About Israel	735
June 26, 2009	Talk Show Hosts May Be Accomplices Under Hate Bill	740

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ADL – A History of Disinformation and Intimidation

AlAkhbar

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which describes itself as a civil rights organization, has been in the forefront of an ongoing attempt to label legitimate American-Arab and American-Muslim charitable, political, and informational organizations as fronts for terrorism. This attempt is part of a long-standing ADL policy of discrediting any individual or organization opposed to Israel or supportive of Palestinian rights. The ADL's strong political loyalty to Israel as well as its acknowledged ties to Israel's external intelligence agency in addition to its past practices of spreading disinformation and intimidating those who have spoken out against Israeli policies should however serve as a warning about the ADL and the nature of its claims.

When the ADL was founded in 1913 it defined its mission as opposing the defamation of the Jewish people. Over the years, the organization won respect for its active support of civil rights and its opposition to segregation and white supremacist groups. However after the founding of the State of Israel and the 1967 Middle East War, the ADL significantly altered the way it defined its mission. In a 1974 ADL publication entitled "The New Anti-Semitism," then-ADL National Director Benjamin Epstein argued that any "criticism of Israel reflects insensitivity to American Jews and constitutes a form of anti-Semitism." This change in the way it defined its mission meant that the ADL would no longer be engaged in merely civil rights work but would rather take on a very strong political stance in defense of Israel. The main goal of the ADL became to counteract any criticism of Israel and to promote Israel's interests regardless of other considerations. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's, for example, the ADL was in the forefront of an effort to keep documents underscoring Israel's sinking of an American naval ship confidential. Such efforts cannot be understood in the context of the ADL's former civil rights agenda. Similarly, in November, 1994, ADL's Executive Director Abraham Foxman personally appealed to President Bill Clinton to commute the prison sentence of Jonathan Pollard, an intelligence analyst for the U.S. Navy who sold what the New York Times described as "suitcases full of military intelligence" to Israel. Foxman's appeal to President Clinton can only be understood in light of the ADL's new mission of promoting Israeli interests.

The fact that the ADL has become a pro-Israel interest group is, of course, not in itself problematic. The entire United States political system is based on the freedom of interest groups to compete with others in promoting their often conflicting agendas. However the ADL has overstepped the bounds of legitimacy on a number of levels. The organization has engaged in illegal domestic spying activities, has worked with foreign intelligence agencies to undermine the rights and endanger the lives of American citizens, has undertaken disinformation campaigns slandering and intimidating numerous academicians, politicians, journalists, church officials, and Arab-Americans.

ADL's transgressions were most notably exposed in January 1993 when San Francisco newspapers broke the story of ADL's extensive domestic spying network. The San Francisco Police Department discovered that under the cover of fighting anti-Semitism, the ADL had gathered and sold to intelligence agents of the Israeli and South African governments information on thousands of American individuals and groups. In addition to nearly all Arab American organizations, those whom the ADL targeted included House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums, former Congressman Pete McCloskey, Los Angeles Times correspondent Scott Kraft, the board of directors of public television station KQED, the Rainbow Coalition, a number of labor unions, Greenpeace, as well as numerous other journalists, professors, members of Congress, and activists who the ADL suspected had "anti-Israel" leanings. The information which the San Francisco police department confiscated from the ADL offices included illegally obtained confidential police material. The manner by which the ADL obtained such information as well as the fact that they sold it to foreign governments are both felonies.

The ADL's ties to the Mossad, Israel's external intelligence agency, had been known even before the scandal broke out in 1993. During the court proceedings concerning a 1970 lawsuit against the ADL, an internal letter was disclosed in which ADL's Epstein bragged about the close intelligence relations between the ADL and Israel. Furthermore, in his 1988 autobiography, ADL general counsel Arnold Forster described the close connections between the ADL and the Mossad. The Mossad connection is especially disturbing because of the Israeli intelligence agency's long record of engaging in political assassinations of opponents of Israel throughout the world.

Like the Mossad, the ADL has not been content with just gathering information on those who have spoken out against Israel or in favor of Palestinian rights. The ADL has also actively engaged in discrediting them through disinformation campaigns which are aimed at both distorting the records and intimidating those opposed to Israel. While in the 1970's and 1980's, the ADL often falsely labeled such individuals as being connected to the PLO or in the pay of Arab Gulf states, since the 1990's, the ADL has begun labeling them as being connected to Islamic terrorist organizations. The ADL's allegations, while couched in a matter-of-fact style, nearly always falls far short of providing any real evidence. However such allegations have had far-reaching effects. After the ADL accused seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman in California with ties to a PLO terrorist group, for example, the eight individuals were arrested and deportation proceedings were begun. When it was later discovered that no real evidence existed against the eight individuals except for the fact that they had distributed anti-Israeli magazines, the media sharply criticized the government.

One of its first salvos in the disinformation war was its 1975 report entitled "Target U.S.A.: The Arab Propaganda Offensive," in which the ADL distorted the images of nearly all mainstream Arab-American groups. The ADL followed up that report with its most controversial book of all: Pro-Arab Propaganda: Vehicles and Voices, an enemies list of 31 organizations and 34 individuals which was published in 1983 and was largely aimed at countering opposition to Israel from University professors and student organizations. The publication intentionally takes statements of those on the list out of context, accuses them of Anti-Semitism, and falsely accuses a number of academic scholars of being part of a PLO support network or of having been paid by Gulf Arab countries. The report calls upon Jewish leaders in Universities throughout the country to boycott and intimidate those appearing on the list. Those who appeared on the list later found themselves ostracized by the academic community with some losing their jobs or denied promotions. S.C. Whittaker, the former chairman of the Political Science Department at Rutgers University admitted, for example, that political reasons, rather than academic ones, prevented Dr. Eqbal Ahmad from obtaining a regular teaching appointment after his name appeared on the ADL list. Dr. Noam Chomsky, who also appeared on the list, says that since the book was published, protesters have appeared at every one of his speaking engagements and have distributed distorted ADL reports containing fabricated quotes that he was alleged to have made in an attempt to

intimidate him and his listeners. On Nov. 30, 1984, the Middle East Studies Association passed a resolution protesting the “creation, storage, or dissemination of blacklists, enemy lists” or surveys that call for boycotting individuals or intimidating scholars. Similar intimidation campaigns have been waged by the ADL against reporters and journalists who have criticized Israel.

Throughout the 1980's, the ADL also accused liberal church officials, church groups, and religious organizations which called for peace and justice for all in the Middle East as being connected to the PLO. The Reverend Don Wagner and the Presbyterian Church had especially been accused by the ADL of having connections to the PLO, though no evidence was ever presented backing up such contentions. On the other hand, after a 1994 report on the religious right, the ADL was accused by religious conservatives of going after people for their political views and of taking numerous quotes of religious leaders out of context. Also on May 25, 1994, the ADL's Jerusalem office released a sensationalist story which appeared the next day in the New York Times and other newspapers which alleged that the Vatican had admitted to being responsible for the Holocaust. The Vatican later totally denied the story. The ADL's blatant misrepresentation of facts was sharply criticized.

The ADL's credibility has been severely shaken by its long record of disinformation. While the ADL has every right to continue advocating pro-Israel policies, its real agenda should be exposed and it must be made to end the illegal spying, harassment, and intimidation of political opponents. More importantly, U.S. law enforcement agencies, the media, and political circles need to see the ADL for what it is: a pro-Israel group more than ready to distort the truth to further the Israeli agenda. While in retrospect, it now seems very clear that the ADL's wild allegations against alleged PLO support networks in the 1980's were baseless, it must be remembered that at the time they were seen as credible and led many people to lose their jobs and others to be imprisoned. The ADL's current crusade against alleged Islamic terrorist networks is almost identical to its earlier one against so-called ties to the PLO. Both campaigns are based on general stereotypes and fears and are devoid of evidence and fact. To repeat such allegations without further investigating them, as some in the media have done, is unprofessional and unethical. To act upon them, as some law-makers and law-enforcement agencies have done, is dangerous and threatens the freedoms and civil liberties Americans have grown to expect.

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Source: The ADL

ADL Applauds President for “All-out Assault on Hate Crimes”

New York, NY, June 7..The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) today welcomed President Clinton’s recognition that it is time for an “all-out assault on hate crimes,” and his call for a special White House conference on this important subject this November.

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director, issued the following statement:

We welcome President Clinton’s call for an “all-out assault on hate crimes” and for his leadership in convening a special White House conference on the subject. As the organization which in 1981 pioneered and spearheaded the formulation, enactment and implementation of hate crimes laws across the country, ADL has long insisted crimes motivated by bigotry and prejudice warrant priority attention because they have an impact which extends beyond the individual victims. We as a nation have learned from experience the damage such crimes cause to entire communities, and the polarizing effect they can have on our broader society.

By mobilizing the vast resources of the Federal government to undertake a thorough review of existing laws and to develop a coordinated strategy to address the problem of hate crimes, President Clinton has demonstrated that he is prepared to go the extra mile to deter and counter such crimes, and we stand ready to contribute our resources and expertise to assist in this effort.

As the President has recognized, combating hate crimes requires more than a legal strategy. It requires effective law enforcement, education, and vigilance. In the long run, the best way to combat such crimes is to reach potential perpetrators early, before they are taught to hate and to act on their hate.

We urge President Clinton to continue using his bully pulpit to educate the American people about the evils of racism, anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry. While not all bigots become criminals, the more we can do to combat bigotry, the fewer resources our criminal justice system will eventually need to expend fighting hate crimes.

Editor's Note: ADL experts and materials, including 1997 Hate Crime Statutory Update, 1996 ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents and the Law Enforcement Bulletin are available through the ADL Media Relations Department.

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

Source: The New American

ADL Campaign Against Tolerance by William Norman Grigg

Since its release earlier this year, ***The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America***, the 193-page report produced by the Anti-Defamation League, has achieved nearly canonical status. Countless “news” reports and op-ed articles have uncritically cited the report as the definitive critique of the “Christian Right.” Conservative Christians have protested that the report was little more than an act of politically motivated defamation. The latter assessment has now been endorsed by a group of prominent American Jews.

On August 2nd, 75 notable Jewish Americans signed a full-page paid advertisement in the ***New York Times*** which condemned the ADL for “engaging in defamation of its own” in its attack on the religious right. The advertisement, which bore the headline, “Should Jews Fear the ‘Christian Right’?,” chastised the ADL for its disreputable tactics: “We are a group of Jews who wish to make it known that we reject the implications of [the ADL] report and deplore its publication [T]he so-called ‘evidence’ of a conservative Christian threat to Jewish security is derived from such discreditable techniques as insinuation and guilt by association.” Noting that too many Jews have personally experienced the results of religious bigotry, the signers stated that “we have a special obligation to guard against it, and all the more so, when in the case of the ADL attack on our Christian fellow citizens, it emanates from our own community.”

The ad also rebuked the religious left for its proprietary claims upon Judaism: “Judaism is not, as the ADL seems to suggest, coextensive with liberalism. Nor, we wish to emphasize, does the Jewish community speak with one voice on the religious and moral — and political — issues of our time.” Furthermore, “Judaism teaches the principle of Hakarat Hatov, that we have the duty to acknowledge the good done to us. In issuing ***The Religious Right*** study, the ADL has among other things seriously violated that principle.”

On August 4th, the ADL reacted to the advertisement by distributing an internal memo written by ADL leaders David H. Strassler and Abraham H. Foxman which denounced the ad as “scurrilous at best” and declared that “nowhere [does] the report accuse the religious right of being anti-Semitic, either overtly or by implication.” The memo also reiterated the report’s contention that “Nothing more aptly characterizes the religious right than its hostility to difference, both within its own faith and outside of it.” But even as the ink was drying on the ADL memo, the organization displayed a remarkable intolerance toward dissent within its own ranks.

Principled Dissent

Among those who signed the August 2nd **New York Times** ad were Gary Polland, Phillip Aronoff, and Fred Zeidman, who at the time were all members of the ADL; Polland, a Houston attorney and longtime Republican activist, was the southwest regional director for the ADL. On August 10th, under pressure from the ADL’s national office, Polland resigned his position with the group. The ADL insisted that Polland had violated organization policy by signing the **Times** ad rather than expressing his misgivings through private channels. However, as Polland explained in a letter to ADL members, his concerns were not confined to matters covered by the organization’s internal policies: “After much agonizing I signed the ad because the message needed to be sent. The ad informs the Christian community that there are prominent Jewish Americans who reject the [ADL] report … and regret the publication of such an inaccurate and poorly-researched report.”

On August 9th, Polland and Aronoff compiled an analysis of the ADL report and circulated it among the organization’s membership. Among other things, the critique demonstrates that Strassler and Foxman lied when they asserted that the report did not “accuse the religious right of being anti-Semitic, either overtly or by implication.” Page two of the report accuses the Christian Coalition of “anti-Jewish and extremist sentiments.” Page 23 of the report imputes “anti-Jewish pronouncements” to Pat Robertson, without specifying a single offending statement. Furthermore, the report accuses the Christian Coalition of making “a number of pronouncements antagonistic toward Jews,” displaying “anti-Jewish and extremist sentiments,” spiking its literature

with “anti-Jewish nuggets,” peddling “evangelical anti-Judaism,” and conspiring with “the nation’s leading anti-semitic propaganda organization.”

Nor were the ADL’s misrepresentations limited to the question of anti-Semitism. The report charges that Steve Hotze, a Republican party official in Texas, “favors the death penalty for homosexuals.” In making this accusation the report cited an article which had appeared in the **New York Times Magazine**. However, despite the fact that Hotze has never expressed the opinion attributed to him, the ADL’s accusation was repeated by **New York Times** columnist Anthony Lewis and in a **New Yorker** magazine article written by Sidney Blumenthal.

According to Polland and Aronoff, the matter of Steve Hotze is typical of numerous inaccuracies and misrepresentations contained in the report and an indictment of the ADL’s approach to documentation. David Cantor, the ADL researcher who wrote the report, admitted to the **New York Times** that he was “guided by ADL policy to stick to the published record rather than conduct direct interviews He did not contact any groups of the religious right for their reactions.” But as the case of Steve Hotze illustrates, the “printed record” in the prestige press often consists of inbred falsehoods which circulate among antagonists of the religious right; they have no more factual standing than do long-standing anti-Semitic calumnies.

Private Admissions

In the August 4th internal memo, the ADL’s national leadership declared: “... like other such critiques of the ADL’s report, the [August 2nd **New York Times**] ad fails to single out any instance of defamation, or even inaccuracy.” The unmistakable implication of this claim was that the report was innocent of any significant inaccuracies. However, in a personal letter sent to evangelical leader Pat Robertson on August 3rd, Foxman admitted that the report had inaccurately stated that Robertson “never denounced [David] Duke” during Duke’s gubernatorial bid in 1991. Foxman’s letter also retracted the accusation that in a 1980 staff meeting Robertson had referred to Jews as “spiritually deaf” and “spiritually blind.”

The source of this accusation, according to Foxman, consisted of “remarks that had been widely quoted” — that is, undocumented rumors.

Exactly one week after the ADL *privately* admitted some of the flaws contained in its anti-religious right report, the organization expelled Polland for *publicly* criticizing the flawed monograph. The irony of this development was not lost on ex-Senator Rudy Boschwitz, a liberal Republican from Minnesota who is a Jewish immigrant and an honorary vice-chairman of the ADL. In a handwritten note to Polland, Boschwitz wryly remarked: “I always believed that the ADL considered diverse opinions permissible Indeed, they have just [produced] a scathing report about a group they maintain doesn’t allow such diversity. Could it be that our own ADL ... is assaulting pluralism and tolerance in America?”

Another ironic aspect of the ADL’s assault upon conservative evangelical Christians is the fact that anti-Semitism is not a serious concern in contemporary America. Leonard Dinnerstein, author of the new book ***Anti-semitism in America***, told the July 15th ***Jerusalem Post*** that “anti-semitism in the US has clearly declined to an unimagined degree. It has not disappeared. But it’s become so minuscule as to be virtually irrelevant. And that’s the trend. Jews are incredibly secure in the United States, and I see no reason whatsoever why that should change.” Dinnerstein maintains: “The fact is, a lot of American Jews just aren’t ready to accept just how well-accepted they are in America.” Citing the ADL’s own annual audits of anti-Semitic acts, Dinnerstein concludes that “anti-semitism is just a tiny blip on the American consciousness.” For publicly expressing such heterodox notions, Dinnerstein has been condemned by Abraham Foxman for “minimizing anti-Semitism.”

While Polland and his associates embrace what they describe as “the Anti-Defamation League’s mandate ... to fight discrimination and anti-semitism,” they do not subscribe to the group’s implicit endorsement of “the radical homosexual political agenda ... or the pro-choice agenda.” This position is broadly compatible with public sentiments: While anti-Semitism is rejected by the American populace, public opinion has not yet turned decisively against newly minted sins against political correctness, such as “homophobia.” In order to poison the public mind against the religious right, the ADL sought to portray “homophobia” and rejection of feminist demands as morally equivalent to anti-Semitism — and to establish the supposed anti-Jewish sentiments of Evangelicals through insinuation and misrepresentation.

Spy Scandal

Just before the ADL launched its attack on the religious right, a San Francisco court quietly disposed of what should have been a major ADL scandal. On May 27th, Tom Gerard, a former inspector with the San Francisco police department, was sentenced to 45 days in jail and three years' probation for leaking confidential police files to the ADL. Gerard had pleaded no contest to charges that he had illegally abused his access to a police computer system in order to obtain information about the activities of pro-Palestinian and white supremacist organizations and various "extremist" groups; that material was leaked to Roy Bullock, an investigator in the employ of the ADL.

Following the discovery of the ADL's information pipeline, police raided the homes of Gerard and Bullock and seized files containing the names of thousands of individuals and organizations. Gerard fled to the Philippines one step ahead of prosecution; however, no charges were ever filed against Bullock. Last November, the San Francisco District Attorney's office announced that it would not file criminal charges against the ADL in exchange for a \$75,000 "donation" from the ADL into a "hate crimes reward and education fund." Essentially, the ADL bribed the District Attorney's office with money that will be used to advance the prosecution of the organization's political enemies.

Significant charges against Gerard were dropped in April when the FBI — which had entered the case in 1993 — refused to release documents which Gerard's attorney claimed would establish the ex-policeman's innocence. At the time, Municipal Court Judge J. Dominique Olcomendy stated, "We know the federal government is still investigating this case because they tell me that's why they won't release documents [acquired on behalf of the ADL]." However, ADL defense counsel Jerrold Ladar believes that Gerard's sentencing brought an end to any criminal investigation of the scandal. "It is nice to see the last remnant of the criminal case wrapped up and closed. It is time it was completely put to bed," Ladar told the May 28th ***San Francisco Chronicle***.

Although several civil suits are pending against the ADL, Janet Reno's Justice Department has shown little inclination to pursue an investigation of the spy scandal. Given the Clinton Administration's high-profile campaign against "hate groups" and

“right-wing extremists,” it is possible that the materials acquired from the ADL’s spy network may be put to some use other than prosecuting those who illegally collected the information.

**ADL Defends Pillsbury Doughboy
Cease & Desist Letter
ADL – An archive of disturbing illustration.**



Part I. Cause

Because this picture *reminds* certain Jews of the Holocaust, they are demanding that we remove it. Suddenly anything that reminds Jews of the Holocaust, even things that have nothing to do with it, *verboten*? A high percentage of our staff is Jewish. After all rotten.com *is* part of the media conspiracy that Marlon Brando was kind enough to inform us about.

ADL Wants Senate to Censor Internet

STATEMENT OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE ON "HATE" ON THE INTERNET BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY SEPTEMBER 14, 1999

Hate on the Internet: The Anti-Defamation League Perspective

Concerns about online extremism are not new. In January 1985, the Anti-Defamation League released a report entitled Computerized Networks of Hate. Years before the Internet became a household word, that report exposed a computerized bulletin board created by and for white supremacists and accessible to anyone with a modem and a home computer. Aryan Nations, a paramilitary group affiliated with the "Identity Church" pseudo-theological hate movement, sponsored the bulletin board and named it "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." The project was the work of two individuals: Louis Beam, then a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations leader, and George Dietz, the man behind the largest neo-Nazi publishing mill in the United States.

This bulletin board was a forerunner of extremism on the Internet. Computerized Networks of Hate detailed five ways the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net" served the white supremacist movement, all of which remain important to extremism on the Internet today. First, the bulletin board was designed to draw young people to the hate movement with appealing propaganda. Second, the network helped stir up hatred against the "enemies" of white supremacy. Third, the bulletin board was a means to make money. Fourth, the system offered the potential for circulating secret, coded messages among extremists, and finally, it bypassed embargoes that nations outside of the United States placed on hate literature.

Though Computerized Networks of Hate noted little to suggest that Aryan Nation Liberty Net represented a great leap forward in the spread of anti-Semitic and racist propaganda, it warned that "complacency" about this development "would be unwise." At the time, Beam wrote that the bulletin board was a "patriotic brain trust" and boasted that "computers are now bringing their power and capabilities" to the white supremacist movement. "The possibilities," Beam remarked, "have only been touched upon."

The same month that ADL released Computerized Networks of Hate, white supremacist Stephen Donald (Don) Black was released from prison. While serving just over two years, Black had learned to use computers. In 1981, Black was arrested with a group of nine other neo-Nazis and Klansmen in Slidell, Louisiana, and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean island of Dominica, overthrow its government, and turn it into a "white state." He was convicted, and following an unsuccessful appeal, he surrendered to Federal marshals in December, 1982.

In the years following his release, Black gradually withdrew from white supremacist

activism, eventually becoming a computer consultant. However, he did not disavow his racism. It was Black who would launch Stormfront, the first extremist hate site on the World Wide Web, a decade after ADL reported on "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." "There is the potential here to reach millions," Black said of the Internet. "I think it's a major breakthrough. I don't know if it's the ultimate solution to developing a white rights movement in this country, but it's certainly a significant advance."

Initially, Black could find only a handful of other Web sites that reflected his anti-Semitic, racist message. Today, hundreds of bigotry-laden sites promoting a variety of philosophies have joined Stormfront on the Web. The propaganda presented by these sites, from subtle to heavy-handed, is aimed at influencing both attitudes and behavior.

Though it is not always easy to draw a connection between online speech and violence, extremist groups with histories of violence have extensive Web sites. Additionally, extremists have used the Internet to comment favorably on violent acts. One Web site calls John William King, convicted murderer of James Byrd, an "American Hero" and asks readers to "give thanks to God" for King's act. Another site's "Memorial" to gay murder victim Matthew Shepard claims he "got himself killed" because of his "satanic lifestyle" and "will be in hell for all eternity."

Many extremist sites target the young. Hate groups such as the World Church of the Creator have posted Web sites filled with simple propaganda devoted specifically to wooing children. Bigotry-laced hard rock and the Internet have proved a natural match for racist Skinheads trying to capture the minds of teens.

While deeply disturbing, the growth of hate and extremism on the Internet simply mirrors the expansion of Internet use. What began as a small computer network used primarily by scientists and academic researchers has become a mass medium. Computers and Internet access are in workplaces, homes, schools and libraries, and prices for both are falling rapidly. For many Internet users in the United States, going online costs nothing. Large numbers of U.S. workers have free access to the Internet at their offices. Many U.S. residents use free Internet access at their local public libraries, and educational institutions regularly connect their students to the Web free of charge.

Most Internet Service Providers willingly "host" their customers' World Wide Web pages; in return for a user's access fee, they provide nearly unlimited use of the hardware and communications lines necessary for creating a site on the Web. Some Web-based services, such as Tripod and GeoCities, host Internet users' pages free of charge. All of the above provide free, easy-to-use Web development tools, making it simple, even for those who know nothing about computer programming, to create their own Web pages.

Beyond low cost and availability, the Internet provides a new type of information distribution, since time and distance are compressed. Information posted there is available instantaneously, 24 hours a day, from anywhere on the planet. The World Wide Web creates the illusion that all information is present in the user's computer at the instant it is needed. Accessing information has never been easier. What's more, the

Internet has done more than that, for it has turned every user into a potential publisher. It has never been easier for any individual to broadcast his or her ideas to the world.

A worldwide collection of computers linked by high-speed phone lines, the Internet displays remarkable versatility, sometimes resembling a letter, on other occasions a telephone, and still other times a television. Like a printed letter, the Internet provides a way to communicate directly with others, near or far, but on the Internet, "E-mail" (electronic mail) is delivered nearly instantaneously (E-mail arrives so much more quickly than standard printed correspondence that users of the Internet sometimes call traditional letters "snail mail"). Furthermore, E-mail users pay nothing for the transmission of messages; their accounts are charged a flat fee for service, if they pay for their accounts at all.

Like a telephone, the Internet provides a way to communicate in "real time" with others. A person using a chat room or Internet Relay Chat channel to converse with friends can engage in a fast-paced conversation, for friends' words appear on the screen mere seconds after they've been typed. Like television, the Internet can "broadcast" information to vast audiences. Millions of Internet users can view the same World Wide Web site simultaneously, and Web sites, like television programs, are able to transmit text, sound, photos, and moving images. The growth of the Internet represents a revolution in communication as significant as that begun by the development of the printing press in the 15th century. Yet the time needed for its impact to be felt has been drastically telescoped. What took centuries is now taking place in a matter of a few years.

Even before Stormfront appeared on the Web, extremists had begun exploiting other ways to use the Internet, and these practices continue today. Lively conversations take place on numerous extremist Internet Relay Chat channels. The USENET, a collection of thousands of public discussion groups (or newsgroups) on which people write, read and respond to messages, attracts hundreds of thousands of participants each day, both active (those who write) and passive (those who simply read or "lurk"). Newsgroups have been compared to community bulletin boards. Haters of all sorts debate, rant, and insult their opponents on newsgroups with titles such as alt.politics.white-power and alt.revisionism.

Electronic mailing lists (or "listservs") flourish as well. Such lists are like private "bulletin boards" available only to subscribers. While some lists keep their subscription information confidential, most are easy to join. Postings to some of these lists are moderated (i.e., monitored by the list operator who applies certain standards of acceptability), but others are entirely unregulated.

In fashioning their lists, extremists and racists create an "electronic community" of like-minded people. Before the Internet, many extremists worked in relative isolation, forced to make a great effort to connect with others who shared their ideology. Today, on the Internet, bigots communicate easily, inexpensively, and sometimes anonymously with hundreds of fellow extremists. Online, extremists reinforce more easily each other's

hateful convictions.

Extremists also use E-mail, which allows them to communicate with one another directly, their missives ostensibly hidden from public view. In fact, E-mail is not truly private: computer-savvy individuals can intercept and read private messages. Some users, nervous about eavesdroppers, now use cryptographic programs. Cryptography converts written material using a secret code, rendering it unreadable by anyone who does not have the means to decode it. With encrypted E-mail, extremists have found a secure forum in which to exchange ideas and plans.

E-mail can also be used to spread hate propaganda. With a mailing list and a message, hate mailings can easily reach the mailboxes of large numbers of people. Enterprising haters have managed to mass-mail hate materials to tens, hundreds, or even thousands of unsuspecting people without revealing their identity.

Though purveyors of hate make use of all the communication tools the Internet provides, the World Wide Web is their forum of choice. In addition to its multimedia capabilities and popularity with Internet users, the Web allows bigots to control their message. Organized haters complain about civil rights activists who critique their manifestoes in USENET newsgroups and other interactive forums. In contrast, haters can refuse to publish critical messages on their Web sites, just as a TV station can refuse to broadcast another station's opinions over its airwaves.

Furthermore, it is impossible for someone surfing the Web to know if any particular organization, other than one with a national reputation, is credible. Both the reputable and the disreputable are on the Web, and many Web users lack the experience and knowledge to distinguish between them. Increasingly, Web development tools have made it simple for bigots to create sites that visually resemble those of reputable organizations. Consequently, hate groups using the Web can more easily portray themselves as legitimate voices of authority.

Don Black

Since its creation, Stormfront has served as a veritable supermarket of online hate, stocking its shelves with many forms of anti-Semitism and racism. In its first two years, Stormfront featured the writings of William Pierce of the neo-Nazi National Alliance; David Duke; representatives of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review and other assorted extremists. By 1997, Black's site became home to the Web pages of other extremists, such as Aryan Nations and Ed Fields, racist publisher of *The Truth At Last*, a hate-filled newspaper. He also posted new reprints of white supremacist articles and essays, such as *The Talmud: Judaism's holiest book documented and exposed*. Meant to inflame Christians by characterizing the Talmud as primarily anti-Christian and filled with "malice," "hate-mongering" and "barbarities," this particularly scurrilous tract willfully distorts and misrepresents an important religious document while demonstrating a complete lack of understanding of its history, complexity, and role in Jewish religious practice.

Some of Black's recent efforts have involved the expansion of Stormfront: enlarging its collection of links, adding an interactive chat room, and housing additional racist Web sites. One of these sites, Our Legacy of Truth, offers the text of works such as "Proof of Negro Inferiority" by Alexander Winchell and Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, as well as Willie Martin's "1001 Quotes By and About Jews." This pernicious compendium of quotations strings together mistranslated remarks made by Jews, statements of well-known non-Jews taken out of context, and the ravings of anti-Semites, so as to give readers the impression that Jews are constantly striving for global control. Another site now housed by Black, White Singles, serves as a free dating service for white supremacists.

"Women and men listed on WS [White Singles] are heterosexual, white gentiles only," its Home Page declares. Well over 200 men and women have registered for this service, many of them submitting pictures of themselves for viewing by prospective mates. A third new site at Stormfront, White Nationalist News Agency (NNA), posts the text of articles from the Associated Press and other reputable news sources, seemingly without legal permission. Attached to these articles are the racist and anti-Semitic comments of Vincent Breeding, NNA editor and National Alliance activist of Tampa, Florida.

Beyond his additions to Stormfront, Black has begun to help other white supremacists by hosting their sites without publicly admitting that he is doing so. Unlike sites such as The Truth at Last or White Nationalist News Agency, which are housed by Black and are in effect part of Stormfront, it is not readily apparent that he services these other sites.

Adrian Edward Marlow of Suisun City, California, maintains one of these sites, White Pride World Wide.¹⁰ In fact, Marlow owns Black's Web server, the computer that contains his Web site and makes it available to Internet users. Black rents this server from Marlow and controls it electronically from a remote location: his home in West Palm Beach, Florida.¹¹ Marlow also uses his own server to co-host white supremacist sites with Don Black.

Not surprisingly, White Pride World Wide is advertised on Stormfront and links to the mailing lists and chat room at Black's site. The rest of the site reflects Black's values as well: it includes "1001 Quotes By and About Jews," Madison Grant's racist tract *The Passing of the Great Race* and transcriptions of Louis Beam's speeches. Like Stormfront, White Pride World Wide also houses other racist Web sites, such as Verboten (a German-language extremist site) and women.wppw.com (a site created by and for white supremacist women).

Black hosts a site named Blitzcast, which Stormfront and White Pride World Wide recommend for those seeking online, racist audio "broadcasts." Using free audio software easily downloadable from the Web, visitors to Blitzcast can listen to the speeches of American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell, the weekly radio addresses of National Alliance leader William Pierce, and the ravings of anti-Semitic Jew Benjamin Freedman. Also appearing at Blitzcast is Frank Weltner, who uses the pseudonym "Von Goldstein Mohammed" and runs Jew Watch, yet another site hosted

by Black.

Jew Watch organizes its anti-Semitic materials much in the same way a popular Web directory might group more benign information. Weltner presents accusations that Jews were behind the terrors caused by Russia's Communist regime in "Jews, Communism, and The Job of Killing Off the USSR's Christians." "Jewish Genocides Today and Yesterday" describes an alleged Jewish plan to deport non-Jews from the U.S. in 1946. "90% of All United States News-papers Are Owned and Run by Jews" repeats the oft-heard charge that Jews run the media, and "The Rothschild Internationalist-Zionist-Banking-One World Order Family" claims that Jews control the world of finance. Adolf Hitler's writings, transcripts of Father Charles Coughlin's anti-Semitic radio broadcasts, and the text of Henry Ford Sr.'s bigoted International Jew are all available at Jew Watch as well.

When Marlow created Web sites at more than ten domain names that resembled the names of major daily newspapers, another misleading Web venture involving Black garnered attention. In October 1998, Marlow linked these sites directly to Stormfront. Consequently, Web users looking for news about Philadelphia at "philadelphiainquirer.com," for example, ended up visiting Don Black's site, not the Philadelphia Inquirer Home Page (which is located at phillynews.com). Other newspapers affected included the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the Chicago Sun-Times, the Atlanta Constitution, and the London Telegraph.

As Black's site has grown and he has aggressively continued to promote it, an increasing number of Web users have been visiting Stormfront. Black told the Associated Press that the number of contacts to Stormfront doubled during the domain name incident, to 2,000 per day. According to Black, Web surfers have accessed Stormfront more than a million times since its debut.

Web users visiting Stormfront right now will likely find a bold advertisement in the lower left-hand corner of their screens. By clicking on it, they arrive at the Web site for perhaps America's best-known and most politically active racist: Black's mentor, David Duke.

David Duke

Like Don Black, David Duke first became an active racist as a teen-ager. Soon after, as a student at Louisiana State University, he founded the neo-Nazi group White Youth Alliance. After his graduation, Duke founded the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and launched a publicity blitz that boosted its membership.

Duke's days as a Klan leader ended abruptly in 1980, after he was accused of trying to sell his group's membership list. Duke left the Klan to establish and head the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), which he himself confirmed was simply a Klan without robes. Though Duke shed his official role in the NAAWP when he became more politically active, he continued to maintain ties to the

group and its agenda continued to parallel his.

Running as a Republican, Duke won a Louisiana State Legislature seat in January 1989, despite scrutiny and opposition from national Republican leaders. While in office, he continued to sell neo-Nazi literature. While claiming that he had repudiated racism, Duke made statements such as "Jews are trying to destroy all other cultures." Duke won 43.5 percent of the vote in an unsuccessful 1990 U.S. Senate race and 700,000 votes in a 1991 race for the governorship of Louisiana.

After an unsuccessful Presidential bid in 1992, Duke retreated from the political arena but continued to concentrate on raising his media profile. He tried his luck as a radio talk show host in 1993, but his controversial program, the "David Duke Conservative Hotline," proved unpopular. Two years after Duke failed to raise the \$7,000 needed to continue broadcasting his program, he established The David Duke Report Online, a less costly venue for disseminating his views.

David Duke has embraced the Internet as a key to the future of the white supremacist movement. An article featured prominently at his site, "The Coming White Revolution -- Born on the Internet," outlines his high hopes that the Internet will "facilitate a world-wide revolution of White awareness."

Concerned that the "non-white birthrate," "massive immigration," and "racial intermarriage" will "reduce the founding people of America into a minority," Duke boasts at his Web site about the "genetic potential" of "our people," stressing the "innate intellectual & psychological differences" between whites and Blacks.

In another piece posted at his site, "Race and Christianity," Duke writes, "I truly believe that the future of this country, civilization, and planet is inseparably bound up with the destiny of our White race. I think, as the history of Christianity has shown, that our people have been the driving force in its triumph."

In November 1998, Duke renamed and redesigned his site. The site, now simply called David Duke, pictures Duke amid colorful images of an American flag, the Lincoln Memorial, Mount Rushmore, and the White House. A "David Duke Biography" portrays the former Klan leader as a respectable citizen, listing the awards and degrees he has received and pointing out that he is a "publicly-elected Republican official" (Duke currently serves as the Chairman of the St. Tammany, Louisiana, Republican Parish Executive Committee). Duke's site also sells his autobiography, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*; Duke promises to personally autograph all copies of the book ordered from the site.

Though Duke's site does not possess the depth or breadth of a site like Stormfront, his well-known name may attract curious, potential extremists browsing the Web. This is particularly troublesome considering Duke's expressed belief in the Internet as a white supremacist recruitment tool and his recent offline activities.

After years spent denying his racism in order to advance in politics, Duke has once again openly embraced the white supremacist movement. In a July 1997 article published by The Tallahassee Democrat, he acknowledged that his politics were becoming "more radical" in reaction to what he referred to as a "growing undercurrent" of white frustration." Most disturbing are his speeches given in 1997 and 1998 at four separate events sponsored by the National Alliance, a group the Anti-Defamation League has identified as the single most dangerous organized hate group in the United States today.

The National Alliance

The National Alliance (NA) was originally established as the "Youth for Wallace" campaign in support of the failed 1968 Presidential bid of Alabama Governor George Wallace. After Wallace lost, the group was renamed the "National Youth Alliance." In 1970, William Pierce, a former American Nazi Party official, joined the group, and in 1974 (around the time that David Duke founded his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan), Pierce took the reins and dropped the word "Youth" from the organization's name.

Now in his mid-60s, Pierce still leads the group out of a compound in West Virginia. Using the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald, he authored the novel *The Turner Diaries*, which details a successful world revolution by an all-white army, and the systematic extermination of Blacks, Jews, and other minorities. Many extremists regard *The Turner Diaries* as an explicit terrorism manual, and the novel is believed to have inspired several major acts of violence, including the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Pierce continues to encourage violence, viewing it as the ultimate solution to what he terms "the Jewish problem." His weekly radio program, American Dissident Voices (ADV), is rife with incendiary speech. Between his novels and his broadcasts, Pierce provides bigots with both an ideological and a practical framework for committing acts of mass destruction.

The National Alliance is currently the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the nation. In the past several years, dozens of violent crimes, including murders, bombings and robberies, have been traced to NA members or appear to have been inspired by the group's propaganda. At the same time, the organization's membership base has experienced major growth, with its numbers more than doubling since 1992.

The NA's current strength can be attributed to several factors: its willingness to cooperate with other extremists (such as David Duke); its energetic recruitment and other promotional activities; its vicious, but deceptively intellectualized propaganda, and a skillful embrace of the Internet.

A former physics professor at Oregon State University, Pierce was quick to understand the potential power of the Internet. Today, the NA's site is one of the best-organized and most informative hate sites on the Web. It promotes Pierce's Nazi-like ideology: biological determinism, hierarchical organization, an emphasis on will and sacrifice, and "a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and

America."

In the section of its site entitled "What is the National Alliance?," the NA calls for the creation of "White Living Space" purged of all non-whites and demands the formation of a government "wholly committed to the service of [the white] race and subject to no non-Aryan influence." On the site, this section is reprinted in Swedish, Dutch, and German, as are French and German translations of The Turner Diaries and the text of selected ADV broadcasts in Swedish.

Also included on the NA's site are Pierce's anti-Semitic screed "Who Rules America" (a particular favorite among online bigots) and articles from the NA's print publications, Free Speech and National Vanguard. These documents contain familiar themes: America is in decline, its vital essence polluted by non-Aryans, and only the revolutionary program of the NA can save it.

The NA Web site also features an online version of the NA's National Vanguard Books catalog, which offers an extensive selection of racist and anti-Semitic books, videotapes, and cassettes. These items are divided into categories such as "National Socialist Revolution"; "Race: Science and Sociology"; and an especially long list of materials concerned with "Communism, Zionism, Feminism, and the Jews."

Visitors can order books from the National Alliance by downloading a user-friendly order form from the NA site, printing it out, and sending it to the NA with payment. Additionally, "any White person (a non-Jewish person of wholly European ancestry) of good character and at least 18 years of age who accepts as his own the goals of the National Alliance" can apply for membership using the Web, by downloading and printing out a membership form and mailing it to the group. Users can also find items relating to a particular topic by plugging in key words to the site's search engine; over 250 items turned up when searching for the term "Jews."

NA sympathizers have also increased the group's exposure by using public Internet forums, sending unsolicited E-mail messages, and disrupting USENET newsgroups. In the "Reviews and Commentaries" section of the Web site for Amazon.com, visitors are invited to comment on books they have read. In at least two reviews (no longer at the site), NA supporters promoted their organization's message. Reviewing The Turner Diaries, one of these sympathizers urged other readers to "contact the author's organization, the National Alliance, and get involved in the struggle for self-determination and freedom for our people." Another commentary lamented that whites who "just sit on their butts all day and allow the Jewish takeover of the U.S. to continue unchallenged really need to read the chapter called the 'Day of the Rope.' Everyone else who wants to fight needs to join the [NA]."

In October 1994, thousands of people in four states received an unsolicited E-mail message containing NA propaganda from an untraceable address. An action like this is considered a serious breach of "netiquette" (responsible Internet use). The NA disavowed this act but noted its interest in sending unsolicited messages in its

newsletter.

A similar transmission of another National Alliance piece occurred in 1995, on the eve of the Jewish High Holy Days, and again in February 1998, when hundreds of people received an unsolicited E-mail message containing the transcript of Pierce's ADV program entitled "Bill, Monica, and Saddam." In it, Pierce claimed that by writing about the Monica Lewinsky affair, the "Jewish media bosses" harmed President Clinton, who "would do whatever they told him to do," but "had screwed up so many times that he had become a liability for them."

Those sympathetic to the NA have also targeted specific institutions, such as Southwest Texas University. In April 1998, three Black students there were charged with raping two white students at a dormitory party. The campus NAACP chapter voiced opposition to the charges and criticized school administrators for a "rush to judgment." In response, a National Alliance supporter sent 16,000 unsolicited E-mail messages to students and faculty calling on the NAACP to apologize to "victims of rape" and all white women. "The truth is," the E-mail read, "White people in this country are under attack by an ever-growing population of black criminals."

NA sympathizers have also posted thousands of messages to USENET newsgroups, seeing them as a way to broadcast their message widely. In its July 1995 Bulletin, the NA encouraged "the Alliance's seasoned cybernauts" to spread its Web site address "as widely as possible."

In a 1996 speech to the NA's Cleveland unit, Pierce described the NA's organized effort to dominate discussions in USENET newsgroups. He outlined the operations of an "Alliance Cybercell," a group of NA supporters active in USENET newsgroups. "We have organized members working as teams, not identifying themselves as Alliance members but going into these discussion groups and virtually taking them over," Pierce explained. These cell leaders "decide what discussion groups they want to get into...analyze the situation, analyze the types of propaganda that have been presented by the other side and we go in there and just tear them apart." Though Pierce encouraged online NA supporters to shift their recruiting activities from public debate to private discussions, one still finds NA members descending on USENET newsgroups and other public forums where they believe they might find sympathizers, spewing their hateful propaganda and inviting people to visit the NA Web site.

NA members correspond privately via E-mail not only with potential recruits, but also with each other. The organization claims to have established a "Rapid Response Team (RRT)," a group of NA volunteers who are contacted via E-mail to respond to special situations. According to the NA, this team serves many purposes, from gathering information to quickly alerting other NA members in their area when an "emergency" arises.

National Association for the Advancement of White People

While David Duke has recently allied himself with the National Alliance, his NAAWP has also jumped on the Internet bandwagon. Duke once described the NAAWP as "a perfect foil for me." Around 1990, soon after his successful run for the Louisiana State Legislature, he resigned from leadership of the group, but he still remained active behind the scenes. Duke's campaign treasurer, Paul Allen, became the NAAWP's leader, and the office for Duke's unsuccessful 1991 gubernatorial campaign served as the group's headquarters. The NAAWP has described Duke as "former NAAWP President and still, best friend to the organization," and Duke's Web site proudly identifies him as "founder and former National President of the NAAWP."

The NAAWP portrays itself as a non-profit "white rights" organization that defends white interests and rights in the same fashion that the NAACP works for the "Advancement of Colored People." Unlike some groups that proudly embrace the label of "racist," the NAAWP is more subtle in its hate. As early as 1985, the NAAWP encouraged its followers to mute their white supremacist views and "never refer to racial superiority or inferiority, only talk about racial differences, carefully avoiding value judgements." The NAAWP North Carolina chapter Web site responds to the question "Is the NAAWP a 'hate group'?" with a firm "absolutely not." At the national NAAWP site, a group leader writes, "I don't condemn black people. I want the best for them, both from a compassionate Christian-point-of-view, and because if they escape from the cycle of poverty, drugs, and crime, then we too will be better off." According to the NAAWP Michigan chapter, "the NAAWP doesn't stand for hating anyone, and more importantly it never has. It's about building a new, better society. A homogeneous community where everyone contributes, everyone benefits, and all share a common set of values and cultural beliefs."

The NAAWP, like David Duke, has tried to hide its hate, but its racist and anti-Semitic views, like those of its founder, are evident. NAAWP News, the group's newsletter, has regularly published articles with titles like "Anti-Semitism is normal for people seeking to control their own destiny"; "Jewish control of the media is the single most dangerous threat to Christianity," and "Why most Negroes are criminals."

On its Web sites as well, the NAAWP shows its true colors. "Tired of Black History Month, Martin Luther King Day, Miss Black USA, Black Entertainment Network, The United Negro College Fund, [and] Affirmative Action?" asks the NAAWP Arkansas chapter site. The Hawaii chapter's site calls gays "the worst predators on [sic] our children" and declares, "the Jesse Jacksons of this World just want White Women around to Pimp for Money and Drugs and to make the White Man Pay."

The National NAAWP Web site offers particularly clear examples of the bigotry that underlies the NAAWP's talk about "white rights." It presents an anti-Semitic essay by National Alliance member Kevin Alfred Strom with the comment, "this essay is a real call to all arms for all the races and nations of the world to rise up against these hypocrites, deceivers and tyrants - the j*ws [sic]." The site also posts another essay by Strom, "The Beast as Saint," which purports to discredit Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a plagiarizer and a patron of prostitutes. A third document at the site, "Jews, Jews, Jews," offers

"proof that the Jew really does control the media" in the way of a list of "Jewish CEOs.

Ku Klux Klan

NAAWP members sometimes attend rallies organized by an older, better-known hate group: the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). For more than 130 years, the Klan has provided a model for extremists by actively practicing and promoting bigotry, intimidation and violence.

The strength of America's oldest hate group has fluctuated, peaking and receding at various times in American history, coinciding with the rise and decline of social and economic discontent in the nation. The economic, political and cultural changes in the South after the Civil War, the dislocations in the early 1920s and the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s all fueled Klan growth.

In recent years, as a result of the counteractions of law enforcement and civil rights groups, changing fashions in the extremist movement, and internal power struggles, the Klan has lost much of its clout. David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which fell into decline when Don Black went to jail, underwent a major split in 1994. Other large, national Klans active in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s have also disintegrated. For instance, a 1987 Southern Poverty Law Center legal victory effectively dismantled the United Klans of America after its members lynched a Black teen-ager, Michael Donald. A 1993 court order disbanded the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan after group members pelted civil rights activists with rocks and bottles during a brotherhood march in Forsyth County, Georgia.

Still, in the 1990s, Klan members remain active and violent, planning terrorist bombings and burning Black churches. In April 1997, three Klan members were arrested in a plot to blow up a natural gas refinery near Fort Worth, Texas. Three more men with links to the Klan were arrested in February 1998 for planning to poison water supplies, rob banks, plant bombs, and commit assassinations. In a July 1998 court judgment, the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, its South Carolina state leader Horace King, and several other Klansmen were held responsible for their roles in a conspiracy to burn down a Black church.

Like other white supremacist groups, the Klan has turned to the Internet as a means to revitalize their movement and attract a new cadre of supporters and activists. "Up until last month, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Realm of Florida was very small," writes Brian K. Bass of his Klan group. "But now we have a website up, and our numbers are growing dramatically. We picked up 6 new members in just the last two weeks, and have other applications under consideration. I feel that this is due to the website." On the Web, some Klan factions favor the toned-down rhetoric associated with the NAAWP and other hate groups trying to appear mainstream. The first Klan page on the Web belonged to a group that adopted this strategy: Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Robb's site presented a "kinder, gentler" Klan that teaches white racial pride but professes to be neither anti-Black nor anti-Catholic. Whites "have a right to be proud of their race" the site explains, adding that the popular image of a racist Klan is a lie deliberately spread by the liberal media.

Nonetheless, Robb's site relied on traditional Klan themes: whites are victims of intolerance who face racial extinction from a horde of Blacks and foreigners eager to intermarry and destroy American culture and religion; America should belong to Americans, not Asians, Arabs or Jews. Furthermore, early incarnations of Robb's site reprinted the "Franklin Prophecy," a vile, anti-Semitic speech falsely attributed to Benjamin Franklin.

Today, Robb's Klan site reflects even stronger efforts to appear respectable, particularly in stating, like Duke, that the Klan's goal should be "political power." This "political power" is to be used to combat "anti-white and anti-Christian propaganda" and "to promote "White Christian civilization." Robb remains dismissive of the Klan's violent image, claiming his group "is well known through out [sic] law enforcement for being non-violent."

Some Klan members are not content with this toned-down language. One unabashedly bigoted Klan with more than a few Web sites, the Knights of the White Kamellia was founded in Louisiana in 1993. This group seeks to "maintain and defend the superiority of the White race," maintain "a marked difference between the White and Negro race," prevent the government "from falling into the hands of the Negro and or the ungodly," and educate "against miscegenation of the races."

Many other Klans are also now on the Web. Web users can find a membership application for the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, perhaps today's most vocal and active Klan, at that group's Web site. A few sites use the old Klan moniker "Invisible Empire," among them America's Invisible Empire of Alabama and Pennsylvania's Invisible Empire KKK. Smaller regional groups, such as the Southern Cross Militant Knights and the Northwest Knights, are active on the Internet as well.

While the Klans on the Web represent different factions and espouse various viewpoints, their Web sites are formatted in similar ways. Most Klan sites contain a membership application, a list of upcoming rallies, a statement of principles, an explanation of customs (such as cross burning), and a spurious account of Klan history. At many sites, the three latter items are adaptations, if not direct appropriations, of the materials originally posted at Robb's Klan sites. In fact, Robb threatened another Klan group with legal action for posting a document that Robb claims belongs exclusively to his Klan.

Furthermore, some Klan sites link to other Klan sites with which they are not affiliated. For instance, the North Georgia White Knights Web site links to many chapters of the Knights of the White Kamellia, the New Order Knights, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The site for America's Invisible Empire links to the Web pages of the Northwest

White Knights and Knights of the White Kamellia, among others. Such links, as well as the similarities between KKK sites, demonstrate the bonds among the different Klan factions, despite their infighting.

Identity Church Movement

The Identity Church movement, a pseudo-theological manifestation of racism and anti-Semitism on the far right, first came to light in the U.S. during the late 1970s and early 1980s, though its roots lie in the late years of the last century, with the British movement known as Anglo-Israelism.

Anglo-Israelism held that white Anglo-Saxons are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Adherents to this doctrine believed that England and the U.S. are the true Israel in which Biblical promises to the "Chosen People" are to be fulfilled. The Identity movement takes the position that white Anglo-Saxons not Jews are the real Biblical "Chosen People;" that Jews are the descendants of a union between Eve and Satan; and that the white race is inherently superior to other races. Identity believers assert that Blacks and other nonwhites are "mud people," on the same spiritual level as animals, and therefore without souls.

A nationwide movement, Identity has filled dozens of "churches" with its hate. Additionally, Identity has become the "religion" of choice for many hate groups, including Aryan Nations and the Posse Comitatus, in addition to some factions of the Ku Klux Klan.

Numerous Identity "churches" have established a Web presence in recent years, among them America's Promise Ministries, Stone Kingdom Ministries, and Kingdom Identity Ministries. Many of these organizations have made good use of the Web to market their pamphlets, books, and videotapes to their supporters. America's Promise Ministries offers Web users a vast online catalog of books, pamphlets, audio tapes, and video tapes filled with their racist beliefs. Along with a section full of online Identity books and book reviews, the Stone Kingdom Ministries Web site lists hundreds of "Bible Studies on Audiocassettes" for sale. Among bumper stickers, decals, charts, and other merchandise, the Kingdom Identity Ministries Web site retails Identity-based books written for children. Also at the Kingdom Identity site, Web users can enroll in a correspondence course, which consists of studying almost 300 pages of Identity materials, to receive a "Certificate in Christian Education."

With links to these "churches" at its Web site, the bimonthly newspaper The Jubilee of Midpines, California, serves as a national umbrella publication for Identity believers. Like the Web sites for those groups, the Jubilee site puts the power of the Web to use to raise funds. In addition to selling books and videotapes that the Jubilee guarantees "you won't find in the B. Dalton bookstore," visitors to the Jubilee site can sign up for subscriptions to the newspaper's print edition; buy advertising in its print or online versions, and purchase inexpensive, long distance telephone service that will benefit The Jubilee.

While some Identity "churches" focus on the Web's commercial potential, paramilitary Identity groups such as the Posse Comitatus and Aryan Nations have used it to encourage action.

Posse Comitatus

William Potter Gale created an Identity group named Posse Comitatus, which means "power of the county" in Latin. Other Posse unaffiliated with Gale sprang up in its wake, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. Loosely affiliated bands of armed anti-tax and anti-Federal government vigilantes and survivalists, these Posse believed that all government power is rooted at the county, not Federal, level.

Because they are convinced that the Federal government is controlled by "enemies" (usually Jews), Posse adherents resist paying taxes as well as other duties of law-abiding citizens. Aspects of the Posse's ideology, most notably its fierce hostility to Federal authority, reverberate among today's militia and common law court activists.

In the 1970s, Posse attracted Klan members and other anti-Semites (among them David Duke), and in 1983, these groups gained nationwide attention when active Posse member Gordon Kahl murdered two Federal Marshals in North Dakota and became a fugitive. When Kahl died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officers, Posse and other Identity groups made him a martyr.

In 1991, James Wickstrom, an Identity minister and Posse leader based in Michigan, was convicted of plotting to distribute \$100,000 in counterfeit bills to white supremacists at a 1988 Aryan Nations event. He was released from prison in 1994 and today runs a Posse Web site with fellow Identity "Pastor" August Kreis of Pennsylvania.

At his Posse Web site, Kreis calls "the occupying forces" of the "zionist [sic] or jewish [sic] occupied government" the enemies of "We the People" and describes them as the reason that the government has "grossly overstepped its bounds."

Kreis and Wickstrom also use their Web site to editorialize about current events. Written by Kreis, "Villain or American Folk Hero?" voices support for alleged abortion clinic bomber Eric Robert Rudolph. Kreis claims that "those who call themselves Identity" and "a growing consensus of conservative Christians" believe Rudolph has "done the will of...God."

In justifying Rudolph's alleged actions, Kreis stresses that "it is...an inarguable matter of Scriptural mandate that those involved with [abortion] have committed capital murder a crime punishable by DEATH!" Kreis maintains that "several hundred [Jewish Occupational Government] agents" are chasing Rudolph to "execute him" on the spot, and he urges "the proud European White folk living in this country" to "rise up against this tyrannical, parasitic [Jewish] communist government." Perhaps Rudolph engenders greater sympathy among this group because he himself may be an Identity believer: in

1984, he and his family spent several months at the Schell City, Missouri, Church of Israel compound run by Identity preacher Dan Gayman.

With regard to the brutal murder on October 23, 1998, of Dr. Barnett Slepian of upstate New York, likely targeted because he performed abortions, Kreis and Wickstrom comment, "Not much needs to be said. The justice in the 'putting to DEATH' of this jewish [sic] abortionist says it all!...Pray that other True Israelite Warriors across this land continue to rid our country of these murdering bastards!"

Aryan Nations & The Order

A contemporary of Posse Comitatus co-founder William Potter Gale, Wesley Swift was a Klan organizer who served as an aide to Gerald L.K. Smith, for many years America's most notorious peddler of anti-Semitism. During the 1950s, Swift was a leader of a Los Angeles church called the "Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation." When Swift died, "Rev." Richard G. Butler proclaimed his "Church of Jesus Christ Christian" (CJCC) the direct successor to Swift's church. In the early 1970s, Butler formed a new group around his church: Aryan Nations (AN). Since then, he has held court at a 20-acre AN/CJCC compound in Northern Idaho, anticipating the creation of an exclusively white "national racist state" in the Pacific Northwest.

At its Web site, AN preaches that God's creation of Adam marked "the placing of the White Race upon this earth"; and that "the twelve tribes of Israel" are "now scattered throughout the world" and are "now known as the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Celtic peoples." As a corollary, all non-whites are seen as inferior, but it is the Jews who are singled out as the special object of AN's "theologically" based hatred.

AN vilifies Jews as "the natural enemy of our Aryan (White) Race. This is attested by scripture and all secular history. The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan culture and the purity of our Race."

Citing the Book of Revelation, AN envisions a "battle" being fought "between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light...the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible." According to AN, there will "soon" be a "day of reckoning," in which "the usurper will be thrown out by the terrible might of Yahweh's people, as they return to their roots and their special destiny."

In this struggle between the Jews and "the children of light," AN claims that the Jews have a surrogate: the United States Government, often referred to as "ZOG" (Zionist Occupied Government). In 1996, AN posted to its site an "Aryan Declaration of Independence," which declared, "the history of the present Zionist Occupied Government of the United States of America is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations... [all] having a direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." Holding "the eradication of the White race and its culture" as "one of its foremost purposes," this "ZOG" is accused of relinquishing the "powers of government to private corporations, White traitors and ruling class Jewish families."

AN perceives itself as literally surrounded by enemies: vigorously fighting back is not only a solution to its problems, but a duty. According to AN, those whites who resist "ZOG" are "chosen and faithful," and the white "Racial Nation has a right and is under obligation to preserve itself and its members."

Although primarily an Identity group, AN embraces a neo-Nazi philosophy. Richard Butler himself has praised Hitler, and at the AN Web site, which announces, "WE BELIEVE in the gam-ma'di'on...a cross formed of four capital gammas...in the figure of a swastika," he is pictured giving the raised stiff-arm Nazi salute.

One of the most ambitious Identity Web sites, the AN site contains a membership application, a substantial book catalog, an online "Literature Archives" of hateful texts, and a long list of links to other hate sites.

AN is no stranger to violence. During the early 1980s, several of Butler's followers joined members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and some Klan splinter groups to form a secret organization called The Silent Brotherhood, also known as The Order, which planned to overthrow the U.S. government.

To raise money for its planned revolution, The Order engaged in a crime spree involving murder, counterfeiting, bank robberies, and armored-car hold-ups. Ostensibly, the group's activities ended with the death of its founder and leader, Robert J. Mathews, in a shootout with Federal agents in December 1984 and the incarceration of many of its members. Yet The Order has taken on a new life on the World Wide Web, serving as inspiration for today's Identity adherents and other white supremacists.

Hosted by the same Internet Service Provider as the AN Web site, the 14 Word Press Web site is devoted to the work of David Lane, an imprisoned member of The Order. Lane's best-known legacy is the "14 words": "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children." Despite the fact that Lane is a convicted felon serving a 190-year sentence in a high-security prison, his writings, including pieces from his monthly Focus Fourteen newsletter, can reach millions through the Internet. Among his columns, many of which are offered at the 14 Word Press site, is a sympathetic letter to convicted Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh.

Neo-Nazis

The symbols associated with Hitler's Nazis are attractive to bigots on the Web because they suggest anti-Semitism in an immediate, forceful way to the general public.

Like Identity "churches," neo-Nazis use the Web to market merchandise, selling items emblazoned with the instantly recognizable symbols of Hitler's Nazi party. Naming itself for the Shutzstaffel, the elite section of the Nazi Party that ran Hitler's extermination camps, the online store SS Enterprises specializes in selling Nazi-related paraphernalia, including newly-designed T-shirts, pins, patches, hats, stickers, flags, belt buckles, arm

bands, and helmets bearing swastikas, the initials "SS," a German eagle, or an iron cross. Also available are Nazi patches, pins, rings, and hats designed during Hitler's era. Like the T-shirt a music fan might buy at a rock concert, one shirt reads "Adolf Hitler European Tour 1939-1945," listing the nations that Hitler invaded during those years. Other white supremacist T-shirts sold by SS Enterprises feature racist slogans such as "If we knew they were going to be this much trouble, we'd a picked our own damn cotton!!" or depictions of Klansmen behind phrases like "Boyz N' the Hood." Another shirt depicts a "Black Family Tree": a tree with nooses hung from it, seemingly ready for a Klan-style lynching.

At Our Hero's Library Web site, twentysomething neo-Nazi Tom Smith proudly displays a picture of his "Aryan hero," Adolf Hitler, flanked by animated, swirling swastikas. Hosted by Don Black's Stormfront, Smith's site features numerous Hitlerian essays covering topics such as eugenics and "Aryan" culture. Amidst photos of Jews with their eyes blacked out, he lists Jewish "powerlords" and posts a Jewish "surname index." "Before buying anything always check to make sure the company is not j*wish [sic]," Smith writes. Seeing Jewish conspiracies everywhere, he calls Bob Dole, Bill Clinton, Ross Perot, and Pat Buchanan Jewish "marionettes"; blames Jews for schoolyard violence in Arkansas, and declares them responsible for the conflict between Ireland and Britain. "The J*w has been and is always very aware of the conflict amongst non-j*ws, and is tireless in his pursuit of trying to profit from the internal feuds of his enemies," Smith writes. "When these feuds are not [innate] in and of themselves, the j*w creates new feuds via his presence in each of the opposing countries to create a new profit-scenario for himself." Also available at Our Hero's Library are downloadable copies of Smith's extensive messages to USENET newsgroups, the Internet's system of electronic bulletin boards.

Other neo-Nazis on the Web represent more established organizations and have been active in the white supremacist movement much longer, since the days of American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell. Following Rockwell's assassination by a disgruntled party member in 1967, Matthias (Matt) Koehl took over his American Nazi Party, renaming it the National Socialist White People's Party. In 1970, NSWPP member Frank Collin started his own group, the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), made famous by its attempts to march through the predominantly Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois in 1977. Another former NSWPP member, Harold Covington joined the NSPA in the mid-1970s. At that time, Gary "Gerhard" Lauck, who went on to found the NSDAP-AO (a German acronym meaning National Socialist German Workers Party - Overseas Organization), was also a member of Collin's group. Covington took over the NSPA in 1980, after Collin was sentenced to seven years in prison for sexually abusing children. In 1982, Koehl dropped the name NSWPP in favor of the name "The New Order," and Covington's NSPA disbanded. In 1994, Covington founded a new group using the old name once used by Koehl: NSWPP. Today, Covington and Lauck both have a presence on the World Wide Web.

Harold Covington was one of the first neo-Nazis on the Web, establishing a site as early as 1996. Covington's original site defined National Socialism as "a world view for White

People" and listed guiding principles such as "Racial Idealism" and "The Upward Development of the White Race." The site listed "Ten Basic Principles of National Socialism," which urged "Aryan" racial purity and conquest of the world. Covington lauded Rockwell at length and provided links to other white supremacist sites.

"Gerhard" Lauck has also been online for many years. In the early days of cyberspace, Lauck's materials were circulated on a closely guarded computer network named the "Thule Network," a bulletin board system similar to the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." In order to gain access to the network, prospective users had to pass a loyalty test and a background check. According to some estimates, over 1,500 neo-Nazis in Germany had access to Lauck's propaganda via the "Thule Network," which remains active today.

In 1995, Danish authorities, acting on international warrants, arrested Lauck and agreed to extradite him to Germany, where he was sentenced in 1996 to four years in prison for inciting racial hatred by disseminating anti-Semitic and racist material. Lauck was released in March 1999 and deported to the United States.

While he was in jail, Lauck's Web site featured the headline, "Free Gerhard Lauck!" The site said about Lauck's arrest and imprisonment: "these illegal and reprehensible acts by the anti-White authorities are a direct assault upon ALL pro-White organizations. YOU are under attack now! If International Jewry is allowed to kidnap Gerhard Lauck their next step will be to systematically silence all pro-White leaders, organizations, and members worldwide one by one."

Like other neo-Nazis, Lauck has expressed intense approval for Hitler and hatred for Jews. He has stated that "anything that is bad for the Jews is good for us" and told a Danish audience that "the Jews were treated too nicely in the concentration camps." Yet buried among the Nazi-themed books sold at his Web site were a group of texts that question whether the Holocaust took place, bearing titles like "Auschwitz: Truth or Lie?" and "Did Six Million Really Die?"

Holocaust Denial

Why would an anti-Semitic neo-Nazi such as Gerhard Lauck deny that the Holocaust took place? A July 1996 message from fellow neo-Nazi Harold Covington to his National Socialist White Peoples Party E-mail mailing list provides some possible reasons. Covington comments, "take away the Holocaust and both the National Socialists and the Jews become very different people, almost reversing roles."

Viewing the Holocaust as a "seemingly bottomless gold mine in the form of 'reparations' which has financed murderous Israeli aggression in the Middle East and numerous anti-White Jewish institutions," Covington wonders: "without the Holocaust, what are the Jews?" His answer: "Just a grubby little bunch of international bandits and assassins and squatters who have perpetrated the most massive, cynical fraud in human history."

Likewise, Covington thinks the general public would be "stunned with admiration for the

brilliance of Adolf Hitler"²⁹ if it believed the Holocaust did not happen. Paraphrasing prominent Holocaust historian and Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt, he declares that "the real purpose" of Holocaust denial is "to make National Socialism an acceptable political alternative again."

Since 1979, when Willis Carto founded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a sizable Holocaust denial movement has surfaced. Holocaust deniers make the mendacious claim that the account of Nazi genocide universally accepted by legitimate historians is false, either in its entirety or in most of its central facts. To support this claim, they distort and even fabricate history.

Unlike Harold Covington, most in the Holocaust denial movement try hard to mask the anti-Semitism underlying their claims. Instead, hoping to make their views seem respectable, they pretend that their sole goal is to "correct" the historical record. Posing as historians and cloaking themselves in ersatz scholarship, the deniers claim that the Holocaust is a Jewish fabrication, not the product of Nazi hatred.

Holocaust deniers' thousands of pages of propaganda on the Web, presented as academic fact or in the guise of free and open "debate," take particular advantage of many Web users' difficulty distinguishing between reputable and disreputable Web sites.

When ADL first reported on Holocaust denial Web sites in 1996, only three existed: Greg Raven's IHR site, Bradley Smith's site for the Committee for Open Discussion of the Holocaust Story (CODOH), and the Zündelsite, which promotes the work of Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel. Today, these sites are still among the most significant manifestations of Holocaust denial on the Web, but have been joined by more than a dozen others, as well as numerous sites with Holocaust-denial materials alongside other hateful propaganda.

Institute for Historical Review

The California-based IHR, which split with Willis Carto in 1993, remains the world's single most important outlet for Holocaust-denial propaganda. While the IHR seeks to gain credibility by working under the guise of scholarship and impartiality, many of its staffers and Editorial Advisory Committee members often participate in pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish activities. Current director Mark Weber was an activist in the National Alliance during the 1970s, and editorial advisor Robert Faurisson was convicted three times of violating French hate-crime laws because of his anti-Semitic activities. Other active participants in IHR include David Irving, the leading Holocaust denier in England, and Ernst Zündel, Canada's most notorious neo-Nazi.

From 1996 to 1998, IHR Associate Director Greg Raven housed extensive IHR materials at his "personal" Web site, which he claims is "not supported, sponsored, or financed by the Institute for Historical Review." Raven's "personal" site continues to exist, though he moved all of his IHR materials to a separate, "official" IHR site in March 1998.

The IHR Web site contains hundreds of online "revisionist" pamphlets, books, and articles, as well as a complete index of the JHR. Among IHR's leaflets, one finds "Auschwitz myths and facts," which claims that "Auschwitz was not an extermination center" and that "the story of mass killings in 'gas chambers' is a myth." Many JHR articles are reprinted in their entirety, including "Is The Diary of Anne Frank genuine?" Additionally, IHR publishes the full text of a few books at its site, such as *Did Six Million Really Die?* by British "revisionist" Richard Harwood.

Bradley Smith and CODOH

Formerly the "Media Project Director" for IHR, longtime Holocaust denier Bradley Smith joined current IHR leader Mark Weber in founding the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) in 1987. On his Web site, Smith presents himself as an intellectually honest gadfly with no ax to grind.

Smith works hard to create the image of a man who wants to encourage reasonable debate among reasonable people. His admission that "the Hitlerian regime was antisemitic [sic] and persecuted Jews" seems meant to show that it is intellectual honesty, not anti-Semitism, that leads him to deny that "the German state pursued a plan to kill all Jews or used homicidal 'gassing chambers' for mass murder."

For many years, Smith has been at the center of the deniers' college outreach program. He first drew public attention when about 70 college newspapers published his Holocaust denial ads, which he still regularly sends to campus editors, in the early and mid-1990s. All of these ads are reprinted at the CODOH Web site.

At first, Smith's ads featured long essays that outlined the deniers' position, such as Mark Weber's "The 'Jewish soap' myth." Smith's first widely published ad stated "the figure of 6 million Jewish deaths is an irresponsible exaggeration, and...no execution gas chambers existed in any camp in Europe which was under German control." This ad went on to note that the "purpose" of accounts of the Holocaust is "to drum up world sympathy and political and financial support for Jewish causes, especially for the formation of the State of Israel." Another early CODOH ad claimed "The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum displays no convincing proof whatsoever of homicidal gas chambers."

Upset about the high cost of these lengthy ads, Smith soon realized the power of the Internet. He began to place brief, inexpensive ads in school papers that merely listed his Web site and E-mail addresses. Not only did these ads cost less money, they also hid Smith's agenda. In addition, Smith tried to draw his readers' attention with misleading slogans such as "Ignore the Thought Police" and "Judge for yourself."

Smith's savvy marketing technique was tailor-made for students, many of whom are comfortable with the Internet, predisposed against authority, and willing to challenge received wisdom. Students responding favorably to these deceptive ads would realize

Smith's intention to deny the Holocaust only after visiting the CODOH Web site, where they would receive his message without mediation.

Once at the CODOH site, students are targeted further. They are urged to distribute CODOH leaflets on their campuses and fight what Smith calls the "Campus Thought Police" (that is, legitimate Holocaust historians). Also, students are offered a set of links and asked to "choose a major" such as "Mathematics," "Science," or "Politics." By clicking on a "major," they are linked to Holocaust denial articles specially tailored to their areas of interest. Also presented is an innocuous-sounding section titled "Hot Links to Higher Learning," which contains links to a variety of Holocaust denial sites; Smith classifies such sites as "Social, Political and Historical Activism & Commentary."

The CODOH Web site today contains a vast amount of Holocaust-denial information. Visitors to the site can look for any one of over 1,000 separate documents using one of the site's eight search tools, such as its i

ndex of articles by subject and its chronological list of additions.

Particularly troublesome are the sections titled "War Crimes Trials" and "The Tangled Web: Zionism, Stalinism, and the Holocaust Story." "War Crimes Trials" offers articles that attack the objectivity and legal validity of the post-war Nuremberg Trials, where much information about the Holocaust first became public, and where the basic history of the genocide was first established. "The Tangled Web" suggests that Jews were responsible for Bolshevism in the Soviet Union while linking Zionism to Fascism. CODOH manages to present Jews as both International Communist conspirators and ultra-nationalist bigots who willingly cooperated with violent anti-Semites.

Zündel and Rimland

Another longtime "revisionist," Ernst Zündel has been the leading Holocaust-denial propagandist in Canada for more than two decades. In the early 1970s, Zündel penned pro-Nazi materials under the name Christof Friedrich, including the book *The Hitler We Loved and Why*. In the late 1970s, ads for his Samisdat Publishers Ltd. in George Dietz's neo-Nazi *Liberty Bell* magazine (based in West Virginia) offered Holocaust-denial books for sale, and Zündel wrote articles for *Liberty Bell* and another Dietz publication, *White Power Report*. In the early 1980s, the German government named Zündel as one of the world's largest distributors of neo-Nazi material.

Mid-1995 marked the debut of the Zündelsite. Though Zündel, a German citizen, lives in Canada, the site has been hosted by an Internet Service Provider in California. Zündel has denied that he operates the Zündelsite. Rather, he claims, the site is run by his "webmaster," Dr. Ingrid Rimland of California. Currently, the site is called "Ingrid Rimland's Zündelsite" and declares, "the Zündelsite, located in the USA, is owned and operated by Dr. Ingrid A. Rimland, an American citizen." Regardless of who actually maintains the Zündelsite, its agenda is clearly that of its namesake.

From its first appearance on the Internet, the Zündelsite made its Holocaust denial agenda unambiguous, challenging assertions that there "was a Fuhrer order for the genocidal killings of Jews, Gypsies and others"; disputing the fact that gas chambers were "designed for the express purpose of targeting groups of human beings," and refusing to believe that "the numbers of victims claimed to have been killed are anywhere near the number of people who actually died in concentration camps of whatever cause." The site rejects claims that "World War II was fought by the Germans to kill off the Jews as a group," arguing that these are "deliberately planned, systematic" deceptions "amounting to financial, political, emotional and spiritual extortion."

Early editions of the Zündelsite provided readers with Zündel's writings on "revisionism," including the text of his newsletters, book reviews and editorials. The site today focuses mostly on other sources of Holocaust denial propaganda, though it continues to sell audio and video tapes featuring Zündel.

The Zündel site contains an archive of daily "ZGram" E-mail messages sent by Ingrid Rimland to the site's supporters; almost a thousand messages are archived, dating back to early 1996. A passionate admirer of Zündel, Rimland shares his views on the Holocaust, seeing it as an extortion "racket" run by Jews for the purpose of financing Israel and humiliating Germany and Germans.

Both Zündel and Rimland lived through the defeat of the Nazis, and both lament it. Rimland holds high hopes that Holocaust "revisionism" will help revive the image of Hitler as a man who made Germany "the most progressive and advanced Nation of its time." In her view, teaching the facts of the Holocaust is emblematic of a systematic assault against people of German descent. "Holocaust teaching," she writes, "is...child abuse. It is adult abuse. It is ethnic abuse. I want to go on record that it is soul-abuse." Additionally, unlike many other Holocaust deniers, who go to great lengths to deny the anti-Jewish sentiment that fuels their views, Rimland has openly voiced her approval for anti-Semitism, calling it "a responsible and, indeed, unavoidable response to relentless provocation against the gentile culture and tradition conflicting with a Jewish culture and tradition."

The Zündelsite also reprints a book originally published by Zündel's Samisdat press: the infamous "Leuchter Report." Despite the fact that he has publicly acknowledged his lack of scientific credentials, Fred Leuchter claimed to have taken scientific "samples" from death camp gas chambers that prove they could not have been used to exterminate people. Notwithstanding the discredited nature of Leuchter's work, deniers like Zündel still pass his report off as fact, and the IHR continues to market it as "essential revisionist reading." Also posted at the Zündel site is the fallacious "Rudolf Report," by German "scientist" Germar Rudolf, which defends Leuchter's work. Rudolf also claims to have taken "samples" from masonry in gas chambers and found no trace of poison gas.

Ahmed Rami

One high-profile Arab Holocaust denier is Swedish-based Moroccan exile Ahmed Rami, creator of the Radio Islam Web site. Once a lieutenant in the Moroccan military, Rami reportedly played a leading role in a failed 1972 coup d'état and fled, gaining political asylum in Sweden. In 1987, Rami began using a public access Swedish radio station to broadcast Radio Islam, ostensibly a public relations program for Sweden's Muslims but in fact a vehicle for unvarnished anti-Semitism.

Rami has rationalized his bigotry as support for Palestinian causes. While he has become a source of embarrassment for serious Palestinian activists, Holocaust deniers have unabashedly and enthusiastically associated with him. Rami spoke at the 1992 IHR conference and has often been praised by Ingrid Rimland, among others.

Off the air from 1993 to 1995, Rami's program returned in 1996, the same year that he established the Radio Islam Web site. From the start, Rami's site offered visitors anti-Semitic material in English, French, German, Swedish and Norwegian. Early versions of the site described the "so-called 'holocaust'" as a tool used by "Zionists" to win "sovereign rights to oppress and vilify other people," namely Palestinians. These "Zionists," according to Radio Islam, have a monopoly over "information services in the West" and bribe Western politicians to support them in their "Anti-Arab and anti-Moslem racism" and "hatred against everything German."

Today, visitors to the Radio Islam site are greeted with a statement that seems to deny Rami's extremism: "No hate. No violence. Races? Only one Human race." Yet his site has become even more bigoted than ever and demonstrates the implicit connection between Holocaust denial and other forms of anti-Semitism. Radio Islam promotes a myriad of anti-Semitic works in addition to those of Holocaust deniers such as Robert Faurisson, Greg Raven, John Ball, and Bradley Smith.

The Radio Islam site continues to portray the Holocaust as part of a Jewish conspiracy to draw the world's attention away from "the ongoing Zionist war waged against the peoples of Palestine and the Middle East" and "Zionism's totalitarian and racist backgrounds." To support this theory, it provides numerous anti-Semitic texts that allege Jewish conspiracies for political domination, such as The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

Expanding on the anti-Semitism expressed by its denial of the Holocaust, Radio Islam equates "Jewish Racism," envisioned as Jewish prejudice against Muslims, with "Jewish 'Religion,'" as outlined by the Talmud. Visitors to Radio Islam can read "The Truth About The Talmud" by Michael A. Hoffman II and Alan R. Critchley, which asserts that Jews are impelled, by religious law, to mistreat and attempt to dominate non-Jews. The Nature of Zionism by Vladimir Stepin, also available at the Radio Islam site, declares that Zionism rests on three basic beliefs: that Jews are "God's chosen people"; that all others are "merely two-legged animals (goyis)," and that "Jews have both the right and the obligation to rule the world."

Furthermore, according to Radio Islam, the Jews are not the "chosen people" for they

are not "descendants' of the mythic Jews of the Bible." Rather, today's Jews are "descended from Mongolians and other Asiatic peoples who had adopted 'Judaism' as their 'religion' over 1,000 years ago and had become known as 'Jews.'" Often advanced by Identity believers, this theory alleges that most, if not all, Ashkenazic Jews descended from the Khazars, an obscure Turkic people whose leaders converted to Judaism in the eighth century. While Identity adherents employ this theory in order to bolster their assertion that Anglo-Saxon whites are actually the biblical Church of Israel, Rami uses it to demonstrate that the ancestors of the Jews were not from Palestine, implying that Israel has no right to exist.

World Church of the Creator

In 1973, Ben Klassen announced the birth of the Church of the Creator, publishing a 511-page book entitled *Nature's Eternal Religion*. In it, Klassen wrote, "we completely reject the Judeo-democratic-Marxist values of today and supplant them with new and basic values, of which race is the foundation." Sharing the Identity movement's view that non-whites are subhuman "mud people," Klassen believed "that which is good for the White Race is the highest virtue" and "that which is bad for the White Race is the ultimate sin." "Rahowa," an acronym for "Racial Holy War," was Klassen's battle cry and remains a rallying point for "Creators" today. The heart of his "religious creed" was "total war" against Jews and non-whites, "politically, militantly, financially, morally and religiously."

Under Klassen's leadership, Church of the Creator grew slowly but steadily. That growth stopped abruptly two decades later, in 1992, when George Loeb, a Church Reverend, was convicted of first-degree murder for killing Harold Mansfield Jr., an African-American Persian Gulf War veteran. In 1994, Mansfield's family, represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center, won \$1 million in damages from Klassen's Church. Klassen appears to have anticipated this lawsuit, as he tried to rid the group of its assets and committed suicide in 1993.

Continuing legal problems forced Klassen's successor, Richard McCarty, to dissolve the group. In two separate incidents in California, police averted potential bombing sprees that were to be directed at Jews, Blacks, and homosexuals. In both cases, the would-be terrorists were closely affiliated with branches of Klassen's Church.

Church of the Creator was reborn in 1996 with the emergence of the young, charismatic Matt Hale as its leader. Following Hale's ascension as Pontifex Maximus (an ancient Roman title designated for the Church's supreme leader), the Church of the Creator became known as World Church of the Creator. Aggressive pamphleteering ensued; new local chapters were created, and membership has grown. Since Hale's ascension, Creators have been arrested in Florida for attacking an African-American boy and his father.

Additionally, WCOTC spawned dozens of sites on the World Wide Web, probably because most of its members are young and computer-literate. While Klassen was in

his 70s when he led the Church, Hale is in his 20s, and he has taken his Church onto the Web with a vengeance.

At the group's main site, a document entitled "Expanding Creativity on the Net" (referring to the racist, anti-Semitic "religion" practiced by WCOTC) outlines Hale's plan for an "Internet Blitzkrieg." Calling the WCOTC central site "one of the finest White Power pages out there," Hale asserts that the Internet "has the potential to reach millions of White People with our message and we need to act on that immediately."

"We call on all Creators and White Racial Comrades to go to [Internet discussion groups] and debate and recruit with NEW people," he declares, "post our URL everywhere, as soon as possible."

Updated frequently, the WCOTC Home Page features books for sale, articles about WCOTC, editorials by Hale from The Struggle newsletter, and Hale's weekly "Voice of The Struggle" audio-on-demand broadcasts. The site makes WCOTC membership easy, providing a membership form, dozens of "contact points" in the United States, and a lengthy membership manual that covers topics from a WCOTC "Wedding Ceremony" to "Dealing with Law Enforcement."

According to this manual, "the inferior mud races are our deadly enemies, and the most dangerous of all is the Jewish race." Creators are urged to "relentlessly expand the White Race, and keep shrinking our enemies." Also spreading anti-Semitism, the "Jew Watch" section of the site contains the full text of Henry Ford's hate tract The International Jew. The online version of FACTS That the Government and the Media Don't Want You to Know, a pamphlet widely distributed by WCOTC, claims that Jews control the media, promotes the myth of a "Kosher Food Tax," and reprints spurious anti-Semitic documents purportedly penned by Benjamin Franklin and George Washington.

Connected in a "Creator Webring" (which links WCOTC sites, one to the next, in a virtual circle), the World Church subsidiary sites serve a variety of purposes, though they share significant content with the group's main site. Many World Church sites have been housed at WCOTC.COM, which claims to be "dedicated to hosting all the WCOTC Web Pages all over the White World."

A formerly active World Church site highlights WCOTC's aggressive recruiting techniques: World Church of the Creator Kids! With a site like this, easily accessible to young Web surfers, the danger to impressionable youngsters posed by hate's reach on the World Wide Web becomes evident. The WCOTC Kids! site (subtitled "Creativity for Children!") utilized enticing graphics to lure young Web users. For instance, the site posted a picture of a white family next to the phrase, "The purpose of making this page is to help the younger members of the White Race understand our fight." While many of the documents at the site were copied directly from the WCOTC membership manual, one "What It Means To Be A Creator" - is an adaptation of a membership manual piece, "The Essence of a Creator." The children's version of this hateful tract simplified and

tones down its language, making its racist ideology easier for children to understand.

Also available at the Kids! site were "Coloring Pages" and "Crossword Puzzles." Children were urged to "have fun" solving these puzzles while helping "educate" themselves "in the Creed of Creativity." Kids are encouraged to E-mail the site so that Creators can "answer any questions" they might have about the crosswords. It is suggested that youngsters print out and color illustrations bearing calligraphic, medieval designs, apparently upheld by WCOTC as artistic accomplishments of the "white race."

At the White Berets Web site, a drawing of white men holding guns and a WCOTC flag is set against a green, camouflage background. It describes the Church's "security legions," composed of "White Berets" and "White Rangers," who are charged with providing "security services for members and Church property." Though these uniformed militants are urged to "abide by the law of the land," they are instructed to own a handgun, practice "martial arts," and school themselves in "police communications."

The White Berets site also links to a "Frequently Asked Questions" pamphlet about racist Skinheads (violent, shaven-headed youths). In fact, the "White Berets" pictured at the site are themselves racist skinheads: they have shaved heads, wear suspenders, and sport combat boots. WCOTC has courted racist skinheads since the 1980s, a few WCOTC sites are specifically designed to target that element of the white supremacist "movement."

Visitors must click "OK" in a window that declares "Whites Only" before entering the Skinheads of Racial Holy War site, where they are greeted by a drawing of a giant WCOTC "White Beret" crushing a tiny, Hasidic Jew in his closed fist. The Web site for the SS Bootboys, who are referred to as the WCOTC "Church Band," also reflects a skinhead theme. This group of skinhead musicians, which has been active in the San Francisco area since the mid-1990s, plays what it calls "WP metal" [white power heavy metal music]. In addition to racist and anti-Semitic articles by William Pierce and Don Black, the SS Bootboys site provides Web users with audio recordings of the group's songs to download, such as "Coon" and "White Patriot."

Along with these WCOTC skinhead sites, Resistance Records, a racist Skinhead rock-and-roll record label, has long had a site on the Web. Resistance was founded by three Church members, and its former president, George Eric Hawthorne, has been described as "a top honcho in the Church of the Creator." While the Resistance Records site was one of the first racist skinhead sites on the Web, there are now dozens of sites that promote skinheads and their hate-filled brand of rock music.

Racist Rock

The skinhead phenomenon originated in the early 1970s, when groups of menacing-looking, shaved-head, tattooed youths in combat boots appeared on the streets of England. For some, the racist and chauvinistic attitudes held by these gangs developed

into a crude form of Nazism with a penchant for violence, exemplified by frequent, racially motivated attacks on Asian immigrants ("Paki-bashing") and homosexuals ("fag-bashing").

In the years that followed, the Skinhead movement spread from England to the Continent and beyond. Racist Skinheads are found today in almost every industrialized country whose majority population is of European stock, though not all Skinheads are racists. Skinheads are almost uniformly white youths in their teens and twenties, who respond to the movement's seductive sense of strength, group belonging and superiority over others.

Generally, neo-Nazi Skinheads' views have varied. Some believe in orthodox Nazi ideology, while others adhere to a mixture of racism, populism, ethnocentrism and ultranationalist chauvinism, along with a hodgepodge of Nazi-like attitudes.

Their numbers have grown substantially since Neo-Nazi Skinheads first appeared in the United States during the mid-1980s. Predictably, this growth has been matched by violence: since 1987, racist Skinheads have committed at least 43 murders in the United States as well as thousands of lesser crimes such as beatings, stabbings, shootings, thefts, and synagogue desecrations.

In addition to World Church of the Creator, Skinheads in the U.S. have also linked up with other established hate groups, such as Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR). On November 12, 1988, three members of a skinhead gang in Portland, Oregon, killed an Ethiopian immigrant, Mulugeta Seraw. In a suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center and ADL, it was later shown that Metzger and his son John had incited these Skinheads to murder Seraw. A jury awarded Seraw's family \$12.5 million in damages, one of the largest civil verdicts of its kind in U.S. history.

A major aspect of Skinhead life is devotion to bands that play "oi" white power music, a hard-driving brand of rock and roll whose lyrics pound home a message of bigotry and violence. Music is the Skinhead movement's main propaganda weapon and its chief means of attracting young recruits. Skinhead use of the Internet has almost exclusively focused on racist music. Bigotry-laced hard rock and the Internet have proved a natural match in being used by white supremacists trying to capture the minds of youngsters.

Bigoted music companies sell their hateful music on the Web. The Tri-State Terror Web site peddles Aryan vs. Alien by the group Mudoven, which features a cover photo depicting corpses from Nazi concentration camps. According to that site, over 900 copies of this release have already been sold. Also available there are Racially Motivated Violence by Angry Aryans and Murder Squad by Blue-Eyed Devils, which displays a photo portraying three lynched Jews on its cover.

The huge Plunder and Pillage Web site serves as two fans' tribute to white power music. These lovers of racist rock, who go by the names "Plunder" and "Pillage," give

their fellow fans the latest news on new releases and concert appearances of Skinhead bands; reviews of the latest white power records; reports on recent concerts; lyrics from various albums and transcripts of their interviews with over a dozen music groups. The Plunder and Pillage site also provides racist rockers a historical perspective in "Oi! The Classics," which features reviews of and sound clips from early "oi" albums that have "earned a spot in every skinhead's record collection."

The Skinhead who maintains The White Pride Network registered his site under Ian Stuart's name in order to hide his identity. At his site, he goes by the name "Micetrap." Though he cloaks himself with a pseudonym, Micetrap doesn't hide his hateful views. Claiming to "have been involved in the skinhead movement for many years," Micetrap declares the Holocaust "the biggest financial scam in history" and glorifies the Skinhead movement as "a sub-culture built for pissed off Pro-White youth to rebel against the ZOG system."

Formerly known as Whitepower, The White Pride Network features Micetrap's reviews of the latest racist rock records and houses the page for "Patriot Video Services," which stocks video tapes of white power bands performing. In addition to music-oriented pages, The White Pride Network pays tribute to Hitler; posts some of William Pierce's allegations of Jewish media control, and contains a "Skinhead Cyber Tattoo Parlor," which pictures racist designs etched in ink on Skinheads' arms, backs, and skulls. Micetrap also encourages his supporters to become active, offering to sell them E-mail addresses and space for Web sites, connecting them with each other in his "Personal Ads & Pen Pals" section, and giving them advice on how to use Internet Relay Chat (IRC).

Though not a Skinhead, Alex Curtis also uses the Internet as a tool to bring together and motivate the "youth of the Aryan Struggle." Along with racist Skinheads and WCOTC devotees, Curtis, who is still in his mid 20s, represents the new, young face of white supremacy on the Web.

Alex Curtis

Alex James Curtis, an anti-Semitic and racist activist based in San Diego, is a rising star among bigots on the Web. Originator of the Lemon Grove (San Diego) Ku Klux Klan, Curtis has described himself as a history student at San Diego State University.

The Nationalist Observer Web site is the online version of the print publication of the same name, which was founded by Curtis in 1996. Curtis is the editor of this online edition, posting his "Lead Editorials" from the print edition as well as content available exclusively online. Curtis also includes transcripts of his telephone hotline message; an archive of hateful articles by propagandists such as David Lane of The Order and neo-Nazi Matt Koehl, and a catalog of racist audio and video tapes. Additionally, readers can find Curtis' "White Power Manual," which suggests white supremacist propagandizing strategies and offers assistance to aspiring hatemongers.

Curtis believes Jews have corrupted the white race, using the media to convert whites into "comfort-loving cowards" who "sit passively" as Jews and minorities seize power. His Nationalist Observer "Tribute to Jewry" consists of a picture of "Jew York City" being destroyed by an atomic bomb under the caption "The quickest way to exterminate 6 million vermin!"

Curtis thinks the answer to whites' problems is separationism. "Racial separation seeks the preservation of life, whereas racial integration is the realization of the death of peoples," he writes. According to Curtis, white supremacists should not regard themselves as U.S. citizens, but as members of the white race who should concentrate on "moving into separatist areas or assisting in dismantling the system." He envisions a "race-centered" state in which "citizenship and residency will be explicitly stated as restricted to those of pure White ancestry."

He feels that only the elite of the white supremacist movement should participate in creating this state. "We believe the Aryan struggle to be an elite one," Curtis writes on the Nationalist Observer Home Page. "We don't promote democratic or mass appeals. We support the unity of our movement and the revolutionizing of our spirit into a combined force to take back control of our Race's destiny, by any means necessary."

Unity among white supremacists is central to Curtis' vision. He sees many different white supremacist movements as part of a single "White Nation." "We go by names such as White nationalists, White separatists, Skinheads, National Socialists, Ku Klux Klansmen, and Identity Christians, or others," Curtis writes, "but these people who put White Racial survival as their highest priority are members of the White Nation."

Homophobia Online

Many racist and anti-Semitic Web sites also contain anti-gay propaganda, but some Web pages, in particular C.N.G. (Cyber Nationalists Group) and S.T.R.A.I.G.H.T (Society To Remove All Immoral Godless Homosexual Trash), focus their hatred primarily on gays and lesbians. Perhaps the most vile and best-known anti-gay Web site is God Hates Fags, which is maintained by Benjamin Phelps, grandson and compatriot of Westboro Baptist Church (WBC) leader Fred Phelps.

Incorporated May 15, 1967 as a not-for-profit organization adhering to Calvinistic Baptist beliefs, WBC (which is located in Topeka, Kansas) is well-known for picketing the funerals of AIDS victims and others it perceives as homosexual or connected to homosexuality. God Hates Fags contains an archive of photos depicting Fred Phelps and his supporters picketing, carrying signs bearing slogans such as "No Fags in Heaven"; "Thank God for AIDS," and "2 Gay Rights: AIDS and Hell." According to God Hates Fags, WBC has "conducted some 10,000 such demonstrations during the last five years at homosexual parades and other events," including the funeral of slain University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard.

The site reprints dozens of flyers promoting its activities, including a few regarding

Shepard. One states: Matt Shepard now believes the Bible. He checked into Hell Oct. 12 [1998] where the worm that eats on him never dies and the fire is never quenched...Not the wealth of the world, nor an act of Congress, nor a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, nor all the prayers of mankind, nor any power on earth can buy Matt Shepard a drop of water to cool his tongue or ease his pain or ease his sentence a day short of eternity.

Citing the Book of Romans, WBC asserts that the Bible deems gays and anyone who supports them "worthy of death." The group believes the activities of gays and their supporters encourage God's anger against humankind. Addressing homosexuals, WBC states, "it was your ilk who brought destruction on Sodom, and it will be your ilk who fuels God's wrath to the point that there will be no remedy."

Reflecting a conspiracy-oriented outlook, WBC declares that gays have an "agenda" they are trying to impose on an unsuspecting public. This agenda involves "desensitizing the public," convincing people "to affirm their filthy lifestyle," and turning them away from Christianity. WBC believes, homosexuality is no longer classified as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association only because gays used "guerrilla theater tactics" at that group's convention for two successive years. WBC also believes that gays "infiltrate the house of God to try to make themselves look holy," and calls religious congregations that welcome gay members, ordain gay ministers, or perform gay marriages, "fag churches."

While WBC's anti-gay activities have received much press coverage, its anti-Semitism has gone largely unnoticed. According to God Hates Fags, The only true Jews are Christians. The rest of the people who claim to be Jews aren't, and they are nothing more than typical, impenitent sinners, who have no Lamb. As evidence of their apostacy [sic], the vast majority of Jews support fags.

In 1995, WBC picketed a synagogue in Kansas because it was holding a commemoration for victims of the Holocaust, including homosexuals.

"Militias" and "Common Law" Courts: "Patriots" Online

In mid-1994, bands of armed right-wing militants calling themselves "militias" began to appear in several states. Often spouting mistaken interpretations of early American history to justify their actions, militia members are united in their obsession with "protecting" Americans' Constitutional rights, which they claim the Federal government has trampled. A variety of activists make up the militia movement. There are those militia adherents who merely discuss the Constitution and perceived Federal intrusions. Others trade conspiracy theories at gun shows. At the extreme are members of heavily armed paramilitary units.

"Common law court" adherents declare themselves exempt from the laws of the United States. Using pseudo-legal theories based on selective and often bizarre interpretations of the Bible, the Magna Carta, state and Federal court decisions, and the

U.S. and state constitutions, these activists present a serious threat to the rule of law by using phony liens, money orders, and documents in an attempt to defy the authority of legitimate courts.

Militia activists and common law court adherents refer to themselves as "patriots." Like anti-Semites and racists, these "patriots" have a fondness for historical distortions and conspiracy theories (such as the contention that the Federal Reserve runs the United States). Elements of overt anti-Semitism and racism have frequently surfaced in the "patriot" movement, which has been inspired by the activities of the Identity group Posse Comitatus.

Though many "patriots" deny the movement's racial and religious bigotry, its intolerance is apparent on the Web. For instance, though the Patriot Knowledge Base Web site states that "the enemy" is "not the Jewish masses," it posts the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, one of the world's most widely circulated anti-Semitic works. Similarly, the U.S.A. The Republic page links to the vicious Identity site God's Order Affirmed in Love while claiming "We Are Not Anti-Semitic."

Even though militia membership dwindled following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, militia members continue to plan bombings and robberies. Meanwhile, new militia-oriented Web sites continue to appear. Likewise, despite the fact that legitimate authorities have cracked down on unlawful common law court activities, common law court advocates persist in threatening violence and common law Web sites are still active. Currently, there are more than a hundred "patriot" sites on the Web.

Common law Web sites often post legal jargon out of context and link to reputable law sources, leading readers to misinterpret actual law. For instance, Dr. Tavel's Self-Help Legal Clinic, called "The Disneyland of the web for patriots and freedom fighters!" by the extremist publication Spotlight, links to online records of state and Federal rules, procedures, and laws. Visitors are encouraged to interpret this information based on fallacious common law principles and then use it in a court of law, even when under oath as part of a jury. The Legal Clinic posts a document entitled "The Citizens Rule Book - Jury Handbook," which encourages jurors to judge cases based on their own understanding of "natural, God-given, Common or Constitutional Law": You as a juror armed merely with the knowledge of what a COMMON LAW JURY really is and what your common law rights, powers and duties really are, can do more to re-establish "liberty and justice for all" in this State and ultimately throughout all of the United States than all our Senators and Representatives put together. WHY? Because even without the concurrence of all of your fellow jurors, in a criminal trial, you, with your single vote of "NOT GUILTY" can nullify every rule of "law" that is not in accordance with the principles of natural, God-given, Common or Constitutional Law.

Numerous common law sites also promote anti-government activists as "sovereign citizens" answerable only to God and thus immune from state or Federal jurisdiction. Some offer a racist twist to this formulation, arguing that there are two classes of citizens: "Sovereign" white citizens, whose rights are God-given, and "Fourteenth

Amendment" citizens, non-whites whose citizenship is granted only by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Militia Web sites express paranoid fantasies about a power-hungry government trying to impose tyranny on its citizens, a government often portrayed as a pawn of the United Nations or the vaguely defined "New World Order." False depictions of militia members as the true defenders of liberty and democracy abound.

For instance, one Militia of Montana Web site declares that group "an educational organization dedicated to the preservation of the freedoms of ALL Citizens of the State of Montana and of the United States of America." Yet the militia held "the tyranny of a run-away, out of control government" responsible for usurping those freedoms.

The "Articles of the Alliance Of the Southeastern States Militia" claim that group's members "stand against all enemies of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, both foreign and domestic." The group appears to consider the government one of these "enemies": it pledges to actively resist whatever it feels constitutes "unconstitutional use of our armed forces...against the America people" and promises to "fight the New World Order, and any of its proponents, to the bitter end."

Many militia Web sites provide resources to help their readers become more active. For example, the Citizen Soldier Web site contains a "Militia/Survivalist" post exchange page, which links to the Web sites of weapons suppliers, as well as military manuals that cover topics including "combat training." The Minnesota Minutemen Militia site allows supporters to "enlist" online by filling out a simple form. The American Patriot Network and California Militia Web sites, among others, feature real-time chat rooms in which "patriots" can communicate with each other, and the United States Theatre Command Web site maintains the "Eagleflight" electronic mailing list, which often contains messages urging violent action from various militia members across the nation.

Militia and common law court propagandists on the Internet have openly expressed sympathy for "patriot" activists on trial for committing, or planning to commit, acts of violence. These sites lend credence to the anti-government movement by focusing on those who have actually come face to face with the government. Militia and common law Web sites have provided biased accounts of trial proceedings involving North American Militia of Southwest Michigan member Bradford Metcalf and the Montana Freemen, among others.

On November 18, 1998, members of the Montana Freemen, a group of common law court adherents notorious for their 81-day standoff with the FBI in 1996, were convicted on criminal charges including bank and mail fraud and armed robbery. During the trials that led to these convictions, the Fully Informed Grand Jurors Alliance (FIGJA) Web site, maintained by Georgia common law guru Elder Burk Hale and former Militia of Montana member Kamala Susan, kept Web users abreast of the latest happenings "at the request of family and friends of the 'Freemen' prisoners." Erroneously citing laws in support of the Freemen's cause, Hale posted photos of Freeman Ralph Clark, who he

alleges was "tortured" by his jailers, as well as "Common Law Affidavits" written by other incarcerated Freemen.

On the same day as the Freemen decision, Bradford Metcalf was convicted of conspiring to possess machine guns; threatening to assault and murder Federal employees, and plotting to damage and destroy Federal buildings using explosives. As with the Freemen case, anti-government Web sites, such as Patriots Under Siege and Caged Patriots: An American Disgrace, kept militia sympathizers updated on the trial's progress and voiced support for its defendant.

In April 1996, Oklahoma Constitutional Militia leader Ray Lampley, his wife, Cecilia, and their friend John Baird were convicted of plotting to bomb ADL's Houston office, the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama, welfare offices, abortion clinics, and gay bars. Also the leader of the Universal Church of God in Hanna, Oklahoma, Ray Lampley has expressed intensely anti-Semitic and anti-government views and visited Elohim City, an encampment on the Oklahoma-Arkansas border associated with the Identity movement.

Writing on the Web about the Lampley trial, Indiana-based militia figure Linda Thompson declared that the trials of Lampley and other militia figures were fixed by what she sees as a corrupt Federal government that pays informants to help convict anti-government activists:

At the defense table, the jury will see the "nut" or target and his "co-conspirators" and the jury will hear the babbling and crazy "confidential" tapes played, as they look at the "nut" and his "friends" while the "good-guy informant" tells them how all these folks were planning to do nasty terrible things. The "good-guy informant" of course will be backed up by "good-guy law enforcement" who will parade a lot of evidence, whether it is relevant or not, to support this public bastion of integrity, their informant, emphasizing how good his work was. The Ray Lampley case is a good example of this that most are familiar with. Two weeks prior to his arrest, Ray Lampley told a group in Tulsa, "If you want to have freedom in this country, you are going to have to shed somebody's blood for it." He also suggested that he had been attempting to acquire bomb-making materials. "I only wanted one bag [of ammonium nitrate fertilizer]," he said, "because I realized that one bag is enough to blow up several Federal buildings if you know the right thing."

Where did Lampley learn the "right thing" that told him "one bag is enough" to blow up several buildings? According to law enforcement authorities, he likely retrieved this information from bomb-making manuals. Several of these are available on the Internet.

Bomb-making formulas

In November 1995, Ray Lampley, Cecilia Lampley, and John Baird began construction of a bomb with the help of the bomb-making manual entitled "Homemade C-4." When the FBI arrested the conspirators, law enforcement agents recovered the bomb-making manuals Anarchist's Cookbook and Homemade Weapons, in addition to the

"Homemade C-4" text, from the Lampley residence.

Many of these bomb-making instructions are available online. Numerous pages devoted to terror manuals are currently present on the Web, and explosives enthusiasts regularly post information at USENET newsgroups.

Additionally, some white supremacist sites, such as Death 2 ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government), have posted bomb-making instructions. Covered with Nazi and World Church of the Creator symbols, this site urged its readers to "Kill the jew [sic] pig before it's too late" and proclaimed its support for "black on black violence." Death 2 ZOG contains downloadable copies of bomb-making manuals such as "Jolly Roger Cookbook," "The Big Book of Mischief," and "Anarchy Cookbook."

William Powell's legendary Anarchist's Cookbook, first published in 1971, has inspired many Web pages. Though Powell's book has not been available on the Web in its entirety, a number of Web pages contain works named after it, such as "The Anarchist Cookbook IV," otherwise known as the BHU Pyrotechnics Cookbook. Explosive-related sections of this document, which is widely available on the Web, include "Making Plastic Explosives," "Napalm," and "Revised Pipe Bombs 4.14." "The Anarchy Cookbook IV" also contains instructive information about lock picking, computer "hacking," and robbing Automated Teller Machines.

Many versions of another popular online manual, the Terrorist's Handbook, include a disclaimer that warns, "don't try anything you find in this document!!! Many of the instructions doesn't [sic] even work." Yet these directions are posted nonetheless, instructing readers how to construct "High Order Explosives" such as "Ammonium Nitrate," "Dynamite," and "TNT" as well as "Molotov Cocktails," "Phone Bombs," and other destructive devices. Significantly, this Handbook also includes a "Checklist for Raids on Labs," concluding that "in the end, the serious terrorist would probably realize that if he/she wishes to make a truly useful explosive, he or she will have to steal the chemicals to make the explosive from a lab."

According to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Federal agents investigating at least 30 bombings and four attempted bombings between 1985 and June 1996 recovered bomb-making literature that the suspects had obtained from the Internet. In these investigations, the possession of bomb-making literature has been taken by law enforcement authorities as strong circumstantial evidence that this literature has been used to plan crimes.

Like other extremist material on the Internet, bomb-making manuals are readily accessible to children. In fact, these tracts have already been accessed by eager, impressionable youngsters. The Washington Post has described discussions among 14-year-olds about "which propellants are best to use, which Web sites have the best recipes and whether tin or aluminum soda cans make better bomb casings." Furthermore, children have used recipes found on the Web to create and detonate bombs. For example, two 15-year-old boys from Orem, Utah, landed in a juvenile-

detention center after they constructed a pipe bomb using online instructions. Similarly, three high school students in Ogden, Utah, who ignited a bomb at a Jehovah's Witnesses church later told police they learned how to make the device from a Web page devoted to the Anarchists Cookbook.

Responding to Hate on the Internet

As an organization dedicated to the eradication of bigotry in all its forms, the Anti-Defamation League has long been concerned about the propagation of racism, anti-Semitism, and prejudice on the Internet. After all, this medium allows extremists easy access to a potential audience of millions. In numerous reports, the League has detailed the ways bigots are using the Internet to promote and recruit for their cause, communicate more easily and cheaply and reach new audiences - particularly the young.

Practically and legally, combating online extremism is enormously difficult. The First Amendment's protection of free speech shields most extremist propaganda, and Internet Service Providers, the private companies that host most extremist sites, may freely choose whether to house these sites or not. When providers choose not to host hateful sites, these sites migrate easily to the computers of services without such restrictions. Furthermore, the size of the Web, which contains hundreds of millions of distinct pages, complicates efforts to identify extremist material. Hundreds if not thousands of Web pages, some of which are not listed by search engines, contain bomb-making formulas.

What follows are answers to 10 frequently asked questions regarding regulation of hate on the Internet.

Why can't the government ban use of the Internet to spread hateful and racist ideology in the United States?

The Internet is probably the greatest forum for the exchange of ideas that the world has ever seen. It operates across national borders, and efforts by the international community or any one government to regulate speech on the Internet would be virtually impossible, both technologically and legally.

In the United States, the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the right of freedom of speech to all Americans, even those whose opinions are reprehensible. In a number of recent decisions, the Supreme Court has reaffirmed that our government may not regulate the content of Internet speech to an extent greater than it may regulate speech in more traditional areas of expression such as the print media, the broadcast media, or the public square. While courts may take into account the Internet's vast reach and accessibility, they must still approach attempts to censor or regulate speech online from a traditional constitutional framework.

What kind of hate speech on the Internet is not protected by the First Amendment?

Internet speech that is merely critical, annoying, offensive, or demeaning enjoys constitutional protection. However, the First Amendment does not provide a shield for libelous speech or copyright infringement, nor does it protect certain speech that threatens or harasses other people. For example, an E-mail or a posting on a Web site that expresses a clear intention or threat by its writer to commit an unlawful act against another specific person is likely to be actionable under criminal law. Persistent or pernicious harassment aimed at a specific individual is not protected if it inflicts or intends to inflict emotional or physical harm. To rise to this level, harassment on the Internet would have to consist of a "course of conduct" rather than a single isolated instance. A difficulty in enforcing laws against harassment is the ease of anonymous communication on the Internet. Using a service that provides almost-complete anonymity, a bigot may repeatedly E-mail his victim without being readily identified.

Blanket statements expressing hatred of an ethnic, racial, or religious nature are protected by the First Amendment, even if those statements mention individual people and even if they cause distress in those individuals. Similarly, denial of the Holocaust - though abhorrent - is almost never actionable under American law. The Constitution protects the vast majority of extremist Web sites that disseminate racist or anti-Semitic propaganda.

Has anyone ever been successfully prosecuted in the United States for sending racist threats via E-mail?

There is legal precedent for such a prosecution. In 1998, a former student was sentenced to one year in prison for sending E-mail death threats to 60 Asian-American students at the University of California, Irvine. His E-mail was signed "Asian hater" and threatened that he would "make it my life career [sic] to find and kill everyone one [sic] of you personally." That same year, another California man pled guilty to Federal civil rights charges after he sent racist E-mail threats to dozens of Latinos throughout the country.

Has anyone ever been held liable in the United States for encouraging acts of violence on the World Wide Web?

Yes. In 1999, a coalition of groups opposed to abortion was ordered to pay over \$100 million in damages for providing information for a Web site called "Nuremberg Files" which posed a threat to the safety of a number of doctors and clinic workers who perform abortions. The site posted photos of abortion providers, their home addresses, license plate numbers, and the names of their spouses and children. In three instances, after a doctor listed on the site was murdered, a line was drawn through his name. Although the site fell short of explicitly calling for assault on doctors, the jury found that the information it contained amounted to a real threat of bodily harm.

Can hate crimes laws be used against hate on the Internet?

If a bigot's use of the Internet rises to the level of criminal conduct, it may subject the perpetrator to an enhanced sentence under a state's hate crimes law. Currently, 40 states and the District of Columbia have such laws in place. The criminal's sentence may be more severe if the prosecution can prove that he or she intentionally selected the victim based on the victim's race, nationality, religion, gender, or sexual orientation. However, these laws do not apply to conduct or speech protected by the First Amendment.

May commercial Internet Service Providers (ISPs) prevent the use of their services by extremists?

Yes. Commercial ISPs, such as America Online (AOL), may voluntarily agree to prohibit users from sending racist or bigoted messages over their services. Such prohibitions do not implicate First Amendment rights because they are entered into through private contracts and do not involve government action in any way.

Once an ISP promulgates such regulations, it must monitor the use of its service to ensure that the regulations are followed. If a violation does occur, the ISP should, as a contractual matter, take action to prevent it from happening again. For example, if a participant in a chat room engages in racist speech in violation of the "terms of service" of the ISP, his account could be cancelled, or he could be forbidden from using the chat room in the future. ISPs should encourage users to report suspected violations to company representatives.

The effectiveness of this remedy is limited, however. Any subscriber to an ISP who loses his or her account for violating that ISP's regulations may resume propagating hate by subsequently signing up with any of the dozens of more permissive ISPs in the marketplace.

May universities prevent the use of their computer services for the promotion of extremist views?

Because private universities are not agents of the government, they may forbid users from engaging in offensive speech using university equipment or university services. Public universities, as agents of the government, must follow the First Amendment's prohibition against speech restrictions based on content or viewpoint.

Nonetheless, public universities may promulgate content-neutral regulations that effectively prevent the use of school facilities or services by extremists. For example, a university may limit use of its computers and server to academic activities only. This would likely prevent a student from creating a racist Web site for propaganda purposes or from sending racist E-mail from his student E-mail account. One such policy - at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana -stipulates that its computer services are "provided in support of the educational, research and public service missions of the University and its use must be limited to those purposes."

Universities depend on an atmosphere of academic freedom and uninhibited expression. Any decision to limit speech on a university campus - even speech in cyberspace - will inevitably affect this ideal. College administrators should confer with representatives from both the faculty and student body when implementing such policies.

How does the law in foreign countries differ from American law regarding hate on the Internet? Can an American citizen be subject to criminal charges abroad for sending or posting material that is illegal in other countries?

In most countries, hate speech does not receive the same constitutional protection as it does in the United States. In Germany, for example, it is illegal to promote Nazi ideology. In many European countries, it is illegal to deny the reality of the Holocaust. Authorities in Denmark, France, Britain, Germany, and Canada have brought charges for crimes involving hate speech on the Internet.

While national borders have little meaning in cyberspace, Internet users who export material that is illegal in some foreign countries may be subject to prosecution under certain circumstances. An American citizen who posts material on the Internet that is illegal in a foreign country could be prosecuted if he subjected himself to the jurisdiction of that country or of another country whose extradition laws would allow for his arrest and deportation. However, under American law, the United States will not extradite a person for engaging in a constitutionally protected activity even if that activity violates a criminal law elsewhere.

What are Internet "filters" and when is their use appropriate?

Filters are software that can be installed along with a Web browser to block access to certain Web sites that contain inappropriate or offensive material. Parents may choose to install filters on their children's computers in order to prevent them from viewing sites that contain pornography or other problematic material. ADL has developed a filter (ADL HateFilter?) that blocks access to Web sites that advocate hatred, bigotry, or violence towards Jews or other groups on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or other immutable characteristics. HateFilter?, which can be downloaded from ADL's Web site, contains a "redirect" feature which offers users who try to access a blocked site the chance to link directly to related ADL educational material. The voluntary use of filtering software in private institutions or by parents in the home does not violate the First Amendment because such use involves no government action. There are also some commercially marketed filters that focus on offensive words and phrases. Such filters, which are not site-based, are designed primarily to screen out obscene and pornographic material.

May public schools and public libraries install filters on computer equipment available for public use?

The use of filters by public institutions, such as schools and libraries, has become a

hotly contested issue that remains unresolved. At least one Federal court has ruled that a local library board may not require the use of filtering software on all library Internet computer terminals. A possible compromise for public libraries with multiple computers would be to allow unrestricted Internet use for adults, but to provide only supervised access for children.

Courts have not ruled on the constitutionality of hate speech filters on public school library computers. However, given the broad free speech rights afforded to students by the First Amendment, it is unlikely that courts would allow school libraries to require filters on all computers available for student use.

ADL will continue to fight \$9.7 million jury award

by ANDREA JACOBS, Intermountain Jewish News

DENVER — With a \$10 million guillotine threatening to fall, the Anti-Defamation League will continue fighting a legal battle that began at a press conference here nine years ago.

A federal appeals court in Denver ruled April 22 to uphold a \$9.75 million jury award against the ADL and Saul Rosenthal, then Mountain States regional director, for publicly calling an Evergreen, Colo., couple dangerous anti-Semites in 1994.

William and Dee Quigley, who filed a federal lawsuit against the ADL and Rosenthal in 1995, received a \$10.5 million jury award in April, 2000.

The ADL, whose annual national budget is \$45 million, appealed the verdict the following month. In April, 2001, U.S. District Court Judge Edward Nottingham reduced the award to \$9.75 million. The relatively small reduction appeared to support the jury's conclusion that the ADL had "acted recklessly in its efforts to publicize what it perceived to be anti-Semitic conduct."

The most recent decision on April 22 was handed down by a three judge panel from U.S. 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, with one judge dissenting.

Judge Harris Hartz of New Mexico wrote in his dissenting opinion that he would have dismissed the defamation complaint and remanded the case for a new trial.

The ADL is now filing a petition for a rehearing en banc, meaning it will be reviewed by all active judges on the U.S. 10th Circuit Court. Only if one of the judges calls for a vote on the petition will the judges decide whether the full court will hear the case.

The first hurdle faced by the ADL is getting a majority of active judges to agree to hear the case. "We have a lot of confidence in the appellate judges and the court," ADL corporate counsel Jill Kahn Meltzer told the Intermountain Jewish News. "We will try to convince them that the dissenting opinion was correct."

In 1994, the regional ADL office held a press conference in support of Mitchell and Candace Aronson, a Jewish couple who alleged the Quigleys were conducting a vicious anti-Semitic campaign to force them from their Evergreen neighborhood.

The Arons had secretly taped cordless phone conversations made by the Quigleys, who talked about putting fake oven doors on the Aronson home, a reference to the Holocaust; dousing their children in gasoline; and burning crosses on the Arons' lawn.

At the press conference, Rosenthal denounced the Quigleys' conversations "as the worst case of anti-Semitism in Denver" since the murder of talk-show host Alan Berg in 1984.

The Quigleys, who maintained they made those and similar remarks in jest and never intended them to be taken seriously, sued the ADL and Rosenthal in 1995 for defamation, violations of federal wire tap law and invasion of privacy.

The federal panel threw out the invasion of privacy claims on April 22 but let the defamation and federal wire tap claims — and the monetary award — stand.

Rosenthal, who left the ADL to pursue other career opportunities in October, 2001, after 18 years at the helm of the local office, told the IJN he was unable to comment because the attorneys were handling all media responses.

Mountain States area director Bruce DeBoskey, who inherited the situation when he became regional head in February, 2002, spoke to the IJN from the ADL's national leadership conference in Washington, D.C.

"We're obviously disappointed but we are heartened by the dissenting judge and his arguments," DeBoskey said.

A Mockery of Justice—The Great Sedition Trial of 1944

By Michael Collins Piper & Ken Hoop

According to historian Harry Elmer Barnes—this magazine’s namesake—who was one of FDR’s leading critics from the academic arena, the purpose of the Great Sedition Trial was to make the Roosevelt administration “seem opposed to fascism” when, in fact, the administration was pursuing totalitarian policies. Too few Americans today know of this travesty, a shameful blot on U.S. history. Judges and lawyers alike will tell you the mass sedition trial of World War II will go down in legal history as one of the blackest marks on the record of American jurisprudence. In the legal world, none can recall a case where so many Americans were brought to trial for political persecution and were so arrogantly denied the rights granted [guaranteed—Ed.] an American citizen under the Constitution.”

This is how the Chicago Tribune, then a voice for America First in a media world already brimming with internationalism, described the infamous war time “show trial” and its aftermath.

“The Great Sedition Trial” formally came to an unexpected halt on November 30, 1944, having been declared a mistrial upon the death of the presiding judge. Yet, the case continued to hang in limbo with Justice Department prosecutors angling for a retrial.

However, on November 22, 1946, Judge Bolitha Laws of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, dismissed the charges against the defendants, saying that to allow the case to continue would be “a travesty on justice.”

Although the Justice Department prosecutors appealed the dismissal, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld Judge Laws’ ruling and, as a consequence, the saga of the Great Sedition Trial at long last came to a close. This brought to an end five years of harassment that the defendants had suffered, including—for some—periods of imprisonment.

Judge Laws had thus called a halt to this Soviet-style attack on American liberty. Sanity had prevailed and the case was shelved forever. The war was over and the one individual who was the prime mover behind the trial—Franklin D. Roosevelt—was dead.

According to historian Ronald Ra do sh, a self-styled “progressive” who has written somewhat sympathetically of the pre-World War II critics of the Roosevelt administration, “FDR had prodded Attorney General Francis Biddle for months, asking him when he would indict the seditionists.”³ Biddle himself later pointed out that FDR “was not much interested . . . in the constitutional right to criticize the government in wartime.”

However, as we shall see, there were powerful forces at work behind the scenes prodding FDR. And they, more than FDR, played a major role in pushing the actual investigation Biddle was not enthusiastic to undertake.

Although there was a grand total of 42 people (and one newspaper) indicted—over the course of three separate indictments, beginning with the first indictment, which was handed down on July 21, 1942, the number of those who actually went on trial was 30, and several of them were severed from the trial as it proceeded.

Roosevelt's biographer, James McGregor Burns, waggishly called the trial "a grand rally of all the fanatic Roosevelt haters."⁵ But there's much more to the story than that.

In fact, there were a handful of influential figures among the indictees. Among them included:

- Noted German-American poet, essayist and social critic, George Sylvester Viereck (a well-known foreign publicist for the German government as far back as World War I);
- Former American diplomat and economist Lawrence Dennis, an informal behind-the-scenes advisor to some of the more prominent congressional critics of the Roosevelt administration;
- Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago, an outspoken and highly articulate author and lecturer who was well regarded and widely known nationally as a leader of the anti-communist movement and a fierce opponent of the administration;
- Rev. Gerald Winrod of Kansas. With a national following and wide-ranging connections among Christian ministers and lay leaders throughout the country, Winrod had emerged as a force to be reckoned with. In 1938 he ran a strong race for the U.S. Senate. (One of Winrod's protégés was none other than evangelist Billy Graham, who is said to have "learned much but kept quiet publicly about what he learned privately"⁶ as a young man traveling with Winrod.) And:
- William Griffin, a New York-based publisher with strong connections in the Roman Catholic Church. Many American Catholics were strongly anti-communist, and Irish-American Catholics, in particular, were generally skeptical of FDR's war policies at a time when, it will be remembered, the government of Ireland remained neutral in the war being waged against Germany by the United States and England, Ireland's traditional enemy.

However, most of those who finally went to trial were little known and hardly influential on a national level, other than the few exceptions just noted. Among the defendants were: a sign painter who was 80 percent deaf, a Detroit factory worker, a waiter and a maid.

In short, they were at best "average" Americans, without the means or the opportunity to be able to conduct the kind of seditious and internationally connected conspiracy that the government had charged, nor were they in any position to defend themselves against the unlimited resources of the central government. In many cases, the defendants were paupers, virtually penniless. Many of them were "one-man" publishers, reaching small audiences—hardly a threat to the mighty forces that

controlled the New Deal. Several were very elderly. Few of the indictees even knew each other before the trial, despite the fact that the indictments charged them with being part of a grand conspiracy, orchestrated by Adolf Hitler, to undermine the morale of the American military during wartime.

Lawrence Dennis commented later that: "One of the most significant features of the trial was the utter insignificance of the defendants in relation to the great importance which the government sought to give to the trial by all sorts of publicity-seeking devices."

Unfortunately, in this brief study of the tangled circumstances surrounding the great sedition trial, we will be unable to provide all of the defendants the recognition they deserve. But by virtue of having been targeted for destruction by the Roosevelt administration and its behind-the-scenes allies for their patriotic anti-war stand, this handful of otherwise insignificant Americans became folk heroes. Thanks to their more vocal compatriots, such as, perhaps most notably, Lawrence Dennis, we are able to commemorate the details of their plight today.

According to Dennis, it was the design of the sedition trial to target not the big-name critics of the Roosevelt war policies, but instead to use the publicity surrounding the trial to frighten the vast numbers of potential grass-roots critics of the intervention in the Eurasian war into silence, essentially showing them that, they, too, could end up in the dock if they were to dare to speak out as the defendants had in opposition to the administration's policies.

Wrote Dennis:

The crackpots, so-called, or the agitators, are never intimidated by sedition trials. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.

The people who are intimidated by sedition trials are the people who have not enough courage or enough indiscretion ever to say or do anything that would get them involved in a sedition trial. And it is mainly for the purpose of intimidating these more prudent citizens that sedition trials are held . . . A government seeking to suppress certain dangerous ideas and tendencies and certain types of feared opposition will not, if its leaders are smart, indict men like Col. [Charles] Lindbergh or senators [Burton] Wheeler [D-Mont.], [Robert] Taft [R-Ohio] and Gerald Nye [R-N.D.], who did far more along the line of helping the Nazis by opposing Roosevelt's foreign policy as charged against the defendants than any of the defendants.

The chances of conviction would be nil, and the cry of persecution would resound throughout the land.

It is the weak, obscure and indiscreet who are singled out by an astute politician for a legalized witch-hunt. The political purpose of intimidating the more cautious and respectable is best served in

this country by picking for a trick indictment and a propaganda mass trial the most vulnerable rather than the most dangerous critics; the poorest rather than the richest; the least popular rather than the most popular; the least rather than the most important and influential.

This is the smart way to get at the more influential and the more dangerous. The latter see what is done to the less influential and less important, and they govern themselves accordingly. The chances of convicting the weaker are better than of convicting the stronger . . .”

One of the defendants—one of the weaker, less influential and less important, insignificant Americans targeted by FDR—was Elmer J. Garner of Wichita, Kansas. This elderly American patriot died three weeks after the trial began.

Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), an angry critic of the trial, described the victim in a speech on the floor of the Senate. Garner, he said, was:

“A little old gentleman of 83, almost stone deaf, with three great-grandchildren. After he lost the mailing permit for his little weekly paper, he lived with his aged wife through small donations, keeping a goat and a few chickens and raising vegetables on his small home plot.

“Held in the [Washington, D.C.] jail for several weeks, for lack of bond fees, and finally impoverished by three indictments and forced trips and stays in Washington, he died alone in a Washington rooming house early in this trial, with 40 cents in his pocket. His body was shipped naked in a wooden box to his ailing, impoverished widow, his two suits and typewriter being held, so that clothing had to be purchased for his funeral. That is one of the dangerous men about whom we have been hearing so much.”

According to attorney Henry Klein, an American Jew who defied the ADL by boldly serving as defense counsel for another of the defendants, Garner—who was a first cousin of FDR’s first vice president (1933-1941), John Nance Garner—died at his typewriter in a tiny room in a Washington flophouse, typing out his defense.

Who was it, then, that brought about the series of events that led to the indictment of Elmer Garner and his both more distinguished and perhaps even less distinguished fellow “seditious”? It was, of course, Franklin D. Roosevelt who ordered the Justice Department investigation. Attorney General Francis Biddle (who opposed this blatantly political prosecution), followed the president’s orders. And Assistant Attorney General William Power Maloney handled the day-to-day details of the investigation that won the indictments before a federal grand jury in Washington. But behind the scenes there were other forces at work: the power brokers who dictated the overall grand design of the Roosevelt administration and its foreign and domestic policies.

In *A Trial on Trial*, his sharply written critique of the trial, which is a veritable dissection of the fraud that the trial represented, Lawrence Dennis and his co-author, Maximilian St. George (who was Dennis' counsel during the trial, although Dennis—not an attorney—did most of the legal work himself), concluded—based upon very readily available evidence in the public record—that the three prime movers behind the trial were—in his words—extreme leftists, organized Jewish groups, and internationalists in general, all of whom were loud and persistent advocates of the trial, editorializing in favor of the investigation and indictments in their newspapers and through media voices such as radio personality Walter Winchell.

However, Dennis pointed out, “the internationalists behind the trial are not as easy to link with definite agitation for this prosecution as are the leftists and the Jewish groups.”¹¹ Dennis stated unequivocally: “One of the most important Jewish organizations behind the sedition trial was the B’nai B’rith [referring, specifically, to the B’nai B’rith adjunct known as the Anti-Defamation League or ADL].”

According to Dennis: “Getting the federal government to stage such a trial, like getting America into the war, was a ‘must’ on the agenda of the fighters against isolationism and anti-Semitism.¹³ “What the people behind the trial wanted to have judicially certified to the world was that anti-Semitism is a Nazi idea and that anyone holding this idea is a Nazi, who is thereby violating the law—in this instance, by causing insubordination in the armed forces—through his belief in or advocacy of this idea.”

This was not just Dennis’s conclusion, by any means. One of the other defendants, David Baxter, later pointed out that a United Press report published in 1943 said:

Under pressure from Jewish organizations, to judge from articles appearing in publications put out by Jews for Jews, the [indictment] . . . was drawn to include criticisms of Jews as “sedition.” It appeared that a main purpose of the whole procedure, along with outlawing unfavorable comments on the administration, was to set a legal precedent of judicial interpretations and severe penalties which would serve to exempt Jews in America from all public mention except praise, in contrast to the traditional American viewpoint which holds that all who take part in public affairs must be ready to accept full free public discussion, either pro or con.

“In a word,” commented Dennis, “the sedition trial as politics was smart. It was good politics.”¹⁶ Baxter himself determined in later years that certain Jewish groups, specifically the ADL, had been prime movers behind the Justice Department investigation that resulted in the indictments of the defendants in the sedition trial. According to Baxter, commenting many years later:

I demanded, through the Freedom of Information Act, that the FBI turn over to me its investigation records of my activities during the early 1940s leading up to the Sedition Trial. I learned that the investigation had extended over several years and covered hundreds of pages . . . The FBI blocked

out the names of those who had given information about me, much of it as false as anything could be. I was never given a chance to face these people and make them prove their accusations. Yet everything they said went into the investigation records.

Oddly enough, in a great many cases, it wasn't the FBI that conducted the investigation, but the Anti-Defamation League, with the FBI merely receiving the reports of the ADL investigators. One can hardly tell from the reports whether a given person was an FBI or an ADL agent. But at the time all this was so hush-hush that I didn't even suspect the web-spinning going on around me. I hadn't considered myself that important.

For his own part, commenting on the way that the FBI had been used by the ADL, for example, Lawrence Dennis pointed out: "The FBI, like the atomic bomb and so many other useful and dangerous tools, is an instrument around the use of which new safeguards against abuse by unscrupulous interests must soon be created."

[To our shame, Americans did not learn that lesson, in light of FBI intrigue alongside the ADL, later exposed in the course of such controversies as the holocaust at Waco, the slaughter of the Weaver family members at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and the mysterious Oklahoma City bombing.—Ed.]

Writing in his 1999 book, Montana's Lost Cause (see review on page 27), a study of Sen. Burton Wheeler and other members of Montana's congressional delegation who opposed the Roosevelt administration's war in Europe, historian Roger Roots also points out another fascinating cog in the behind-the-scenes maneuvering that led to the sedition trial:

The Jewish-owned Washington Post assisted in the detective work of the Justice Department from the beginning. Dillard Stokes, the [Post] columnist who was most conspicuous in his insider reporting of the sedition grand jury proceedings, actually became part of the Justice Department's case against the isolationists when he wrote requests to numerous of the defendants to send their literature to him under an assumed name. It was this that allowed defendants to be brought from the farthest reaches of the country into the jurisdiction of the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C.

David Baxter elaborated on the role played by the Post columnist Stokes, who used the pseudonym "Jefferson Breem," in order to obtain some of the allegedly seditious literature that had been published by some of the defendants:

In order to try us in Washington as a group, it was necessary to establish that a crime had been committed in the District of Columbia, thus giving jurisdiction to the federal courts there. So the grand jury, which was obviously controlled by the prosecutor, charged us with the crime of sedition, and then established District of Columbia jurisdiction to try us on the grounds that a District of Columbia resident, "Jefferson Breem," had received the allegedly seditious literature. Thus was the alleged "crime" committed in the capital. The defendants were charged with having conspired in the

District of Columbia, despite the fact that I had never been in Washington in my life until ordered there by the grand jury.

Kirkpatrick Dilling, now an attorney in Chicago but then a young man in uniform and the son of one of the more prominent defendants, Elizabeth Dilling, pointed out in a letter to TBRpublisher Willis Carto that: "My mother was indicted with many others, most of whom she had never had any contact with whatsoever. For example, some of such co-indictees were members of the German-American Bund. My mother said they were included to give the case a 'sauerkraut flavor.' "

Later, during the trial itself, the afore mentioned Sen. Langer, scored what he described as: "the idea of bringing together for one trial in Washington 30 people who never saw each other, who never wrote to each other, some of whom did not know that the others existed, with some of them allegedly insane and the majority of them unable to hire a lawyer.

"And remember," Langer pointed out, "[the defendants] were brought to Washington from California and [Illinois] and other states a long way from Washington, placed in one room and all tried at the same time, with the 29 sitting idly by while the testimony against one of them may go on for weeks and weeks and weeks, the testimony of a man or woman [whom the] other defendants never saw before in their lives. That is what is taking place in Washington [the District of Columbia] here today."

As mentioned previously, there were actually three indictments handed down. The first indictment came on July 21, 1942. The indictments came as a surprise to more than a few people, including the defendants. As David Baxter said: "Actually, at that time I was simply a New Deal Democrat interested in what was going on in the country politically."²³ But as a consequence of the indictment, he was being accused of sedition by the very regime he had once supported.

Elizabeth Dilling learned of her indictment on the radio. The nature of one of the charges against Mrs. Dilling exposes precisely how trumped up the sedition trial was from the start. The indictment charged that Mrs. Dilling had committed "sedition" by reprinting, in the pages of her newsletter, a speech in Congress by Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.), an administration critic, in which the congressman quoted an American soldier in the Philippines who complained his outfit lacked bombers because the planes had been given to Britain.²⁴ This ostensibly was dangerous to military morale.

But Mrs. Dilling's many supporters around the country rose to her defense, raising money through dances, dinners and bake sales. Mrs. Dilling, ever courageous, would not let even a federal criminal indictment silence her. She still continued to speak out.

On August 17, 1942 Sen. Robert A. Taft spoke out against the indictment: "I am deeply alarmed by the growing tendency to smear loyal citizens who are critical of the national administration and of the conduct of the war . . .

"Something very close to fanaticism exists in certain circles. I cannot understand it—cannot grasp it. But I am sure of this: Freedom of speech itself is at stake, unless the general methods pursued by the Department of Justice are changed."

Taft noted that the indictment, in his words, was "adroitly drawn" and said it claimed that groups such as the Coalition of Patriotic Societies were linked to the accused conspirators. The coalition, Taft noted, included among its member organizations such groups as the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the General Society of Mayflower Descendants and the Sons of the American Revolution, among others.

On the basis of the way in which the indictment was written, Taft said, a considerable number of members of both the House and the Senate could also be indicted, along with a considerable number of the nation's newspaper editors.

The second indictment came on January 4, 1943. Lawrence Dennis summarized the nature of the indictments: "The first indictment charged conspiracy to violate the seditious propaganda sections of both the wartime Espionage Act of 1917 and the peacetime Smith Act of 1940, sometimes called the Alien Registration Act. This indictment . . . was that the defendants had conspired to spread Nazi propaganda for the purpose of violating the just mentioned laws. The government case consisted of showing the similarity between the propaganda themes of the Nazis and the defendants."²⁸ However, as Dennis pointed out, for a conviction on such an indictment to stand under the law, it is necessary to prove similarity of intent of the persons accused rather than similarity of content of what they said.

"The weaknesses of these first two indictments were that they fitted neither the law nor the evidence. The government's difficulty was that, to please the people behind the trial, it had had to indict persons whose only crime was isolationism, anti-Semitism and anti-communism when there was no law on the statute books against these 'isms.' The two laws chosen for the first two indictments penalized advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and of insubordination in the armed forces."

Several new defendants were added with the second indictment. Among them was Frank Clark. Considering the charge that Clark (and the others) had been conspiring to undermine the morale of the American military, it is worth noting that Clark was "a highly decorated veteran of World War I, who was wounded eight times in action. Clark had been an organizer of the famous Bonus March of World War I veterans to Washington in the 1920s. He had lobbied for early payment of veterans' bonuses that had been promised to the war's veterans, returning home a hero. When arrested, he lacked enough money to hire a lawyer."

All of this, however, meant nothing in the course of the ongoing effort by the Roosevelt administration to silence its critics and to prevent more and more Americans from speaking out.

Throughout this period, the major media was rife with reports of how a group of Americans, in league with Hitler and the German National Socialists, were trying to destroy America from within and how the Roosevelt administration was bravely taking on this conspiracy. However, the Justice Department had made a misstep and the second indictment, like the first, was thrown out. As Roger Roots notes, “The indictment was unlawful. It was discarded due to the obvious absence of evidence for conviction, among other flaws. Past Supreme Court decisions clearly showed that a conviction for advocating the overthrow of the government by violent force must include some evidence of actual plans to use violence, not just political literature. Again, the indictment was never dismissed formally but simply retired.”

Sen. Burton Wheeler, in particular, was a harsh critic of the Justice Department and publicly made clear his intention, as new head of the Senate Judiciary Committee following the 1942 elections, to keep a close watch on the affair as it unfolded. As far as the legal procedures used in the first two indictments, he declared: “If it happened in most jurisdictions of this country, the prosecuting attorneys would be held for contempt of court.”

Thus, despite all the determined efforts of the Justice Department and its allies in the Anti-Defamation League and at The Washington Post, the first two indictments were indeed thrown out as defective.

On March 5, 1943 Judge Jesse C. Adkins dismissed the count in the indictment that accused the defendants of conspiring together “on or about the first day of January 1933, and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing” of the indictment since, as the judge held, the law which the defendants were accused of conspiring to violate had not been enacted until 1940.³³ At this juncture, under pressure from Sen. Wheeler, Attorney General Biddle agreed to remove prosecutor William Power Maloney as the chief “Nazi-hunter.”

Thus, a new Justice Department prosecutor entered into the case, O. John Rogge. As defendant David Baxter pointed out, Rogge was a fitting choice for the administration’s chief point man in this Soviet-style show trial:

It later turned out that Rogge had been a good friend of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, was involved in numerous communist front groups, and had visited Russia, where he spoke in the Kremlin and laid a wreath at the grave of American Communist Party co-founder John Reed in Red Square. His wreath was inscribed: “In loving memory from grateful Americans.” . . . Rogge was an American delegate to a world communist “peace conference” in Paris and was a lawyer for many communists in trouble with the law. He was the attorney for David Greenglass, the atomic spy who saved his own life by turning state’s evidence against his sister and brother-in-law, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg [who] went to the electric chair for turning over U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets. [Rogge] was thus eventually exposed for what he was. No wonder he was so fanatical in his hatred against the Sedition Trial defendants, all of whom were anti-communists.

Rogge was an ideal choice for the Roosevelt administration and its allies, who were determined to pursue the prosecution, one way or the other. He moved forward relentlessly.

As Roger Roots points out: “Not wishing to waste momentum, the government reconvened another grand jury, resubmitted the same pamphlets, publications, and materials that the previous grand jury had already seen, re-called the same testimony of the witnesses, and once again pleaded the grand jury to return yet another indictment.”

The third (and final) indictment was handed down on January 3, 1944. In fact, Rogge and his Justice Department allies had decided to take a new tack and added eight new names (including Lawrence Dennis, who had not been named in the first indictments) and dismissed 12 defendants who had been named.

Among those whose names were dismissed were influential New York Catholic lay leader William Griffin and his newspaper, *The New York Evening Enquirer* (the only publication indicted) former American diplomat Ralph Townsend of San Francisco and Washington, D.C. and Paquita (“Mady”) de Shishmareff, the well-to-do American-born widow of a former Russian czarist military figure. Townsend, who had enraged the Roosevelt administration by opposing its anti-Japanese policies in the Pacific, had written an explosive book, *Ways That Are Dark*, highly critical of imperial China.* But although he was now “free,” he and his family had been broken financially by the indictment, and, according to his late wife, Janet, many of their close friends deserted them in this time of crisis. “It was a very difficult period in our lives,” she later recalled. “But it didn’t prevent Ralph from continuing to speak out.” Townsend did continue to speak out, and in later years he became a friend of Willis A. Carto, publisher of *The Barnes Review*, and, today, portions of Townsend’s personal library are a part of TBR’s archives.

Tony Blizzard, who is now research director for Liberty Lobby, the Washington-based populist institution, was a protégé in the early 1960s of Paquita de Shishmareff (who wrote as L. Fry) and he recently commented on the circumstances surrounding the decision to drop the indictment against her—along with some fascinating, little-known details about this remarkable woman. In Blizzard’s informed estimation:

One of the reasons they dropped the indictment against Mady was precisely because they knew they were dealing with a very sharp lady with a great deal of brain power. A woman of the old school, Mady would never put herself in the forefront, but she knew how to use the strengths of the men around her. She also was a woman of some means—unlike most of the other defendants—and was a formidable opponent.

The government clearly decided that it was in their best interests to dismiss the case against her. There was no way they could ever make “Nazis” out of all of these defendants, whose only real “crime” was exposing Jewish power as long as Mady was on the dock with the rest of them.

The prosecutors knew quite well, although it was not widely known then nor is it widely known today, that it was Mady who had supplied Henry Ford virtually all of the information that Ford had published in his controversial series about Jewish power in The Dearborn Independent. With her wide-ranging, high-level connections, Mady was an encyclopedic storehouse of inside information about the power elite.

The last thing the prosecution wanted was for Mady to take the stand. By releasing her as a defendant, they eliminated, to them, what was a very frightening possibility.³⁷

But there were 30 others who were not so lucky as Paquita de Shishmareff, Ralph Townsend and the others who had been released, and their trial commenced on April 17, 1944 in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

Kirkpatrick Dilling, son of defendant Elizabeth Dilling, captured the essence of the indictment. According to Dilling, "The indictment was premised on an alleged 'conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces.' Thus criticizing President Roosevelt, who was armed forces commander in chief was an alleged overt act in furtherance of the conspiracy. Denouncing our ally, communist Soviet Russia, was a further alleged overt act. Opposing communism was an alleged overt act because our enemy Hitler had also opposed communists."³⁸

Ironically, while his mother was on trial for her alleged participation in this "conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces," Kirkpatrick Dilling was promoted from corporal to second lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

Other defendants, including George Sylvester Viereck, George Death er age, Robert Noble and Rev. Gerald Winrod, also had sons in the U.S. Armed Forces during this period. Viereck's son died in combat while his father was on trial and in prison (see the memorial poem on these pages). Presiding as judge at the trial was ex-Iowa Democratic Congressman Edward C. Eicher, a New Deal stalwart who had served a brief period as chairman of FDR's Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) after being defeated for re-election to Congress. After Eicher's term at the SEC, FDR then appointed Eicher to the judgeship. And serving as prosecutor was Eicher's former legal counsel at the SEC, the aforementioned O. John Rogge.

It seemed that the case was "fixed" from top to bottom.

Albert Dilling, the attorney, who represented his wife Elizabeth Dilling, called for a congressional investigation of the trial on the grounds that it was impossible for such a trial to be fair during wartime. But that was not enough to stop the trial juggernaut.

Although proving "sedition" was the ostensible purpose of the prosecution, Lawrence Dennis reached other conclusions about the actual political basis for the trial: "The trial was conceived and staged as a political instrument of propaganda and intimidation against certain ideas and tendencies which are popularly spoken of as isolationism, anti-communism and anti-Semitism. The biggest

single idea of the trial was that of linking Nazism with isolationism, anti-Semitism and anti-communism.” However, as Dennis pointed out:

American isolationism was born with George Washington’s Farewell Address, not with anything the Nazis ever penned. As for “anti-Semitism,” it has flourished since the dawn of Jewish history. It is as old and widespread as the Jews . . . As for anti-communism, while it was one of Hitler’s two or three biggest ideas, it is in no way peculiar to Hitler or the Nazis, any more than anti-capitalism is peculiar to the Russian communists.

To add shock value to the indictment, the government—in an accompanying bill of particulars, which was basically a rehash of the history of the Nazi Party in Germany—named German Chancellor Adolf Hitler as a “co-conspirator.”

During the trial, the prosecutor, Rogge, charged that Hitler had picked the defendants to head a Nazi occupation government in the United States once Germany won the war.

What the prosecutor was essentially trying to do, according to Lawrence Dennis, was “to perfect a formula to convict people for doing what was against no law. It boiled down to choosing a crime which the Department of Justice would undertake to prove equaled anti-Semitism, anti-communism and isolationism. The crime chosen was causing insubordination in the armed forces. The law was the Smith Act,” which had been enacted in 1940.

As Dennis pointed out: “One of the many ironies of the mass sedition trial was that the defendants were charged with conspiring to violate a law aimed at the communists and [of using] a communist tactic—that of trying to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces. What makes this so ironic is the fact that many of the defendants, being fanatical anti-communists, had openly supported the enactment of this law.”

Defendant David Baxter later recalled:

After Hitler and Stalin concluded a treaty, American communists enthusiastically endorsed those of us who opposed getting into the European war between Germany and the British-French alliance. The communists even stomached the Jewish issue that some of us raised, and many Jewish communists, who wanted the United States to join the war against Hitler, left their party. All that changed overnight, however, when war broke out between Germany and Russia. The communists then turned against us with a vengeance and eagerly backed FDR and American participation in the war to save the Soviets.

Lawrence Dennis’s assessment of the government’s case is reminiscent of that of Kirkpatrick Dilling: “The pattern of the prosecution gradually emerged something like this: Our country is at war; Russia is our ally; the Russian government is communist; these defendants fight communism; they are

therefore weakening the ties between the two countries; this is interfering with the war efforts; this in turn is injuring the morale of the armed forces. The indictees should therefore be sent to prison.”⁴⁹ Henry H. Klein, an outspoken Jewish anti-communist, was the attorney who represented defendant Eugene Sanctuary, and he took issue with the very constitutionality of the trial.

“This alleged indictment,” thundered Klein in his opening address to the jury, “is under the peace-time statute, not under the wartime act, and the writings and speeches of these defendants were made when this nation was at peace, and under a Constitution which guarantees free press and free speech at all times, including during wartime, until the Constitution is suspended, and it has not yet been suspended. These people believed in the guarantees set forth in the Constitution, and they criticized various acts of the administration.”

About his own client, Klein noted: “He is 73 years old and devoutly religious. He and his wife ran the Presbyterian foreign mission office in New York City for many years, and he has written and published several hundred sacred and patriotic songs.” One of those songs, Klein noted, was Uncle Sam We Are Standing by You and was published in June of 1942, well after the war had begun—hardly the actions of the dangerous seditious that the prosecution and the sympathetic press painted Sanctuary to be.

As far as Lawrence Dennis’s purported sedition was concerned, “the prosecution had attempted to prove its case exclusively by placing in evidence seven excerpts from his public writings, reprinted in the publication of the German-American Bund rather than as originally published.”⁵² In other words, the “evidence” that Dennis had committed sedition was because he had written something (published and freely available to the public) that was later reprinted by a group sympathetic to Nazi Germany—not that Dennis himself had actively done anything to stir dissension among the American armed forces. According to Dennis:

The government’s prosecution theory said, in effect: “We postulate a world conspiracy, the members of which all conspired to Nazify the entire world by using the unlawful means of undermining the loyalty of the armed forces. We ask the jury to infer the existence of such a conspiracy from such evidence as we shall submit about the Nazis. We shall then ask the jury to infer that the defendants joined this conspiracy from the nature of the things they said and did. We do not need to show that the defendants ever did or said anything that directly constituted the crime of impairing the morale or loyalty of the armed forces. Our thesis is that Nazism was a world movement, which, by definition, was also a conspiracy to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces and that the defendants were members of the Nazi world movement.”

There was no more reason to bring out in a charge of conspiracy to cause military insubordination the facts that most of the defendants were anti-Semites, isolationists or anti-communists than there would have been in a trial of a group of New York City contractors on a charge of conspiring to

defraud the city to bring out the facts that the defendants were all Irish or Jews and had always voted the Democratic ticket.

Eugene Sanctuary's attorney, Henry Klein, pulled no punches when he laid out the defense, declaring:

We will prove that this persecution and prosecution was undertaken to cover the crimes of government—remember that.

We will prove that it was undertaken by order of the president, in spite of the opposition of Attorney General Biddle.

We will prove that Mr. Rogge was selected for this job of punishing these defendants because no one else in the Department of Justice felt that he could find sufficient grounds in to spell out a crime against these defendants.

We will prove that the communists control not only our government but our politics, our labor organizations, our agriculture, our mines, our industries, our war plants and our armed encampments.

We will prove that the law under which these defendants are being tried was enacted at the repeated demands of the heads of our armed forces to prevent communists from destroying the morale of our soldiers, sailors, marine and air forces [and that this prosecution] was undertaken to protect communists who were and are guilty of the very crimes charged against these defendants who are utterly innocent and have been made the victims of this law.

Klein minced no words when he told the jury that Jewish organizations were using the trial for their own ends:

We will prove that this persecution was instigated by so-called professional Jews who make a business of preying on other Jews by scaring them into the belief that their lives and their property are in danger through threatened pogroms in the United States [and that] anti-Semitism charged in this so-called indictment, is a racket, that is being run by racketeers for graft purposes.

Klein also forcefully made the allegation that FBI agents had been acting as agents provocateurs, attempting to stir up acts of sedition:

We will show that the most vicious written attack on Jews and on the Roosevelt administration emanated from the office of the FBI by one of its agents, and that the purpose of this attack was to provoke others to do likewise. We will show that this agent also drilled his underlings in New York with broom sticks preparatory to "killing Jews."

Klein also put forth a rather interesting allegation about the source of certain funds purportedly supplied by Nazi Germany to no less than Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. According to Klein: "We will show that large sums of Hitler money helped finance Mr. Roosevelt's campaign for re-election in 1936 and that right at this moment, British, American and German capital and industry are cooperating together in South America and other parts of the world."

What Klein alleged about international collaboration of high-finance capitalism has been part of the lore of the populist right and the populist left for over a century and is a theme that has been analyzed in scores of books, monographs and other literature, but largely ignored in the so-called academic mainstream.

According to Lawrence Reilly's account of the sedition trial, Klein's speech was a critical turning point in the defense: "Klein did much in his brief speech to torpedo Rogge's case by bringing to light the hidden agencies responsible for its existence."

However, noted Reilly, even many of the daily newspapers which opposed the trial editorially were afraid to discuss this hidden aspect of the case that Klein had dared bring forth in open court. Reilly said that readers were often left "confused" because the papers never touched on the real factors involved. Some of these "friendly" papers, Reilly noted, insisted on referring to the defendants as "crackpots."

But the fact is that, as a direct consequence of his offensive against the ADL and the other Jewish groups that had played a part in orchestrating the trial, Klein was targeted, specifically because he was Jewish, by organized Jewish groups that resented Klein's defense of the purported "anti-Semites" and "seditionists."

For his own part, Lawrence Dennis stood up in court to take on his own defense and delivered what even liberal writer Charles Higham was inclined to acknowledge was "a high-powered address" calling Rogge's outline of the government case, "corny, false, fantastic, untrue, unproveable and unsound [and describing the trial as] a Roosevelt administration fourth-term conspiracy [and] another Dreyfus case [in which the government was] trying to write history in the heat of battle." To the loud applause of his fellow defendants, Dennis declared: "Pearl Harbor did not suspend the Bill of Rights."

A critical juncture in the case came when one of the defense attorneys, James Laughlin (a public defender representing Ernest Elmhurst) said in open court that it would be impossible for the trial to continue unless the private files of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith could be impounded and introduced as evidence.

It was clear that much of the prosecution was based on the ADL's "fact finding" and Laughlin concluded that it would be necessary to determine precisely what the ADL had provided the government if the defendants would be able to put on an effective defense.

The judge seemed prepared to ignore Laughlin's motion, but the clever attorney had already prepared copies of his motion in advance and distributed copies of the motion to the press. As a direct consequence, Washington newspapers reported that the ADL files had been made an issue in the case. As Reilly summarized the situation: "Laughlin had placed the spotlight upon the big secret of the case." This, according to Reilly, was "a bomb, which, some have said, had more to do with demoralizing [the prosecution's] case than any other single [factor]."

At that point, there seemed to be a strange turnabout in the way that the press supporting the trial began looking at the case. Even *The Washington Post* (which had played a part in orchestrating the trial by lending the services of its reporter, Dillard Stokes, to the joint ADL-FBI investigation) "completely reversed itself," according to Reilly, "and started demanding that the case be brought to a quick conclusion."

In short, *The Post* wanted to keep "the big secret" of the case—behind-the-scenes orchestration of the case by the ADL—under wraps and now seemed to be calling to bring the trial to a rapid conclusion before the truth came out.

The *Post* even commented editorially that: "We fear that, whatever may be the outcome of this trial, it will stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come." As David Baxter later remarked: "Such were the remarkable words of the very paper whose own reporter had plotted with the original prosecutor to entrap the defendants and bring them to trial in Washington."

Despite these concerns, Rogge seemed to intensify his efforts. There was clearly a great deal of behind-the-scenes maneuvering by the prosecutor and his backers as to how to deal with the challenge that had been presented. Since the judge never ordered the ADL's files impounded, Rogge was free to move forward. He was determined to carry the trial through to conclusion, and he had many more witnesses to present.

Author Roger Roots describes the course of events as follows:

Day after day, the trial wore on. Page after page of publications authored by the defendants was introduced into evidence, giving rise [among] all in attendance to the idea that it was their writings which were really on trial. The government announced that it intended to introduce 32,000 exhibits. It became obvious that what the defendants were really being prosecuted for was "Jew-baiting" which gave an indication of one principal source of the prosecution's support. It became one of the longest and most expensive trials in U.S. history. In essence, the trial was little more than an assault against free speech.

As the trial proceeded, outspoken trial critic Sen. William Langer visited defendants in jail and defied the media and its allies in the prosecution by publicly escorting defendant Elizabeth Dilling in and out of court and around Washington while she was on bail.

Said Roots: "The government worked with unlimited funds, unlimited personnel, and unlimited access to intelligence information. The defense had to work with mostly court-appointed lawyers who were unacquainted with the defendants and the arguments of the case."⁷¹

What is particularly interesting, as pointed out by liberal historian Glenn Jeanssonne, is that: "Many of the defense attorneys were liberals unsympathetic with the clients' beliefs. But they came to see the defendants' side on a human basis, and instead of conducting a perfunctory defense, as many observers had expected, they put up a vigorous defense."

Even Charles Higham, who, writing retrospectively, was an enthusiastic advocate of the trial, pointed out that "after two and a half months, neither defendants nor prosecution had managed to present a satisfactory case," and, ultimately, "both press and public were beginning to lose interest in the case."

At the same time, according to Paquita de Shishmareff, the defendants had managed to survive and develop their own way of dealing with their predicament: "Their physical lives were made almost impossible. They got little to eat and were hamstrung in every way possible. But when they got into court, it was such a farce they really just enjoyed themselves."

At one point, when the prosecutor was solemnly reading off a list of names of individuals—allies of the Roosevelt administration who had been attacked in some way by the defendants—defendant Edward James Smythe shouted out, "and Eleanor Roosevelt," resulting in laughter from the courtroom. Smythe didn't want Mrs. Roosevelt's name to go unrecorded in the pantheon of villainy. This, by the way, was only one of many amusing events that took place during this circus. In many respects, the sedition trial could be the basis for a Hollywood comedy, the serious and scandalous violation of the rights of the defendants notwithstanding.

But this is not to suggest that the sedition trial was all a lot of merriment for the attorneys or for the defendants. Far from it. Two of the attorneys had a shot fired at them as they drove in their car. One of those attorneys lost a 12-year law association. Another was beaten by five thugs and hospitalized for five days.

Henry Klein was harassed relentlessly, held in contempt of court for his defense of his client, and, then, ultimately, driven from the case altogether (although the contempt of court charges were eventually overturned).

In addition, strenuous efforts were made to keep the defendants who were out on bail from holding jobs during the course of the trial, a particular problem for those who were not of independent means (and that was most of them).

One defendant, Ernest Elmhurst, got a job as a headwaiter in a Washington hotel in order to make ends meet during the trial, but the ADL's leading broadcasting voice, Walter Winchell, learned of Elmhurst's employment and agitated on his widely heard radio show for Elmhurst's firing, resulting in Elmhurst's dismissal.

As the trial dragged on, however, the government began to realize that its efforts were going nowhere. Roger Roots points out: "The prosecution had undoubtedly expected one or more of the defendants to break and testify against the others . . . [Yet] not one defendant gave any indication of such an inclination. Though they disagreed and some even disliked each other, they came together as a cohesive unit."

David Baxter had the pleasure to learn that he was going to be severed from the trial and the charges dismissed. His increasing deafness made it impossible for Baxter to have a fair trial. Baxter recalls that Judge Eicher called Baxter into his chamber, smiled, held out his hand, and said: "Go back to California and forget about it, Dave."

The judge reportedly told Baxter that if Baxter and his wife wanted to buy a car to return to California, he would help and handed Baxter a roll of gasoline coupons (which, during wartime, were severely rationed). Despite everything, it seems, even the judge realized what a farce the trial really was.

It was something totally unexpected that brought the trial to a halt: Judge Eicher's sudden death on November 29, 1944. The judge's demise came at a point where Rogge was not even halfway through the prosecution's case. At this point he had brought 39 witnesses to the stand, and expected to present 67 more. The defense had not even yet begun.

Defendant David Baxter later commented (reflecting on his own friendly personal experience with the judge): "That trial could have killed any judge with a Christian conscience and any semblance of fairness. I felt genuinely sorry about Judge Eicher's death." Rogge accused the defense of having effectively killed the judge by having put up such a defense that it made the judge's life (and that of the prosecutor) uncomfortable. Under the circumstances, it was apparent that there was no way that the case could continue on a fair basis.

As a consequence, after a period of legal haggling on both sides (with one defendant, Prescott Dennett, actually asking for the trial to continue, determined to present his defense after having been tried and convicted in the media), a mistrial was declared.

Prodded primarily by Jewish groups, Prosecutor Rogge hoped to be able to keep the case alive and set a new trial in motion. But by the spring of 1945, the trial's chief instigator, President Roosevelt, was dead, and the war had come to a close. Rogge, however, continued to ask for delays in setting a new trial date. Since Germany had fallen, Rogge claimed, he was confident that he could find "evidence" in the German archives that the sedition trial defendants had been Nazi collaborators. However, according to historian Glen Jeansson, no friend of the purported seditionists, "nothing Rogge found proved the existence of a conspiracy" between the German government and the defendants.

Undaunted, Rogge launched a nationwide lecture tour that was, not surprisingly, conducted under the auspices of B'nai B'rith. The combative and loquacious Rogge, prodded by his sponsors, could not contain himself in his enthusiastic recounting of the events of the trial and of the personalities involved and, in the end, was fired by the Justice Department on October 25, 1946, for leaking information to the press. At that time Rogge was ordered to hand over all Justice Department and FBI documents in his possession. The Justice Department had apparently decided that Rogge had outlived his usefulness.

Less than a month later, District Judge Bolitha Laws dismissed the charges altogether, declaring that the defendants had not received a speedy trial as guaranteed by the Constitution. Although the Justice Department appealed, the dismissal was upheld on June 30, 1947 by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The "Great Sedition Trial" thus came to a close.

As even defendant Lawrence Dennis was moved to comment:

Some or all may even have been guilty of conspiring to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces, but not as charged by the [government] . . . Nothing in the evidence brought out during the trial proved or even suggested that any one of the defendants was ever guilty of any such conspiracy, except on the prosecution theory. And on that theory, opponents of President Roosevelt's pre-Pearl Harbor foreign policy and steps in foreign affairs, such as Col. Lindbergh, Sen. Taft, Sen. Nye or Sen. Wheeler, and Col. McCormick, publisher of The Chicago Tribune, would be equally guilty. Indeed, the prosecution case, according to the prosecution theory, would have been much stronger against these prominent isolationists than it ever could be against the less important defendants in the Sedition Trial.

Many years later it is grimly amusing to note that organized Jewish groups and Jewish newspapers attacked the attorney general, Francis Biddle, for having failed to see the sedition trial through to the bitter end and achieve the conviction of the defendants. Lawrence Dennis wryly commented that all of this showed a great deal of ingratitude on their part.

According to Dennis: "It shows what a public servant gets for attempting to do dirty work to the satisfaction of minority pressure groups. Biddle did the best anyone in his position could do to carry

out the wishes of the people behind the trial. They simply did not appreciate the difficulties of railroading to jail their political enemies without evidence of any acts in violation of the law.”⁸⁵ Dennis added a further warning for those who would allow themselves to be caught up in promoting “show trials” such as that which was effected in the Great Sedition Trial of 1944: “What the government does today to a crackpot, so-called,” Dennis said, “it may do to an elder statesman of the opposition the day after tomorrow.

“The trial made history,” Dennis said, “but not as the government had planned. It made history as a government experiment, which went wrong. It was a Department of Justice experiment in imitation of a Moscow political propaganda trial.”

There are at least five definitive conclusions which can be drawn about this trial, based upon all that is in the historical record:

- 1) The defendants charged were largely on trial for having expressed views that were either anti-Jewish or anti-communist or both. The actions of the defendants had little or nothing to do with encouragement of dissension or insurrection within the U.S. armed forces. In short, the “sedition” trial was a fraud from the start.
- 2) The prime movers behind the prosecution were private special interest groups representing powerful Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B’nai B’rith that were closely allied with the Roosevelt regime in power.
- 3) As a consequence, high-level politicians (including the U.S. president) and bureaucrats beholden to those private interests used their influence to ensure that the police powers of the government were used to advance the demands of those private pressure groups agitating for the sedition trial.
- 4) Major media voices (such as The Washington Post), working with the ADL and allied with the ruling regime, were prime players in promoting and facilitating the events that led to the trial.
- 5) The police powers of government can easily be abused, and innocent citizens, despite Constitutional guarantees of protection, can be persecuted under color of law, their innocence notwithstanding.

About a decade after “The Great Sedition Trial” had come to a close, the major media in America began devoting much energy to denouncing so-called anti-communist “witch-hunts” by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and others, the media (not to mention “mainstream” historians) never drew the obvious parallel with the precedent for such witch-hunting that had been set by the activities of the ADL and its allies in the Roosevelt administration who had orchestrated the sedition trial.

The events of “The Great Sedition Trial” are a black page of American history (and little known at that). Civil libertarians should take note: It can happen here, and it did.

An Act of Censorship:

American Library Association Becomes Another Israeli Occupied Territory

By Jeffrey Blankfort | Editor Middle East Labor Bulletin

Criticism of Israel Stopped Cold

NEW ORLEANS – The embattled Anti-Defamation League’s National Director, Abraham Foxman (photo above), is “going to war – and he’s going to enlist American Jews as his foot soldiers,” wrote the No. California Jewish Bulletin’s Garth Wolkoff this past May, and he wasn’t joking. The first battle took place in this picturesque Gulf Coast port city at the end of June and the ADL and its allies emerged victorious.

The occasion was the annual membership meeting of the American Library Association and answering the call to the colors were hundreds of Jewish librarians who descended on New Orleans for a dual purpose: to overturn a resolution criticizing Israeli censorship that had been approved at last year’s convention and to demonstrate to their fellow librarians that judging Israel was not only not the business of the ALA, but also was not without career-threatening risks. And they succeeded, overwhelmingly. No, the colors they rallied to weren’t visible, but then they didn’t have to be.

For a little under a year, 363 days to be exact, the American Library Association had stood alone as the only major American institution that had publicly and unequivocally condemned Israeli human rights violations and specifically, acts of censorship directed against Palestinian journalists, universities, and libraries.

Headquartered in Chicago, the ALA, with 56,000 members is the oldest and largest library association in the world, and according to its outgoing president, Marilyn Miller, “it has engaged in issues of human rights and intellectual freedom around the world since its establishment in 1876.” In past years it has criticized censorship in Chile, South Africa, the Soviet Union, and, according to Miller “was one of the first and strongest voices to defend Salman Rushdie.” Taking on Israel, however, is another matter. Largely as a culmination of a nine-year effort on the part of Chicago Public Library Research Librarian David Williams, (MELB 4/1 and 4/2) and the International Human Rights Task Force that he took over as chair in 1990, the ALA had passed two

resolutions at its July 1, 1992 meeting in San Francisco. The first condemning Israeli censorship and human rights violations and the second, protested the threatened expulsion of Palestinian librarian Omar Al-Safi and may have been a factor in having the order withdrawn. (MELB 4/1).

The main resolution referred to the “special relationship” enjoyed by Israel with the United States, “as the recipient of the largest amounts of annual U.S. aid per capita, and declared “the U.S. a party to these censorship practices and other violations of human rights.”

To bolster the impressive documentation he presented substantiating Israel’s censorship policies, Williams arranged for Israeli journalist, Michal Schwartz, an editor of Challenge magazine and herself a victim of her country’s censorship, to address the convention. An Israeli brought by the opposition was unable to offer credible rebuttal and both resolutions passed by large margins. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the U.S. government, to Israel and to the PLO.

Can't Afford a Single Public Relations Defeat

Obviously the matter would not end there. The ADL believes, perhaps correctly, that neither it or Israel can afford a single defeat in its hasbara, the Israeli word for public relations. If the ALA was able to get away with criticizing Israel, who knows who might do it next? The counterattack against the resolution and the character assassination of Williams began virtually the next day and continued up to and after the vote in New Orleans.

In a statement following the rejection of the resolution, Williams pointed out the implications of the entire issue: “The significance of ALA’s breaking with the public taboo on criticizing Israel was taken very seriously by the Anti-Defamation League and other Israel lobby groups whose role is to censor, intimidate, and otherwise stifle public criticism of Israel in the United States. It is precisely because of the importance of U.S. aid that they could not afford to let Israel be criticized in such fashion by a mainstream professional organization.”

ADL's Foxman Takes Charge

It became clear to Williams that reversal of the censorship resolution had become an ALA priority, as it increasingly came under the influence of what he described as the “highly-organized and well-financed [pro-Israel] political lobby.” Quickly taking charge was the ADL’s Foxman who, according to the Chicago Jewish Star (June 11-24), held several meetings with ALA leaders “to clarify Israel’s position and to put the claims against Israel into context.”

“The longer these resolutions remain on the books as ALA policy, the more legitimacy they gain among librarians and educators,” wrote Foxman in a letter to Peggy Sullivan, ALA’s Executive Director.

This was not the first time the ADL had gone up against Williams. In 1989, it challenged a bibliography he had prepared on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that Chicago’s chief librarian and a number of Middle East scholars had considered balanced, and through a “full court” mobilization of the area’s Jewish community, would have got away with censoring both the list and Williams, had not their plans been exposed in a local newspaper column. But as the Village Voice’s Robert Friedman points out (July 27) **“this is not just a cautionary tale about one librarian’s battle against book burning in the occupied territories. “It is part of a larger story about the most powerful Jewish organization in America, and its attempt to determine what should be read in our nation’s schools, what should be read in our nation’s libraries, and what should publicly be discussed at public forums.**

“Through its 31 offices across the country, the ADL monitors school curricula, library acquisition lists, and public conferences and symposiums, working behind the scenes to stifle intellectual freedom.”

Hadassah Plays Most Visible Role

The ADL, of course, would not have to go it alone, since its policy of defending “Israel, right or wrong,” is the guiding principle of all the major Jewish organizations. So it was to be expected that the 1000-member Association of Jewish Libraries would weigh in with a letter protesting the resolutions. “Members of AJL have been outraged by the

actions taken by ALA, AJL President Ralph Simon told the Jewish Star (June 11-24). That was just once response. (By the time of the convention, the largest Jewish womens' organization, Hadassah, would play the most visible role, with the ADL content to stay in the shadows due, most likely, to the fear that publicity about its spy network would inhibit it effectiveness.)

Sometime after the San Francisco convention, an ALA attorney, commenting on the resolution, implied it was close to being "seditious" and in American Libraries (March '93), ALA Councilor Charles Bunge referred to the "embarrassing situation" caused by the Council's passage of the resolution. It was also apparent, from American Libraries' Midwinter report, that "although the resolution could not be rescinded, the Council would have done so if it had not "already been widely distributed." As an alternative step, the Council referred the resolution to the ALA's International Resolutions Committee for "study and recommendations."

Critics of Israel Called "Facists" and "Anti-Semites"

At its Midwinter meeting in Denver, the wheels that were to crush the resolution were picking up speed. With the cooperation of the ALA leadership, mass-produced letters and materials were distributed denouncing the anti-censorship efforts as a front for the "terroristic" and "fascist" PLO (as well as Hamas) and suggesting, as Williams pointed out in a task force "Urgent Action Alert," that "anyone who challenged Israel's repressive policies was an antisemite and part of a plot to destroy Jews."

Williams reported that functionaries of the ADL and other pro-Israel lobby groups were very much in attendance at conference sessions, and that "the ADL representatives arranged with the ALA Executive Office to have the customary guest registration fee waived, were outfitted with membership instead of guest convention badges," and directed to the business meeting of the Social Responsibilities Round Table (SRRT) International Human Rights Task Force Meeting.

"There," wrote Williams, "they copied down the names and institutional affiliations of everyone present." In one instance, an ADL operative grabbed a task force member

who was engaged in conversation, and whirled him around, saying he wanted to see the name on his badge. The tangible intimidation, says Williams, was only beginning: “With the active complicity of the ALA leadership, pressure was brought to bear on librarians at all levels of the Association to go along with revoking the resolution. Wilfully distorting the facts and context of Israel’s repressive practices, the organizers of this campaign also engaged in the most vicious personal vilification of me – repeatedly equating criticism of Israel with antisemitism.”

Typical of this attack was a passage in a letter sent two weeks before the convention to ALA President-Elect Hardy Franklin by Ellen Zyroff Ph.D, the Principal Librarian of the San Diego County Library, and distributed to ALA members by the ALA Council.

“This man is wild-eyed and dangerous,” wrote Zyroff. “I do not know where his hate comes from, but it is palpable. I do not know who paid the fare for the speaker who flew from Tel Aviv University, an institution known for activists against the state of Israel, or for that of the other out-of-town-speakers (referring to a 1991 forum in Atlanta”). (emphasis added).

Jews Attempt to Sabotage Forum

Marty Goldberg, head librarian at Penn State and co-chair of the Jewish Librarians Committee (JLC), a subgroup of the ALA, told the Jewish Star, that Williams “uses this as a platform for his political agenda. We should condemn the resolutions and get the ALA out of the business of singling out one people, one nation, one religion. This has no place in the ALA. There are issues of far more importance than censorship in Israel.” For Goldberg, the ADL and the Jewish librarians, a “far more important issue” was protecting Israel.

At the convention, Goldberg sent out a letter to JLC members, suggesting they stay away from a Sunday night forum, sponsored by Williams’ task force, preceding the vote on the resolution, because of “the danger of physical violence.” (At the Midwinter conference, Williams relinquished his chair of the International Human Rights Task Force and was authorized by the SRRT to initiate a new Task Force on Israeli Censorship and Palestinian Libraries.)

Goldberg's warning was ironic, since last year, a panel arranged by Williams featuring Michal Schwartz and Khader Hamide, one of the Palestinians fighting deportation in Los Angeles, was repeatedly disrupted, first by noisy pro-Israel activists and then by a false fire alarm.

This year's forum, entitled "Israeli Censorship: Here and There," drew an audience of about 120, and proceeded without interruption with members from the audience who supported Israel receiving ample time to respond to the speakers: Williams, Jay Murphy, former editor of Red Bass magazine, and myself.

Williams informed the audience that the ADL's Foxman had once again been invited, and for the third time had declined. In a letter to Williams he had written that "We have consistently refused to participate in your events because of the blatant anti-Israel agenda" Moreover, he didn't believe "that the activities of the Anti-Defamation League are an appropriate subject for your roundtable discussion."

In another clearly centralized attempt to sabotage the forum, a 450 word "anonymous letter" was sent to and published in Jewish newspapers across the country signed alternately by "Concerned Jewish Taxpayer," "Jewish Taxpayer," "Anonymous Librarian" and "a librarian whose job would be jeopardized by identification," (the latter being a classic example of the victimizer pretending to be the victim).

The thrust of the letter was to infer that "since public libraries are funded chiefly by local tax dollars," Jewish taxpayers ought to know about the forum and its title. In a thinly concealed threat in the next to last paragraph, the "writer" warns that "If public opinion causes enough institutions and individuals to stop sending in their hefty membership dues (often paid for with public funds) perhaps the ALA will reconsider its priorities."

The Fix Is In

Foxman and the ADL didn't need to debate, nor did Goldberg need to attend the forum to state their case. The "fix" was already in. Goldberg, speaking at a meeting of the Jewish Librarians group the day before had all but admitted as much. Acknowledging that he was usually a pessimist, he told his listeners that they "shouldn't worry" about

Monday night's vote. "The ALA Council," he repeated several times, "wants out of this situation."

The meeting of the Jewish Librarians next morning was attended by the Village Voice's Friedman, which caused Goldberg to declare the proceedings "off the record," a ludicrous request at what was advertised to be, and what has been ALA policy at all its events since 1971, a public meeting.

At the meeting, ALA trustee from New Orleans, Helen Kuhlman, who preceded her remarks with the same "this is off the record," caveat described how on the Thursday evening preceding the convention, she had hosted a reception for the ALA Council, the ADL and Hadassah, and that they had nothing to worry about. What exactly was going to happen she didn't say, but it was clear that the long arm of Israeli censorship was about to be extended to embrace the New Orleans Convention Center.

Coverup and Spin

The Jewish Librarians later heard from a Young Republican stockbroker type named Aaron Albert, who said he had worked with CAMERA, a pro-Israel propaganda agency, as well as AIPAC, but evidently had been brought to the convention by Hadassah. Albert brought with him a flyer, published by the women's group which was to be distributed to ALA members the night of the vote.

The flyer carried a bold 48-point headline, "Let's stop fighting yesterday's wars." It suggested that "a new era has dawned" since the resolutions were drafted, and that the charges of censorship against Israel were "outdated and nuanced.; [and] grossly incompatible with the scholarly pursuits of the ALA." The failed "peace" talks in Washington became the cover for the coverup: "With the peace process between Israel and its Arab neighbors now well underway; this is not the time for divisive, counter-productive resolutions, etc."

Whether the flyer was actually needed or provided just a convenient cover is debatable. Within an hour and a half of the Jewish Librarians meeting, the first bomb landed. The ALA Council, without any previous indication that the subject was to be on its agenda,

revoked the 1992 resolution. Moreover, the Council approved guidelines for the future that will, in effect, allow them to overturn votes of the membership. At that meeting, according to the report published in American Libraries (July/Aug. '93), Pres. Miller noted that "The mail has been intense," and that criticism has included the condemnation in the Jewish press of the annual conference program on Israeli censorship. She was referring to the "anonymous" letter published in a number of Jewish papers mentioned earlier.

Nancy John, chair of the International Relations Committee informed the Council that the Israeli censorship was the only item on its agenda. At an earlier Executive Board meeting, citing the "countless hours" the issue had consumed, suggested that in the future, "refer these things to us; we know a little something about international relations" (Amer. Lib., *ibid.*). Now, ALA parliamentarian Edwin Bliss was asked to present the options available to the Council for dealing with a resolution it had passed, acted on, and now regretted.

"An organization has a right to change its mind," he said, accord to the American Libraries report. Sticking by the opinion rendered at the Midwinter conference that it was impossible to "rescind" something that had been distributed around the word, he suggested the term "revoke." And thus, Councilor Bernard Margolis so moved, the Council voted, and by a "safe margin" the resolution was interred. "By all accounts," noted American Libraries, "it is the first time in in its history that the ALA has taken such an action."

Jews Target Williams

Prior to the vote, Pres. Miller announced that a special "fact-finding" Task Force made up of three former ALA presidents had been appointed to "review" charges that Williams engaged in "censorship, personal harassment and suppression of freedom of expression."

Moreover, Williams was requested to appear before the ALA Executive Board the following day, preceding the full membership meeting, to answer criticisms that had been made against him.

Also on the carpet was SRRT chair Stephen Stilwell who was questioned by the chair, Pres. Miller regarding the SRRT's control over Williams' task force; the use of the ALA's name by the task force; whether or not it received outside funding (clearly implying a PLO connection) and why Israel was being singled out all of which he calmly fielded in defending the work of the task force and the resolution.

Miller acknowledged to Stillwell that the Council had received "a huge stack of letters," and that "we all have been receiving these letters and we're all under pressure." Cesar Cabellero, head of Extension Services for El Paso Community College, was the only member of the largely silent 13-person board to speak up in the defense of the resolution. "All our members have an inherent right to take stands on social issues. I don't think he should be questioned. SRRT has the right to take positions. I think this organization has a right to single out countries for violations of international freedom. Some of our members are so sensitive they can't separate principles from politics." There would be few such voices heard for the rest of the convention.

Williams was up next and took his seat at the foot of the long table. After he asked for and received permission to make a statement Miller repeated her criticisms about using the ALA's name and her "concern that we continue to pound on one country." "If you go to such extraordinary lengths to prevent Israel from being singled out," Williams replied, "you become an extension of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the U.S."

When asked, "How do you verify your facts?", Williams cited the Committee for Article 19 (the human rights convention against censorship), the Fund for Free Expression and the work of Israeli sociologist and demographer, Meron Benvenisti and noted that the ALA's International Resolutions Committee "did conclude, that the documentation was, in the main, very accurate."

Having failed to refute Williams' arguments, the Council shifted to another tack – how he conducted the work of his task force, and would not let go of it. It would be used on the floor of the convention, and afterward not only to undermine the resolution but to isolate Williams and effectively terminate his task force.

"We have no problems with what you do," he was told, in seeming contradiction to everything that had just taken place. "it's just sometimes how you do it."

It was clear, that night, as we were passing out flyers "Williams' facts competing with Hadassah's fiction" that something was afoot. **Jewish librarians in extraordinary numbers began arriving for the meeting**, most of whom, apparently, were not regular participants in ALA meetings. (Since ALA is not a union, its conventions are not delegated. Every member has a vote if she or he can get there).

When the issue of reaffirmation of the Israeli censorship resolution came to the floor – it was now certainly necessary since the Council had revoked the previous one – the atmosphere was so intimidating that a resolution condemning Egypt, which the SRRT was also going to present never got to the floor. SRRT Chair Stillwell arose to defend the resolution, citing its consistency with other actions by the Council such as its resolution opposing the Gulf War. He pointed out that **no one had "disputed the truth of the allegations" in the Israeli censorship resolution; rather the Council had succumbed to outside pressure in deciding to revoke it.**

His fellow SRRT member Sanford Berman called on the membership to show its disapproval of the Council's revocation action and reaffirm the resolution, but the votes just weren't there. Speaker after speaker got up to defend Israel, to denounce the resolution, to question the ALA's wisdom in taking positions on international issues – something that never seems to be a problem until it comes to Israel – and, in the atmosphere of triumphant intolerance that inundated every corner of the room – to all but **ask for Williams head on a platter**, calling for a special investigation of his activities and the end of the Task Force on Israeli Censorship. He certainly had pushed their button. Under those conditions, other librarians, some of them Jewish, who had supported the resolutions were clearly afraid to speak.

This time there was no progressive Israeli voice to shame the flag-wavers with the truth.

It Is Done

Following an overwhelming vote to cut-off debate, the resolution came to the floor. The relative handful still having the courage to swim against the tide, and who rose when the

“aye” vote was called, was no match for the hundreds of Jewish librarians (and their intimidated colleagues) who loudly stood up to declare the ALA another occupied Israeli territory.

“The vote was so lopsided it was ridiculous,” said ALA trustee Kuhlman. “What happened at ALA has been put to rest in a very definitive way” (No. Cal. Jewish Bulletin, July 16) The following day, the SRRT “got the message.” By a 9-4-1 vote, it stripped David of his task force chair, with the stipulation that until a replacement was found, every piece of correspondence or literature he wished to circulate, had to be approved by the SRRT chair. Goliath had won this round.

The Jewish Librarian’s Goldberg told the Washington Jewish Week’s (July 8) Sam Skolnik, that one of his committee’s goals was to take international political issues off the ALA’s front burner and put more apparent concerns up front. “Libraries in this country have tremendous problems,” he said. [The ALA] shouldn’t be involved in these complicated issues. Let’s stay out of it.”

Williams has other ideas and the last word.

“Although we were overpowered in New Orleans, this may well turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory for the Israel lobby. In the course of this long struggle, thousands of librarians were made aware of Israeli human rights abuses, and the ALA officially criticized them – causing great embarrassment for defenders of Israel in the U.S.

“The subsequent spectacle of the ALA leadership going down on its knees before the Israel lobby to exempt Israel from criticism will not go unnoticed by all those who sincerely believe in the consistent application of human rights principles. This issue will continue to haunt the ALA and the Israel lobby, until the time comes when America is fed-up with supporting an apartheid state in the Middle East.”

In the weeks following the convention, the special task force appointed to investigate Williams was canceled after (one would like to think) the ALA comprehended the

Kafkaesque nature of the project and the sad contribution the ALA had already made to the history of censorship.

Source: [American Dissident Voices](#)

A New Outlet for American Dissident Voices

We are sorry to have to say it, but it is a constant battle to secure my right to speak freely on the public airwaves. There are many threats to the continued airing of this program. One is the so-called “Fairness Doctrine” which is now making its way through Congress. It is very important for all of you to understand just what this so-called “Fairness Doctrine” is all about.

The Doctrine is promoted as a way to ensure that all points of view on controversial issues of public importance are presented on radio and television stations. Its actual effect, its intended effect is the exact opposite — it will stifle the expression of all non-Establishment points of view.

Here's how it works: Under the Doctrine, if a station airs a program dealing with a controversial issue — say this program, for example — any individual or group with an opposing point of view on that issue would be able to force the station to air its opposing point of view free of charge. If the Communist Workers Party or the NAACP don't like what I say on the radio, they would be able to demand equal time without paying for it. This, of course, would create a legal and logistical nightmare for radio and television licensees, with the ultimate effect that they would be unwilling to air any controversial programs at all, just to avoid all the hassle. Another effect, also intended by the framers of the so-called “Fairness Doctrine,” would be to put the final decision of what individuals and groups are given free time to air their views into the hands of the Federal courts. We much prefer the present situation, where honorable Americans are still free to purchase time on independent stations. If someone opposes our views, then, by God, let them purchase time just like we do! Today, by purchasing expensive airtime with funds donated by our listeners, we are at least able to add our ounce or two of truth to counterbalance the 10,000 tons of lies on the other side of the scale. But that is exactly the situation that the enemies of freedom want to put an end to. America's enemies already control 99.9% of what is broadcast on the AM, FM, and TV dials. They don't need to and don't want to purchase time to debate us. They want to use this law to intimidate stations into cancelling us. Americans need to say, “Thanks, but NO THANKS” to their Congressman, and urge them to reject the misnamed “Fairness Doctrine.”

Another form of intimidation practiced by America's enemies is economic intimidation. It is often used to try to get American Dissident Voices thrown off the air. Here's how it usually works: agents of the criminal foreign spy agency, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith or ADL for short, either openly in their official capacity, or covertly, depending upon the strength and reputation of the ADL in the town where the station is located; approach the radio station or some of its major advertisers. Pressure is applied, by threats of advertising boycotts or cancellation of lucrative contracts, or unfavorable publicity is threatened, backed up with proof of ADL influence in the newsroom. Sometimes well-known politicians who are ADL properties are brought in if the initial pressure fails to produce the desired effect. Sometimes, economic intimidation comes from local leftist or minority

activists, too. In either case, the result is a stifling of freedom of speech. Unfortunately, economic intimidation sometimes works, and it is with regret that I must announce that the two stations owned by the Positive Radio Group, with whom we have had an excellent relationship for over a year, have cancelled this program.

October 2nd will be the last day that American Dissident Voices will be carried on WKGM, Virginia Beach, Virginia; and on WNOW, Charlotte, North Carolina. Listeners to those two stations should get out paper and pencil and write the following information down. To replace WKGM and WNOW, we have signed on with 50,000-Watt station WLAC-1510 in Nashville, Tennessee. We'll start on WLAC on October 16th. WLAC covers the Charlotte and Virginia Beach areas as well as all of the Southeastern US, the Gulf Coast states, and the Midwest east of the Mississippi River. Beginning October 16th, and every Saturday thereafter, we'll be on WLAC, 1510 on your AM dial, at 11:30 p.m. Eastern Time, 10:30 p.m. Central Time. That's every Saturday, 11:30 p.m. Eastern Time, at 1510 on your AM dial. Drop us a line and let us know how it's coming in. We'll give you the address in a few moments.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is no better way to educate yourself, or open the eyes of your friends and family, than with the brilliant speech by Professor Revilo P. Oliver entitled What We Owe Our Parasites. What We Owe Our Parasites is an amazing speech, quite possibly the finest patriotic speech ever committed to cassette tape. Dr. Oliver was for 32 years Professor of the Classics at the University of Illinois, and has been a patriotic leader since 1954. He is not only an outstanding scholar, but is also one of greatest living stylists in the English language. With brilliant wit and humor, and an inspiring sweep of history, Dr. Oliver will explain to you the subversion of our nation and what it is about us that has made us such willing dupes of our enemies. There is no speech which can remotely compare in sheer intellectual impact to Dr. Oliver's What We Owe Our Parasites. It is now available to every listener who contributes \$12 or more to keep this program on the air as our Radio Offer Number 7. To receive this brilliant speech by a master of the orator's art, just send the largest gift you can afford today, a minimum of \$12, to National Vanguard Books, Department R, PO Box 90, Hillsboro WV 24946 USA, and remember to ask for Radio Offer Number 7.

Until next week, this is Kevin Alfred Strom telling you to keep on thinking free.

Source: Institute for Historical Review, <http://www.ihr.org/>

Anti-Defamation League Suffers Major Legal Defeat

Colorado Jury Orders Jewish Group to Pay \$10.5 Million for Defamatory Statements

In a legal decision rich with irony, a jury in a federal court case in Denver, Colorado, has found that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a powerful Jewish special interest group, had defamed a local couple. On April 28, 2000, the jurors awarded \$10.5 million in damages to William and Dorothy Quigley. This is the first court verdict ever against the influential 87-year-old organization. The award, a quarter of the ADL's \$45 million annual budget, was substantially more than the Quigleys had requested.

At a 1994 news conference, the ADL had accused the Quigleys, a couple in the Denver suburb of Evergreen, of perpetrating the worst anti-Semitic incident in the area in ten years. The ADL accused them of launching a campaign against their Jewish neighbors, Mitchell and Candace Aronson, to run them out of town and threatening to commit acts such as painting oven doors on their neighbors' home. Concluding a four week trial, the jury found that more than 40 statements by Saul F. Rosenthal, director of the ADL's Mountain States chapter, were defamatory and "not substantially true."

The Quigleys, who are Roman Catholic, and the Arons - neighbors on the same street two houses away - got along until the Arons' large dog allegedly attacked the Quigley's smaller dog. As the dispute escalated, Mitchell Aronson tuned in a police scanner to eavesdrop on private conversations by the Quigleys over their cordless telephone. The Arons' nearly 100 hours of recorded telephone conversations violated the amended federal wiretap law, which makes it illegal to record conversations on a cordless telephone, to transcribe the material, and to use the transcriptions for any purpose.

The Arons sought help from the ADL, whose local director publicly denounced the Quigleys as anti-Semites. Director Rosenthal illegally used the tapes to charge at a news conference in December 1994 that the Quigleys were engaged in "a vicious anti-Semitic campaign." He expanded on these charges later that same day in an interview on a Denver radio talk show.

No overt acts or physical actions followed any of the recorded conversations.

Acting on complaints from the Arons, the local District Attorney filed ethnic intimidation charges against the Quigleys. But the county prosecutor later dropped the charges and, in an open letter, apologized to the couple, saying he had found no evidence that either had engaged in "anti-Semitic conduct or harassment." The DA also paid the Quigleys \$75,000 as part of an out-of-court settlement.

Lawsuits by the Aronsons and the Quigleys against each other were eventually resolved, with no exchange of money.

In their lawsuit against the ADL and its local director, the Quigleys charged not only that the ADL had defamed them, but that the Jewish group was supportive of the illegal invasion of their privacy through its use of the improperly recorded telephone conversations.

During closing arguments, Quigley attorney Jay Horowitz said that while Dorothy Quigley had a “big mouth,” and may have said things over the telephone that she later regretted, there is no evidence that the Quigleys were anti-Semites. When talking about damages suffered by the Quigleys,

Horowitz noted that William Quigley, who was employed by United Artists theaters, was a marked man because of the ADL’s public allegations of anti-Semitism. His income, Horowitz argued, was less than half of what it would have been.

The numerous damage awards include one million dollars in economic and non-economic damages for William Quigley and \$500,000 for Dorothy Quigley. The couple was also awarded more than \$8.7 million in punitive damages and other, lesser amounts.

The ADL is appealing the verdict, expressing confidence that the jury’s award will be reduced, or even that the verdict will be thrown out altogether.

The Washington Jewish Week, a paper that serves the Jewish community of the nation’s capital, commented with sympathetic concern in an editorial: “In a disturbing irony, the Jewish world’s premier discrimination fighter, whose mission is ‘to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all people alike,’ found itself convicted of defamation ... When does being in the forefront mean invading someone’s personal privacy, and even violating the human dignity that ADL holds so dear?”

The Denver court’s verdict shows that the sometimes seemingly invincible Jewish activist group is not invulnerable. Unlike prominent political and social figures, who are often beholden to special interest groups such as the ADL, independent-spirited citizens, acting as jurors, can sometimes still defy such powerful organizations.

The ADL’s defeat in a Denver court was a consequence of its own arrogance in recklessly defaming the Quigleys. Such brazen contempt — not only for decency and common ethics, but even the law — is nothing new for the ADL. Similar arrogance was also manifest in the ADL’s extensive spying operation, which was uncovered in 1993, and its decades of censorship and intimidation activities directed against libraries, book publishers, journalists and Internet service providers. (See *The Watchdogs: A Close Look at Anti-Racist ‘Watchdog Groups’*, a well documented 102-page booklet by independent researcher Laird Wilcox [and available through the IHR].)

Although the ADL claims to fight discrimination and promote “fair treatment,” for decades it has been a staunch defender of Israel and its well-entrenched policies of discrimination against non-Jews, and of the Zionist state’s wars of aggression and numerous violations of international law. Similarly, in the United States the ADL upholds a double standard in ardently promoting Jewish ethnic-religious particularism while protesting comparable ethnic-racial particularism by non-Jews.

(Sources: “Charges of bigotry backfire,” The Denver Post, April 29, 2000; M. Janofsky, “Privacy Rights Win Over Bias Charges in Defamation Case,” The New York Times, May 13, 2000; “ADL won’t be deterred by court defeat,” JTA, Washington Jewish Week, May 18, 2000, p. 14; “Defaming Defamers”, Editorial, Washington Jewish Week, May 16, 2000, p. 16; H. Berkowitz & A. Foxman, “ADL in Denver: setting the record straight,” Washington Jewish Week, May 25, 2000, p. 18.)

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The Anti-Defamation League's National Director
is crazy like a Foxman

by Lenni Brenner

ABRAHAM FOXMAN, the ADL's National Director, is well and truly crazy, and for two reasons: 1) He libeled me and 2) he thinks he can get away with it.

The saying is that one good turn deserves another. Since Foxman and the ADL have spread malicious nonsense about me, I will tell the exact truth about them, putting their dishonesty about my ideas within the context of the ADL's unending history of right-wing stupidity and dishonor.

In October 1993, Foxman gave a speech at a Paris conference on xenophobia. Later he adapted it as an article, "Holocaust Denial: The Growing Danger," published in an ADL magazine, Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies, vol. 8, number 1, released in the Spring of 1994. There we find the following remarks:

"Another aspect of Holocaust 'revisionist' thinking can be found on the radical left. A writer named Lenni Brenner maintains that Zionists, in effect, were in league with the Nazis. He asserts that there was a close link between elements of the Zionist movement and the Nazi party, that Zionists were willing to foster and exploit anti-Semitism in Europe to bring about a Zionist state, and that they had proposed an alliance with Nazi Germany."

"Brenner's thesis, with its coupling of Zionists with Nazis, serves as a propaganda tool to undermine Israel: as such, it has found favor with the American radical left, and with the press of the former Soviet Union. The erstwhile Soviet daily Izvestia wrote of his work: 'During the World War, Brenner points out, Zionism showed its real meaning: for the sake of its ambitions, it sacrificed the blood of millions of Jews.' Brenner has also won approval on the other end of the spectrum, the neo-fascist right: His books have been promoted by the Institute for Historical Review." [1]

Has Foxman even read me on Zionism's role during the Nazi era? His speech and article unmistakably relied on "Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust Revisionism," prepared by Marc Caplan of the Research and Evaluation Department of the ADL, in 1993. Here we find the original, slightly longer, but no more honest, version of Foxman's libel, labeled "A Revisionist Echo on the Left." Foxman's two paragraphs on me are virtually the same as Caplan's first two paragraphs. Caplan added that:

"In 1987 this point of view surfaced in England, when a stridently anti-Zionist play, 'Perdition,' by Jim Allen, was scheduled for production at London's prestigious Royal Court Theater. The play generated intense public controversy and, finally, it did not open. The writer acknowledged Brenner's work as a source in writing his play, which portrayed a wartime Zionist leader who allegedly collaborated with the Nazis to save his family and other Zionists while deserting the rest of the community. Allen said he was seeking to mount 'the most lethal attack on Zionism ever written.'" [2]

I've written four books and about 100 articles. Jim Allen is a prize-winning British playwright. I defy the ADL to point to one word in either of our writings that supports even a particle of the Holocaust revisionists' depravity.

In the February 18, 1985 New Republic, Eric Breindel, now an editor of the New York Post, reported that my first book, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators,

"has been applauded, and made available by the Institute for Historical Review, a pseudo-scientific flat-earth society which endeavors to prove that the Holocaust was a hoax." [3]

Not having seen anything on the book by the Institute, I wrote them and received a letter from Tom Marcellus of the IHR. They had 'promoted' the book on two occasions. They sent me a booklist:

"397. ZIONISM IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS: A REAPPRAISAL by Lenni Brenner. An astounding, bombshell expose of the active collaboration between Nazis and Zionists, by a courageous anti-Zionist Jew who spent years piecing together the story. Details the close links between the 'Zionist Revisionism' movement (to which both the young Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir belonged) and the Jewish question experts of the Nazi Party, Brenner's charge, overwhelmingly documented: that Zionism and its leaders from the beginning were prepared to go to any lengths to achieve their goal of a state in Palestine -- lengths that included fostering and exploiting anti-Semitism in Europe, and proposing an alliance with Germany at the zenith of that nation's power. This book has certain surviving WWII-era Zionists quaking in their boots -- including the present Prime Minister of Israel!" [4]

The IHR's letter went on:

We also promoted it in an IHR Newsletter of a couple of years ago, but the remaining copies of that issue and the records concerning it were all lost in an arson that completely destroyed our business address and inventory on 4 July last. [5]

I replied to Marcellus in a letter, on April 11, 1985. I quoted from it in my third book, Jews In America Today, published in 1986:

"The depravity of the Institute is clearly expressed in a box, 'The Holocaust,' in the same booklet: 'A catch-all term to identify the alleged extermination of European Jewry which insists on the following presumptions: 1) The Nazis executed a deliberate plan to destroy (not resettle) European Jewry, (2) Six million or more Jews perished as a result, and (3) A majority of these were killed by poison gas (Zyklon B) in gas chambers designed for the purpose of taking human life en masse. This is the orthodox or Establishment view. A subscriber to this view could be called an EXTERMINATIONIST: whereas one who endeavors to show that one or more of the above presumptions is not factual is a REVISIONIST.'"

"All of the above is bullshit. I share not one iota of your mad ideology. I am your implacable opponent. I do not believe you have any right to exist.... and I support any and all attempts, by any and all, Zionist or anti-Zionist, to bust up your institute and your meetings. [6]

I had sent a letter to the New Republic, in response to Breindel, but Martin Peretz's strange journal wouldn't run it. Fortunately Alex Cockburn defended me in June 29, 1985 Nation. Breindel replied, in the August 1, 1985 Nation. Cockburn retorted that:

"Breindel is fond of saying that the Institute... applauds and disseminates Brenner's work, though he denies that he is thus trying to saddle Brenner with the Institute's views. But of course that is what Breindel has been trying to do.... The Institute lists Brenner's book as it does books by such diverse people as A.P.J. Taylor, former Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharett and New Republic contributors Ronald Radosh and Allen Weinstein. [7]

Caplan and Foxman may have read of this in the New Republic and The Nation. But at any rate Caplan certainly was aware of my opinion of the IHR when he wrote Hitler's Apologists. He had attacked me in a previous ADL pamphlet, "Jew-Hatred As History. An Analysis of the Nation of Islam's and The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews." In that screed he had quoted -- out of context, of course -- from Jews In America Today. So he certainly read of the entire IHR episode, as I devoted six pages to it.

It is in order for me to dismiss the Institute's praise of Zionism in the Age of the Dictators by saying that this is of no more importance the fact that roaches like gourmet cooking just as much as you do. But readers are entitled to know why these nutsies liked it. Basically, they minimize the Holocaust: All right, so Hitler didn't exactly like Jews. And he rounded them up, as enemies, and some of them died of disease. And besides, what about Roosevelt rounding up

the Japanese Americans on the West Coast? And look at Stalin's Katyn massacre, and Churchill's horrific bombing of Dresden, and the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Here the Yids are, yelling about Hitler, while the Allied leaders were monsters, just like Hitler. Damned if it isn't true that everyone has skeletons in their closet. Why go on dumping on po' ol' Adolf?' Given this loony psychology, their catalogue is full of books on Allied crimes, no less crimes for being emphasized by these crazies. In the same way, my exposure of real Zionist activities during the Nazi era became additional 'proof' that Hitler was no worse than the rest of the wicked world.

As I don't waste my time reading such crackpots, I have no idea if they still even mention my book. Certainly they are insane if they went on praising me, or my book, after I told them that I hailed anyone who burns their headquarters. As the ADL monitors their publications, it is reasonable to think that the ADL would have mentioned this in their attacks on me.

Caplan's paragraph re Jim Allen's *Perdition* is disingenuous in its omissions. Allen is a prize-winning British TV playwright. *Perdition* was based on a chapter in *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, dealing with the role of Rezs-Kasztner, a Zionist leader in Nazi-occupied Hungary in 1944. The play was driven out of the Royal Court Theatre by a Zionist campaign, but their methods alienated public opinion. David Cesarani, now an editor of *Patterns of Prejudice*, published by the London Jewish establishment's Institute of Jewish Affairs, admitted this in the July 3, 1987 *Jewish Chronicle*:

"Was it worth all the fuss? Had the play gone on, it would have been seen by around 2,000 people. It might have attracted some bad reviews and then disappeared.... In the event.... Personal representations coincided with the threat of a mass protest outside the theatre, the combined effect of which made it seem as if pressure was being applied.... This was (theatre director) Stafford Clark's autonomous decision, but the clamour made it appear disastrously as if he had been bullied into censoring the play.... It is certainly difficult to know how to respond...without resorting to heavy-handed methods. [8]

In fact *Perdition* was produced, first in print, then as a reading at the Edinburgh Festival in 1987 and then in London in May, 1988. It received massive media attention, including favorable reviews. Stuart Hood reflected on the print version in the July 10, 1987 *Guardian*:

"There are certain themes from the history of the Second World War which are subject to taboos.... (T)he Holocaust has come to play an important ideological role. It has been in this sense appropriated by the state of Israel and the Zionist movement. It has thus become a shield against criticism of the policies and actions of that state and of Zionism itself..... Allen was a bold man to write *Perdition*.... Although he develops his argument with understanding

of the terrible dilemmas of the main persons involved, his criticism of the role of Zionist ideology, then and now, has led to his being accused of anti-Semitism, of which his whole political past is a denial.... By refusing to stage a play which honestly and compassionately examines a terrible moment in human history, the Royal Court was guilty of failure of nerve, of civil courage. By giving way to powerful lobbying it has reinforced an indefensible political taboo." [9]

There is more to this story. The Jewish Chronicle for November 27, 1992 was forced to run an article which announced that:

"The collapse of a libel action has allowed the controversial anti-Zionist play 'Perdition' to be published in full for the first time.... Pluto Press, omitted several pages from the original text because of a libel action which was brought by Nathan Dror, a senior figure in the Israeli Labour Federation, who headed the Jewish rescue committee in Switzerland during the war. He brought the action... for references to a letter quoted in 'Perdition,' allegedly written by Mr. Dror during the Second World War, which claimed Jewish deaths would help justify the foundation of a Jewish state. The action, heard in the High Court in London, collapsed due to lack of evidence." [10]

Dror's letter will be quoted below, in its proper chronological place. I had quoted it in my book, which appeared in Britain and America, in 1983. Dror didn't sue me. But when Allen quoted the same letter, he was sued. Because of Britain's reactionary libel laws, the publisher was compelled to print Allen's play with a blank space where the letter was cited because the libel case was before the courts. I had an accompanying essay in that printing of the play, and had the unique experience for an American writer, of having it in effect censored, with similar blank spaces where I also quoted the letter.

II - Zionism and the Nazis: The documentary record

By now two things should be clear to open-minded readers: 1) My ideas regarding Zionism's role during the Holocaust have nothing in common with Holocaust revisionists, who deny that the Holocaust happened, and 2) the Zionist movement has used both libel and a spurious libel suit in its attempt to keep the facts from the public. But at this point readers are better informed as to what I didn't say than what I do say re Zionism's Holocaust role. Naturally I refer them to Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, which is obtainable in bookstores and libraries. But for now I will describe some of the low points of their activities, using a small part of the documentation included in my book.

The Nazis came to power in January, 1933. On June 21 the Zionistische Vereinigung fur Deutschland (the Zionist Federation of Germany) sent a memorandum to the Nazi Party. The document first saw the light of day in 1961, when it was printed in Israel, but in German. The Nazis were asked, very politely:

"(M)ay we therefore be permitted to present our views, which, in our opinion, makes possible a solution in keeping with the principles of the new German State of National Awakening and which at the same time might signify for Jews a new ordering of the conditions of their existence..."

"(A)n answer to the Jewish question truly satisfying to the national state can be brought about only with the collaboration of the Jewish movement that aims at a social, cultural, and moral renewal of Jewry...a rebirth of national life, such as is occurring in German life through adhesion to Christian and national values, must also take place in the Jewish national group. For the Jew, too, origin, religion, community of fate and group consciousness must be of decisive significance in the shaping of his life...."

"On the foundation of the new state, which has established the principle of race, we wish so to fit our community into the total structure so that for us too, in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activity for the Fatherland is possible... Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and for the maintaining of the purity of the Jewish group... (R)ootedness in one's own spirituality protects the Jew from becoming the rootless critic of the national foundation of German essence. The national distancing which the state desires would thus be brought about easily as the result of an organic development... We believe in the possibility of an honest relationship of loyalty between a group-conscious Jewry and the German state..."

"For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question no sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples, and at the present moment especially the German people."

"The realization of Zionism could only be hurt by resentment of Jews abroad against the German development. Boycott propaganda -- such as is currently being carried on against Germany in many ways -- is in essence un-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and to build... Our observations, presented herewith, rest on the conviction that, in solving the Jewish problem according to its own lights, the German Government will have full understanding for a candid and clear Jewish posture that harmonizes with the interests of the state." [11]

I admit to being the Shakespeare of our times, but I didn't make that up. Indeed the Lenni Brenner of the Elizabethan age didn't have the imagination to concoct anything as grotesque as this memorandum. It is found, complete, in A

Holocaust Reader, edited by the late Lucy Dawidowicz. But let's not stop here. Let's look at some more Zionist wonderfulness.

The Nazis used the World Zionist Organization to break the efforts of those Jews who were trying to boycott German goods. German Jews could put money into a Berlin bank. It was then used to buy export goods which were sold in Palestine. When the emigres arrived there, they would receive payment for the goods that had been sold. German Jews were attracted to this scheme because it was the least painful way of getting their wealth out of the country. However, with the Nazis determining the rules, they naturally got worse with time. By 1938 users of the "Transfer Agreement" were losing 30% and even 50% of their money. But this was still three times, and eventually five times better than the losses endured by Jews whose money went to other destinations.

The WZO naturally wanted better terms. Accordingly, in 1937, the Haganah, the military arm of the Labor Zionists, who dominated the Jewish Agency, the WZO's headquarters in Palestine, obtained Berlin's permission to negotiate directly with the Sicherheitsdienst (SD), the Security Service of the SS. A Haganah agent, Feival Polkes, arrived in Germany on February 26, 1937 and Adolf Eichmann was assigned to negotiate with him. Their conversations were recorded in a report by Eichmann's superior, Franz-Albert Six. It was found in SS files captured by the Americans at the end of WWII. David Yisraeli, a well-known Israeli scholar, reprinted it, in German, in his PhD thesis, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945*:

"Polkes is a national-Zionist... As a Haganah man he fights against Communism and all aims of Arab-British friendship... He declared himself willing to work for Germany in the form of providing intelligence as long as this does not oppose his own political goals. Among other things he would support German foreign policy in the Near East. He would try to find oil sources for the German Reich without affecting British spheres of interest if the German monetary regulations were eased for Jewish emigrants to Palestine." [12]

Polkes had to cut short his visit. But in October it was the Zionists' turn to receive Eichmann. He arrived in Haifa on October 2, 1937. Polkes took him to a kibbutz, but the British CID had become aware of Eichmann's presence and expelled him to Egypt. Polkes followed him and further discussions were held in Cairo. The German report, photocopied in its entirety in volume five of John Mendelsohn's *Holocaust*, gives us the rationale for the Haganah's would-be collaboration:

"(I)n Jewish nationalist circles people were very pleased with the radical German policy, since the strength of the Jewish population in Palestine would be so far increased thereby that in the foreseeable future the Jews could reckon upon numerical superiority over the Arabs in Palestine." [13]

Polkes passed on two pieces of intelligence information to the Nazis:

"(T)he Pan-Islamic World Congress convening in Berlin is in direct contact with two pro-Soviet Arab leaders: Emir Shekib Arslan and Emir Adil Arslan.... The illegal Communist broadcasting station whose transmission to Germany is particularly strong, is, according to Polkes' statement, assembled on a lorry that drives along the German-Luxembourg border when transmission is on the air." [14]

The Laborites main Zionist rivals in the '30s were the "Zionist-Revisionist" followers of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Their Revisionism had nothing in common with present-day Holocaust Revisionism. They wanted to revise the Zionist and British policy towards the Palestinians. They wanted to crush them by force, with an "iron wall" of weaponry. Today they are the dominant ideological tendency in Israel's opposition Likud bloc.

As the British weren't in Palestine to do Jabotinsky's bidding, he and his movement looked to Mussolini's Italy as a potential replacement for Britain as Zionism's then necessary imperial patron against overwhelming Palestinian numbers. While Jabotinsky insisted that he personally didn't like Fascism, Wolfgang von Weisl, the Revisionists' financial director, had no hesitation about telling a Bucharest paper that although opinions among the Revisionists varied, in general they sympathized with Fascism. He eagerly announced that he personally was a supporter of Fascism, and he rejoiced at the victory of Fascist Italy in Abyssinia as a triumph of the White races against the Black. [15]

Italy was quite willing to support the Revisionists, who were obviously the Fascists of Zionism. In 1934 Mussolini allowed the Betar, the Revisionist youth group, to set up a squadron at the maritime academy at Civitavecchia run by the Blackshirts. The March 1936 issue of L'Idea Sionistica, the Revisionists' Italian magazine, described the ceremonies at the inauguration of the Betar squad's headquarters:

"The order -- 'Attention!' A triple chant ordered by the squad's commanding officer -- 'Viva L'Italia! Viva IL Re! Viva IL Duce!' resounded, followed by the benediction which rabbi Aldo Lattes invoked in Italian and in Hebrew for God, for the king and for IL Duce ... Giovinezza (the Fascist Party's anthem) was sung with much enthusiasm by the Betarim." [16]

Even after the outbreak of WWII, a wing of Jabotinsky's following tried to get the patronage of the Axis powers. According to their crackpot notions, Britain was the main enemy of Jewry because London controlled Palestine and wouldn't establish a Jewish state which, they believed, was the only solution to anti-Semitism.

Accordingly they sent an agent to Lebanon, then run by the Vichy-French regime. He delivered a memorandum to a German diplomat. After the war it was found in the files of the German embassy in Turkey. The Ankara document called itself a "Proposal of the National Military Organization (Irgun Zvai Leumi) Concerning the Solution of the Jewish Question in Europe and the Participation of the NMO in the War on the side of Germany." It is dated *11 January 1941. At that time they still thought of themselves as the real Irgun, Jabotinsky's underground terrorists. Later they adapted the name Lohami Herut Yisrael, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel. However they are universally known as the Stern Gang, the name given to them by the British, after their founder, Avraham Stern. Their entire document is reprinted in Yisraeli's thesis, in German. They told the Nazis that:

"The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question; but this can only be made possible and complete through the settlement of those masses in the home of the Jewish people, Palestine, and through the establishment of a Jewish state in its historical boundaries... The NMO... is of the opinion that... The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by a treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of a maintained and strengthened future German position of power in the Near East. Proceeding from these considerations, the NMO in Palestine, under the condition the above-mentioned national aspirations of the Israeli freedom movement are recognized on the side of the German Reich, offers to actively take part in the war on Germany's side." [17]

At the time the Sternists were a numerically insignificant minority of the Zionist movement and were reviled as the pro-Nazi loons that they obviously were. This monstrous offer took on vastly greater contemporary significance when one of their leaders, Yitzhak Yzernitsky, later became prime minister of Israel under his underground name, Yitzhak Shamir. As it happened, I was in Jerusalem when Menachem Begin nominated him as his successor and had the complete text of the traitors' memorandum printed, in English, in an Arab-owned paper. An Israeli daily used the occasion to confront Shamir on this episode. The story was picked up in the 21 October 1983 London Times. Yes, Shamir admitted,

"There was a plan to turn to Italy for help and to make contact with Germany on the assumption that these could bring about a massive Jewish immigration. I opposed this, but I did join Lehi after the idea of contacts with the Axis countries was dropped." [18]

Even if we were to take this fairy tale as gospel, didn't Shamir confess to knowingly joining a pro-Nazi movement? But he was lying. In 1963, Gerold Frank wrote *The Deed*, a study of the 1944 Stern Gang assassination of Lord Moyne, Churchill's High Commissioner for the Middle East. Frank tells of an incident shortly after Jabotinsky's death, on August 3, 1940. The Jabotinsky loyalists,

led by David Raziel, and the Sternists sent speakers to try to convince the undecided among the Irgun to go with them. Frank relates that:

"(T)he movement all but disintegrated. In September Stern walked out and set up his own group... Eliahu (Bet Zouri) and David Danon... were summoned to a remote schoolhouse... (T)hey were to be addressed by a representative of each faction... (A) short, square-shouldered, square-faced, muscular man awaited them. Itzhak Yizernitsky... spoke tersely, summing up the reasons behind Stern's decision to walk out... 'Men!' His deep voice rumbled, 'If you want to smell fire and powder, come with us!' (pp. 91-3)... David, for his part, could not forget Yizernitsky's 'fire and powder' remark in the days immediately following the Raziel-Stern split." [19]

Frank had covered the trial of the two Stern Gang youths who killed Moyne. Shamir organized the slaying. In 1963 Frank had no reason to invent Yizernitsky-Shamir's speech, which is a minor incident in the book. But Shamir had the best reason in the world to make up his 1983 fraud. The world was still naive. It wasn't ready for an Israeli Prime Minister who would admit that he wanted to ally himself with Hitler.

By 1994, when Shamir wrote his memoirs, *Summing Up*, he had abandoned his lie about only joining the Sternists after they had given up their treason to the Jews. Now we are told that:

In September 1940, my life altered too, for I left the Irgun with Yair (Stern's nom de guerre - LB) to enter the deeper underground from which Lehi fought our outlawed war against the British. [20] But he still cannot honestly deal with his own personal treason. He doesn't even mention their memorandum, known to all scholars, of course, but he rationalizes it away:

"What Yair hoped for was that the Nazis, so eager to rid themselves of Jews, would help to bring the majority of Jews from Europe, thru the British blockade, to Palestine, thus making havoc of British illusions regarding post-war control of the Middle East, facilitating Allied defeat and, possibly, if Britain knew what was afoot, even producing the withdrawal of the White Paper (limiting Jewish immigration - LB). Whatever the result, he reasoned, Jews would be brought to Palestine. He didn't make this plan public, but Lehi termed the world war a conflict between the forces of evil, between Gog and Magog, and made unmistakable its position - again it must be remembered that all this was in 1940 and 1941 -- when it was reasonable to feel that there was little for Jews to chose from between the Germans and the British. All that counted for Yair was that this idea might, after all, be a way to save Jews about whom, no one else, least of all the British, seemed to care. Nothing came of it, of course. By that time, though no one yet knew it, the Nazis were already at work on a very different solution to the Jewish problem. In the meanwhile, however, Lehi was not only feared and

disapproved of by the Yishuv (the Jews of Palestine - LB), but also suspected of fifth column activities by a public that went on believing -- incredibly, in the face of accumulating evidence to the contrary -- that the British would open the gates of Palestine to the anguished Jews and which refused to be weaned of emotional and political dependence on Britain." [21]

The destruction of Hungarian Jewry is one of the most tragic chapters in the Holocaust. When the Germans occupied Hungary, on March 19, 1944, its Jewish community leaders knew what to expect, as the country had been a refuge for Polish and Slovakian Jews. In postwar years, the role of Rezsö Kasztner, a leader of the Budapest Rescue Committee, was subjected to detailed scrutiny in Israeli courtrooms.

In 1953 the Ben-Gurion government prosecuted an elderly pamphleteer, Malchiel Gruenwald, for having libeled Kasztner as a collaborator for his dealings with Eichmann in 1944. Gruenwald denounced Kasztner for having kept silent about German lies that the Hungarian Jews were only being resettled at Kenyermező, in Hungary. In return, he was allowed to organize a special train to Switzerland, and place his family and friends on it. Further, Gruenwald claimed, Kasztner later protected SS Colonel Becher from hanging as a war criminal by claiming that he saved Jewish lives.

On June 21, 1955, Judge Benjamin Halevi found that there had been no libel of Kasztner, apart from the fact that he hadn't been motivated by monetary considerations. Later yet, Ben Hecht, a Zionist, and one of the most famous American writers of his day, wrote up the trial and its appeal in his book, *Perfidy*. Hecht quoted Halevi's declaration that:

"The Nazis' patronage of Kasztner, and their agreement to let him save six hundred prominent Jews, were part of the plan to exterminate the Jews. Kasztner was given a chance to add a few more to that number. The bait attracted him. The opportunity of rescuing prominent people appealed to him greatly. He considered the rescue of the most important Jews as a great personal success and a success for Zionism." [22]

The Labor government remained loyal to their party comrade and appealed the case. Attorney-General Chaim Cohen put the fundamental issue before the Supreme Court:

"Kasztner did nothing more and nothing less than was done by us in rescuing the Jews and bringing them to Palestine... You are allowed --in fact it is your duty -- to risk losing the many in order to save the few...It has always been our Zionist tradition to select the few out of many in arranging the immigration to Palestine. Are we therefore to be called traitors?" [23]

On March 3, 1957 Kasztner was gunned down by right-wing Zionist assassins. However the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case on January 17, 1958. It ruled, 5 to 0, that Kasztner had perjured himself on Becher's behalf, But it concluded, 3 to 2, that he could not be legitimately considered a collaborator. The most forceful majority argument was presented by Judge Shlomo Chesin:

"The question is not whether a man is allowed to kill many in order to save a few, or vice-versa. The question is altogether in another sphere and should be defined as follows: a man is aware that a whole community is awaiting its doom. He is allowed to make efforts to save a few, although part of his efforts involve concealment of truth from the many; or should he disclose the truth to the many though it is his best opinion that this way everybody will perish. I think the answer is clear. What good will the blood of the few bring if everyone is to perish?... There is no law, either national or international, which lays down the duties of a leader in an hour of emergency toward those who rely on leadership and are under his instructions." [24]

Indeed the most important aspect of the trial was its full exposure of the working philosophy of the WZO throughout the Nazi era: the sanctification of the betrayal of the many in the interest of a selected immigration. Once we understand this, we can deal with Nathan Dror's letter.

The Nazis began taking the Jews of Slovakia in March 1942. Rabbi Michael Dov-Ber Weissmandel, a member of the Agudat Yisrael, an ultra-Orthodox political party, contacted Dieter Wisliceny, Eichmann's representative, and told him that he was in touch with the leaders of world Jewry. Would the Nazi take money for Slovakia's Jews? Money was paid and the surviving Jews were spared until 1944.

Weissmandel became one of the outstanding Jewish rescue figures during the Holocaust because he was the first to demand that the Allies bomb Auschwitz.. His post-war book, *Min HaMaitzer* (From the Depths) written in Talmudic Hebrew, also tells of his further efforts to pay off the Nazis to save Jewish lives. Wisliceny took the matter up with Berlin and told the rabbi, in 1943, that he could have all the Jews in western Europe and the Balkans for \$2 million in American money, then a substantial sum. Weissmandel sent a courier to Switzerland to try to get the money from Jewish organizations. The courier brought back a letter from Nathan Schwalb, the representative of the Hechalutz, a youth section of the Labor Party. Dror is Schwalb's Zionist, i.e., Hebrew, name. Weissmandel described the document:

"There was another letter in the envelope, written in a strange foreign language and at first I could not decipher at all which language it was until I realized that this was Hebrew written in Roman letters, and written to Schwalb's friends in Pressburg (Bratislava)... It is still before my eyes, as if I had

reviewed it a hundred and one times. This was the content of the letter: 'Since we have the opportunity of this courier, we are writing to the group that they must constantly have before them that in the end the Allies will win. After their victory they will divide the world again between the nations, as they did at the end of the first world war. Then they unveiled the plan for the first step and now, at the war's end, we must do everything so that Eretz Yisroel will become the state of Israel, and important steps have already been taken in this direction. About the cries coming from your country, we should know that all the Allied nations are spilling much of their blood, and if we do not sacrifice any blood, by what right shall we merit coming before the bargaining table when they divide nations and lands at the war's end? Therefore it is silly, even impudent, on our part to ask these nations who are spilling their blood to permit their money into enemy countries in order to protect our blood -- for only with blood shall we get the land. But in respect to you, my friends, atem taylu, and for this purpose I am sending you money illegally with this messenger.'" [25]

The letter startled rabbi Weissmandel, to say the least. He pondered over it many times:

"After I had accustomed myself to this strange writing, I trembled, understanding the meaning of the first words which were 'only with blood shall we attain land.' But days and weeks went by, and I did not know the meaning of the last two words. Until I saw from something that happened that the words 'atem taylu' were from 'tiyul' (to walk which was their special term for 'rescue.') In other words: you my fellow members, my 19 or 20 close friends, get out of Slovakia and save your lives and with the blood of the remainder --the blood of all the men, women, old and young and the sucklings -- the land will belong to us. Therefore, in order to save their lives it is a crime to allow money into enemy territory --but to save you beloved friends, here is money obtained illegally." [26]

He went on: It is understood that I do not have these letters -- for they remained there and were destroyed with everything else that was lost. [27]

Weissmandel assured us that the dedicated Zionist rescue workers in Slovakia were appalled by Schwalb-Dror's letter. But it expressed the morbid thoughts of the rancid elements running the WZO: Instead of Zionism being the hope of the Jews, their blood was to be the salvation of Zionism.

Reasonable readers have seen for themselves that the ADL libeled me. But they may say that 'every movement has its lunatic fringe. Libelers are not reviewers. What do responsible Zionist historians have to say about Brenner and his charges?'

Walter Laqueur, the chairman of the International Research Council of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, devoted six pages to attacking me in the November 2, 1987 New Republic. (Again, I sent in a reply, but Martin Peretz has no honor and his magazine did not run it.) Laqueur insists that:

"Even if all his facts were correct, Brenner's book would not be a serious study of Zionism, any more than a collection of profiles in scurrility from Benedict Arnold to Al Capone would be a serious history of the United States." [28]

Surely Capone wasn't the last American rogue! At any rate, after showing me to be the monster that I surely am, this Zionist defense attorney makes a few concessions concerning my charges:

"It is quite true that some Zionists should not have looked for Mussolini's support, even in the 1920s; they were grievously mistaken to do so... It is true, moreover, that German Zionists did not fully understand the meaning of Hitler when he came to power in 1933. Some of their comments and declarations make embarrassing reading 50 years later." [29]

Laqueur wrote his plaidoyer for his movement's treachery before Schwalb-Dror's suit had been flung through the courtroom door. In the wake of that debacle for Zionism, his comments sound more than a bit odd:

"The story of one Nathan Schwalb... is absolutely crucial for the play.... Still, something went very wrong with this star witness for the prosecution... Schwalb is alive... Thus, to their dismay, Allen and Brenner found themselves suddenly confronted with a libel action. Instead of refusing to change a single word in their manuscript, they have excised ten pages from Perdition. They must know that they could not possibly make their case in a court of law -- or indeed, in the court of public opinion." [30]

In fact Laqueur was deliberately deceptive in this matter. On page 144 of his 1980 book, *The Terrible Secret*, the great historian himself had reported that Schwalb-Dror refused access to his files to scholars.

Robert Wistrich is a professor of modern Jewish History at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He devoted not a few words to denouncing me in his book, *Between Redemption and Perdition*. He:

"(W)ould claim that the falsifiers of the anti-Israeli Left who now rewrite the history of the Holocaust as a story of Nazi-Zionist 'collaboration' are no less dangerous than the neo-Nazi 'revisionists' and possibly more

effective... (W)orks by Lenni Brenner, such as Zionism in the Age of the Dictators... are increasingly symptomatic of the times we live in." [31]

Nevertheless he, like Laqueur, has to make a few admissions that some of my charges are quite true:

"In my view the entire Jewish leadership of that generation -- including the Zionists -- failed the test of the times and no useful purpose is served by covering this up. Nor can it be denied, given that the major priority of the Zionist movement at the time was indeed building Palestine, that the tragedy of Diaspora Jewry was inevitably given less attention than it deserved. Equally, one can make a reasonable case that Zionists did not fight anti-Semitism before 1939 with the appropriate vigour, that some Zionists favoured the principle of racial separateness, and that others wanted to develop a 'special relationship' with the Nazis for opportunistic or other reasons." [32]

Readers must realize that not one responsible historian grants a flyspeck of credence to even a syllable of any Holocaust revisionist's scribblings. But even though Foxman and Caplan insist that my writings are "another aspect of Holocaust 'revisionist' thinking," two star Zionist historians confessed that a raft of my accusations are --alas! -- all too true. So much for the Anti-Defamation League's crude attempt to defame me.

III – The squalid history of the ADL

Even now, after I've adduced overwhelming evidence that the Zionist movement failed European Jewry in its fatal hour, and that therefore the ADL has libeled me, readers may ask a bewildered question: Why is the ADL doing this? That is because the public is so appalled at what the Nazis did to the Jews that it usually doesn't think to ask what the ADL did for the Jews. Additionally, most people identify the ADL with its contemporary reports on anti-Semitism. It appears to be a bone fide civil rights watchdog. But it did nothing for the Jews in the Nazi era and it has always been an ultra-rightist nest.

The ADL is an autonomous branch of the B'nai B'rith (The Sons of the Covenant), an international fraternal order, established on October 13, 1843, with the declared "mission of uniting Israelites in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity." [33] The first challenge confronting the group was the slavery question, which it evaded in the interest of maintaining unity between northern and southern Jews. The ADL itself was set up in 1913, the year that a Jew, Leo Frank, was lynched in Georgia. Its role in fighting anti-Semitism in the years before Hitler came to power was pathetic. Deborah Moore's B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership says that:

"(T)he ADL's internal-education section (was) devoted to changing the behavior of Jews perceived to be unethical in the eyes of Americans... In 1928, commenting on a lynching in Illinois, the (B'nai B'rith) Magazine had admitted that 'when another kind of a man gets hanged, we feel those revulsions that are natural at the sight of a fellow-being going to his doom in the flush of life. But when we read of a Jew being hanged, we discover ourselves feeling resentful, not towards the hanging but towards the erring Jew.'"

The Magazine had concluded that "the sinning of the Jew is counted by men not alone against himself but against his people likewise." [34]

A booklet, This is B'nai B'rith, published in 1943 by the organization, listed very few activities for those years, with the main ADL accomplishment being to effect:

"A profound change in the treatment of Jews in vaudeville. Jewish comedians were loath in some instances to correct their caricature of their fellow Jews, but earnest efforts on the part of the League in presenting the social aspects of the problem resulted in pronounced modification of the objectionable "humor." [35]

This is B'nai B'rith talking vaguely about the ADL's anti-Nazi career in the years between Hitler's taking power and the war:

"In the years of persecution and propaganda that followed in the wake of 1933, the A.D.L., through its program of research, widespread fact dissemination, neutralization of libels and a systematic campaign of education for democracy to counteract the effects of un-American movements, was able to make a major contribution to the common struggle against anti-Semitism." [36]

The booklet couldn't say more because the ADL and B'nai B'rith role was disgraceful. The spontaneous reaction of American Jews to the Nazis' ascendency to power was to boycott German goods. But there were those who opposed a boycott. These worthies confined themselves to charity efforts for German Jewry and its refugees. Not least of these do-nothings was the B'nai B'rith. The B'nai B'rith Magazine ran an editorial in its May, 1933 issue. Be sure you are sitting down when you read this:

"Criticism is heard: B'nai B'rith did not join the public protests against the German-Jewish tragedy!... The members of this organization have cause to be proud of their affiliation with a Jewish body that obscured its own prestige in order to serve its German brethren the better... With the Hitler government threatening reprisals against Jews, should B'nai B'rith have rushed forward with loud protests?... Even those who were at first hot for public protest have come to see that discretion is the better part of valor in an hour

when lives are in the balance... As for B'nai B'rith, it feels that its action in this crisis will make a worthy chapter in its history. [37]

Samuel Untermeyer, leader of the boycott movement, explained the stance of elements like B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee (the parent of today's Commentary magazine, which the B'nai B'rith always bracketed itself with, and which also opposed boycotting Hitler). Boycott, he said, in 1933,

"conjures up to them images of force and illegality, such as have on occasions in the past characterized struggles between labor unions and their employers. As these timid souls are capitalists and employers, the word and all that it implies is hateful to their ears." [38]

The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust article on the B'nai B'rith reports that even after the Nazis closed down the organization in Germany, in 1937, the president of the order "remained opposed to public protest and boycott, and still believed that 'quiet diplomacy' could help the Jews of Germany." The Encyclopedia goes on:

"B'nai B'rith, fearful of arousing antisemitism in the United States -- like most American Jews at the time -- did not challenge the quota system of the 1924 Immigration Act and did not try to arouse public opinion against the administration's policy of not fully utilizing even the quotas provided by that act." [39]

Nor did the ADL do anything of any significance in the fight against the German-American Bund and its home-grown allies, the followers of the Catholic clerical-fascist, Father Coughlan, or the KKK. Nathan Belth's *A Promise to Keep*, published in 1979 by the ADL, mentions a pamphlet on Coughlin, published in 1939 by a coalition of Jewish groups, including the ADL. It then relates that "The League and the (American Jewish) Committee... had as a matter of policy and tactics been inclined to maintain low profiles in public." [40] When the Bund staged a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden on February 20, 1939, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party called a counter-demonstration. Fifty-thousand Jews and others fought a five hour street battle with the cops, who protected the Jew-haters. But the night belonged to the demonstrators. The 20,000 Nazis and Coughlanites would have been mauled if the police weren't present. The ADL did absolutely nothing to fight the Nazis that night. Indeed it was never prepared to fight the enemies of the Jews.

IV - The ADL and McCarthyism

Given the ADL's bankruptcy during the Hitler era, it is hardly surprising that it continued on as an integral part of the witchhunting apparatus that

emerged in America at the onset of the cold war. Arnold Forster, the ADL's counsel, wrote about this morbid episode in his book, *Square One*.

In 1956 the Fund for the Republic issued a report on blacklisting in Hollywood and TV. It described how the victims of the right-wing "security clearance system" were either 'rehabilitated' or driven out of the industry.. An unnamed "public relations expert" is quoted on the process. Forster acknowledged that he was the expert and reprinted the relevant passages in his book:

"If a man... finds his way to me... (and) I am convinced that he is not a Communist, or if he has been a Communist, has had a change of heart, I ask him whether he has talked to the FBI. If he hasn't, I tell him the first thing he must do is go to them and tell them everything he knows..."

The public relations expert concluded: "A guy who is in trouble, even if he has a good case for himself, will stay dead unless he finds someone like me who can lead him through the jungle of people who have to be satisfied. He has to persuade those people one by one. Usually he finds his way to a lawyer and that comes a cropper, or he finds a public relations man or press agent who doesn't have the confidence of the 'clearance men,' and he's only wasting his time." [41]

Forster would take the hapless actor to right-wing journalists like Victor Reisel or Fred Woltman for "affidavits" and then go to CBS and try to get his "boy" a job. *Square One* was written after McCarthyism had been thoroughly discredited and Forster made it look like he was an unwilling collaborator with the witchhunters. But the truth breaks out through the eyes of a cat, as they say. A Communist magazine, *Jewish Life*, uncovered an internal ADL memo, dated July 3, 1953, and ran it in their September, 1953 issue. It dealt with a conference that took place in the office of the House Un-American Activities Committee, on July 2, 1953. Herman Edelsberg, the memo's author, was there, as were Washington representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish War Veterans. The question before them was how HUAC should deal with hostile Jewish Communist witnesses. Edelsberg's report says that they made the following proposals to Harold Velde, HUAC's chair:

"The files of the ADL and AJC should be consulted for information about such witnesses. Where responsible Jewish organizations had repudiated the witness or the line he peddles, that fact should be put in the record before the witness sounds off. In such cases, it would be most unlikely that the newspapers would play up the witness' charges against the Committee... The Committee staff handling such witnesses should be familiar with our analyses of the Communists' studied tactics of exploiting charges of persecution and discrimination. The witnesses should be confronted with material from ADL's report, *The Troublemakers*, and our two pamphlets on Communism... Velde and counsel agreed then and there that in the future, Committee investigators would be sent to the ADL and AJC for material on prospective witnesses. (That would be a good

opportunity to make specific suggestions on procedure.)... We left on the most friendly basis. My colleagues and I were heartened by the understandings achieved." [42]

Witchhunting began to decline after Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin was censured by the Senate in 1954, for trying to red-bait the US army. Forster claimed that

"(T)he senator had built himself enough of a record to convince me he was bad medicine. Not that the League itself, although recognizing the evil in the man, had yet become sufficiently resolute to attack McCarthy frontally. We were suffering from the same fear of him and his destructive, national movement, that affected so many others. ADL had been treading cautiously about him while demonstrating its opposition to his frenetic crusade. It was not until 1956, when Ben Epstein and I released our book, *Cross-Currents*, that we openly attacked McCarthy himself." [43]

V - ADL witchhunting after McCarthy

McCarthyism may have declined but the ADL's hatred of the left most certainly didn't. On February 22, 1967, the New York Times reported that the Institute for International Labor Research, led by Norman Thomas, the most prominent figure in the Socialist Party, had received \$1,048,940 between 1961 and 1963 from the CIA. Later, in the July 1982 Commentary, Sidney Hook revealed that Thomas had "telephoned Allen Dulles of the CIA and requested a contribution" for their American Committee for Cultural Freedom in the mid-1950s. [44] From 1957 through 1962 Irwin Suall was the National Secretary of the SP. Today he is the "chief fact-finder," i.e., the head spy, for the ADL.

I met Suall in 1957. I was a member of another socialist group which was merging with the SP. Of course we had no idea about Thomas's ties with the CIA. I left the SP in 1959 and was in California when the Times broke the Thomas story, and I didn't see it. Therefore I suspected nothing when I encountered Suall in the Lion's Head Tavern in Greenwich Village in the early 70s. (I believe the year was 1971.) He spotted me at the bar, called out my name, and triumphantly announced that I was "with the National Association for Irish Justice," the support group for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. He told me that he was the ADL's chief fact-finder and explained that he knew all about the NAIJ because he had files on the American tours of Ian Paisley, a right-wing Protestant fanatic, who was the most vehement foe of civil rights for Catholics. Whenever he came here he associated with our own right-wing Protestant screwballs, some of them anti-Semites. We two old friends drank the night into morning when I suggested that he let me see his Paisley file. NAIJ could use it to show the Irish Catholic community here where Paisley fit into right-wing politics in this country. "I can't do that. You have enemies of Israel in your

organization." At that time I had little interest in Israel. I knew that we had various leftists in the NAIJ, who were anti-Zionist, but the topic of Israel never came up in our pro-Irish movement. I explained to him that people would think it rather odd if we asked prospective members how they stood on Israel. That didn't matter. Enemies of Israel are enemies of Israel and that was that. Suall then began to rattle off intimate details about NAIJ, including the name of a Communist who had just started working for us. I realized he had a spy in my organization. We knew the British, Irish and American governments automatically put agents into our ranks. Therefore we were discreet when we did anything illegal under US law. But we had a policy of not starting a witchhunt for such spies because that only tends to make everyone into paranoids, and that can kill a movement. I figured out who Suall's mole was.. However, as I couldn't prove my suspect was Suall's operative, and the certain presence of more important spies wasn't affecting us, I prudently didn't mention this singular conversation to anyone.

In fact the ADL even boasts that it spies on leftists. In their 1974 book, *The New Anti-Semitism*, Forster and Benjamin Epstein brazenly announced that ADL agents attended convention closed to the general public:

"The ADL has traditionally viewed close monitoring of extremist activities as part of its obligation to the Jewish and American communities. Therefore, its representatives often attend open meetings, conventions, and conferences of extremist groups (left wing and right wing) to keep abreast of what the groups are doing." [45]

The two authors rationalized ADL infiltration of the Socialist Workers Party:

"The SWP... take(s) umbrage when its anti-Israel, anti-Zionist extremism is called anti-Semitism. Its domestic political course has been clearly anti-Jewish... Although its spokesmen have been careful to avoid the use of crude anti-Semitic phraseology, the SWP's program and activities... have been totally hostile... whenever Jews have been under attack from anti-Semites who happen to be black, the SWP has consistently joined the fray against the Jews." [46]

As we know from the Bund episode, the SWP believes in busting up Nazi rallies. It is careful not to utilize anti-Semitic phrases. It welcomes Jews into its leadership. Therefore, isn't it plain that "its domestic course has been clearly anti-Jewish." That charge from an organization which did next door to nothing vs. Hitler, wins the all-time chutzpah prize.

The magnitude of ADL spying on progressive movements became public knowledge in 1993 when the San Francisco papers revealed that Tom Gerard, a local cop (and ex-CIA man) illegally gave police information to Roy Bullock, Suall's

man in SF. Further police sleuthing revealed that they spied on a mass of groups, from Nazis clear thru Armenian nationalists, the American Friends Service Committee, the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, the Bay Area's broad-spectrum peace marchers, and the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement. The two also spied directly on these last for BOSS, South Africa's secret police.

As things stand, Gerard has pled no contest to a charge of illegal access to police computers. He got three years probation, a \$2,500 fine and 45 days on the sheriff's work crew. The ADL made a 'we didn't do it, but we won't do it again' deal with the DA. It agreed to an injunction not to use illegal methods in its 'monitoring' of the entire political universe. Foxman said that, rather than go to trial, where they would certainly be found innocent, of course, ADL settled because "continuing with an investigation over your head for months and years leads some to believe there is something wrong." [47] The arrangement prevents prosecution of Bullock.

In spite of the DA's slap-on-the-wrist deal, the documentation of Bullock's activities provided by the police when they sought a warrant to search the ADL offices in SF and Los Angeles, was extensive. The ADL claims that Bullock was a free-lance informer and that his activities for the apartheid regime were unknown to them. But an FBI report on a January 26, 1993 interview with Bullock takes up a letter found in his computer files, "prepared for transmission to the South Africans." It read "during an extended conversation with two FBI agents" in March 1990, they asked "why do you think South African agents are coming to the West Coast?"

"'Did I know any agents,' they finally asked?... I replied that a meeting had been arranged, in confidence, by the ADL which wanted information on radical right activities in SA and their American connections. To that end I met an agent at Rockefeller Center cafeteria."

The FBI report says that "Bullock commented that the TRIP.DBX letter was a very 'damning' piece of evidence.' He said he had forgotten it was in his computer." Of course he hastened to tell the FBI that "his statements to the FBI that the ADL had set up his relationship with the South Africans were untrue." [48]

It is far more likely that Bullock was telling the truth in March 1990 and lying in January 1993. Apparently the FBI came to him on another matter in 1990 and surprised him with their questions about the South Africans. In 1993, Bullock met the feds in his lawyers' office. It is reasonable to presume that they had told him what to say, and what not to say. Certainly he knew that if he wanted ADL assistance in his troubles with the FBI concerning the South Africans, he would have to claim that they had nothing to do with his South African ties.

We must also look at this situation from the ADL's perspective. In 1993 it had the same access to these FBI reports as anyone else. It then knew that he had implicated them with Pretoria. Why didn't they repudiate him then for daring to lie about them in such a grave affair? And, for that matter, why didn't they repudiate him for trafficking with the apartheid regime, which they claimed to oppose? Could it be that they didn't dare do so? If they dumped him, he would have an incentive to tell the FBI everything he knew about their illegal activities, regarding the South Africans, and/or any ADL involvement in Israeli spying and other criminal activities there.

Robert Friedman, known for his factual reliability when writing on Jewish matters, reported that "Suall later told the FBI that 'he didn't think dealing with South African intelligence was different than dealing with any other police agency,' according to a law enforcement source." [49] At any rate, the November 17, 1993 Daily News Bulletin, an organ of the Zionist movement's Jewish Telegraphic Agency, reported that, after the settlement with the SFDA, "the ADL continues to work with Bullock, according to Abraham Foxman." [50]

Israel was South Africa's intimate military ally, selling weaponry to the masters of apartheid in the face of a UN arms embargo. And the ADL's own public stance was so opposed to the African National Congress that it stretches credulity to the breaking point for anyone to think that they didn't know that Bullock was working with the South Africans. When he told the FBI that the ADL put him in contact with the South Africans, he expected them to believe him, because the world knew that Israel, the ADL's political holy land, was Pretoria's ally.

The ADL Bulletin for May 1986 ran an article by Nathan Perlmutter and David Evanier, "The African National Congress: A Closer Look," which revealed the organization's intense hatred of the movement leading the struggle in South Africa. The piece started off with a pious "self-evident stipulation that apartheid is racist and dehumanizing." But, it then went on,

"(T)his is not to suggest closing our eyes to what may emerge once apartheid is gone.... We must distinguish between those who will work for a humane, democratic, pro-western South Africa and those who are totalitarian, anti-humane, anti-democratic, anti-Israeli and anti-American."

The article went on to document what everyone already knew. The Soviet Union supported the ANC. The ANC backed the PLO as fellow colonized people. Then came the moral to the story:

"The fall of South Africa to such a Soviet oriented and Communist influenced force would be a severe setback to the United States, whose defense industry relies heavily on South Africa's wealth of strategic minerals.... The

survival of freedom in South Africa will be possible only if the forces of violence on the far left and of racial violence on the far right are defeated by the democratic forces of moderation."

Those forces of moderation were -- didn't you know? - the apartheid regime itself: "The US State Department," i.e., Reagan, said that "more positive changes have taken place in South Africa in the last five years than in the previous 300." [51]

For propagandistic reasons, Israel had to make it look like it was against apartheid and supported responsible opposition to it. So it openly patronized Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its death squads. When he toured here in 1992, Israel got the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations to host him at their New York office. They knew that, according to the June 12, 1992 DNB, "many observers....say the violence among blacks reflects collusion between the South African security forces and Inkatha aimed at disabling the ANC." Yet, according to Kenneth Jacobson, the ADL's director of international affairs, there was "nothing for us to feel guilty about. He's a man with a point of view, and that should be heard." The Mr. Nice Guy of South African politics declared himself a free-market freedom-fightin' kind of fella and "not a friend of Gadhafi or Yasir Arafat. All these are friends of the ANC." [52]

The ADL thought so highly of their 1986 anti-ANC tirade that they sent it to every member of the US Congress! And even after Bullock was exposed as specifically reporting to the South Africans on an LA meeting for Chris Hani of the ANC, Foxman fanatically defended their venomous hatred of South Africa's liberators. The Northern California Jewish Bulletin for May 7, 1993 described how

"Foxman, seeming like a general dressing down his troops, marched into the Jewish Bulletin office...where he lambasted critics of the ADL, speaking angrily of a conspiracy and at times fuming as he turned several shades of red... 'People are very upset about the (files on the) ANC,' he agrees. 'At the time we exposed the ANC, they were Communist. They were violent, they were anti-Semitic, they were pro-PLO and they were anti-Israel. You're going to tell me I don't have the legitimacy to find out who they were consorting with.'" [53]

Time hasn't been kind to Foxman. The ANC runs its country and is a model of ethnic and religious tolerance. It never was anti-Semitic and today there are seven Jewish ANCers in the Pretoria parliament. Foxman was -- and is -- exactly what the Jewish Bulletin's journalist described: a steam-coming-out-of-his-ears right-wing ranter. VI - The ADL and the affirmative action question

As many readers well know, whole Canadian forests have been chopped down in recent years to provide newsprint for articles on Black anti-Semitism. Such

pieces frequently begin with a nostalgic look back at the good ol' 'Black-Jewish alliance' of the early '60s when the ADL was part of the great -- dare I say it? -- multicultural coalitions that marched behind Martin Luther King.

Such articles usually then turn into tales of Black ingratititude. In life the Jewish establishment was only part of such an alliance until the Black movement began to call for affirmative action quotas, and the left-wing of the movement began to support the Palestinians as fellow oppressed. From then on the ADL has been a fanatic opponent of Black liberation. Jonathan Kaufman's Broken Alliance tells of how Jack Greenberg, long-time head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, came to see the ADL:

"As legal cases involving affirmative action began to appear in the courts in the early 1970s, the Legal Defense Fund began filing lawsuits... One of the first cases involved a challenge to the New York prison system, which had never promoted a black correction officer above the entry level... The Legal Defense Fund sued successfully... When the case was appealed, Greenberg was stunned to discover that the Anti-Defamation League had filed a brief opposing the affirmative action plan... He did not know officials at the ADL well. But he...called several of them up... (Eventually) Greenberg felt some officials of the ADL, the most vociferous opponents of affirmative action, had become "haters." [54]

In its most notorious anti-affirmative action campaign, the ADL was one of a gaggle of rightwing Jewish groups, plus several gentile "unmeltable ethnic" outfits, the Fraternal Order of Police, the Chamber of Commerce and other free-market freedom-fightin' guys, who submitted amici curiae briefs on Allen Bakke's behalf when he sued the University of California at Davis for setting aside 16 seats in its medical school for minorities. In 1978 the Supreme Court ruled that the school's plan discriminated against whites.

In the August 1985 issue of Commentary, Harvard sociology professor Nathan Glazer gave us the "pragmatic considerations" behind the Jewish establishment's undying hatred of quotas:

"Jews were already 'over-represented' in the institutions that were becoming battlefields... If it were to be generally conceded that each ethnic/racial group should be represented proportionately... what would happen to the over-represented? [55]

There is no doubt that Glazer, who is intimate with the Jewish establishment, was referring to the ADL, amongst the others, when he wrote the above. And in fact the ADL does give a distinctly 'Jewish' spin to its opposition to quotas. The December, 1978 ADL Bulletin quotes Nathan Perlmutter, Foxman's predecessor as National Director, on quotas:

"The message of the 1960s civil rights movement, he explains, was to be color blind, to judge a person on his individual merits. 'Now, guided and abetted by government agencies, there is massive backsliding to quotas, to evaluating a person on such extraneous factors as race. The simple incontrovertible fact is that quotas in favor of one group, by definition, means quotas against another group. That's the very essence of the Nuremberg Laws.'" [56]

According to the November, 1979 ADL Bulletin, the ADL "submitted a 'friend of the court' brief" in a case, *Fullilove v. Kreps*,

"concerned with the constitutionality of the Federal Public Works Employment Act of 1977, which provides that no grant for public works shall be made unless the applicant assures... that at least 10 percent of each grant sum be expended for 'minority' business enterprises... (The) ADL... opposes this quota and questions the legality of laws which establish governmentally-designated and protected groups. 'Stamping the imprimatur of the Federal government upon a particular racial or ethnic definition, and granting and withholding benefits to individuals accordingly,' our brief points out, 'calls to mind notorious examples of attempts by other governments to define racial and ethnic groups, such as the Nuremberg laws in the Third Reich defining a 'Jew'.'" [57]

People get sent to mental institutions for a lot less than this. The notion that a law, doubtlessly supported by a majority of congressional Democrats, designed to bring a small measure of economic justice to Blacks, Spanish-speakers, Orientals, Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts, was really no better than Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, takes my breath away. The idea that affirmative action quotas in favor of minorities, might be used, some day in the future, as a pretext to discriminate against Jews, is a notion that hasn't occurred to anyone outside the Jewish establishment. There were Jews among the congressional majorities that voted in every affirmative action law. Surely no such scheme was thought to be sanctioned by them. Were the gentiles in those congresses, black or white, even remotely contemplating discrimination against Jews? Of course not! The Nazi laws were measures taken against a minority hated by the German government. American affirmative action laws are policies projected by a government with a white majority in favor of minorities. Jews are affected only insofar as they are overwhelmingly white. And, of course, affirmative action has actually benefited Jews. Glazer points out that

"(F)emales were one of the groups designated as beneficiaries of affirmative action. Thus... one could argue that Jewish women were as much helped by affirmative action as Jewish men were hurt, or helped even more than Jewish men were hurt." [58]

Arguments utilizing previous discrimination against Jews to oppose present proposals to redress past discrimination against America's ethnic minorities, and women, are ideological self-deceptions, at best, and sophistries at worst. They are designed to put a pseudo-progressive gloss on efforts to preserve the economic status quo. And, as affirmative action in favor of women stands or falls with similar policies towards Blacks and other minorities, such specious reasoning is a razor against the interest of the majority of Jews, who, as with all other groups, are majority female.

VII - Yo! Abe! Make me rich and famous, not just famous

Since one of the most important things we learn from the past is that most people don't learn from the past, I must automatically presume that at least some of my readers will still say, even after this obviously factual recounting of the ADL's record, that, whatever its past sins, it performs a valuable service in exposing some anti-Semites. But its reactionary politics constantly leads it to libel and lunacy, so much so that I must confess that I celebrated when I discovered Foxman's attack on me. It meant that I certified as part of the intellectual elite.

Surely the most hilarious of the ADL's cockeyed accusations were uttered by Forster and Epstein in their book:

"Film cartoons - like the X-rated Fritz the Cat which... had a tasteless synagogue sequence... contributed to the atmosphere of anti-Jewish denigration, along with anti-Jewish stereotyping found in such full-length 1972 feature films as Woody Allen's Everything You've Always Wanted to Know About Sex, Such Good Friends, and Made for Each Other in addition, of course, to Portnoy.... Capping and capitalizing on the vogue for sick "ethnic" humor and dehumanization was... The National Lampoon... October 1972. A major item was a mock comic book entitled "The Ventures of Zimmerman," a put-down on folksinger Bob Dylan, drawn with Jewish features, blue Yarmulke, and portrayed as a scheming, avaricious, money-hungry "superman" type who poses as a simple idealistic folksinger.... The mock cover... bore a 'seal' reading 'Approved by the Elders of Zion'.... Are the editors of Lampoon anti-Semitic? Probably not. But they have made a signal contribution to the perpetuation of those destructive stereotypes - like the Stuermer cartoons so intimately associated with the annihilation of European Jewry." [59]

For my immediate purpose of defending myself, a Jew, against a libelous accusation of being a Holocaust denier, I call your attention to the fact that at least two of the people accused of contributing to the atmosphere of anti-Jewish denigration were Jews, Woody Allen and Philip Roth, two of the greatest comic talents of our age. But frankly I must say that comparing a Lampoon spoof to the

Hitler regime's most virulent Jew-hating rag is easily the maddest thing I've ever seen in any ADL production.

You didn't know that Spike Lee is an anti-Semite? Well then, you just are not as smart as one Abraham Foxman. Here is the Forward for August 10, 1990:

"Filmmaker Spike Lee's portrayal of two Jewish jazz club owners in the new film 'Mo' Better Blues' is being called anti-Semitic by... the Anti-Defamation League.... The two-dimensional depiction of the two brothers, named Moe and Josh Flatbush, who appear in brief scenes throughout the movie, was sharply criticized by Abraham Foxman.... "Spike Lee's characterization of Moe and Josh Flatbush as greedy and unscrupulous club owners dredges up an age-old and dangerous form of anti-Semitic stereotyping." [60]

Spike Lee isn't the kind of person to take that kind of crap from anyone, and he replied to the charge in a New York Times op-ed:

"I'm not a racist; I'm not a bigot; I am not an anti-Semite. What I try to do with all my characters is offer what I feel are honest portraits of individuals with both faults and endearing characteristics.... I challenge anyone to tell me why I can't portray two club owners who happen to be Jewish and who exploit the Black jazz musicians who work for them. All Jewish club owners are not like this, that's true, but these two are....I'm an artist and I stand behind all my work, including my characters, Moe and Josh Flatbush. As of now, this matter is closed for me." [61]

I have presented more than enough evidence for any serious reader to grasp the base character of both the ADL and the Zionist movement. Therefore it is time for me to close as well. I will do so with a quote, from a Zionist writer's article in The New Republic, a pro-Zionist publication:

"(W)hile ever growing numbers of Jews believe anti-Semitism in America is rising to crisis proportions, by nearly every available measure it is actually on the decline.... In private, some Jewish agency staffers insist the alarmist tone set by a few national Jewish agencies, mainly for fund-raising purposes, is a key cause of Jewish anxiety. Fingers point most often at the ADL and the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center, both of which specialize in mass mailings warning of impending doom and urging donations. 'People don't give if you tell them everything's o.k.,' says a cynical staffer at one of the smaller agencies. People give generously to the Wiesenthal Center and the ADL." [62]

J.J. Goldberg concludes by saying that "maybe it's time for the leadership to start leading, and tell their public the truth." But of course they won't. Therefore I ask my readers to help me expose these incurable frauds. Now that you have read this critique of the ADL, pass it along to the general public,

Jew and gentile alike. And let me thank you, in advance, for your time and trouble in this regard.

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Behind the Mask of Respectability: The truth about the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Research Staff Introduction

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, or ADL for short, presents itself as an organization against ethnic, racial or religious intolerance. Its very name suggests that it opposes "defamation."

In reality, the Anti-Defamation League is an organization that supports Jewish ethnic and religious supremacy, and relentlessly "defames" anyone who dares to point out its own hypocrisy. While supposedly opposing ethnic segregation and ethnic superiority, the ADL supports Israel and international Zionism which promotes not a vision of a "multi-cultural," "multi-ethnic" Israel, but of a "Jewish state." That state is openly dedicated to the advancement of the Jewish religion, culture, and even the genetic preservation of the Jewish people. This is, of course, the very opposite of the policies it proposes for our American nation.

Consider the following:

The ADL supports forced integration of schools, neighborhoods, apartment complexes, clubs, churches and communities in America.

Yet, it supports Israel which has a policy of segregated schools, neighborhoods, apartment complexes and even whole towns for Jews and Gentiles.

The ADL has been instrumental in changing America's immigration policies that will result in European Americans becoming a minority in America by the middle of this century.

Yet, the ADL supports Israel, which has a "Jews only" immigration policy. In fact, it even keeps out Palestinians who were born there and then forced out during the Zionist takeover in 1948.

The ADL has condemned European Americans, such as the administrators of Bob Jones University, who oppose racial intermarriage. Yet, the ADL supports Israel, a nation that does not even recognize as a legal union, marriage between a Jew and Gentile. The ADL has also never condemned the

extensive Jewish opposition to intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews (every major Jewish organization around the world has openly stated policies opposing intermarriage).

The ADL has condemned Sadaam Hussein and any of his supporters around the world for his invasion of Kuwait, production of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and for violating United Nations resolutions.

Yet, the ADL did not condemn Israel for the brutal invasion of neighboring Lebanon, resulting in at least 30,000 civilians dead, and lasting almost twenty years in violation of U.N. resolutions. Nor has the ADL condemned Israel for its extensive development of biological and chemical weapons.

The ADL has repeatedly condemned scientists who show that there are significant genetic differences in intelligence between Whites and Blacks, and they have condemned me for simply pointing out that scientific truth.

Yet, the ADL has not condemned the founder of Israel, David Ben Gurion, for his statement that he believed in the “intellectual and moral superiority” of the Jewish people.

The ADL is by its own definition a racist, supremacist organization, and recognizing that fact should not make someone deserve the label of “anti-Semitic.” The truth is that the ADL is anti-Gentile! They are not about anti-defamation, but their whole modus operandi is concerned with defaming anyone of any nationality who wants for their own people what the Jewish ADL leaders want for theirs. In other words, they are opposed to every other ethnic nationalism but their own! The whole organization is based on attacking, intimidating and defaming anyone who opposes their Jewish supremacism.

In fact, anyone who criticizes their hypocrisy and that of Israel, whether or not the critics are “racially aware” or “anti-racist,” will be condemned by the ADL. For their real mission is simply to advance the Jewish Supremacist agenda in America and around the world.

The following article on the ADL by our research staff should be enlightening to all readers of the David Duke Report Online.

ADL of B'nai B'rith

The ADL was founded in 1913 as an adjunct to the international Jewish fraternal order and secret society, the “B’nai B’rith,” whose name, translated literally from Hebrew means “sons of the cut” – referring to circumcision.

The ADL operates 28 offices domestically and 3 offices abroad. They bring in nearly \$60 million a year.

Current ADL National Director is Abraham Foxman.

Links to Organized Crime

For years, the ADL has been linked to Jewish organized crime.

The ADL gave Las Vegas Jewish gangster, Moe Dalitz, their “Torch of Freedom” award in 1985 for his donating millions of dollars to the state of Israel. Donations from Dalitz, who headed the Cleveland mob known as the Mayfield Road Gang, allegedly came from his ownership of Las Vegas casinos such as the Desert Inn.

Las Vegas Review-Journal article “The Double Life of Moe Dalitz” by John L. Smith, explains Dalitz’ background in their series “The First 100 Persons Who Shaped Southern Nevada” (at <http://www.1st100.com/part2/dalitz.html>).

“Early in his life, Dalitz was a bootlegger and racketeer mentioned in the same breath as (Jewish) Meyer Lansky and (Jewish) Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel. In Cleveland, one longtime member of law enforcement would tell the Kefauver Commission, ‘Ruthless beatings, unsolved murders and shakedowns, threats and bribery came to this community as a result of gangsters’ rise to power.’ Dalitz was considered part of that rise.”

Theodore Silbert worked simultaneously for the ADL and the Sterling National Bank (a mafia operation controlled by the Lansky syndicate).

Mira Lansky Boland, the granddaughter of notorious Jewish mafia boss, Meyer Lansky, was described in a Village Voice article by Robert Friedman of May 11th, 1993, as the ADL’s top ‘fact-finder’ in Washington.

Spy Ring and Murder Squads?

An Article in the Los Angeles Times of 9th April, 1993, by Richard C. Paddock, detailed a police raid on ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles where the police seizing evidence of a nationwide intelligence network accused of keeping files on more than 950 political groups, newspapers, and labor unions and as many as 12,000 people.

Describing the spy ring in detail, San Francisco authorities simultaneously released voluminous documents telling how operatives of the Anti-Defamation League searched through trash and infiltrated organizations to gather intelligence on Arab-American, right-wing, and what they called "pinko" organizations...

Police alleged that the organization maintains undercover operatives to gather political intelligence in at least seven cities, including Los Angeles and San Francisco.

According to police officials, groups that were the focus of the spy operation span the political spectrum, including such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the National Alliance, Greenpeace, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Farm Workers, and the Jewish Defense League. Also on the list were Mills College, the board of directors of San Francisco public television station KQED, and the San Francisco Bay Guardian newspaper.

In addition to allegations of obtaining confidential information from police, the Anti-Defamation League could face a total of 48 felony counts for not properly reporting the employment of its chief West Coast spy, Roy Bullock, according to the affidavit filed to justify the search warrant.

The Anti-Defamation League disguised payments to Bullock for more than 25 years by funneling \$550 a week to Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman, who then paid Bullock, according to the documents released in San Francisco. Hochman, a former president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles is one of the state's leading tax attorneys.

"Until 1990, Hochman, a former U.S. prosecutor, also was a member of a panel appointed by then-Senator Pete Wilson to secretly make initial recommendations on new federal judges in California."

Hochman is a former regional president of the Anti-Defamation League.

A second article from the Los Angeles Times, 13th April, 1993, also by Richard C. Paddock, details ADL spy Roy Bullock's possible role in death squads, torture and kidnapping.

The article introduces another ADL spy, Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francisco police officer was accused of providing confidential material from police files to the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard fled to the Philippines after the FBI interviewed him, but left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents, according to the Los Angeles Times, included passports, driver's licenses, and

identification cards in 10 different names; identification cards in his own name for four different embassies in Central America; and a collection of blank birth certificates, Army discharge papers, and official stationery from various agencies.

Also in Tom Gerard's briefcase were extensive information on death squads, a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations, and photos of blindfolded and chained men.

Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADL confidential driver's license or vehicle registration information on a vast number of people, including as many as 4,500 members of [just] one target group [of interest to the ADL], the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Service of a Foreign Government?

While posing as a community oriented group of American Jews working to combat bigotry, the ADL has been alleged to used its spy network to illegally provide the government of Israel with information.

In an article entitled "Spies for Zion," in the San Francisco Weekly for 28th April, 1993, police officials expose an illegal spy ring working for Israel. "For decades the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has gathered secret files on critics of Israel. As the San Francisco District Attorney prepares criminal charges against the group, will pressure from prominent Jewish leaders derail the prosecution?"

The San Francisco Weekly described how the ADL spy network passed information to the Israeli government about a professor who made a negative remark about Israel in his class:

"Professor Dwight Simpson and the consul general of Israel stood in a corner at the Fairmont Hotel discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict amid a bright tinkling of glasses and soft murmuring of voices. Halfway through the conversation at the cocktail party, the Israeli diplomat, Harry Kney-Tal, said: 'By the way, that was a very funny joke you told your class the other day.'

"The San Francisco State University international relations professor didn't think much of the comment at first. But later that night, he asked himself: 'How in the hell does the Israeli consul general know the jokes I tell in my class?'

"As a critic of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Simpson had been targeted by Jewish students in the past. They picketed his class on several occasions, handing out leaflets charging that he's anti-Semitic and opposes a Jewish homeland.

"So the professor didn't have to wrestle with the consul general's statement for long. He quickly surmised that Kney-Tal got his information from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith [or ADL for short] by way of Jewish students who do political surveillance work on campus for them. 'It's always confused me why they have to spy on me,' Simpson said, 'My work isn't secret. My whole life is an open book.'

"After a heated demonstration in 1989 that disrupted Simpson's class, the Jewish Student Action committee was expelled from campus for violating academic freedom. 'This is a serious problem in academia,' Simpson added. 'Whenever you have monitoring and surveillance, it stifles the free discussion of ideas...'

"Simpson is just one of thousands of people whose lives have been affected by the far-ranging spy activities of the ADL. An 80-year-old nonprofit, whose professed mission is to fight anti-Semitism, the ADL uses a less controversial term – 'fact-finding' – for its spying..."

The article expressed concern that the ADL was above the law:

"Mark my words, this is going to be obfuscated, obliterated, and desecrated,' said one veteran police inspector. 'It's going to a classic study in how things get covered up. You don't do Jewish people in San Francisco. It's not PC. Especially when you have two U.S. Senators who are Jewish (Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein) and the city's chief of protocol is Dick Goldman (a prominent fundraiser in the Jewish community)."

Did Jewish interest work to protect the ADL? The San Francisco Weekly explains how:

"Last week, Goldman called Police Chief Tony Ribera about the police department's own internal investigation. After the call, the police decided to exclude the ADL and Bullock from the probe..."

In a Village Voice article by Robert Friedman of 11th May, 1993, the ADL's top 'fact-finder' in Washington and granddaughter of notorious Jewish mafia boss, Meyer Lansky, Mira Lansky Boland, arranged a trip to Israel for Mr. Tom Gerard, the same man in who's briefcase was found information on death squads, a black hood, used in interrogations, and photos of blindfolded and chained men.

According to this same article, Boland admitted at a 1990 criminal trial that she had, in typical ADL Newspeak, "shared information" with members of the CIA at an invitation-only ADL conference.

The same article pointed to an ADL connection to the Jonathan Pollard spy affair:

"In 1987, the ADL came under FBI scrutiny in the wake of the Pollard spy scandal. While assigned to the Navy's Anti-Terrorist Alert Center, where he had access to the most closely-guarded U.S. secrets, Jonathan Pollard stole thousands of pages of classified documents for Israel, which, according to Federal prosecutors, 'could fill a room the size of a large closet ... ten feet by six feet by six feet.' Pollard's handler was Avi Sella, an Israeli air force colonel whose wife worked for the New York ADL as a lawyer. Pollard later wrote to friends that a prominent ADL leader was deeply involved in the Israeli spy operation."

Additional evidence of ADL cooperation with Israeli

Intelligence comes from a letter written by then National Director of the ADL, Benjamin Epstein on July 7, 1961, which would indicate otherwise. Epstein was writing to Saul Jofes who was, at the time, the Executive Secretary of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, the ADL's parent organization, requesting additional funds.

"Our information", wrote Epstein, "in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge that we are the source."

Promotion of Thought Crime

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

- Bill of Rights, Amendment I

The Anti-Defamation League has been leading the fight for thought crime legislation. It was through their efforts that the FBI began tracking "Hate Crimes" and it was the ADL who has lobbied hardest for state and federal hate crime laws. Under the Orwellian-sounding "hate crimes" laws, American citizens would receive different sentences for the same crime, depending on whether or not their thoughts are "Politically Correct" on issues relating to homosexuality, race, nationality, and politics. Ultimately, having certain "politically incorrect" opinions would become a crime in itself. These new laws would make it a crime to say or publish any fact or opinion that could "incite racial hatred and bigotry".

The promotion of Hate Crime legislation, which would designate Jews and other minorities as special classes of citizens, is a primary concern to the ADL. Top on the list in 1999 was the "Hate

Crimes Prevention Act” that would have given federal prosecutors new authority to prosecute crimes against minorities and circumvent the Constitution’s protection against Double Jeopardy. Though the measure failed because of Republican opposition, the ADL vowed to fight on. A Jewish Telegraphic Agency story titled “Jewish groups did not get all they wanted in Congress” dated November 20, 1999 explains:

“But on their other top priorities, Jewish groups were not as successful.”

“Tougher hate crimes legislation was dropped during the final days of negotiations over the budget bill.”

“Michael Lieberman, the Anti-Defamation League’s Washington counsel, said his group will push for the measure again when Congress comes back in January.”

The ADL has pioneered Thought Crime and what they call “Hate Crime” legislation. The ADL web site proudly admits to the ADL’s leading role in the introduction to their 1999 Hate Crime Laws article:

“ADL has long been in the forefront of national and state efforts to deter and counteract hate-motivated criminal activity.”

“In June 1993, the United States Supreme Court upheld a Wisconsin hate crime statute that was based on model legislation originally drafted by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in 1981.”

Role in Internet Censorship

In an attempt to limit access to unapproved web sites on the world wide web, the ADL pioneered what they call their “Hate Filter”. The ADL has promoted their Hate Filter to parents who want to limit what the ADL considers objectionable content. More insidious are efforts by the ADL to provide their Hate Filter to public institutions such as public libraries, schools and colleges. The ADL has also worked with major Internet carriers like America Online (AOL) to create “Terms of Service” which would prohibit any speech the ADL finds offensive.

The ADL web site proudly claims that their Hate Filter:

“.protects children by blocking access to World Wide Web sites of individuals or groups that, in the judgment of the Anti-Defamation League, advocate hatred, bigotry or even violence towards Jews or

other groups on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other immutable characteristics."

Limiting facts or opinions the ADL find objectionable is not limited to their Hate Filter. ADL operatives now work with major Internet providers such as AOL to limit access to objectionable web site. Subscribers to these services that post opinions that the ADL doesn't like on their web pages or on Usenet are notified that their accounts are cancelled.

The ADL works to ensure that commercial ISPs create terms of service that limit what their users can read or say. By lobbying commercial carriers to censor their users, the ADL achieves their aim of outlawing free speech and expression without the constraints of the First Amendment's protections.

An ADL press release from October 21, 1996 titled "New ADL Report Documents Increased Use of Internet By Haters; ADL and AOL Explore Ways To Set Standards Against Hate Online," ADL National Director, Abe Foxman, explains typical ADL double-talk how they are working with AOL to set policies against politically incorrect speech. These policies, known as "Terms of Service" can then be used by commercial carriers to enforce speech regulations without concern for Constitutional Rights.

"We are working with America Online to create an atmosphere of responsibility on-line, to set standards within the framework of the First Amendment that will give assurances to parents, educators and communities that there is no tolerance for hate on-line."

In a follow-up press release from April 7, 1997 titled "ADL Calls On America Online To Adhere To Own Guidelines Regarding Hate Material" the ADL explains their relationship with AOL and what "standards within the framework of the First Amendment" means.

"In the past, the League has been gratified by the responsiveness of AOL to complaints about racism and bigotry but now calls on AOL to adhere to their terms of service regarding hate material with equal vigilance as those regarding pornography."

"While we strongly believe in freedom of speech and do not advocate censorship on the Internet," said Mr. Foxman, "we expect those companies which have created guidelines to adhere to them."

"AOL's terms of service state that AOL, Inc., its affiliates and ICPs have the right to remove content they deem, in their discretion, "harmful" or "offensive." The League calls on AOL to live up to its own commitments."

In the ADL article “Responding to Extremist Speech Online: 10 Frequently Asked Questions”, the ADL explains how they work around the Constitution to stifle free speech. In this article, the ADL suggests the following:

“Commercial ISPs, such as America Online (AOL), may voluntarily agree to prohibit users from sending racist or bigoted messages over their services. Such prohibitions do not implicate First Amendment rights because they are entered into through private contracts and do not involve government action in any way.

“Once an ISP promulgates such regulations, it must monitor the use of its service to ensure that the regulations are followed. If a violation does occur, the ISP should, as a contractual matter, take action to prevent it from happening again. For example, if a participant in a chat room engages in racist speech in violation of the “terms of service” of the ISP, his account could be cancelled, or he could be forbidden from using the chat room in the future. ISPs should encourage users to report suspected violations to company representatives.”

The ADL suggests in the same article that Universities limit the use of their computer systems to prevent students from promoting or reading objectionable material.

“Because private universities are not agents of the government, they may forbid users from engaging in offensive speech using university equipment or university services.”

“Nonetheless, public universities may promulgate content-neutral regulations that effectively prevent the use of school facilities or services by extremists. For example, a university may limit use of its computers and server to academic activities only. This would likely prevent a student from creating a racist Web site for propaganda purposes or from sending racist E-mail from his student E-mail account. One such policy — at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana — stipulates that its computer services are “provided in support of the educational, research and public service missions of the University and its use must be limited to those purposes.”

Conclusions

Behind this mask of humanitarian public service hides an organization with links to organized crime, murder squads, a domestic spying ring used to “monitor” tens of thousands of Americans, and the Mossad, the secret police and assassination service of the Israeli government. With the help of a friendly media, the ADL has become the premier lobby for Jewish interests in America, and the source of hate crime legislation and curtailment of First Amendment freedom of speech through their attempted censorship of the Internet.

Source: WINDS, <http://aidonlinesurveys.com/d/p/a3r1c39786>

B'nai B'rith and ADL Hypocritical, Say Critics

“They say, but they do not do what they say” - Jesus Christ

On June 18th the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a powerful political advocacy wing of B'nai B'rith that focuses largely on suppression of anti-Semitic “hate-groups”, flexed its considerable political muscle against an organization whose only crime they claim is “refuting the Holocaust.”

B'nai B'rith's ADL, ignoring that glowingly obsolete and irrelevant document called the First Article of Amendment to the Constitution, has issued a press release stating that they have “urged the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to rescind the non-profit status granted to a Holocaust-denying organization. The California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR) and its parent organization, Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc., have recently been granted 501(c)(3) status.”[1]

IHR claims that there are two lies in that statement alone. The first being that the Institute, according to its director Mark Weber, does not deny the Holocaust, only some of the numbers and many of the traditional historically accepted incidents surrounding it. Secondly, again according to IHR, they were not “recently” granted tax-exempt status but IHR and its parent organization have held that not-for-profit standing for over forty years.

Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), took his master's degree in European History from Indiana University, has been certified by Canadian courts as an expert on the Holocaust, the “Final Solution” and modern Jewish history, and has taught English, history and geography to African children in Ghana.

“I grew up very pro-Israeli,” Weber told The WINDS, then he encountered the culture shock of truth “that anyone who spends any time overseas understands very quickly that the way we look at the whole Middle East is very different in our media, compared even to, say, the British media or any other country. When talking with others it took no great amount of time for me—or anyone for that matter,—to disabuse me of my really sterling views I had on such matters.”

Mr. Weber's observations about the American media were strongly reminiscent of the interview this reporter had with the British journalist Ambrose Evans-Pritchard who told The WINDS that even compared to England, let alone the rest of the world, the American press is very highly controlled.

"Concerning B'nai B'rith, the ADL and others, I'm just struck over and over again how these Jewish organizations condemn and denounce practices done in this country that they passionately defend when they're done in Israel. It's a tremendous double standard.

"I'm not at all against the Jews having a state of their own. What I am against is that the U.S. supports policies in Israel that we wouldn't support in any other country.

"Just the other week there was a vote in the United Nations on upgrading the observer status of the Palestinian Delegation. The vote was 124 to 4 in favor of the Palestinians. The only country voting against was the United States, Israel, Micronesia and the Federated Pacific States—two dependencies of the the United States. Essentially, the whole rest of the world took a different view than the United States."

Those of the Jewish community who see the truth of this, Weber says, and speak out against it—and there are many—are called "self-hating Jews" by such organizations as ADL.

"I'm especially appalled at what I regard as the prostitution of our political leadership to these interests. They just fall over each other. Gingrich, Gore, Clinton—they just prostrate themselves in a shameless bid for Jewish money and support.

"The proof of the power of the Jewish lobby in Washington is that unlike other lobbies that might arguably be very powerful—like the tobacco lobby and the gun-control lobby—the Jewish lobby has no effective opposition. The NRA may be a powerful lobby but there are plenty of voices that oppose the NRA. There is nothing comparable to that in opposition to the Jewish lobby.

B'nai B'rith and the ADL have labeled the Institute for Historical Review as anti-Semitic because it expresses apparently documented disagreement with ADL's position on the Holocaust. Whether or not that documentation is genuine, or even if IHR's motives are anti-Semitic, is not at issue. What is at issue is whether they have the right to express them.

B'nai B'rith claims it "is the only Jewish organization to maintain a full-time presence in the United Nations..." seemingly to imply that they are the only legitimate voice of the Jewish people in the UN, yet its practices seem to defy the very tenets they have helped establish in that international body.

Article 19 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” [2]

“It is very troubling to us,” ADL’s complaint to the IRS continues, ‘that a group whose identity centers on refuting the Holocaust should be granted tax-exempt status,’ wrote Elizabeth Coleman, ADL Director, Civil Rights Division, in a letter to Charles O. Rossotti, Commissioner, IRS.”

It might logically be asked what legal difference the IRS could possibly see between two groups claiming tax-exempt status, one promoting the conventional view of the Holocaust and the other refuting that view.

“Far from being an educational or public-service organization committed to exploring historical events, IHR is the major center for Holocaust-denial propaganda and anti-Semitic vitriol,’ continued Ms. Coleman. ‘We question the decision granting this group the benefits afforded to legitimate non-profit educational institutions and urge you to reconsider.”

Additionally, B’nai B’rith’s ADL accuses the Institute of distributing “a number of books and propaganda materials saturated with anti-Semitic innuendo.”

Is it not interesting how one’s own position consists of solid data and information while the opposing faction’s material is just “propaganda”? Perusing IHR’s materials and website, this agency was unable to uncover any expressions of “anti-Semitic vitriol” or even “Holocaust-denial propaganda.”

Unparalleled Ability to Monitor and Shape Events

B’nai B’rith, whose name in Hebrew means “Brotherhood of the Covenant,” was founded over 150 years ago and is primarily a political and social advocacy organization for Jewish people and causes around the world.

“B’nai B’rith is a network of members in 55 nations around the world,” the organization claims, “providing us with an unparalleled ability to monitor and shape events.” [3] Those last two words, “shape events,” are indeed, as shall be seen, an apt description of the consummate abilities of B’nai B’rith and the Anti-Defamation League.

There are apparently a growing number of prominent Jews, many of respected academic achievement, who are strongly opposed to much of what is being practiced publicly in the name of Judaism. Among those, according to *Ha’aretz*, a Jewish daily newspaper published in Israel, are

Ruth Bettina Birn of Canada, "a German living in Toronto...recognized as an international expert on Nazi war crimes,"[4] and Norman J. Finkelstein of Hunter College, University of New York.

In a feature article published by *Ha'aretz*, the author, Tom Segev, quotes Birn and Finkelstein in their scathing critique of a best-selling book on the Holocaust by Daniel Goldhagen entitled Hitler's *Willing Executioners*. So popular has Goldhagen's book become in Judaism that in many circles he is referred to as "Mr. Holocaust." [ibid]

Accosted as a supremely unacademic piece of work, the newspaper claims, "Many scholars have attacked [Goldhagen's] thesis, which boils down to this: all the Germans took part in the murder of the Jews because all of them are anti-Semitic." That "thesis" by Goldhagen seems to be the embodiment, in a few words, of the prevailing technique used to slur and discredit anyone who lays a finger on the sacred cow of the Holocaust.

The *Ha'aretz* columnist says that, in reviewing Goldhagen's book, Birn and Finkelstein "have done the unthinkable: they have checked his references, one by one, and reached the conclusion that Hitler's *Willing Executioners* is not worthy of being called an academic text. It is a tiresome task," the author continues, "requiring a comparison of texts and a careful examination of sources...." [ibid.] It should be noted that *Ha'aretz* is a major Jewish newspaper published in Israel even though it seems to have little tolerance for any academic and intellectual dishonesty on the part of its fellow countrymen. The *Ha'aretz* writer goes on to make the claim that is most certainly at the heart of nearly every controversy and dispute surrounding Jewish/Holocaust issues. "As things stand now," Segev says, "anyone who criticizes Goldhagen is an anti-Semite, possibly a Holocaust-denier, and certainly an opponent of the State of Israel."

That term "Holocaust-denier" is one with which the Institute for Historical Review is most painfully aware. As pointed out earlier, even though they do not in any way deny the existence of the Holocaust, they do challenge many of the claims of its appalling intensity asserting that the numbers and incidents were greatly exaggerated. And that has been the source of their troubles with the Jewish community. It must again be noted that what is truly at contest is not whether the IHR's claims about the Holocaust are true or false, but whether they, or anyone else, have the right to even express ideas dissonant to the conventional mindset of that terrible period of history.

So riddled, it seems, with academic dishonesty and error is Goldhagen's book that Metropolitan Books in New York published a small volume entitled *A Nation on Trial* in which it includes "Birn's and Finkelstein's critiques of Goldhagen's book. All the claims are backed up." However, according to *Ha'aretz*, there has been "tremendous pressure exerted on the publishing company to keep it from coming out." [ibid.]

"At a certain point," the *Ha'aretz* columnist continues, the assault on Metropolitan Books "bordered on cultural terrorism." The apparent source of that "cultural terrorism", Abraham H. Foxman, National Director for the Anti-Defamation League, drafted a letter to the publisher supporting Goldhagen's book. Foxman stated that "the issue is not whether Goldhagen's thesis is right or wrong, but what is legitimate criticism". Please excuse the impertinence, but when is ANY "legitimate criticism" not based on what is right or wrong?[4]

"Historians all over the world, including Israel, agree that [Goldhagen] has written a bad book" but, apparently, facts do not sway those who would seek to eliminate any opinion but their own. [ibid.]

Ha'aretz's Segev concludes that "the formula goes like this: not only the Germans, but all the gentiles hate the Jews. Hence the need for Jewish unity and solidarity. Hence the need for more and more books about Jewish hatred, and the simpler and shallower they are, the better."

Marco Polo Takes a Poison Pill

In the firestorm of these Jewish organizations' exceedingly effective programs of censorship, few compare with the resulting destruction of the highly respected world magazine *Marco Polo*. In the February 1995 issue of the 250,000-circulation monthly was published a ten-page article by Japanese neurologist Dr. Masanori Nishioka entitled, "The Greatest Taboo of Postwar World History: There were no Nazi 'Gas Chambers.'"

Publisher Bungei Shunju, who also issues the Japanese language version of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, allowed Nishioka's article into print "only after Marco Polo staff members spent five months checking the author's sources, conducting additional research, and carefully editing the text." [5] While Dr. Nishioka does not deny the Holocaust, he strenuously refutes its degree and intensity. "Comparing the wartime fate of Europe's Jews with that of Chinese killed by Japanese troops and the victims of American atomic bombings of Japanese cities, Nishioka concludes his article with an expression of sympathy for the 'tragic deaths' of many European Jews." [ibid.] The result of this apparently meticulous piece of research was seppuku or, as the Japanese ritual of suicide is better known in the West, hara-kiri. It proved the death of the publication.

Through its embassy in Tokyo, the Israeli government formally protested to the Japanese government, while the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles mounted a boycott campaign against the Bungei Shunju company.

The magazine's initial response was a statement defending the provocative article. In explaining his decision to publish it, Marco Polo editor Kazuyoshi Hanada – one of Japan's most prominent

journalists – said that Dr. Nishioka had found evidence to show that standard views about gassings of Jews are not accurate. ‘We would not run an article we thought was wrong,’ Hanada said....”

Marco Polo also generously announced that it would welcome a rebuttal of Nishioka’s article, offering both the Wiesenthal Center and the Israeli embassy an opportunity to respond with a ten-page article of its own.” That is a total of twenty pages of rebuttal to a ten-page article. “The offer was promptly and predictably rejected.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, deputy chief of the Wiesenthal Center, said: ‘Their [the revisionist’s] goal is to get debate going. They’re seeking to give legitimacy to their view.’ In a Jan. 25 letter, the Israeli embassy wrote to the publisher: ‘If your magazine is going to take a neutral observer position, that of a courtroom trial, in which both sides’ arguments and claims are to be introduced, we must decline.’

The Wiesenthal Center mounted an international boycott campaign against Marco Polo advertisers, and quickly succeeded in persuading major firms – including Volkswagen, Cartier, Philip Morris, Mitsubishi Motors and Mitsubishi Electric – to cancel their advertising.” [With that kind of heavy-hitting advertising money you don’t mess around].

As a result of the campaign, the Japanese government on January 30 issued a statement calling the Marco Polo article ‘extremely improper.’ A Foreign Ministry official added that Japanese embassies and consulates around the world would be instructed about the government’s ‘position on the Holocaust.’

At a packed news conference...with Wiesenthal Center deputy director Rabbi Abraham Cooper, Bungei company president Kengo Tanaka formally apologized for causing Jews ‘immeasurable pain’ by publishing Nishioka’s article. To atone for its grievous sin, Tanaka said he had closed down the offending magazine for good, and had relieved the responsible staff members of their duties. All remaining copies of the February issue were being recalled and destroyed. Tanaka resigned a few days after the news conference.

A dissenting voice broke the tranquility of the canned news conference. Journalist, author and revisionist researcher Aiji Kimura loudly harangued Cooper and demanded that the company president explain specifically what was inaccurate about Nishioka’s article. Kimura also defended historical revisionism, speaking of its peaceful, truth-seeking motivation. Hundreds of fellow journalists responded to his remarks with spontaneous applause and expressions of agreement.

‘Marco Polo was crushed,’ Dr. Nishioka responded, ‘by Jewish organizations using advertising [pressure]....’[5]

It should be noted at this juncture that The WINDS takes no position either refuting or accepting “Holocaust revision” nor is this said out of fear of reprisal by any of the political organizations mentioned that are the focus of this article—but, rather, because The WINDS has not researched the available material sufficiently to take a position on the issue. The focus of this news agency, rather, is the unfair and hypocritical posture taken by those Jewish organizations against those who do take the unpopular position of revisionism or even denial. That, while claiming reverence for freedom of speech and the press, they apparently leave no means unexploited to deny that freedom to those who disagree with them on the “sacred” matter of their Holocaust.

The opinion has been expressed that the First Amendment was placed in the number one position because of its relative importance to the rest of the Bill of Rights. It now seems that it is there as the number one target for extinction. The extinction of the document, however, is not being accomplished by open assault but, rather, by groups and powerful individuals who masquerade as those venerating the Bill of Rights while simultaneously, under cover of hypocritical pretensions, are shredding it by their actions. Groups with these well-disguised motives appear to be such as B'nai B'rith, its Anti-Defamation League and its foreign affiliates, along with the Jewish Defense League and others.

A Jewish Activist Takes on Jewish Activist Organizations

“The ADL did a lot of good in this country up until they took a sharp turn to the left,” says Aaron Zelman, a soft-spoken, articulate Jewish activist for Second Amendment rights. “They became a tool of left-wing politics. Once they did that they quit being objective.”

Mr. Zelman, himself a conservative Jew, the son of orthodox parents, sends his two children to orthodox schools, he says, in hopes of their learning about and keeping in touch with their Jewish heritage. At the same time, he heads an organization called Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership (JFPO) and is quite outspoken about what he perceives as the extreme damage groups like B'nai B'rith and the Anti-Defamation League do—and have done—to Judaism—especially in the approach they take against those who oppose their views on the Holocaust.

“The Holocaust in Germany,” Mr. Zelman says, “was just one of several holocausts—against humanity in general.”

While he does not dispute the popular Jewish/world doctrine on the event, Zelman’s position about the “Jewish” Holocaust is that, in the overall picture, it is not nearly as significant as the vast majority of his fellow Jews make it out to be.

"Holocaust, slash, genocides have happened to lots of people—not just Jews....In fact if you look at the Nazi genocide, the records indicate they murdered more non-Jews than Jews."

"Some of the methods the ADL uses are despicable," Zelman claims. "We've locked horns with them in the past and confronted them suggesting that they shouldn't consider themselves a Jewish organization."

Those at *Marco Polo* are not the only ones with which ADL has refused to enter into meaningful dialogue. "We've claimed that they lie about the militia movement in America. We challenged them to a public debate and they wouldn't do it" — perhaps, somewhat in the manner in which they will not engage in public debate about Holocaust history and figures, according to the Institute for Historical Review. They are unwilling to debate the issues but prefer, rather, to attack the people presenting them—a somewhat modified take on killing the messenger because of the contents of the message. "I think people need to start challenging them to public debates," Zelman says. "If they're not going to do it then they must not have much to stand on."

Mr. Zelman Speaks His Mind

"The ADL is essentially a misguided organization and dangerously stupid. One of the problems with a lot of the Jewish leaders (and I use the word "leaders" in double quotes) is that they don't understand or appreciate the Bill of Rights.

...On Jewish-American History:

"The majority of Jews have come to America over the last 150 years or so and they come from socialist societies and they believe in big government—they are comfortable with big government. They came to America primarily for two reasons,"—the same two reasons, it seems, which originally drew our first European settlers. "One—to be able to practice Judaism [freedom of religion?]; two—to be able to earn a living.

"But what they don't do," Zelman observes, "is they don't embrace American ideals that are embodied in the Bill of Rights. They don't understand the Bill of Rights. Abe Foxman [head of the Anti-Defamation League] does not understand the Bill of Rights—he fundamentally does not grasp the Bill of Rights. He does not have the intellectual capability to appreciate the Bill of Rights.

"He's not alone," Zelman adds. "This is typical of the majority of Jewish leaders in this country even if they were born here. They do not appreciate, they do not grasp, they do not comprehend all of the Bill of Rights for all citizens. They don't understand the document. We say around here it's sort of a

defect in the gene-pool. In other words, they brought this lack of understanding and appreciation for liberty with them—and then passed it on to their children, their grandkids, great-grandkids and so on. This is one of the problems that Americans have in trying to figure out ‘What’s with these Jews? Don’t they like America? Don’t they like the freedom that America offers people?’

“Most of these Jewish leaders don’t understand that it was a Jew by the name of Hiem Solomon, a personal friend of George Washington, who helped raise money to back the American Revolution. He was a Jew who believed so much in freedom and liberty that he personally gave \$640,000 over 200 years ago for the American Revolution.

“The point I’m making is that if you talk about Hiem Solomon to the American Jewish community today, they don’t care. They don’t appreciate the sacrifice—they really don’t.

“To quote Michael Medved, an orthodox Jewish talk-show host, he says reformed Judaism is essentially the Democratic Party with holidays. There are Jews who appreciate the Bill of Rights, and then there are Jews like Abe Foxman, and the leaders of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, who don’t have a clue about what the Bill of Rights means. Not a clue! And that’s why they’re more concerned with ingratiating themselves with whomever’s in power — even if the people in power are evil. They will do this rather than to take a position that is in the best interest of all Americans.

“If you study the history of the Jewish leadership in Nazi Germany, the leaders of the Udronaut, the Jewish council, they collaborated with the Nazis. These are the people who made lists of Jews to put on the cattle cars to go to their deaths. They did this because the Jews have always mistakenly felt that if you collaborate with evil—whoever is running the government—things will be better for you.

...On Modern Judaism:

“The leadership of the Jewish community today is so far removed from basic Jewish concepts that for them to call themselves Jews is the equivalent of Adolf Hitler calling himself a Jew. These people haven’t got a clue about real Judaism—not a clue. They know more about peanut butter and jelly sandwiches than they do about Judaism.”

...On the UN:

“The world needs the United Nations like it needs a syphilis epidemic.”

When asked what he thought of the conspiracy theories that point to Jewish Zionists as the driving force behind the New World Order and a world government, Mr. Zelman responded that he did not believe in such a movement. "How can a people that comprise less than two percent of the population," he questioned, "wield such power?"

B'nai B'rith's own figures, in answer to Mr. Zelman's rhetorical question, list the current number of senators and congressmen they claim are Jewish. The names on that list (ten senators and twenty-four representatives) comprise fully ten percent of the Senate and nearly six percent in the House, which gives them three to five times that of their percentage in the general population.

IHR's Mark Weber concurs with B'nai B'rith in this matter. "Jews make up about two percent of the population," he said, "but have something like six times that representation in places like the Presidential Cabinet, the Executive Branch overall—and of course in media it's just unbelievable."

"Spinning" The Middle East Issues

B'nai B'rith seemingly attempts to engender a form of political tunnel vision among not only the Jewish people, but the world at large as to who really counts in the Middle East. A typical example of this is illustrated in the first press release listed on their web site under the heading "B'nai B'rith Speaks Out" entitled "B'nai B'rith Calls On Arafat To Eliminate Anti-Israel, Antisemitic [sic] References From Palestinian Broadcasts".

It cannot be imagined that B'nai B'rith has forgotten that Yasser Arafat is the acknowledged spokesman for a people as fully Semitic as the Jews, therefore, in this instance, not only rendering the epithet of "antisemitic" meaningless, but ridiculous as well. This appears to be part of an ongoing effort to define Semites as Jews only and a standard approach Israel has always taken with Palestinians—to deny by inference and direct attack that they are somehow of lesser humanity than themselves.

B'nai B'rith also projects the image that they, and they alone, are the definitive source of information on how history should be viewed—especially when any aspect of the Holocaust is involved. An example of this can be found in a B'nai B'rith press release in which the organization's president, Tommy Baer took extreme exception to a statement made by Nagasaki Mayor Hitoshi Motoshima in which the mayor stated that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was "one of the two greatest crimes against humanity in the 20th century, along with the Holocaust."

In Baer's response he stated that "the bombings and the Holocaust cannot be compared and should not be linked."

Why? "The U.S. bombing was undertaken," Baer remonstrated, "after the sovereign government of the Japanese people...refused repeated U.S. offers of peace....The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a last-ditch act of war."

Translation: "They" deserved to have their innocent men, women and children incinerated. "We" did not.

That the statements by B'nai B'rith are historically untrue is no hidden fact to anyone willing to do some reading. Documents all along the historic time line from August of 1945 to the present clearly show that Japan began as early as August of 1944 to make peace overtures toward the United States. This historical "revision" is clearly set forth, among others, by a Jewish historian Gar Alperovitz in his meticulously documented 850-page tome, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb."^[6]

In documented opposition to B'nai B'rith's claim, Alperovitz's and other's research show clearly that President Truman, urged on by Secretary of State James Byrnes, fully intended that the atomic bomb should be used as both a live field-test on a virgin target to determine its results on human subjects and, also, to intimidate the Soviets into greater submission in postwar negotiations. Those documents also show that, with the exception of Byrnes, none of Truman's advisors, even in the military, had any objection to acceding to Japan's only provision to "unconditional surrender"—that the Emperor would not be punished or removed.

Even the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during World War II, Fleet Admiral William Leahy, said the use of the atomic bomb on Japan was barbarous because "the Japanese were almost defeated and ready to surrender....in being the first to use [the atomic bomb] we...adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages." [emphasis supplied]. This makes B'nai B'rith's rebuke of the Japanese mayor nonsense and blatant historical re-revisionism.

Apparently, no one has the privilege of invoking the Holocaust as a genuine tragedy except B'nai B'rith, or at least in a context approved by them and compatible with their "dictionary".

The Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith and their political arms do not target only the non-Jewish population with their opinion-shaping efforts. They have been quite successful in manipulating the outlook of their Jewish brethren also. So effective has the campaign been to label Jews as the constant target of discrimination and bigotry, that most of them actually believe it themselves. According to IHR's Weber, "A poll taken in the San Francisco area indicated that fully one-third of Jews surveyed thought that anti-Semitism was so strong that a Jew could not be elected to the U.S. Congress. The survey was taken at the very time when three of the four congressional

representatives were Jewish and the mayor of San Francisco was Jewish—and well identified as Jewish.”

Censorship by Filter

There are organizations who attempt to dictate exactly to what information the poor, terminally ignorant Gentile and Jewish public should have access. They do this by, among other means, pressuring Internet servers into refusing to continue hosting “hateful Web sites”. MSNBC columnist Brock Meeks says, “This is a tactic the Simon Wiesenthal Center has chosen to use and for which it has been soundly, and rightly, thrashed.”

Meeks, however, goes on to laud the ADL for their “even-handed approach” toward “High Tech Hate” on the Internet. He quotes them as saying, “‘Hate must be countered with information that promotes understanding, tolerance and truth.’ In other words,” Meeks translates, “the best way to fight hate speech is with more speech.”

The ADL themselves make the statement that they are “a staunch advocate of the First Amendment, [and] the League has never advocated the censorship of controversial literature, no matter how offensive.” [7]

Will someone please ‘splain how the foregoing harmonizes with ADL’s attempt at getting the IRS to revoke the tax-exempt status of the Institute for Historical Review? Is this countering hate “with information that promotes understanding, tolerance and truth”? Or is it a very real attempt at practical censorship? Would Mr. Rogers respond with, “Can you spell hypocrisy”?

A recent alliance between the ADL and software maker Cyber Patrol resulted in an announcement of “a new filter that will bar access to anti-Semitic, racist, and other forms of hate speech online.”[8] On last check, the First Amendment makes no differentiation in its “freedom of speech” clause between “anti-Semitic, racist, and other forms” of speech and what ADL would call legitimate freedom of expression—which seems more and more to be that which is defined only by them. They are, however, quite willing to share their dictionary with the rest of the world—whether or not the world wants it.

Typical of the standards of Internet filter software manufacturers is the censorship criteria published by SurfWatch. Their blocking criteria is broken down into four major categories:

- Sexually Explicit
- Violence/Hate Speech

- Drugs/Alcohol
- Gambling

Under the “Violence/Hate Speech” category are listed ten subheadings, the last of which is “Holocaust revision/denial sites.” It must be asked why and how they arrived at the conclusion that the entire category of the Holocaust not included within traditional historical thinking is a taboo subject? Did those writing the software, or those publishing or commissioning it, check out the growing mountain of evidence against the currently accepted view of that event, and did they find it to be specious and wanting in credibility?

How does “Holocaust revision/denial sites” harmonize with the intensity and moral turpitude inherent in SurfWatch’s other listings in the same subheading?

- wanton and gratuitous violence
- torture, mutilation and gore
- bomb making instructions or encouragement of destructive acts
- inciting violence

[Oops! Someone apparently forgot about Saturday morning children's cartoons].

- the portrayal or encouragement of extreme cruelty, or of physically or emotionally abusive acts to any animal or person including injury or death
- depiction of humans or animals injured or killed
- militant organizations that encourage violence to or extermination of a specified population or government
- satanic cults and rituals
- hate speech toward humans or specified populations

In the seemingly endless attempts by these organizations to engage in functional censorship, a large and reputable publisher, St. Martin’s Press, has come under considerable fire for its decision to publish *Goebbels*, a David Irving book about Hitler’s propaganda minister.

In the book Irving makes several controversial statements strenuously objected to by the ADL and other Jewish organizations. Consistently enough, the debate over the book does not center around the factualness of its content, but the author himself.

The Washington Post quotes St. Martin’s publisher Thomas Dunne as saying, “Joseph Goebbels is doubtless laughing in Hell. He, after all, was the man who loved nothing better than burning books, threatening publishers, suppressing ideas, and judging the merits of ideas based not on their content but by their author’s racial, ethnic or political purity. That is indeed a sad irony.”

How did this publisher fare in standing up against their opposition? Strangely, the very next day after *The Washington Post* published Dunne's statement, St. Martin's cancelled the publication of Irving's book. "A humiliated St. Martin's Press yesterday cancelled publication of its new book by historian David Irving, admitting that the work it had so righteously defended is in fact 'an insidious' piece of anti-Semitic propaganda." [*The Washington Post*, April 3, 1996].

"It's not a question of book burning or censorship,' said ADL Director Abraham Foxman. 'That's just poppycock. It's a question of responsibility. I think they finally made the right decision.'" [ibid.]

Jewish Terrorism! Isn't that Stretching Things a Bit?

Another organization of apparently the same stripe as ADL is the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Although ADL claims that JDL's philosophy of terrorism is at odds with ADL's non-violent approach, some have likened the difference as to that between Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army.

The Institute for Historical Review has been accused repeatedly of being an anti-Semitic hate group. In fact, historical revision of the Holocaust is only a part of their agenda—but it is the part that constantly gets them in trouble with Jewish watchdog groups like B'nai B'rith, ADL—and—the Jewish Defense League.

The IHR claims that, "Far from being a fomenter of hate, the Institute has been a target of hate groups. During the 1980s, the Jewish Defense League [JDL]...repeatedly assaulted Institute offices and staff members. Following numerous death threats by telephone and mail, extensive property damage, five relatively minor fire bombings, one drive-by shooting and two physical assaults, the Institute's office-warehouse was destroyed in an arson attack on July 4, 1984. Estimated property loss was more than \$400,000, including tens of thousands of books, rare documents, irreplaceable files and expensive office equipment."^[9]

The Los Angeles Times reports that "the Jewish Defense League...is the second most active terrorist group in the United States, according to FBI reports."^[10]

The Simon Wiesenthal Center

The Simon Wiesenthal Center was established in 1977 by Rabbi Marvin Hier under a grant from Jewish businessman Samuel Belzberg. Naming the Center after the famous "Nazi Hunter" Hier parlayed Belzberg's grant into one of the most powerful of Jewish organizations. *The Los Angeles Times* in a 1990 story claimed at that time that "...second in membership only to B'nai B'rith International with 380,000 members, the Simon Wiesenthal Center at times rivals the venerable

American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and the World Jewish Congress for its impact and access to world leaders.” [11]

Alfred Lilienthal, a well known Jewish/American historian once said that this country is absorbed in what he calls “Holocaustomania.” The Wiesenthal Center is apparently foremost among peers in promoting this form of backdoor racism and in marginalizing the need for any debate of historical issues with which it disagrees. The director of Israel’s Yad Vashem Holocaust Center was quoted in the *Jewish Press* and *Ha’aretz Daily* newspaper as saying that “Rabbi Hier and the Wiesenthal Center are, in my opinion, the most extreme of those who utilize the Holocaust....The Jewish people do many vulgar things,” he continued, “but the Wiesenthal Center raised it to a complete level: The optimum use of sensitive issues in order to raise money....” [12]

“The enormous success of the Simon Wiesenthal Center,” says *New York Times* Deputy Media Editor Judith Miller in her book *One by One: Facing the Holocaust*, [13] “has given new meaning to what was once a macabre in-house joke... ‘There’s no business like *shoah* business’” *shoah*, of course, is the Hebrew word for Holocaust.

So influential have these Zionist organizations been in establishing their singular agenda for Holocaust definition that, “to dispute Holocaust claims,” according to Mark Weber, “is a crime in, among others, France, Germany, Austria and Spain.”

In France, for instance, the Fabius-Gayssot Law (13 July 1990), makes a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment for up to a year and a fine up to 300,000 Franks (\$50,000) to openly deny or dispute the Holocaust as defined in “crimes against humanity” by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg following World War II.

Voltaire, arguably the most famous of French philosophers, once said, “I do not agree with a thing you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.” Now, in Voltaire’s homeland, that philosophical right to freedom of speech has indeed been relegated to just that—philosophy.

If the Holocaust and its purported six million Jewish victims is provable fact, as the vast majority believe it to be, then it will stand against all who oppose it, and will do so by merely presentation and debate of the evidence. But when an individual or group seeks to close off debate and examination of evidence, they give another kind of evidence—that they, themselves, do not fully believe their claims.

Some will read the foregoing and conclude that the author is anti-Semitic. Some will know better. What is, in reality, presented here is nothing more or less than humanity. It is the nature of man to

control all he can and to destroy all he cannot. This nature is based on fear. One does not need to be Nazi, Communist, Zionist, Democrat, Republican, Libertarian or anything else in order to express this degeneracy. All one needs for the fruition of that nature is to be born on this planet. This is where lies the true defect in the gene pool. The sum of all disputes among men amounts to no more than two children holding the opposite ends of the same rope arguing who has the longest piece.

Desperate Fanatics: The ADL Pounds The Table!

By Alan Sabrosky

Fanatics, it has been observed, are those who redouble their efforts when they lose sight of their goal, or at least feel its attainment slipping from their grasp. This describes precisely the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), founded in 1913 principally to combat anti-Semitism and closely linked since its inception to the emerging Zionist movement, which increasingly has resorted to the defamation of Israel's critics as part of its avowed mission to support "the Jewish State by advocating for Israel."

It really isn't surprising that the ADL, along with AIPAC (the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee) and the brigade of associated organizations lobbying for Israel, should employ such tactics. Like lawyers obliged to pound the courtroom table when law and evidence are both against their client, the ADL is faced with the uncomfortable reality that both international law and the evidence on the ground condemn Israel as a rogue state, saved from sanctions and embargoes only by US vetoes in the UN Security Council and endless references to an historical Holocaust perpetrated by Europeans, all to sidestep condemnation and culpability for their systemic oppression of Palestinians who had nothing to do with it.

The New Anti-Semitism

The ADL's shift in emphasis from justifiably combating bigotry (the "old" anti-Semitism) to being an advocate for Israel by suppressing critics and criticism of Israel's misconduct (the "new" anti-Semitism) has been dramatic. The difficulty is that the so-called "new anti-Semitism" is so wide-ranging in scope that it encompasses almost everyone who is not an Israeli partisan, while anyone who criticizes Israeli war crimes or the Zionist lobby's support of Israel becomes in their lexicon an indictable accessory after the fact to the architects of the Holocaust.

The ADL understands that while the national mainstream media can be manipulated and elected politicians can be bought, none of that would matter greatly if the American public ever learned what actually happens in the Middle East. Disinformation alone is not enough; critics need to be discredited and, if necessary, destroyed as well. Character assassination is a common place weapon. Outright lies and half-truths confuse the issues. Bribes and coercion in the form of political contributions or so-called "charitable" donations given or withheld add muscle to their efforts. A large stable of syndicated columnists disseminate their propaganda and erode the legitimacy of their victims.

The ADL and its cohorts have enjoyed a remarkable string of successes over the years in implementing this strategy, but a series of recent developments have started to shake its pillars. One is the growth of the internet, and with it the availability of news from sources that the Zionists can neither manage nor contain. Another was the brutal onslaught against Gaza in 2008-2009, conducted to applause from then-President Bush and the US Congress but an upswing in criticism of Israel, especially in the Jewish community. A third was AIPAC's successful opposition to the appointment of a distinguished diplomat named Charles Freeman to a senior intelligence post, a success undermined in part because the timing dictated that it be done so publicly. And the last was the election in Israel of a government that would openly and accurately be characterized as "fascist" if it had come to power anywhere else, further unsettling many of the ADL's erstwhile supporters, who could tolerate (barely) Netanyahu's return but viewed Avigdor Lieberman with distaste or loathing.

The Price of Arrogance

A misreading of these developments plus a measure of arrogance led the ADL to make one of the few serious missteps in its history, when it attempted to use its influence to pressure the University of California to censure a professor at the Santa Barbara campus who had used highly critical graphics of Israel's assault on Gaza in his class. That the professor, William Robinson, was Jewish made the ADL's efforts more pointed, because Jewish critics of Israel are more difficult for them to counter – labels like "self-hating Jew" don't go quite as far as "neo-Nazi" and the like. The details are available elsewhere (see links below), but the ADL ended up with mud on its organizational face when the campus community rallied around Professor Robinson and the administration rejected (albeit belatedly) their effort.

When it looked like the ADL's action would succeed, the international director of a pro-Zionist group called "Stand With Us" had stated "that the investigation against sociology professor William I. Robinson could set a precedent for more action against Israel critics at other universities." When it didn't end the way they expected, they turned out not to be good losers, putting this spin on the outcome at their website: If you are concerned about our college campuses, here is an important bulletin: UCSB professors are free to peddle propaganda designed to indoctrinate students with their personal prejudices. Neither professional conduct codes nor intellectual standards set limits on this freedom. Anything goes. This anarchy is defended in the name of "academic freedom."

One must concede that pro-Zionist groups are better than most at identifying propaganda and prejudice, if only because they themselves indulge in so much of it. They just aren't used to losing, but they had better get ready to lose a good deal more in the future. Too much is happening that they cannot either conceal or finesse, and images from Gaza and elsewhere tell a tale to Americans

and others that all of the verbiage from the Zionist propaganda machine simply cannot counter indefinitely.

But perhaps ADL and company have the right of it in one respect, and the new definition of anti-Semitism is any criticism of any domestic or foreign policy of the state of Israel, or of any action on the part of some Jews in the Diaspora in support of Israel. So be it. In that case, the rest of us need to understand that the oppression of Palestinians and the victimization of Israel's neighbors are crimes that cry out for opposition, no matter what label their perpetrators try to hang on it. And if opposing those crimes is now anti-Semitism, according to the ADL, then anti-Semitism in its new form has become a badge of honor to be worn with pride by people of conscience everywhere.

Source: National Vanguard Magazine — Number 114

Freedom Under Attack

The government assault on the Second Amendment has been much in the news this year. Less noticed, however, even by the Second Amendment's fervent defenders, has been the ongoing effort to scrap the rest of the Bill of Rights.

Just as with the effort against the Second Amendment, which has been depicted by the mass media as an effort to "control crime," the campaigns against other fundamental liberties have been mounted under false rubrics for the purpose of deception. The enemies of the First Amendment, for example, want their efforts to stamp out Politically Incorrect speech to be viewed as a campaign for "human rights." Paramount among these human rights, in their view, is the right to feel good about oneself at all times (unless, of course, one is a heterosexual White male): hence, any spoken or printed word which may be offensive to members of an officially favored segment of the population is to be banned.

The efforts to stamp out "offensive" speech have been reported earlier in these pages: see, for example, "The Campaign to Outlaw 'Hate'" in issue No. 111, and "The Destruction of the Academy" in issue No. 112. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm of the speech regulators for their work continues to grow. At the same time that they are becoming more Orwellian in their efforts, they are having more success at enlisting the police powers of the state to back them up.

In some recent cases the law already has gone far beyond anything George Orwell himself could have imagined. In 1988 Congress enacted the Fair Housing Amendments Act (an enhancement of the Fair Housing Act of 1968), imposing severe criminal and civil penalties on anyone who interferes with the housing rights of federally favored groups. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which administers both acts, interprets as illegal interference any complaint—even a letter to a newspaper—about any of its projects to homogenize the U.S. population by establishing housing projects for its favored groups in predominantly White areas. It has sued or threatened criminal and/or civil action against a number of complainers recently: people who have objected to HUD plans for "rehabilitation centers" or "group homes" in their neighborhoods to house drug addicts or homeless alcoholics, for example. (The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 added mentally and physically handicapped persons to the federally favored list, and HUD and the courts since have ruled that alcoholics, drug addicts, and persons with AIDS are included among the handicapped.)

HUD's campaign to imprison or bankrupt dissenters has been in the spotlight recently as the result of its threats against three Berkeley, California, residents—Alexandra White, Joseph Deringer, and

Richard Graham—who protested HUD plans to establish a housing project for homeless alcoholics in their neighborhood. Before recent publicity caused HUD to back off a bit, the three were threatened with a year in prison and fines of \$100,000 each if they did not cease their protests. They were ordered to turn over to HUD all of their correspondence, memoranda, press statements, and other papers connected with their objections to the project, so that government lawyers could look for evidence against them.

If this sounds like HUD never heard about the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments, don't be alarmed. Assistant Secretary Roberta Achtenberg, the lesbian Jewess appointed by Bill Clinton to the second-ranking position in HUD, has assured reporters covering the aforementioned Berkeley case that HUD will not infringe the Constitutional rights of persons who object to its projects—provided that their objections are not based on the specific characteristics of the favored group for whom the housing is being provided.

Thus, HUD will not bring charges against someone who objects to a home for persons with AIDS being established in his neighborhood, if his objection is that the home would be too far from the nearest hospital or that the neighborhood lacks other facilities needed by the home's residents. But if he objects that people with AIDS are a generally unsavory lot—homosexuals, non-Whites, drug addicts—and he doesn't want his children coming in contact with them, then the Bill of Rights goes out the window. Ms. Achtenberg, who seems to have a larger role in making housing policy than her nominal superior at HUD, Henry Cisneros, believes that when the Bill of Rights collides with the special rights legislated in recent decades for the government's favored minorities, the special rights should prevail. After all, the Bill of Rights was enacted more than 200 years ago by White males, some of them slave owners and none of them "gay" or Jewish, and this in itself makes it déclassé. Unfortunately for most of us, the courts have been moving inexorably toward Ms. Achtenberg's view of things. The controlled media already are there. The August 29, 1994, issue of U.S. News & World Report, the most "conservative" of America's major weekly newsmagazines, commented on the Berkeley case:

HUD should clear the air quickly with clear guidelines that acknowledge First Amendment protections. It is one thing to organize to keep blacks out of an all-white area and quite another to question, as some Berkeley people did, a decision to put a home for alcoholics near two liquor stores. . . .

HUD officials suggest that it is illegal discrimination to question housing programs on the basis of protected characteristics of those to be housed. That is clear and just when we are talking about race, illness or physical disability. It's not so clear when the people to be housed are disorganized street people who qualify as a protected class because of drug problems or the fact that they happened to contract AIDS.

A careless reader who skims quickly over this commentary might get the false impression that U.S. News & World Report believes in the First Amendment. Actually, the magazine is owned and edited by one of Ms. Achtenberg's kinsmen, Mortimer Zuckerman, and he is clever enough with words to create such an impression even in careful readers. Too many people will let themselves be bullied into positions they really didn't want to take, rather than appear unreasonable or "extreme": "We must acknowledge First Amendment protections of our right to dissent--so long as we don't say anything racist or anti-homosexual or . . ." It's much like the "defense" of the Second Amendment we've been hearing from a lot of politicians recently: "We must not infringe the right to keep and bear arms--that is, the right of a well-regulated militia, under the control of the government."

Criticizing HUD's housing policies is not the only thing White Americans no longer can do: they also must be extraordinarily careful in formulating their personal housing policies, if that involves advertising to sell or rent real estate. The Fair Housing Act, as amended in 1988, prohibits advertising which "indicates any preference, limitation, or discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, handicap, familial status, or national origin or an intention to make any such preference," and this provision of the law is now being enforced with a vengeance by Ms. Achtenberg and her cohorts at HUD. Almost any indication in an apartment or real estate advertisement that the owner is looking for normal, healthy, or decent tenants or buyers is verboten. The guiding philosophy is that no member of a favored group must feel excluded, no one must be offended, no one must even be reminded of whatever it is that gives him an officially favored status. Thus, an advertisement for an apartment that specifies "no drug addicts" or "no drinkers" will bring a team of HUD enforcers with a subpoena in a hurry.

The tyranny of the Fair Housing Act goes far beyond the imposition of punishment by the government itself, however; like other "civil rights" laws, it encourages aggrieved members of favored groups to file ruinous civil suits against anyone who has offended them, and many members of these increasingly uppity groups are very easily offended. This provides a lucrative opportunity for some lawyers, who are getting together with local minorities and organizing "fair housing councils" or the like to ferret out possibilities for lawsuits and for complaints to HUD against property owners, realtors, and even the newspapers which carry real estate advertising.

Some of the complainants feel compelled to push the law to its limits. A woman describing her religion as "non-Christian" is suing a newspaper in Salem, Oregon, for religious discrimination because it ran an apartment-for-rent advertisement on Easter Sunday under a logo consisting of a bunny in a flower basket and the words "Happy Easter." Ms. Achtenberg is investigating the matter. Such complaints may seem ridiculous, but they are not amusing at all to a property owner of modest means who becomes a target. He usually finds himself in a no-win situation: even if he prevails against the complainant and HUD, he may have to sell his property to pay his legal expenses.

Terrified of lawsuits, newspapers and realtors are censoring themselves. They have compiled a long list of “discriminatory” and “offensive” words and phrases which should not be used in advertisements. Some especially careful realtors have gone so far that they no longer use the phrase “master bedroom,” because Blacks may be offended by a reminder of the master/slave relationship. Nor will they mention a “walk-in closet” or a “spectacular view,” lest a lame or blind person take offense.

Absurd? Not to the favored groups, who are intoxicated with their new power to exact vengeance for a thousand real or imagined slights by making the resented majority dance to their tune. Tim Kearney (disability unspecified), program coordinator for the Fair Housing Council of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, is typical. He is eager to hold the majority’s feet to the fire by suing whenever he imagines that he sees an objectionable advertisement: “If somebody didn’t pick up the phone [to respond to a housing ad] because they [sic] felt excluded by the wording, you have [grounds for] a complaint. All day long some people suffer pangs and stings of discrimination, and it adds up. That’s what civil rights is all about.”

Many Americans, even those who are well read and keep up with politics and current events, simply cannot grasp the monstrousness of what has happened to their country. They have learned in school that the American Revolution was fought by men who valued their honor and freedom above all else, men who established the U.S. government and wrote the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and they know that the officeholders who make, administer, and judge our laws today are sworn to uphold that Constitution and that Bill of Rights. They cannot grasp the fact that a substantial portion of these officeholders are now people who hold the Constitution in utter contempt and are working diligently to undermine and destroy it, and virtually all the rest are people willing to go along with the former as long as it is the fashionable thing to do.

Most Americans, who have grown up believing that they had an absolute right to say whatever they wanted to say, do not understand that they no longer have that right. It has been taken away from them, almost without a fight.

Should Americans really be surprised by this development, though? Do they really believe that they can permit a lesbian Jewess to set government policy and not use her power against the heterosexual Gentiles she despises so vehemently? Do they really believe that they can permit a piece of filth like Bill Clinton to occupy the White House, and still keep their freedom?

The key, of course, is the control of the media by an element utterly alienated from the White majority of Americans; an element whose ancestors did not share in our revolutionary struggle for freedom; an element with no conception of personal honor and no tradition of liberty; an element whose whole, parasitic history is one of conspiracy, subversion, deception, and conflict with the host

people among whom they have lived. They spent decades laying the groundwork for what is happening now. When they finally were able to get a man like Clinton in a position where he could make top-level appointments of their kind of people to the Supreme Court and the Federal bureaucracy, why should they forbear? They want their pound of flesh, and they want it now. They will get it, and more. They will feast on the goyim again, as their ancestors feasted on the fat of Egypt and a hundred other nations. They will feast until the emasculated, liberalized, fashion-subservient goyim find their manhood again and put a final end to them and their collaborators.

Politically Inappropriate Listening Habit

George Orwell wrote in 1984 of “thought crime” (thinking a Politically Incorrect thought) and “face crime” (having a Politically Inappropriate expression on one’s face—e.g., smiling at a joke about homosexuals, or failing to smile when passing a racially mixed couple on the sidewalk), but one that Orwell didn’t think of might be called “ear crime”: listening to something that is deemed “offensive.” That’s what 30-year-old Nunzio Bonaccorsy, of Annapolis, Maryland, did earlier this year, and it cost him dearly.

Bonaccorsy was employed as a shipping clerk by Alcon Labs, Inc., which sells contact lens products. He worked in Alcon’s warehouse in Savage, about 20 miles from Annapolis, and he had his radio tuned to a local rock music program one day last May: the Grego and Mo Show. The program’s two disk jockeys were discussing a news report about a Jaguar executive who was in hot water because he had referred to Mercedes Benz as a “nigger in the woodpile.”

A Black warehouse worker who heard the word “nigger” coming from Bonaccorsy’s radio several times became incensed. He complained to Bonaccorsy, and, without Bonaccorsy’s permission, tuned the radio to another station. Then the Black, still indignant, complained to the warehouse manager about the program Bonaccorsy had been listening to. The manager called Bonaccorsy into his office and told him he was fired. The reason Bonaccorsy was given was that he had an “inappropriate racial attitude.”

Such corporate bigotry is still a step away from government enforcement of “appropriate” radio listening habits, of course. And the chances are that Alcon Labs doesn’t really care what programs its employees listen to. What Alcon cares about is minimizing its problems with the government, and it knows well that a complaint to the bureaucrats in Washington from any minority employee can mean big problems. Bonaccorsy probably would have been fired if his Black coworker had complained instead about an “insensitive” slogan on his T-shirt or an “offensive” bumper sticker on his car. The customary response of employers to governmental programs favoring minorities has been to go beyond even what is required by law, just to be safe.

Newspeak in the Making

The great fascination which George Orwell's 1984 holds for readers is that it is uncannily prophetic. One after another the features of the nightmare society he imagined in his futuristic novel nearly a half-century ago are appearing in our society today.

Consider, for example, Newspeak. The task of Orwell's government was to control its citizens. It did this by controlling their thoughts. This was easy with most citizens, who were happy to think only Politically Correct thoughts. Some citizens, however, were not as public-spirited as the rest: they insisted on thinking whatever they wanted to think, and the Thought Police were kept busy tracking them down. The government's solution to this problem was to limit the vocabulary of its citizens. Without words to represent disapproved ideas, the citizens would not be able to think dangerous thoughts. Therefore, the government began pruning Politically Incorrect words from the dictionary. Each new edition of the dictionary which appeared had fewer words than the previous one. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the Jewish Thought Police organization commissioned to promote Political Correctness among the Gentiles, believes that Orwell's Newspeak is a wonderful idea. It has been working diligently to pressure the publishers of dictionaries into deleting disapproved words, starting with the word "jew" used as a verb. The ADL scored a notable success recently when it persuaded Hasbro Inc., the company which makes the board game Scrabble, to purge as many as 100 "offensive" words from the Official Scrabble Players Dictionary. After the ADL publicly accused Hasbro of "literally playing games with hate," Hasbro agreed to delete words such as "wetback," "kike," "nigger," "lezzie," and a number of others.

The public reaction to the announcement of this shrinking of the Scrabble vocabulary has been less than encouraging. Instead of a cry of outrage from non-Jewish logophiles, there has been a rush by other favored segments of the population to have even more words tossed down the memory hole. Gypsies want the word "gyp" flushed, among others. Homosexuals want to get rid of a number of words besides "lezzie." The feminists, who already have succeeded in changing the rules of grammar, so that a pronoun no longer must agree in number with its antecedent, have a very long list of words they insist must go. Fundamentalist Christians—who are not even an officially favored minority—want all those awful words referring to the nastier parts of the human body and to bedroom activity deleted.

Hasbro is not happy about this development but says that it will consider carefully all requests for further deletions from the Scrabble dictionary.

Political Correctness, Swiss Style

It's not just White Americans and South Africans who are in a self-destructive mood: voters in Switzerland trooped to the polls on September 25 and voted obediently to give up their right to free speech, in the name of "anti-racism."

The government and the controlled media had argued that in order for Switzerland to play a more active role in the European Union and the United Nations, it was necessary to ban "racist" speech and writing. Swiss citizens, despite their reputed love of freedom and independence, let themselves be convinced, and 55 per cent of those who cast ballots voted for a government ban on any public expression which "injures human dignity" or which "justifies, denies, or minimizes acts of genocide." It is now forbidden in Switzerland for anyone to make a "racist" statement or to question in any way the official Jewish "Holocaust" myth. Forty-four percent of the eligible electorate participated in the voting.

Rosmarie Dormann, co-president of the "Yes to the Anti-Racism Law" committee which pushed hard for the new law, says she is satisfied that free-speech advocates have been silenced, but she is unhappy that 45 per cent of those who voted opposed giving up their freedom.

The anti-racism committee's other co-president, Sigi Feigel, a prominent Jewish lawyer in Zurich, also is unhappy. Feigel said that he is "full of consternation that almost half of the Swiss people have said no" to the ban, despite the barrage of very clever television and newspaper propaganda designed to help them "get it."

Feigel, Dormann, and other advocates of prison for Political Incorrectness are made uneasy by the fact that only 24 per cent of Switzerland's total electorate voted with them (i.e., 55 per cent of the 44 per cent turnout), and that those who voted were sharply divided between urban and rural parts of the country. The rural areas remained strongly in favor of freedom, while the cities—where virtually all of Switzerland's Jews and other minorities live—voted for repression.

Feigel, who also is a leading figure in Switzerland's Israeli Cultural Community, complained bitterly that Swiss voters also have failed to respond with sufficient enthusiasm to other measures he and the media have backed recently. This year they rejected two proposals he was especially eager to see adopted: one was to send Swiss troops on United Nations "peace keeping" missions abroad, and the other was to make it easier for the children of recent immigrants, most of them from the Third World, to become Swiss citizens. And in 1992 Swiss voters rejected a "free" trade proposal promoted by Feigel.

Feigel and his collaborators console themselves with the knowledge that, with their opponents silenced by the new ban on free speech, it will be easier for the media to bring the remaining Swiss voters into line and get other proposals approved.

Stealing Freedom at the State Level

While the spotlight focused on the nation's capital city at least makes alert citizens aware of assaults on the Bill of Rights by the White House or the Congress, similar assaults at the state level often remain unnoticed by most of the citizens whose liberties they are intended to destroy. The unfortunate fact is that, as rotten as the gang in Washington is, the politicians at the state and local level usually are cut from the same cloth, and the same piper plays the tune to which they dance. One of the principal Jewish lobbying organizations, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), has been especially successful in persuading state and local politicians to assist them in their efforts to silence and disarm Politically Incorrect Americans. A pet project of the ADL has been state "hate crime" laws.

The first stage of the ADL's "hate crime" campaign was to persuade legislators in a number of states to enact new laws drastically increasing the penalties for a wide range of crimes already on the books, if those crimes were motivated in part by what the ADL defines as "hate."

The next stage was to create a whole new class of crimes by criminalizing what the ADL calls "hate speech." In both stages the ADL has provided lawmakers with "model statutes" to be introduced into their respective legislatures, and legislators have been obedient tools in this program of subversion. An example of a stage-two "model statute" is a bill introduced this year into the New Jersey Assembly (No. 1447, introduced March 7 by Assemblyman Roma, Republican). It provides for any "person who, in a public place, expresses ill will, hatred, or bias towards an individual or group of individuals because of race, color, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, with a purpose to incite any other person to commit a crime against such individual or group" to be imprisoned for up to 18 months. If the expression of ill will "causes, or is a contributive factor in causing, another person to commit a crime against an individual or group of individuals," then the person who expressed the ill will may be sentenced to as much as five years in the state penitentiary. The bill defines "public place" as "any place to which the public or any substantial group thereof has access."

Think what this means: A state college or university campus is a "public place." There already are laws in many states criminalizing discrimination against homosexuals in hiring. A professor or a student who states in a classroom that he believes that homosexual behavior is abhorrent and that homosexuals should not be hired as teachers has not only expressed "ill will . . . towards an individual or group of individuals because of . . . sexual orientation," but he has incited "other

person[s] to commit a crime against such individual or group" by refusing to hire homosexuals for teaching positions. Whereas before he merely would have exposed himself to censure from his Politically Correct peers and perhaps to a demonstration by a shrieking, spitting mob of homosexuals, feminists, and Jews, under this new bill he can be thrown into prison for a year and a half. If someone who heard him make his remark later refuses to hire a homosexual, his term of imprisonment can be increased to five years.

Bills of this sort are becoming commonplace across the land, as legislators scramble to please their masters—and as the citizens who elected them acquiesce in such behavior rather than risk being considered unfashionable. Do such citizens really deserve to be free?

Our forefathers, who were free men, would have marched on Assemblyman Roma's office in fury and hanged him from the nearest lamppost. They deserved their freedom, unfashionable though they may have been.

Israel's Beilin Rips U.S. Jews For Undercutting P.A. Chief 'Does the ADL Have Another Partner for Me?'

By RACHEL DONADIO
www.forward.com

American Jews should stop acting "more Israeli than Israelis" by undermining Yasser Arafat at a time when Israel is trying to negotiate with him, Israeli Justice Minister Yossi Beilin said last week.

Addressing the editorial board of the Forward, the controversial minister singled out the Anti-Defamation League for particular criticism, calling the league's recent advertising campaign against Palestinian violence "a mistake."

"Why should the ADL publish an ad in the American press to tell the world that Arafat is not my partner?" Mr. Beilin asked. "The ADL doesn't have another partner for me. If they had somebody else, I would love it." Since they do not, he continued, campaigning to delegitimize Mr. Arafat "doesn't help Israel. It doesn't help anybody, it doesn't help peace."

The national director of the ADL, Abraham Foxman, called Mr. Beilin's remarks "ironic," and suggested that his group might have been more in sync with Prime Minister Barak than Mr. Beilin is.

Mr. Beilin's remarks were part of a wide-ranging discussion of Israeli policy, Palestinian violence and the prospects for a renewed peace process. Mr. Beilin said there was blame on both sides for the current failure of the peace process that he helped launch in Oslo seven years ago. "There are no saints in this story," he said. "On both sides we breached the agreement."

Nonetheless, he insisted, peace was still achievable if both sides were willing to compromise. In particular, he said, the Palestinians would have to give up their demand for a right of return to former homes within the State of Israel. (Please see related article, Page 6.)

"If we can find compromises – on the borders, the settlements, on Jerusalem, and if they understand that the right of return for us, as Jews, as Zionists, is the most important red line, then I think that we can cut a deal in a short while," he said.

Mr. Beilin was en route to Washington, where he met the next day with National Security Adviser Samuel Berger and had an unscheduled conversation with President Clinton. According to Israeli press reports, Mr. Clinton promised the Israeli minister that he would make Israeli-Palestinian peace talks his highest foreign-policy priority in his remaining weeks in office.

Mr. Beilin told the Forward that he was not intending to dictate the role American Jews should play in expressing their views on Israel. "I don't want American Jews to march in the streets of New York to say that peace is the only solution," he said. "Although I would like to see them doing it, I don't demand it."

What he was asking, he said, was that mainstream Jewish organizations refrain from campaigns that hurt the chances of peace. "I just believe that it is important that the mainstream organizations will not make such mistakes," he said.

On November 19, the ADL ran an advertisement on the op-ed page of the New York Times. "If you really wanted peace with Israel," the ad asked, "would you: teach your young children anti-Israel, anti-Semitic hatred. Put your children in front of your own snipers. Walk away from negotiations with the Israeli government after it has offered more than any government before it?" Answering its own question, the ad continued: "Of course not. Mr. Arafat: Put down the violence, pick up the peace."

"[I did] not think I was saying anything unique or new in the ad. I thought I was being supportive of the Israeli government. That's not what Yossi Beilin was. He's not always in synch with the prime minister. I was," Mr. Foxman said.

Ironically, Mr. Foxman noted, Mr. Beilin has been a champion of the rights of Diaspora Jews to challenge the Israeli government and voice their own views.

"Yossi Beilin used to tell me that I had an obligation to tell Israel what to think. I said no, I'm not a citizen, I don't bear the consequences of my opinions," Mr. Foxman said. "Now he comes and criticizes what I believe I heard his prime minister and his fellow ministers say."

"He can't have it both ways," Mr. Foxman said. "On the one hand, he says that Diaspora Jews and Israeli Jews are equal partners – which I don't think we are, because when it comes to consequences, we are limited partners and they are general partners. The consequences for them are total and for us are limited."

"I continue to respect him," Mr. Foxman said. "And I will continue to disagree with him."

One of Mr. Beilin's potentially most controversial statements to the Forward was his assertion that both sides were to blame for the failure of the peace talks.

Under the 1993 Oslo accords, Israelis and Palestinians were to begin negotiations toward a permanent solution on May 4, 1996, Mr. Beilin said. That day, the

Israeli Foreign Ministry's then-director general, Uri Savir, and a senior aide to Mr. Arafat, Abu Mazen, met at the Egyptian resort of Taba to start talks on a final-status accord. "It was a big ceremony and nothing happened," Mr. Beilin said. "There was never a second meeting after that."

"It's not that we negotiated with them and were not successful," Mr. Beilin said. "It's that we did not negotiate about the permanent solution."

Moreover, he said, Israel failed to honor several other provisions of the Oslo accord. "We did not hand over territory to them according to the agreement," he said. "We did not establish the passage between Gaza and the West Bank, which made their lives awful."

"On the other hand, they were not saints either," Mr. Beilin continued. "They did not end the incitement. They did not collect unauthorized weapons. I think today we are all paying the price of the fact that we both breached the agreement."

The most immediate fallout from the agreement's collapse, it appears, is the fall of Prime Minister Barak's government and the move toward early elections. Current polls show Mr. Barak losing badly to the man he beat in 1999, then-Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the likely Likud contender.

Mr. Beilin acknowledged that a strong "feeling of insecurity," compounded by "frustration, the feeling that everything is falling apart," would affect Israeli voting trends. Nonetheless, he said, it would not necessarily translate into a victory for Mr. Netanyahu.

He said reminders about Mr. Netanyahu's corruption scandals might be enough to sway voters. "It's been a year and a half, and people tend to forget," he said. "They actually chose Barak mainly because they didn't want Netanyahu. And I'm not sure that they're going to chose Netanyahu only because they don't want Barak, although it's possible."

As for Israel's image in the media, Mr. Beilin said, "It is a very strange situation. In Israel we are being criticized for restraining our force, by the world we are criticized for using excessive force."

The reason Israel uses force, he said, is because it has no other options for confronting Palestinian violence. "We cannot just take a bus of kids from Jerusalem and send them to Gaza to throw stones at their peers. There is no such arrangement."

"We have an army, and we use it. We don't have slingshots," he continued. "This is the way we know how to use our force. By definition it may be excessive force,

but the feeling in Israel is that there is no excessive use of force, rather we are restrained."

Citing "the hunger and poverty" in the territories, Mr. Beilin said that Palestinians were suffering from their own use of violence. "I think that the Palestinians understand today much better that at least up to a certain point they are paying the price for this ongoing violence," he said. "But it is more difficult for them than for us to stop it."

"The irritating thing is that we were so close to an agreement," Mr. Beilin said. "We went such a long way toward an agreement, and they went a very significant way too, [although] not as far as we went."

"The question I ask myself is why did it happen now?" he said. "Why didn't it happen 15 years ago or 25 years ago? Why did it happen on the verge of the end of occupation, on the verge of having a Palestinian state recognized by us?"

"But, you know, I'm old enough to understand that I won't have the answers to all my questions," Mr. Beilin said. "I'll have to be satisfied with changing the future rather than with understanding the past."

New Film Defamation Is an Expose of Israel

FOCUS

Jewish directors challenge Israel

By Sakhr al-Makhadi at the London Film Festival

***Eyes Wide Open*, a love story between two Orthodox Jewish men, provoked anger at its screening**

A series of controversial Israeli films are provoking outrage and plaudits in equal measure at the London Film Festival.

The best documentary award has gone to one of the year's most controversial films.

Defamation is a polemic by Israeli filmmaker Yoav Shamir. In his expose of America's Anti-Defamation League (ADL), he claims anti-Semitism is being exaggerated for political purposes. He argues that American Jewish leaders travel around the world exploiting the memory of the Holocaust to silence criticism of Israel.

He gets inside the ADL, which claims to be the most powerful lobby group of its type anywhere in the world. With unprecedented access, he travels with them as they meet foreign leaders, and use the memory of the Holocaust to further their pro-Israeli agenda.

At one point, an ADL leader admits to Shamir that "we need to play on that guilt".

Shamir says his film, *Defamation*, started out as a study of "the political games being played behind the term anti-Semitism".

"It became more a film about perceptions and the way Jews and Israelis choose to see themselves and define themselves – a lot of the time unfortunately choosing the role of eternal victims as a way of life."

Israel's national psyche

He wanted to find out how this mentality has become part of Israel's national psyche. The film suggests that the attitude is thrust upon children from an early age. School trips to concentration camps in Poland run year-round.

From just 500 children in the 1980s, he claims around 30,000 are now flown to Europe every year.

He discovers that the trips are not designed to educate, but to provoke an emotional reaction. They fly out of Israel euphoric, and end their journey in tears, talking about their shared hatred.

They are accompanied by secret service agents who prevent them from talking to any locals – they are led to believe that most Poles are anti-Semites.

The end result is disturbing. The victim mentality is being used to justify Israel's occupation and colonisation of the West Bank and siege of Gaza.

In the film, one Israeli Jew tells Shamir that she refuses to get upset by Israeli aggression against the Palestinians because “we” faced worse. To her, the Holocaust justifies anything the Israeli army does.

And for Shamir, that is the real danger. “We are experiencing the most right-wing government we've ever had, and there is very little room for discussion. Putting so much focus on hate and the negative, I don't see it as a healthy thing.”

In Israel, the film has received a mixed response. “It's kind of a love or hate type of response to the film,” Shamir says. “It's very hard to get people to come and watch documentaries in the cinemas in Israel.”

Touchy subject

In the UK, too, there is anger towards *Defamation*.

Mark Gardiner from one of Britain's biggest anti-Semitism campaign groups, the Community Security Trust, believes the film could put Jews at risk.

Samuel Maoz's film, *Lebanon*, has sparked debate inside Israel

“All of a sudden some bloke appears out of nowhere, oh he's an Israeli, oh he's a Jew, therefore what he says must have more credence than what organisations like my own and the ADL have said for years – I think that shows a deep-seated bias.” And he is furious at the suggestion that anti-Semitism is being used for political purposes.

“This assumption that people are saying it because they're being malicious, because they know that it's not anti-Semitic, but hey lets use anti-Semitism in order to win the Israel case, that's what I find really really offensive,” Gardiner says.

Shamir is not surprised by reactions like that.

“Anti-Semitism is a very touchy subject and making a film about anti-Semitism is almost like walking on thin ice, you’re going to hurt people’s feelings.”

Martial Kurtz from the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) believes the film can make a difference to activists like him.

He says all too often Israel’s supporters label groups like the PSC as anti-Semitic.

“There are many Jewish organisations which campaign [with us] against the occupation, campaign against the siege in Gaza,” he says. “So the whole argument falls flat.”

‘Rocking the boat’

Defamation is not the only controversial movie at this year’s London Film Festival.

Eyes Wide Open provoked anger and walkouts when it was screened.

It is a love story between two Orthodox Jewish men set in Jerusalem. Despite trying to keep their affair secret, the pair are threatened with violence by the community’s elders, leading to tragedy.

Director Haim Tabakman knew the film would not be easy for some Jews to watch. “This film has a provocative pitch,” he says. “Every good film is political.”

But he just wants people to face reality. “If you talk about it, it exists, so it’s not in their interests to talk about it,” he told Al Jazeera.

“It’s like the flood with Noah and his ark – the water came to destroy everything but something new came out of it. Sometimes it’s good to shake the boat.”

‘Victims of war’

Another director causing waves is Samuel Maoz, whose war film *Lebanon* is sparking debate inside Israel.

“You can’t change anything without first of all talking about it,” he says. “The film moves people to talk, even to argue with each other.”

Maoz’s film, which won the top prize at the Venice Film Festival in September, is based on his own experiences as his army invaded Lebanon in 1982. He says he made the film because of the guilt which still haunts him to this day.

“I’m not comparing between the suffering of a Lebanese woman who lost her family to the suffering of a soldier who fell into a no way out situation and needs to kill. If I can make some

kind of scale, she is in level 10 and he is in the bottom, he is in level two. But both of them are victims of war.”

He knows words like that will cause controversy in Israel, but he is ready for the backlash.

“The army is not something holy, especially after the 2006 Lebanon war. In war itself there are no good guys and bad guys. The war is the bad guy.”

Maoz believes that Israel will only become less belligerent when civilians are shown the realities of war.

“First of all it was a need to unload and expose the war as it is, naked, without all the heroic stuff and the rest of the cliches.”

But Maoz has a bigger aim – to stop Israel launching attacks on Palestinians and Lebanese.

“Every film has its ambition to change something … the film is attacking war itself,” he says.

“Peace will come but it’s just a question of time and time is blood. If we can find a short cut we can save a lot of blood for both sides.”

Source:

Al Jazeera

No Place for Hate Withdraws from Hamilton

Town Meeting Warrant

By NOELLE DINANT – News staff

HAMILTON – The No Place for Hate campaign withdrew its request for a townwide endorsement last night, fearing it might spark dissension in town.

Local debate on the statewide program, which promotes tolerance and anti-violence, has drawn national media attention and two visits by a white supremacist group in the past month.

The program, which was opposed by selectmen who didn't want to endorse an ideology, was slated for a vote at the annual Town Meeting on May 6.

No Place for Hate members, however, presented a petition to the Board of Selectmen requesting the endorsement vote be removed from the Town Meeting warrant.

"It (the endorsement vote) could become a forum for outsiders ... or a debate about the role of government, which is a valuable debate but not what the program is about," Jerry Schwartz, a member of the group, said. "None of us wants to see citizens not feel welcome."

The group intends to "take a step back" to re-examine its makeup and mission, Schwartz said.

The group, which has about 20 members in Hamilton and Wenham, will meet for the next six months to draft its goals, then will report back to the selectmen in both towns, he said.

"It (the campaign) took a direction that a lot of people were a little uncomfortable with," said Peggy Stedman, a former Hamilton selectman, who is assisting the group.

"Hopefully, we're going to move ahead in a stronger direction."

State Sen. Bruce Tarr, R-Gloucester, who is also helping the group, served as a facilitator of sorts last night.

"The idea is, we all have the same laudable goal," he said, referring to promoting tolerance. "We intend to address that in the most inclusive way possible. This is a serious enough issue that it involves that amount of time (six months of planning) and that amount of commitment."

Established in 1999 by the Anti-Defamation League and the Massachusetts Municipal Association, No Place for Hate is a statewide program designed "to promote respect for the individual and group differences, while speaking out against hate and intolerance," according to literature.

The program, which provides educational materials and forum ideas to participating communities, has been adopted by more than 50 cities and towns.

Hamilton eighth-grader Hannah Hoy got involved with the program as part of a school project.

She, in turn, asked for support from a violence prevention task force that is part of the Hamilton-Wenham Health Advisory Council.

Hoy, members of the task force and other citizens then brought the ADL No Place for Hate program to town leaders. To be designated as a No Place for Hate community, the town must endorse the program.

Hamilton's leaders balked, saying it's not the role of government to endorse private ideologies or initiatives.

The debate drew the attention of "The Today Show," which interviewed Hoy and her father. It also attracted a white supremacist group, which dropped leaflets and held signs in town.

Selectmen Chairman John Serafini Jr. reiterated his position last night, asking if the local group will remain affiliated with the ADL.

The final composition of the group hasn't been determined, but it may be a coalition of a number of public and private groups, such as police, schools and the ADL, Tarr said.

"It is not a committee solely advancing the ADL mission," he said.

Hoy could not be reached for comment last night.

Propagandizing the Police

by William Norman Grigg

Leftist “watchdogs” posing as experts on extremism are advising police agencies in “preemptive” law enforcement. The resulting dragnet will increasingly target law-abiding gun owners, pro-lifers, homeschoolers, and other foes of the total state.

A new state law that went into effect on October 1st permits law enforcement authorities in Connecticut to confiscate guns from anyone determined to be an “immediate danger” to himself or others. State police Lieutenant Robert Kiehm explained to the Associated Press that the purpose of the measure is to give police officers the power “to take some proactive steps instead of waiting for something to happen.” Although the circumstances under which such seizures can occur are narrowly defined, the Connecticut law represents a significant advance for the ominous emerging doctrine of “pre-emptive” law enforcement.

“Lawmakers in other states say the focus on prevention is the law’s strength,” reported AP. “The thing that frustrates me is that when they’re pulling bodies out of a house, neighbors are telling the police, ‘Yeah, the guy who shot them was nuts — we all knew that,’ ” declared Illinois State Representative Tom Dart (D), who plans to introduce a similar proposal in his own state. “But everyone says that there’s nothing that they could have done to stop the shooting.”

“The value of this law is not so much that police will seize your guns,” explained Connecticut State Representative Michael Lawlor, who sponsored the law. “It gives police a system to investigate a person who poses a threat. If the police never confiscate a person’s guns, they can at least look into the person’s behavior and perhaps prevent a tragedy by intervening.” AP paraphrased Lawlor as saying that the new law could “stop people like Benjamin Smith, the white supremacist who killed two people and wounded nine during a two-state shooting spree targeting Jews, blacks and Asians. Smith’s criminal record and reputation for passing out hate literature could have prompted police to take action, Lawlor said.”

Lawlor’s reference to the Benjamin Smith case demonstrates that there is a political aspect to Connecticut’s model of “proactive” gun confiscation, since Smith’s abhorrent political views would have played a role in defining him as a threat to others. But would the same be true of certain political views that are merely politically incorrect or unpopular? How about political affiliations with real or perceived “extremist” groups that are tirelessly “linked” in the media with unambiguous hate groups?

In principle, the Connecticut law is of a piece with recent proposals to give the FBI and other agencies enhanced power to keep political “extremists,” almost always of the “right-wing” variety, under special scrutiny. Those “extremists” considered particularly prone to violence would be subject to interrogation as a means of deterring such outbursts. And, in some cases, “extremists” would find themselves denied constitutional protections such as those contained in the First and Second Amendments.

In order to be effective, pre-emptive law enforcement measures would require citizens to maintain vigilance for signs of “dangerous” attitudes on the part of their neighbors and associates — and to act as informants out of a sense of public duty. They would also require the indoctrination of police agencies regarding “danger signs” that evince an individual’s potential to carry out an armed rampage. The task of indoctrinating law enforcement officers is presently carried out by an array of left-wing “watchdog” groups such as the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai Brith (ADL), Political Research Associates (PRA), and the Justice Department’s State and Local Anti-Terrorism Training Program (SLATT), a quasi-private entity. These groups, as well as sundry “experts” in loose orbit around them, provide much of the law enforcement training and intelligence information dealing with the threat posed by the “radical right.”

Scripted Stories

In recent months, leftist “watchdog” groups have skillfully capitalized upon recent gun violence episodes — such as Benjamin Smith’s murder spree, neo-Nazi Buford Furrow’s shooting rampage at a Jewish day-care center, and Larry Ashbrook’s murderous assault upon the Wedgwood Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas — to advance their campaign for new federal powers to keep “right-wing extremists” under surveillance. In their eagerness to exploit these tragedies, the “watchdogs” have often displayed a contemptuous disregard of the specific facts of each episode, as the Wedgwood Baptist Church incident illustrates.

Following Larry Ashbrook’s September 17th attack upon worshipers at the Wedgwood Baptist Church, in which the gunman murdered seven worshipers before killing himself, extraordinary efforts were made to depict the assailant as a white supremacist motivated by anti-Semitic or racist impulses. This was done despite the fact that Ashbrook’s crime — the unprovoked mass murder of Christians gathered in a Texas sanctuary of worship — more nearly resembles the federal massacre of the Branch Davidians than any crime carried out by neo-Nazis or anti-Semites. But the “watchdogs” and their media allies had a carefully scripted story to tell, and they weren’t going to allow the facts to interfere.

Two days after Ashbrook’s murder spree, an advertisement by the Houston chapter of the AJC appeared in the Houston Chronicle. “Hatred is spreading — with fatal consequences,” declared the

AJC ad. "Action is necessary now. As a start, Congress must hold full-scale hearings on groups that preach hatred and glorify violence. Law enforcement must be empowered, within constitutional limits, to monitor and infiltrate hate groups that are poisoning America, threatening Jews, African-Americans and other minorities. How many more Americans have to die before our elected representatives make fighting hate groups a priority? What is the death threshold that will move Congress to finally have the courage to stare down the NRA and pass firm gun control laws?" Of course, the AJC's pre-positioned "solutions" didn't comfortably fit the events of September 17th. Immediately after the church shooting, John Craig, co-author of the 1997 book *Soldiers of God*: White Supremacists and their Holy War for America, claimed that Ashbrook was a "Phineas Priest" — a terrorist committed to murdering Jews and non-whites. However, the Houston Chronicle reported on September 18th that FBI and police investigators who had examined Ashbrook's home and personal journals "said the journals provided no clue to Ashbrook's motives or to any involvement in a white supremacy movement...." Nor had Ashbrook previously caught the eye of "organizations that monitor extremist and hate group activity." In fact, Howard Bushart, who co-authored *Soldiers of God* with Craig, told the Chronicle not only that he had "no evidence of whether [Craig] interviewed this individual" but that he was puzzled by his colleague's depiction of the shooter as a Phineas Priest.

While Ashbrook's motivations remain elusive, it is quite clear that the AJC was less interested in the specific crime committed at the Wedgwood Baptist Church than it was in advancing the two-pronged campaign of gun confiscation and expanded political surveillance of "hate groups" by the federal government. This is why the AJC sought to shoehorn the Fort Worth shooting into the mold of previous shootings carried out by neo-Nazis Benajmin Smith and Buford Furrow.

Empowering the Feds

In an August 12th New York Times op-ed column, Abraham Foxman, national director of the ADL, cited the hideous crimes of Smith and Furrow to illustrate the supposed need for a more aggressive federal campaign against "hate groups." According to Foxman, "the time has come to recalibrate that balance [between public safety and civil liberties] — to permit law enforcement not only to get the man, but also to prevent the act. If law enforcement agencies should overstep the line, we should very swiftly take the authority away. But now is the time to give them that trust and that capability." It was Foxman's misfortune to urge such trustworthiness just prior to the avalanche of new revelations regarding the FBI's lethal abuse of power in Waco (see "Waco Deception Up in Smoke" in our September 27th issue).

In a Philadelphia Inquirer column published three days after Foxman's essay saw print, Barry Morrison, the ADL's regional director for eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, recited the same arguments — with significant embellishments. "The time has come to re-think and re-examine the

policies and practices that govern the ability of law-enforcement agencies to monitor hate groups,” declared Morrison. “Present guidelines practically require a smoking gun — compelling evidence that a crime has been committed or is imminent — before an active investigation is undertaken. We need to review such policies and seek zealously to strike a careful balance between security needs and First Amendment protections.”

On the same day (August 15th), Yale University law professor Ruth Wedgwood advanced the same set of proposals in an op-ed column published in the Washington Post. Wedgwood, a former federal prosecutor, is an adviser to the FBI and Justice Department on investigative guidelines. More importantly, she is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, a group with considerably more influence over public policy than the ADL. Thus it is of some moment that Wedgwood’s recommendations for federal action against “hate groups” are even more radical than those prescribed by Foxman and his associates.

“Free speech and a largely unrestricted gun trade can be a heady combination for supremacist groups trawling the Internet for new recruits,” writes Wedgwood. “We need to find a response that will not damage the traditional liberties of American society but will keep hate groups from using them as a shelter while they swagger and intimidate to win new converts. What can we do? One useful step would be for the FBI to expand its efforts to keep watch on hate groups and be in a better position to stop crimes before they happen.” Wedgwood points out that “civil libertarians” (of the left-leaning variety, of course) had condemned the abuses the FBI had supposedly committed against “civil rights, antiwar and radical groups in the 1960s and ’70s.” She continues, “A reaction against those abuses led the Justice Department to shut down many of its domestic security operations” and adopt the current guidelines, which mandate “an extremely cautious approach in opening new investigations.” However, Wedgwood declares, the FBI has been in the penalty box long enough: “[N]ow that the FBI has had 20 years to rebuild its reputation for respecting civil liberties, we can seek a restored balance.” Presented more candidly, Wedgwood’s argument is this: Now that the radicals of the 1960s are in power, and the subject of federal scrutiny would be the “radical right,” the FBI can be trusted with the power to conduct domestic surveillance.

According to Wedgwood, the FBI’s “joint terrorist task forces,” which “marry the FBI’s forensic talents and investigative reach with local police departments’ savvy about suspect groups or individuals in their jurisdictions,” provide an initial framework for the expanded surveillance of “hate groups.” Presently such task forces are operating in San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, and Washington, D.C. To define the pool of potential suspects, Wedgwood cites an estimate from the left-wing Southern Poverty Law Center that “there are 537 white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups in the United States, and another 435 militia and posse groups.” Once a target is chosen, the feds should not be shy about throwing their weight around, according to Wedgwood: “An extremist group that appears to be planning violence should not be shielded from FBI surveillance just because it

sacrilegiously calls itself a church.” Of course, the federal assault on the Branch Davidians — whose beliefs were aggressively ridiculed by FBI spokesmen and other federal officials during the 51-day stand-off — was justified after the fact as a pre-emptive strike against planned violent acts.

In order to determine whether a “decision to commit a crime has been made,” Wedgwood suggests that the FBI learn from the Secret Service. “To deter real threats to the President’s life, Secret Service agents have long sought out and interviewed anyone who speaks of using violence against the President, even when the statement may have been uttered in jest or in a moment of anger.

These interviews allow the agents to evaluate the threat at closer hand, and let them take precautions if the threat seems serious. Are we sure that threats against racial and religious groups cannot be equally serious?” Wedgwood’s proposal assumes that the FBI would have detailed, specific intelligence to act upon, and a mandate to “deter” those suspected of planning violent acts. The appeal of Wedgwood’s proposal resides in the notion that a single visit from the FBI may have prevented Benjamin Smith’s killing spree, or stopped Buford Furrow from attempting to slaughter Jewish children at a day-care center. However, there is no reason to believe that the wrap-around surveillance and pre-emptive harassment envisioned by Wedgwood would be confined to murderous bigots and other genuine radicals without bringing law-abiding critics of unchecked government power within the compass of political scrutiny.

The groundwork for a system like that recommended by Wedgwood has been laid by left-wing “watchdog” organizations that are demanding that the FBI be given expanded powers of surveillance. Pending such a development, civil libertarian Laird Wilcox told *The New American*, such leftist groups are “operating as intelligence networks for the FBI and other law enforcement bodies, but their information is highly prejudiced by their political outlook. The danger inherent in this arrangement is that these groups compile lists of organizations and individuals for police intelligence divisions, and then the police are expected to use that information to keep tabs on such people, who may have done nothing more than express a political view the ‘watchdogs’ disagree with.”

Wilcox, the founder of the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements at the University of Kansas, is considered by many academics to be one of the nation’s foremost experts on “fringe” political movements. A longtime member of the ACLU and veteran of the 1960s Civil Rights movement, Wilcox is nonetheless a forthright critic of professional anti-right activists. In his study *The Watchdogs*, Wilcox points out that “the watchdogs engage in ‘political profiling.’ Major watchdog groups, particularly the ADL, hold law enforcement conferences, seminars and training sessions on this ‘profiling’ behavior against their enemies and critics.” For the most part, the “watchdogs” have “roots in the extreme Marxist left of the American political spectrum,” observes Wilcox. While they offer ritual recognition of “freedom of expression and other constitutional guarantees,” they advocate “formal censorship or government reprisals against their ideological opponents simply because of their values, opinions, and beliefs.... They appear to regard their opposition and critics as sub-human and not deserving the amenities ordinarily afforded to other human beings.”

Kenneth Stern and the AJC

The American Jewish Committee (AJC), which describes its mission as that of battling anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice, helped pioneer the dehumanization process described by Wilcox. In 1950 the AJC published a study supposedly documenting that conservative mainstream Americans display “fascistic” tendencies. Entitled The Authoritarian Personality, the study was compiled under the supervision of German Marxist Theodor Adorno, who was a prominent figure in the Institute for Social Research, a group organized by the Communist International in Frankfurt, Germany in 1933. Political historian Paul Gottfried of Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania notes that the AJC used the Adorno report as a weapon to “pathologize dissent by claiming that conservatives are either psychologically unfit or concealing bigoted motivations.” According to legal activist Elliot Rothenberg, a former vice president of the AJC’s Minnesota chapter, the AJC’s leadership has “a very effective set of ideological blinders on.... The AJC, like the ADL, prefers to concentrate its fire on whatever conservative group happens to provoke its disfavor at any given time.”

The AJC’s point man on the “radical right” is Kenneth S. Stern, who serves as “program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism” for the organization. In 1996 Stern published *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*. Stern has been featured in newscasts, documentaries, and congressional hearings as an authority on the “mindset” of “right-wing extremists,” and his book was heavily promoted by Calibre Press, a specialized on-line newsletter and catalog service catering to active-duty police officers. Stern’s 1994 book *Loud Hawk*, which chronicled the legal services he rendered as a young attorney on behalf of the Marxist/terrorist American Indian Movement (AIM), has gotten significantly less publicity. To date *The New American* is the only publication that has documented the fact that the AJC’s chief “counter-terrorism” specialist in the 1990s was an apologist for anti-government terrorism in the 1970s. (See “Flower Child Fascism: A Case Study,” in our March 18, 1996 issue.)

“In 1975,” wrote Stern in *Loud Hawk*, “I was zealous, thinking that the rightness of the cause justified nearly everything — good ends excusing almost any means.... In my youth I would have thought bombing property was almost romantic.” During the time frame in which Stern “would play with” the law on behalf of AIM, “pull[ing] it apart, put[ting] it back together,” the group was working with Soviet and Cuban intelligence agents, and collaborating with both domestic and international terrorist groups. Stern wrote: “This was the mid-1970s, when the ultra-left became the freaky left, when the Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army and even part of AIM thought social change came through bombs.”

Stern proudly recalled how he lent his services to such subversive groups as the George Jackson Brigade and the New World Liberation Front, and came to suspect that he was under FBI

surveillance — which would be entirely appropriate, given his close collaboration with terrorists who were targeting police and innocent civilians for attack.

He also recalled how an AIM member who was involved in the 1975 murder of FBI agents Ronald Williams and Jack Coler justified the crime by comparing the G-men to Nazis. “Their death generated pride and maybe, in a way, even hope,” wrote Stern, without expressing a syllable of criticism for either the crime or the calumny directed at the murdered law enforcement agents. Stern’s case is noteworthy because it perfectly illustrates one of Laird Wilcox’s chief indictments of the activists who compose the left-wing “watchdog” groups. “Many of these people are doctrinaire Marxists and nihilists who come from the most destructive elements of the 1960s new left,” Wilcox pointed out to *The New American*. “These were hateful people — self-hating, nation-hating, highly ideological radicals who gravitated toward the leadership ranks of these groups. And now through the ‘watchdog’ groups they’re working with the same law enforcement bodies they warred against in the 1960s and 1970s as part of their continuing effort to bring about a social revolution.”

ADL Spy Network

One of the preferred tactics of revolutionaries is the use of agents provocateurs — planted operatives within opposition groups who commit crimes or perform other outrageous acts which are used to discredit such groups and, in some cases, to justify a crackdown by state authorities. As Wilcox documents in his book *The Watchdogs*, the ADL has excelled at the agent provocateur tactic. “James Mitchell Rosenberg, a career infiltrator for the Anti-Defamation League, regularly attended and was a speaker at Ku Klux Klan rallies and meetings of the Mountain Church in Cohoctah, MI, considered a gathering place for neo-Nazis of all kinds,” writes Wilcox. For the benefit of television reporters, Rosenberg also posed as a leader of a para-military group called the “Christian Patriot’s Defense League,” which was the subject of a breathless exposé entitled “Armies of the Right.” In 1981, Rosenberg and an associate were arrested on a New York City rooftop and charged with carrying an unregistered rifle. “The two were posing as paramilitary extremists for a photographic fabrication exaggerating the threat from the far right,” explains Wilcox. “The charges were subsequently dropped at the request [of] the ADL’s Irwin Suall, Rosenberg’s direct supervisor.” In 1993, it was discovered that Roy Bullock, described by Wilcox as “a paid ADL operative and well-known figure in the San Francisco homosexual community,” had been attempting to arrange a political marriage between the Institute for Historical Review, a holocaust revisionist organization, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (AADC) “so the ADL could ‘out’ [AADC] members as neo-Nazis.” Bullock had also developed an illegal “intelligence sharing” relationship with Tom Gerard, an intelligence officer with the San Francisco Police Department. According to Wilcox, Gerard “regularly took information from police files for transmittal to the ADL and in some cases to Israeli intelligence agencies, with whom the ADL works closely.”

After the ADL's illicit relationship with the San Francisco Police Department became public knowledge, an investigation revealed that "Bullock and Gerard 'clones' were positioned in or close to police departments throughout the country," continues Wilcox. A source in the official investigation of the scandal told the April 1st San Francisco Examiner that "the ADL is doing the same thing all over the country. There is evidence that the ADL had police agents in other cities. The case just gets bigger every day. The more we look, the more people we find are involved."

ADL asset Tom Gerard escaped prosecution by fleeing to the Philippines; the ADL and its spy, Roy Bullock, avoided criminal prosecution when the organization offered a \$75,000 "donation" — which could be viewed as a bribe — to a San Francisco area "hate crimes reward and education fund." (See "The ADL's Campaign Against Tolerance" in our September 19, 1994 issue.) However, on November 17, 1998, the 1st District Court of Appeals in San Francisco ordered the ADL to surrender information it had illegally obtained through the Gerard/Bullock spy network, thus preparing the way for a civil lawsuit against the organization.

After the ADL spy scandal broke, Abraham Foxman took to the New York Times op-ed page to protest that the negative coverage of his organization was a "Big Lie" that had given anti-Semites cause to "rejoice." Laird Wilcox, whose liberal credentials are unimpeachable and whose opposition to anti-Semitism and all other forms of bigotry is beyond dispute, insists that the episode typifies the "espionage, disinformation and destabilization operations" regularly carried out by the ADL.

Backlash From Berlet

Ironically, the ADL spy scandal provoked outrage on the left when it was learned that the subjects of the ADL's illegal surveillance included left-wing organizations and activists. In his New York Times column defending the ADL, Foxman denied charges that "in recent years the ADL has taken on a right-wing perspective...." To illustrate his organization's leftist bona fides, Foxman pointed out that between 1980 and 1992, the ADL "published 63 reports ... on the far right and 20 exposed the far left. Similarly, the ADL Law Enforcement Bulletin, published since 1988, contains 68 articles on the far right and seven on the left."

Among those who had accused the ADL of right-wing deviationism was Boston-based Marxist agitator John Foster "Chip" Berlet. While insisting that there was "nothing wrong" with the ADL "maintain[ing] an information-sharing arrangement with law enforcement," Berlet condemned the group for its supposed lack of zeal in crusading against the right wing. In a May 28, 1993 New York Times column (run as a counter-point to Foxman's column) co-authored with former ADL freelancer Dennis King (who was himself a 10-year veteran of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party), Berlet accused the ADL of down-playing the right-wing "threat" and focusing instead on left-wing groups "backed by the Soviet Union."

From Berlet's perspective, it is apparently appropriate to conduct political surveillance through illegal means, as long as such surveillance advances the agenda of the radical left. Six years before explicitly endorsing the ADL's supposed right to "monitor bigots" in collaboration with police agencies, Berlet published a column in *Overthrow*, an organ of the militant, far-left Youth International Party (Abbie Hoffman's "Yippies"), entitled "Secret Police Political Spying Network Revealed." Berlet's column condemned the domestic counter-terrorism policies of local police agencies in Chicago, Texas, Indianapolis, and Detroit. Berlet, a member of the notorious National Lawyers Guild (cited as a Communist Party front by a committee of Congress), was also opposed to grand jury investigations of left-wing militant groups. In 1984, observes Laird Wilcox, Berlet signed an open letter to Judge Charles Sifton entitled "Political Grand Juries Must Be Stopped!" The letter protested that grand juries were being used to investigate left-wing revolutionaries who "supported mass struggle against the military ... development of an armed clandestine movement [and a] broad struggle against repression."

Berlet was also a signatory — alongside convicted terrorists David Gilbert, Kathy Boudin, and Judith Clark, who were serving prison sentences for the murder of a Brinks armored truck guard in 1981 — to an open letter published in the July 11, 1984 issue of the Marxist-Leninist *Guardian*. Describing themselves as "grand jury resisters, people who have been targets of grand jury investigations, and people who have consistently fought for non-collaboration with the grand jury," the signatories urged readers "to join us in refusing to collaborate with the grand jury or the FBI" and help build "a powerful resistance movement" in alliance with "national liberation struggles and progressive movements" worldwide. So deeply committed was Berlet to "progressive" movements that he was a founding member of the Chicago Area Friends of Albania (CAFA), an organization created in 1983 by self-described friends and supporters of the "People's Socialist Republic of Albania," which at the time was arguably the world's most monolithic Stalinist dictatorship.

Despite — or, perhaps, because of — the fact that Berlet is a creature of the farthest fringes of the far left, his "expert" opinions regarding "right-wing extremism" are consistently solicited by the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe, and other establishment media organs. Berlet was among the "experts" quoted by the New York Times in an August 16th story describing the "disparate assortment of violent right-wing groups and individuals scattered across the country" as the chief domestic terrorism threat. The story referred to Berlet as "president of Political Research Associates [PRA], a company based in Somerville, Mass., that tracks extremist groups." The Times neglected to mention that, as Laird Wilcox points out, Berlet, by whatever title he is known, "is, in fact, the only analyst in [PRA's] three-person office." Chip Berlet's chief associate at PRA is veteran radical Jean Hardisty, who, Wilcox observes, "holds the distinction of having been inducted into the 'Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame' in October 1995."

Berlet is also prominently and repeatedly cited as an “expert” source in *The Militia Threat: Terrorists Among Us*, a study recently published by Captain Robert L. Snow of the Indianapolis Police Department — one of the police agencies whose counter-terrorism section was specifically condemned by Berlet in his 1987 *Overthrow* article. One may reasonably wonder if Captain Snow was aware that in writing a book intended to guide the perceptions of fellow police officers he was drawing upon the tainted expertise of a Marxist militant and longtime police critic.

Dangers of “Political Profiling”

The Connecticut gun-seizure law and the accelerating drive for pre-emptive federal action against “hate groups” suggest that “political profiling” of the sort conducted by the AJC, ADL, Chip Berlet, and other “watchdogs” will become a civil liberties issue. With law enforcement agencies depending upon committed leftists and unreconstructed revolutionaries for intelligence on domestic enemies, the anti-“extremist” dragnet would gather from many kinds — including patriotic, law-abiding Americans whose sole “offense” would be a commitment to the U.S. Constitution and national independence.

Lest this prediction be dismissed as hyperbole, it is useful to describe once again the case of John J. Nutter of the Ohio-based Conflict Analysis Group, an “expert” on “right-wing extremism” who has taught seminars for law enforcement officers in several states. (See “No Enemies to the Left” in our May 13, 1996 issue.) Nutter (borrowing a theme originally found in the AJC’s Authoritarian Personality study) describes “right-wing extremism” as a “lightning rod for the mentally disturbed” and says that it threatens “assassination, mass murder, and armed uprising.”

Nutter lists as “danger signs” of potentially lethal “extremism” such things as possession of “extremist literature” (he specifically cites *The New American*), the display of “firearms lapel pins, bumper stickers or window decals about the New World Order, Clinton Communism, ‘I fear the government that fears my gun,’” and the like. Police are also advised to be wary of citizens who display “excessive concern” over the federal government’s massacre of the Branch Davidians, the murderous federal assault upon the Randy Weaver family in Idaho, or similar abuses of power. Of particular concern, insists Nutter, are “strong proponents of the Second Amendment” who believe in the “right of individuals to possess ‘arms’” and are “fearful of any limitations on weaponry.”

Nor is Nutter the only “expert” advising police officers regarding such “danger signs.” In his book *Freedom in Chains*, scholar James Bovard reports: “At a 1997 American Society of Criminology conference one professor argued that among signs of ‘hate group ideology’ were ‘discussion of the Bill of Rights, especially the Second Amendment or the Federalist Papers,’ ‘discussion of military oppression, in the U.S. or elsewhere,’ and ‘discussion of the Framers of our Government.’” From that

academic “expert’s” perspective, all one needs to do to qualify as a potential “hate criminal” is to profess a love for our Constitution.

Kay Stone and Jean Vallance of Alamogordo, New Mexico, discovered that these expansive definitions are being taken seriously by some law enforcement officers. As The New American has previously reported (see “Mark Them as ‘Extremists’” in our November 23, 1998 issue), Mrs. Stone and Mrs. Vallance, both of whom are retired grandmothers, found themselves under scrutiny by the New Mexico State Police after they had participated in talk-radio discussions of the United Nations on a local call-in program. The scrutiny of the two retired grandmothers followed the publication of a report entitled *The Extremist Right: An Overview*, which was compiled by the Criminal Intelligence Section of the New Mexico Department of Public Safety (DPS).

That report, which was larded with citations from the familiar pack of left-wing “watchdogs,” described the “radical right” as “a continuum from those who disagree with government but operate within the law to those who work at nothing less than the overthrow of government. These groups call themselves ‘Patriots.’” The roster of potential terrorists described in the DPS document included Klansmen, neo-Nazis, and other practitioners of violence, as well as “militant abortion foes [and] radical anti-environmentalists,” and others who espouse political “conspiracy theories.” The anti-“extremist” dragnet cast by the DPS must have been incredibly vast and tightly knit in order to snag two retired grandmothers — one of whom, Mrs. Vallance, is married to an employee at Holloman Air Force Base — as potential terrorists on the basis of remarks made on a radio call-in program. Alluding to this incident in New Mexico, Laird Wilcox noted, “The real danger posed by these ‘watchdog’ groups is that their intelligence is taken seriously by police officers, who don’t have the time or resources to examine that information carefully. Being a policeman is a dangerous job, and when a policeman is told by a supposedly authoritative source that a given individual belongs to a potentially violent group, he has to take such warnings seriously.” As a result, Wilcox continued, “routine traffic stops can become ‘incidents’ that are good for neither the police nor the average citizen. Let’s say that a guy gets stopped for speeding and when his name is run through the computer he’s been red-flagged as a ‘dangerous’ person on the basis of information fed to the police by some left-wing radical posing as a ‘watchdog.’ So instead of merely asking the driver for his license and other information, the officer now approaches the car in a defensive posture, ready to draw his gun — not because of anything the driver did, but because he somehow ended up on a list compiled by some self-appointed left-wing ‘watchdog’ group.”

The problem described by Wilcox becomes even graver when it is understood that in the near future, police and federal authorities may be using “watchdog”-compiled lists to decide who is, and who is not, entitled to enjoy the protections offered by the Bill of Rights.

ADC Press Release:

Resolution of ADL Spy Scandal Case

Washington, DC. September 27, "ADL's admission that it has spied on Arab-American, anti-apartheid and civil rights organizations and individuals vindicates our view that ADL has engaged in illegal activities to undermine the work of such groups and damage the cause and reputation of the Arab-American community" said Hala Maksoud, President of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

Today in Los Angeles a final settlement was reached and approved by U.S. federal judge Richard Paez in ADC v.ADL, the lawsuit resulting from the illegal spying by California offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) against Arab-American, anti-apartheid and civil rights activists. ADL spied on groups as diverse as ADC, Greenpeace, the United Farm Workers Union, Artists Against Apartheid, ACT UP, Action for Animals, the Asian Law Caucus of San Francisco and the American Indian Movement (AIM), as well as hundreds of individuals including elected officials. This class-action case on behalf of over 800 groups and individuals was brought in federal court following disclosures by the San Francisco Police Department that ADL's spying activities were funded with money funneled through a secret and illegal Los Angeles ADL bank account held in a false name and a prominent Beverly Hills lawyer.

Under the permanent injunction issued by today, ADL is permanently enjoined from engaging in any further illegal spying against Arab-American and other civil rights groups, and must provide an annual statement to ADC's legal counsel for four years explaining the steps ADL has taken to remain in compliance. A court-appointed Special Master will supervise the removal of the illegally-obtained information from ADL's files and hold them for six to ten years for use in any other suits, after which they will be destroyed. Information to be removed from ADL's files includes law enforcement surveillance reports and political intelligence, criminal arrest records, fingerprint cards, mug shots, Social Security numbers, driver's license numbers, license plate numbers, vehicle registration numbers, and Post Office boxes not legally available to the public.

Among the co-plaintiffs joining ADC in the suit are: Mervyn Dymally (former congressman), Robert Farrell (former L.A. City Councilor), Prof. Gerald Horne, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Lawyers Guild, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, the National Association of Arab-Americans, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, the Coalition Against Police Abuse, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Global Exchange, the International Jewish Peace Union, AIM and the Palestine Solidarity Committee. Peter Schey, of the Center for Human Rights & Constitutional Law, and lead counsel for ADC, said: "The ADL leadership went far overboard when it authorized the organization's operatives to unlawfully gather confidential law enforcement information on hundreds of civil rights organizations and activists who pose no threat whatsoever to the Jewish community."

Smith is One of the Top Ten Extremists in America According to the ADL

by Bradley R. Smith

"Since 1983, Bradley R. Smith has effectively functioned as the Holocaust Denial movement's chief propagandist and outreach director in the United States. Smith was the first director of the Media Project of the Institute for Historical Review, he took Holocaust denial to TV and radio stations across the Nation. He achieved his greatest notoriety, however, as the director of the Committee for Open Debate of [sic] the Holocaust, whose mission is to disseminate denial to students on college campuses."

Quoted from the most recent article published as a booklet and on its World Wide Website by the Anti-Defamation League.

As noted here in SR82, The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) has published a paper on the World Wide Web titled "Extremism in America" (1) where it lists the ten most dangerous extremists in the country. I find that I'm on the list - one of the most dangerous men in the land (there are no women on the list). I'm reminded of those serial murderers listed on the FBI's Most Wanted list - it may be nice to see your photo on the post office bulletin board, but is it what you really want?

What have I done to be taken so seriously? Placing advertisements in student newspapers? Asking for some back and forth on a historical issue? Encouraging intellectual freedom, even with regard to the Holocaust question? Always with the cooperation of student editors, their business managers and faculty advisors? That makes me one of the top ten extremists in the nation? Maybe it just doesn't take that much anymore.

The ADL home page for Extremism in America shows a photograph of the Oklahoma City Federal Building after it was bombed by Timothy McVeigh, et al. Is that what intellectual freedom leads to? The mass murder of civilians and their children? I've never thought so. Intellectual freedom promises a non-violent exchange of ideas, encourages communication among disparate sections of the citizenry, creates confidence in an open society, and has the inherent characteristic of illuminating every public issue, as if in the light of day, so that secret societies and special interest groups are open to the same scrutiny as ordinary individuals.

The one common thread among those on the ADL's Top Ten list of extremists in America is that they are all involved with the White racialist movement. I'm the one exception, but I made the list anyhow. How? In a free society racialist theory should be on the table for open debate, but I have never been a member of a racialist organization or promoted racialist ideology. It wasn't a difficult decision for me to make. I didn't have to wrestle with my soul. The first barrier for me was the last. I have always disliked how too many racialists use the language. There are many individual exceptions, but a rule of thumb appears to be to use the language in a way that is both vulgar and self-defeating.

Why am I the only designated extremist in the ADL's Top Ten who is not part of the racialist movement? I think we all know why. Because anyone who questions the orthodox version of the Holocaust story, particularly the homicidal gassing chambers, "hates Jews." While this is a childish, if not a stupid concept, it has worked in America for half a century so there is no reason for ADL Jews to let it get away from them. Jews are not much of a race, but when it comes to the science and rewards of victimlogy it is very good business for ADL Jews to consider Jews to be something "like" a race, an "ethnic" group, or, as the man most responsible for the founding of Israel used to say, a "people."

I think many individuals in the Industry sincerely believe that only someone who hates Jews could possibly question the gas chamber stories. These are not stupid people, but they have allowed themselves to be stupefied by their own rhetoric. For these people, hating Jews is just as bad, worse, than hating Blacks and the "mud" people. Others in the Industry certainly feel that questioning the gas chamber stories is *probably* anti-Jewish, so while they are not certain they don't want to take any chances and urge its suppression on principle. And then there's the problem that those who work for the Industry either make their living suppressing revisionist theory, or would have their income affected negatively by speaking out in support of intellectual freedom on the question. For many of these fighters-against-hate then, it's a bread and butter issue. The author of "Extremism in America" is not listed, but is most likely Jeffrey Ross. Jeffrey is the fellow in charge of the "campus desk" at ADL headquarters in New York City. He's been on my case for ten years now. Everywhere I run an ad it's been Ross's job to see to it that the staff of the student paper, its faculty advisor, and the president of

the college is contacted and chastised, urged to publish a condemnation of the ad, and warned to not make the same mistake again.

In “Extremism in America” Jeffrey has given me my own page, complete with photograph, background information, and then a history of my extremist actions and accomplishments. My page is titled “Bradley Smith / The Committee For Open Debate of [sic] the Holocaust (CODOH).” The first line of my personal background is my date of birth, January 18, 1939. Jeffrey got the year wrong, and he got the month wrong, but one out of three isn’t that bad when I recall what the ADL has produced about me over the years. It’s not important, but I was born on 18 February 1930.

I always imagined Ross to be a nervous, thin little guy with a beard, about thirty years old maybe. No mature person would describe me to student editors as “scum,” as Ross has. But the other day I saw a photograph of Jeffrey Ross. He’s twenty or thirty years older than I imagined him to be, has no beard, he’s not short, he’s putting on weight, and looks more or less like a small town college professor or businessman. He looks normal. These people can fool you.

I see too that ADL is still circulating the old story that Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) was “initially funded by William Curry,” a Nebraskan businessman. It’s not true. I’ve told them it’s not true, I’ve repeated on radio that it’s not true and reported in my newsletter (which Jeffery is very familiar with) that it’s not true, but they like the story so here it is again. William Curry had nothing to do with the initial funding of CODOH. In the first place, CODOH didn’t have any initial funding. CODOH was founded the day I typed up a letterhead that read Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), and had some copies made at my Iranian-Jewish copy shop on Highland Boulevard in Hollywood. I think I had fifty copies printed and the bill was about two dollars and fifty cents. And that was it.

It’s not really very important one way or the other – what difference would it make — but I have always wondered, why do the ADL folk keep repeating the statement when they know I deny it and they have no proof that it is true? What’s in their heads? I needed funding. I certainly would have accepted funding from Mr. Curry if he had offered it, but he didn’t. I had never met the man when I founded CODOH, never talked to him, never

to my recollection received a note from him. Nothing. Yet here it is again. Why? I think I have finally realized what this is all about. Jeffery (I will take it as a given until I learn differently that Jeffrey is responsible for Extremism in America) has put something together which must have been on his mind all this time, something that just never occurred to me.

In Extremism is America Jeffrey writes that in 1986 Curry attempted to place a full-page ad in the Daily Nebraskan, the student newspaper at University of Nebraska. It was refused. Curry then offered \$5,000 to the university to pay for a speaker who would debate revisionist theory at an academic conference. The offer was refused. He wrote letters to the editor of various newspapers, and disseminated his ideas through mass mailings.

These four tools – purchasing ad space in student newspapers, sponsoring debates, writing letters to the editor and sending direct mail – were all adopted by CODOH....

That's it then! At last! It's pure speculation, it's all wrong, but there is in fact a clear logic of coincidence to it. I do remember talk about Curry's full-page ad and how it was refused, though I don't think I ever saw the text. I do remember talk about the \$5,000 offer to debate revisionism being refused. I don't know anything about Curry's letter writing campaigns or the mass mailings. In 1986 I was doing radio. I had my hands full with it. But the story makes sense if you want it to. William Curry tried to publish a full-page ad in a campus newspaper so that's what gave me the idea to do it. He offered money to get a debate going over revisionist theory, so I followed his lead. And why wouldn't I? After all, William Curry "initially funded" CODOH. It's all nonsense. But at last I see the "logic" in Jeffrey's obsession with William Curry and CODOH.

As a matter of fact, in addition to William Curry not initially funding CODOH, I do not remember that he ever contributed any money whatever to CODOH or to me. Not a dime. Maybe he did. But I do remember one afternoon a few days before Christmas when we were still in Hollywood and I received a \$400 check from a revisionist organization that Curry was affiliated with. It was about 1987. The check was a lifesaver. We didn't have any money at all. I felt so grateful that I got Curry's phone number from a mutual friend and rang him up. I had never spoken to him. I identified myself. It must

have been about eight o'clock in the evening in Nebraska. I thanked him with some fervor for the check and started to go on about it when he interrupted me.

Curry said: "I didn't send you any money. I don't want your thanks."

I was stopped in my tracks. I mumbled some apology and hung up. It turned out that my friend Fritz Berg, who was also affiliated with the same organization (I don't remember now what it was called) had sent me the money.

A couple years later I did meet William Curry. I was invited through a mutual friend to spend the weekend at his winter home in Borrego Springs in the desert south of Palm Springs. Curry was probably in his seventies then, white haired, rather an invalid, and needed an oxygen tank at his side during dinner. His manner was what we used to call "crusty." There were maybe eight of us at a lively supper table, including his charming wife. He asked me how I had gotten into revisionism and I told him the story about reading Faurisson's paper on Auschwitz and the Rumor of the Gas Chambers, and how I had sensed immediately that something was wrong with the stories.

"That was short and clear," Curry said. "That's what I like."

I had the impression that he had asked that question of others and had gotten some long-winded answers. I asked him how he had gotten into revisionism and he related an anecdote about how after the war in Europe he had met a G.I. at a bar in England (maybe it was Germany) who told him that the stories about the Dachau gas chambers were not true. Curry said: "I looked into it and found out that the Dachau gas chamber was crap. Afterwards I looked into the other gas chamber stories and found out they were crap too. Sometimes I think the whole goddamned war was crap."

Sometimes I think the same thing. No – that's what I think about it every time I think about it. I would like to have gotten to know William Curry better, but I had to return to Hollywood that night, my mother was having a problem, and I never saw him again.

Meanwhile, I'm back in action with the dreaded Campus Project. Now that I have become aware (again) of how important my work is to the ADL, how closely its agents

read everything I publish, I will report here only after the fact on the upcoming successes (and failures) of the new Campus Project for the 2001 – 2002 academic year. I'm looking forward to it.

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Tell the ADL: Stop Silencing Jewish Dissent

This last week has marked a major victory for the campaign to pressure Caterpillar to stop profiting from human rights violations. On February 6, the Church of England voted overwhelmingly to divest its \$3.84 million in shares from Caterpillar. Caterpillar sells weaponized bulldozers which are used by the Israeli military to destroy Palestinian civilian homes and orchards in violation of international human rights laws.

At the same time, at JVP, we've been witnessing a severe backlash by mainline Jewish organizations, in particular the Anti-Defamation League, to silence JVP and our perspective. Just this week alone, the ADL told two separate organizations, both of whom had set up debates between mainline Jewish representatives and progressive Jewish voices, that they refused to appear alongside JVP representatives. The ADL said that, with a JVP speaker on hand, the debate would become "too politicized."

JVP and our sister organizations represent thousands of American Jews who vociferously support public and open debate within and outside of the Jewish community on the issue of Israel. For us, there are no sacred cows, no voices that deserve to be silenced. Vigorous dialogue is a central component of what it means to be Jewish.

The ADL's stated mission is to protect the rights of Jews and fight bigotry wherever it appears. But the ADL has created an environment of fear and intimidation, in which thousands of American Jews are systematically silenced.

Take a moment and send a letter to Abe Foxman, the Executive Director of the Anti-Defamation League. Let him know that you support open debate on the issue of Israel within the Jewish community, and that his organization needs to stop systematically silencing the voices of progressive Jews.

The ADL: The drive to outlaw free speech and thought

Question: What does the current media campaign to outlaw the private ownership of semiautomatic weapons by U.S. citizens have to do with the rapidly growing corpus of legislation dealing with “hate crimes”?

Answer: Success of the first is necessary to insure compliance with the second, and both are the creatures of a quasi-governmental secret-police agency of whose existence most Americans are unaware.

There is underway in America a vast, well-oiled, heavily financed campaign to limit sharply the rights of Americans under the First Amendment to their Constitution and to eliminate altogether their rights under the Second Amendment. It already has scored notable successes in rolling back the most basic American freedoms. It is gearing up now for a drive to achieve total victory in this decade. The principal instrument in this campaign is a secret-police agency more sinister, more cunning, and infinitely more malevolent than the Soviet Committee for State Security — the KGB — ever was. Its initials are ADL. Those initials stand for Anti-Defamation League, an innocuous-sounding name wholly out of keeping with the character of the organization.

To understand its significance we must look into its origins. The ADL is the action arm of B'nai B'rith, the international Jewish secret society, whose Hebrew name means in English “Sons of the Covenant.” The “covenant” referred to is the one supposedly entered into between the ancient Hebrews and their tribal deity Yahweh more than 3,000 years ago.

Its terms are spelled out in Deuteronomy, the fifth book of Moses. The Jews pledged their allegiance to Yahweh in return for his promise to take them as his “chosen people” and to give them dominion over all the lands and the other peoples of the earth: “Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours.” (Deut. 11: 24) B'nai B'rith sees as its task the taking of all necessary measures for this promise to be fulfilled.

The ADL itself was organized in the United States as a subdivision of B'nai B'rith in 1913, and its ostensible purpose was to counter the “defamation” of Jews, whose public image was even worse then than now. The ADL went about its work in characteristically heavy-handed fashion, bullying and intimidating those who said or published anything the organization considered incompatible with Jewish interests, and lobbying legislators and other public officials to obtain legislation or rulings which would advance Jewish aims. If a prominent businessman, educator, or politician made a

public statement the Jews did not like, the ADL would attempt to persuade him to retract it, hinting at economic or political reprisals if he refused. If intimidation failed, the ADL often would turn to defamation, feeding derogatory statements about the target to newspapers under Jewish control or friendly to Jewish interests until he was thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the public.

Typical of ADL efforts in the period prior to the Second World War was its attempt to ban a book, *Conquest of a Continent*, by Madison Grant, the noted naturalist and president of the New York Zoological Society. The book was published in 1933 by Charles Scribner's Sons and bore an enthusiastic introduction by Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, the most prominent American paleontologist of his day. In the book Grant outlined the racial history of North America and argued for the reform of immigration laws in order to keep America primarily Northern European in its racial composition.

Jews are hardly mentioned in the book, and in no way can it be considered a "defamation" of them. Jewish policy then as now, however, was to change the European racial character of the United States by cutting off the flow of immigrants (other than Jews) from Europe and increasing the flow from the non-White world.

Consequently the ADL mounted a campaign with publishers, asking them not to review the book or mention it in any way in their own publications, and with booksellers, asking them not to handle the book. A form letter dated December 13, 1933, mailed from the national headquarters of the ADL (then in Chicago), and signed by the then-director of the organization, Richard E. Gutstadt, notified publishers that Grant's book "is extremely antagonistic to Jewish interests" and added: "We are interested in stifling the sale of this book."

Grant's book is only one of many which received the same attention from the ADL. As time passed the organization's censorship activity became more sophisticated and more effective. Defamation of offending authors, speakers, or public officials became a more often used weapon. In line with this defamation activity the ADL's undercover investigative capabilities were greatly expanded. A network of unpaid Jewish agents all across the country reported to ADL headquarters, where dossiers were built up on tens of thousands of American citizens. Information from these dossiers, which might contain everything from basic biographical and employment data to rumors about marital difficulties or drinking problems, was used to fabricate defamatory news releases on anyone the ADL wanted to discredit.

By the early 1940s the ADL had strengthened its position as an information source for the news media — the result in part of the increased number of Jews in controlling positions in the media. It also had established informal relationships with a number of local, state, and Federal police

departments. It often was the case that when the Federal Bureau of Investigation was interested in the affairs of a person involved in patriotic or “right wing” activity, the ADL already would have a dossier on him as someone actually or potentially hostile to Jewish interests and would happily share the dossier with the FBI. Sometimes the ADL would initiate the contact: if its informants had provided information to headquarters suggesting that an alleged “anti-Semite” might not have paid enough income tax or might have an unregistered firearm hidden in his attic, a tip would be given to the appropriate police agency.

In the past half-century the ADL’s links with the media and with law-enforcement agencies have grown enormously. Today virtually all the controlled news media routinely print anything given to them by the ADL, as if it had come over the Associated Press wire, and they routinely go to the ADL for commentary whenever any news story is being prepared on a person known to oppose Jewish policies.

Likewise, the ADL has become the standard source to which government investigative agencies turn whenever their target is such a person. In the latter case the flow of information goes in both directions: not only does the ADL have the opportunity to peek into the government’s confidential investigative files, but its agents are even invited to accompany the FBI when raids or arrests are being made on a target of interest to it.

The biggest development for the ADL in the postwar period came as a result of the Jews’ land-grab in the Middle East and the formation of the state of Israel. The coordinating center for B’nai B’rith’s activities moved from New York to Jerusalem. Investigating, defaming, and intimidating Americans who did not agree with the Israel-first foreign policy of the U.S. government became one of the ADL’s chief concerns. Patriots who protested Washington’s failure to take reprisals in 1967 when the Israelis deliberately rocketed, strafed, and torpedoed the USS Liberty, killing 34 Americans and wounding 171 others, were denounced as “anti-Semites” by the ADL. In 1974, when NATIONAL VANGUARD editor William Pierce sued U.S. Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger in an effort to halt the flow of U.S. weapons and military supplies to Israel, the ADL jumped into the suit on the side of the government as an amicus curiae.

As early as 1971, in sworn testimony in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, a top B’nai B’rith official, Saul Jofes, formerly director general of the B’nai B’rith’s Office of International Affairs, admitted that B’nai B’rith “engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the government of Israel. Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions.” The issue at stake in the court case was whether or not B’nai B’rith’s U.S. affiliate — and the ADL — should be prosecuted for failing to register as agents of a foreign power under the U.S. Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The fix was in, however; by the 1970s the ADL and B'nai B'rith had become “untouchables.” Not only did they escape prosecution, they continued to operate as tax-exempt “religious and charitable” organizations.

Silencing and discrediting Americans who disapproved of U.S. taxpayers’ money being used to support Israel’s wars of expansion in the Middle East was not the only ADL activity in the postwar period. The organization worked hard and effectively to advance other Jewish goals: the opponents of increased non-White immigration were attacked, aid was given to the pulling down of the barriers against racial mixing, new restrictions on the rights of citizens to keep and bear arms were supported. The ADL played a significant role in every facet of B'nai B'rith's program to demoralize, dilute, disorganize, and disarm White Americans — all in the name of the fight against “bigotry.”

When, during the madness of the 1960s, the Jews finally succeeded in pushing through a new immigration law designed to bring more non-Whites into the United States, the ADL crowded about its success. The November 1965 issue of the ADL Bulletin, the group's internal publication, carried an article by the director of the ADL's law department, Sol Rabkin, who was present at the signing of the new law by President Lyndon Johnson. (Also present at the signing was Benjamin R. Epstein, then the national director of the ADL.) Under the heading “The restrictive national origins quota system is finally abolished — after a forty year fight,” Rabkin boasted: “The Anti-Defamation League is proud of the educational role it played in helping to bring this about.”

The same issue of the ADL Bulletin had a notice of the appointment of the director of the ADL's Washington office, Herman Edelsberg, to the government post of executive director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where he could work more effectively to force the racial mixing of employees in shops and offices all across America. In this regard it is interesting to note that the ADL actually has two “equal opportunity” programs. One — that headed by Mr. Edelsberg in 1965 and by others since then — is to give Blacks and other minorities precedence over Whites in hiring and promotion for blue-collar and clerical employment. The other is to oppose Black demands for precedence in admissions to law schools and medical schools, and for hiring and promotion in certain professional occupations where Jews are heavily over-represented.

By the mid-1970s B'nai B'rith had had very substantial success in virtually every phase of its campaign to undermine White society in America. It still was moving aggressively on a dozen fronts: introducing resolutions to require “Holocaust” indoctrination for Gentile children in the public schools; demanding the rewriting of school textbooks and the reworking of school curricula to make them appropriately “multi-cultural” and eliminate what the ADL complained was the “principally white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of America” presented by older texts and curricula; pushing Christian churches, both Protestant and Catholic, to make even further changes in their doctrines, so that their

teachings about Jews would consist of nothing but the most fulsome praise; lobbying the government to punish American companies refusing to trade with Israel; asking for more restrictive anti-gun laws; etc.

These ongoing programs were only a part of the ADL's activity, however. The late 1970s saw a slowing of the frantic social change which had kept America in turmoil for nearly two decades. Much of that turmoil had been planned and instigated by B'nai B'rith. Even before the beginning of the 1980s and the relative stasis of the Reagan era, B'nai B'rith was planning new programs to head off any White backlash which might undo the changes it had wrought in American society. A new emphasis on secret-police activity characterized these programs.

At an ADL banquet in Palm Beach, Florida, early in 1975, as reported in the March 1975 issue of the ADL Bulletin, ADL Chairman Seymour Graubard boasted that the "ADL, to the limits of its financial ability, is expanding its intelligence operation . . ."

The building of dossiers on the opponents and potential opponents of the Jews' plan for America was no longer enough, however. During times of economic prosperity the old tactics of defamation and intimidation might be sufficient to keep the goyim in line, but a severe and prolonged economic decline could stiffen the spines of White Americans to the point where they no longer would be frightened into silence by the ADL's power of the smear. It became prudent, in the view of the leaders of B'nai B'rith, to enlist the police powers of government in order to silence and disarm their critics before any substantial backlash developed. To this end the ADL launched a new legislative lobbying campaign of ominous import.

The ADL's lawyers drew up a series of "model statutes" to be introduced by the organization's agents into the Congress and state legislatures. Some of these ADL-designed statutes are aimed at a more rapid phasing-out of citizens' rights to keep and bear arms. The ADL always has been a leading advocate of gun control — much more so than the public has realized, because often while other gun-control organizations are out front holding press conferences and making headlines, it is the ADL pulling the strings for them behind the scenes. Beginning in the 1980s, however, there was a new urgency to the organization's efforts. The rationale used by the ADL now is that new, sweeping anti-gun laws are needed to protect law-abiding citizens from "right-wing terrorism." The ADL Bulletin has warned that "arms and stores of ammunition are being collected in uncounted numbers, and extremists have made clear that they are ready to use them." To back up this claim that armed White "extremists" are a growing menace the ADL has fed a steady stream of alarmist reports to the controlled news media. An excellent illustration of the way in which the ADL has carried on its anti-gun campaign is provided by its "model anti-paramilitary training statute," designed to prevent White patriots from acquiring or providing instruction in the martial arts.

The organization unveiled this model statute in 1980. By November 1981 the ADL Bulletin was able to boast that ADL agents had succeeded in having bills based on the statute enacted into law by the legislatures of California, Connecticut, and North Carolina. By early 1987 the number of states which had knuckled under to ADL pressure had grown to 14. The ADL Bulletin for March 1987 reported on its success in having one major newspaper serve as an ADL mouthpiece in this regard: "In the Atlanta Constitution, ADL's model anti-paramilitary training statute won editorial words of praise while the newspaper suggested that Georgia should pass such a law.

The article reported that ADL has spotted secret camps from Alabama to California and from Connecticut to Texas which have "a mix of vitriol and violence (that) poses a danger to all peace-loving Americans but particularly to minorities. There ought to be a law against paramilitary camps of this kind — and in 14 states there is," said the editorial.<

The piece went on to praise the fact that while holding pathological hatemongers at bay, the ADL model aims to satisfy such constitutional considerations as the rights of free speech and free association. "The ADL's steamroller had picked up considerable speed by 1987, and just three months later the June 1987 issue of the ADL Bulletin bragged: "Now there are 18. The number of states adopting anti-paramilitary training statutes based on ADL's model legislation has reached 18 with Georgia, West Virginia, Virginia, and Idaho enacting such laws in recent months."

In a letter to Howard Ross, director of ADL's Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia Regional Office, West Virginia's Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., expressed his appreciation for the League's cooperation in moving the legislation to passage.

"The ADL also worked diligently to subvert the law-enforcement establishment and to put as many individual law-enforcement officers into its pockets as possible. For the chiefs of big-city police departments, expense-paid "fact finding" trips to Israel could be arranged. For others there were ADL-sponsored "training seminars," where politically ambitious police officials could be told of the advantages to be had by directing more of their energies and resources to the repression of "White extremists."

For example, the October 1987 issue of the ADL Bulletin reported: "Some 200 law-enforcement officers ranging from FBI agents to chiefs of police, sheriffs, and attorneys general in the 13 Western states from California to Wyoming attended a special seminar on combatting terrorism, arranged by Betsy Rosenthal, ADL's Western Civil Rights area director, and Harvey B. Schechter, Western States area director.

The Los Angeles Police Academy was the scene of the all-day session. The keynote speakers were Arieh Ivtsan, Israel's Ambassador to Liberia and immediate past commissioner of the Israeli National Police Force, and Irwin Suall, director of ADL's Civil Rights Division Fact Finding Department.

Packets distributed to the attendees included ADL's reports on "Extremism Targets the Prisons" and "Propaganda of the Deed," the League's Security Handbook and a list of recent publications on extremism and extremist groups with an ADL-prepared synopsis. "By sponsoring such seminars the ADL has reinforced its image as a quasi-governmental agency, to which genuine law-enforcement agencies are justified in turning for advice and information. Perhaps most important, policemen and police agencies accustomed to thinking of their responsibility as combatting drug dealers, robbers, rapists, burglars, automobile thieves, murderers, and the like are informed that there is a new type of criminal about which they should be even more concerned: the "extremist."

The ADL, of course, defines the term for them and tells them who fits the definition.

Despite the ADL's pretense of concern for "Constitutional considerations," its model anti-paramilitary training law, in fact, totally disregards the rights of free speech and free association. It prohibits certain types of speech, if that speech is involved in training or instruction in the martial arts, and it prohibits association for the purpose of hearing such speech. And the ADL campaign to push its model law through all of the state legislatures is based on fraud, deceit, and political corruption. The way it worked in West Virginia provides a good illustration. There has not been any paramilitary training in that state — at least, not within the memory of any news reporters or law-enforcement people there spoken to by this writer: no reason, in other words, for even the most timid of West Virginia's minority citizens (barely two percent of the state's population) to feel threatened by paramilitary activity — and so not a very good prospect for the ADL's anti-paramilitary training law. Then, in mid-1985, William Pierce, editor of this magazine and author (using his nom de plume Andrew Macdonald) of *The Turner Diaries*, a novel about urban guerrilla warfare and White revolution, left his home of 18 years in the Washington, D.C., area and resettled himself on a mountainside in a remote, wilderness area of West Virginia, the better to commune with his God and write the words which need to be written about this troubled era.

That was all the ADL needed to launch its campaign in the state. The only newspaper printed in West Virginia which is circulated statewide is the *Charleston Gazette*, and it is entirely at the disposal of the ADL. Early in 1986 it carried the first of a series of ADL-sponsored scare stories about Dr. Pierce's move to the state. He had not come to West Virginia to meditate and to write, the stories claimed, but to build a terrorist training camp. The 360 acres of forested mountain land he had bought were regularly referred to as "a compound." It was surrounded by an electrified fence patrolled by armed men. One of the buildings on the land was located directly over a "large complex

of limestone caverns reported to be heavily stocked with weapons.” It was believed that missile silos were being dug into the mountainside. Supporting these alarmist stories was the local sheriff, who happily provided newsmen with confirmation about the electrified fence, the weapons-filled caves, and the armed men. The “compound,” he asserted, was adjacent to one of the largest wilderness areas in the eastern United States, and he was quite worried about any run-in with Dr. Pierce or his associates which might involve “gunplay.”

The ADL then trotted the sheriff over to the state legislature in Charleston to tell the same story to the state’s lawmakers. West Virginia politics is probably not much more corrupt than that of other states, such as Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. But that’s bad enough, and the ADL was able to enlist the state’s attorney general, Charlie Brown, and its governor, Arch Moore, as well as the aforementioned sheriff, in its campaign to protect the citizens of West Virginia from Dr. Pierce and his terrorist training camp. The attorney general spoke at meetings and seminars organized by the ADL to alert the public to the danger. And as usual the Jewish group rounded up a number of non-Jewish groups to front for it: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the West Virginia Education Association, a board of Presbyterian preachers, the Rainbow Coalition, and several others. The ADL named its collection of front groups “Citizens for Passage of an Unlawful Paramilitary Training Act” and, operating it like a ventriloquist’s dummy, called for the enactment of its model statute in the name of “the citizens of West Virginia.”

There was, of course, not a shred of truth in the stories about electrified fences, weapons-filled caves, missile silos, or training camps of any sort, terrorist or otherwise. But the news media being what they are, and politics being what it is, there were no news stories to contradict those of the Charleston Gazette, and no member of the state legislature saw fit to investigate the matter himself, even to the extent of taking a personal look at the alleged terrorist training camp or giving Dr. Pierce a telephone call to ask a few questions. The ADL’s word on the matter was accepted, and the ADL’s bill was enacted by the legislature and signed by the governor.

Sneaking laws against paramilitary training through state legislatures is only one facet of the ADL’s effort to disarm America’s citizens, but it is an important facet because it reveals the political motive behind the ADL’s anti-gun drive. The ADL is not concerned about drug addicts with “Saturday night specials,” but it is very much concerned about armed patriots who might not approve of the Jewish plan for America. The organization has been active recently in fanning the hysteria over “assault” rifles and in instigating the passage of laws at the state and local levels to prohibit their ownership.

Even more dangerous than the ADL’s anti-gun and anti-paramilitary activities, however, is its campaign to establish a new category of crime: so-called “hate crime.” Defined roughly, it is any act or speech motivated by hostile feelings based on race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. Thus,

if you are a White man, and you punch a Black man in the nose because you do not like Blacks as a general rule, it is not simply an assault; it is a “hate crime,” and if you are convicted of it in a jurisdiction where the ADL has succeeded in having its model “ethnic intimidation” bill enacted into law, you will be sent to prison for three times as long as if you’d punched your mother-in-law instead (assuming she’s White).

A “hate crime” also occurs if you are a White person who is generally well disposed toward Blacks, but you become engaged in a shouting match with one of them — perhaps a dispute over a parking space — and in the heat of the fray call him a “Black bastard.” That, you see, is “ethnic intimidation,” even if no blows are exchanged, and the ADL would like to send you to the state penitentiary for five years for it. You also commit a “hate crime” if you shout “nigger!” at a Black driver who cuts you off on the highway.

The ADL has been promoting “hate crime” laws for more than a decade. The January 1981 issue of the ADL Bulletin reported: “A joint New York State/ADL Committee on Public Policy has endorsed legislation. . . which would make graffiti and harassment based on religion, ethnicity, and race an offense under Civil Rights statutes [emphasis added]. The New Jersey regional office [of the ADL] is working with both the State Police and the County Prosecutor’s Association. At ADL’s initiative an Ethnic Terrorism Bill, which would change the act of anti-Semitic or racial vandalism from a misdemeanor to a third-degree crime has been introduced in the New Jersey Legislature.” Less than a year later, in November 1981, the ADL Bulletin was able to boast: “Gov. Brendan Byrne of New Jersey signed into law an ethnic terrorism bill that makes racial or religious vandalism a crime punishable by three to five years in prison and a fine of up to \$7,500.

ADL’s regional board called for such legislation in 1979. . . and ADL was in the forefront of the two-year effort to win passage of the bill. “Much of the early ADL propaganda in favor of “hate crime” legislation attempted to cloak the ADL’s true aim behind a pretended concern for protecting places of worship from “religious vandalism.” Thus the February 1982 issue of the ADL Bulletin reported: “ADL has developed a model religious vandalism law to provide those states that do not have such legislation with a single, comprehensive, constitutionally sound approach to this problem.

The model statute’s first and second sections create penalties for vandalism against houses of worship, cemeteries, schools and community centers, and also for committing certain crimes “by reason of the race, color, religion or national origin of another person” [emphasis added].”

A year later, in February 1983, the ADL Bulletin was able to claim substantial progress at the state level: “Mr. Perlmutter [then the ADL’s national director] expressed the hope that other states would follow the lead of the 12 thus far — Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, New

Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Washington — which have enacted laws imposing stiffer penalties for persons convicted of religious or racial vandalism or other acts motivated by bigotry [emphasis added].”

At that time the ADL, however, was still far short of its ultimate legislative goal: a Federal law prohibiting any expression of hostility toward, or any criticism of, Jews or other non-Whites by Whites. In the mid-1980s it shifted the emphasis of its campaign from the state to the national level. Its strategy was two-pronged: first, to condition legislators and publicists and then the general public to accept the concept of “hate crime” as a distinct, new category of crime; and second, to persuade the American people that a new body of legislation is needed to protect them from such crime — needed so urgently, in fact, that they should be willing to sacrifice the First and Second Amendments to the Constitution in order to be safe from a dangerous new breed of “hate criminals.”

To implement the first prong of that strategy the ADL formulated another of its “model statutes”: a hate-crimes statistics reporting statute. Lobbying intensely, the ADL used its media outlets to publicize its own statistics, which not surprisingly showed a sharp rise in “hate crimes” throughout the latter half of the decade. A Federal law was needed, the ADL claimed, to track such crime. In January 1990 the organization reported that “hate crimes” had reached an all-time high during 1989. Leading the list were 1,432 “anti-Semitic incidents” reported by its agents around the country, ranging from swastikas daubed on driveways to arson. In April 1990 the Congress passed, and President Bush signed, the desired law. The new Hate Crimes Statistics Act requires the Justice Department to gather the statistics that the ADL formerly had gathered. All incidents in which hatred or prejudice based on race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation is alleged to be a motive will henceforth be subject to special Federal scrutiny and record keeping. If a homosexual in Norfolk, Virginia, makes a pass at a sailor and has his teeth knocked out for his trouble, the Justice Department in Washington wants to know all about it. If a Vietnamese “refugee” in Los Angeles finds a “gooks go home” message chalked on the windshield of his car, the FBI will investigate. It’s the law now.

One might wonder why the ADL went to so much trouble to persuade the Federal government to duplicate one of the Jewish group’s functions. The reason, of course, is not that more crime statistics are needed by anyone, least of all by the ADL; it is that now the Federal government has officially recognized the ADL’s definition of a new category of crime. Now it will be the government, not just some Jewish group with a strange name, investigating and publicizing every hostile word or act based on race, religion, or sexual orientation. That is the first step toward persuading the Congress to enact, and the public to accept, new laws.

There will continue to be a screen of words — “terrorism,” “religious vandalism,” and “hate, hate, hate” — thrown up to disguise the true goals of those pushing for Federal “hate crime” legislation. As a result of this obfuscation the impression in many minds will be that the purpose of such legislation is merely to penalize those who paint swastikas on Jewish tombstones or set fire to synagogues. Who could object to a law against that? What the ADL really has in mind is revealed by an incident which occurred at the beginning of this year in West Milford, New Jersey. A young White man, 22-year-old Richard E. Lindstrom, stuck a three-inch by five-inch, orange-and-black sticker on a traffic sign and was arrested by a policeman who saw him do it. The message on the sticker was: “Earth’s most endangered species: the White race. Help preserve it. Write or call National Alliance, ...” Ordinarily one would expect someone in Mr. Lindstrom’s position to receive a citation for littering. In 1981, however, the ADL had succeeded in persuading the legislators of New Jersey to enact a so-called “Ethnic Terrorism Law,” and he was charged under that law. He was facing as much as five years in prison and a fine of \$7,500 for posting a sticker asking the public to help preserve the White race.

Anyone who understands the B’nai B’rith mentality can see the logic in that. To suggest that the White race (and, of course, one understands that “White” means European, or Aryan, excluding Semites) ought to be preserved is to challenge the Yahweh-given right of the Sons of the Covenant to rule the earth and its peoples as they see fit. That’s clearly anti-Semitic. That stabs terror into the heart of every righteous Holocaust survivor. Therefore, Mr. Lindstrom committed an act of “ethnic terrorism” and ought to be put away for good.

Under the circumstances, however, to have tried him on an “ethnic terrorism” charge at this time would have been premature and might even have jeopardized the ADL’s campaign for a comprehensive Federal “hate crime” law. There were vague mutterings from the American Civil Liberties Union, and it was even conceivable that some of the more loosely controlled elements in the news media might publicize the case and cause a White backlash around the country. Cooler heads in the local ADL office eventually prevailed, and the charge against Mr. Lindstrom was reduced to one of littering. Five years from now they might be able to make the “ethnic terrorism” charge stick, but not in 1990.

To ensure that they not only will have the Federal laws in place they are seeking by the end of this decade, but also will be able to make them stick, the ADL and other Jewish groups are coordinating their efforts. For the past few years they have been using the controlled entertainment media in an especially insidious way to condition the American people to accept passively the yoke planned for them. They have created a new film genre — the “White terrorist” film — to persuade the public that there is a growing danger from armed White “haters.”

In 1987 we were hit with *Into the Homeland*, a film which attempts to convince East Coast city dwellers that the rural heartland of the Midwest is on the point of being taken over by heavily armed Christian Fundamentalists who not only don't like non-Whites, but who deal murderously with anyone of any hue who gets in their way. Only viewers with sharp eyes will catch the acknowledgement to the ADL among the credits at the end of the film. The film uses the scenario developed in a special report issued by the ADL in 1986, "The American Farmer and the Extremists."

In 1988 we were treated to a number of other films of the same ilk, the three most notable of them being *Betrayed*, *Skinheads — the Second Coming of Hate*, and *Talk Radio*. The first of this trio, which was the most widely seen, portrays the White "haters" of the rural Midwest as not only heavily armed but also well organized and well financed, with top-level political connections in Washington. Their favorite Saturday-night pastime is to kidnap a Black from a nearby town, turn him loose in the woods, and then hunt him down and kill him.

Skinheads — the Second Coming of Hate is the first in a series of Jewish films portraying working-class urban White youths who affect the skinhead dress and tonsure as viciously depraved, murderous thugs who hate not only Blacks and Jews but the whole world. The guidelines for these films are set in several ADL publications, most notably "Shaved for Battle": *Skinheads Target America's Youth* (1987) and "Young and Violent: The Growing Menace of America's Neo-Nazi Skinheads" (1988).

Talk Radio, loosely based on the 1984 assassination of Jewish radio host Alan Berg in Denver, allegedly by White revolutionaries, advances the thesis that people who haven't wholeheartedly embraced the brave, new pluralistic world of racial mixing, homosexuality, and feminism promoted by the ADL — i.e., White racists — are hair-trigger psychotics who may explode with murderous fury at the least provocation. It is the only one of the 1988 films which is even remotely credible to a sophisticated viewer. Most American television and cinema viewers are anything but sophisticated, unfortunately. The Jews already have succeeded in convincing many of them that certain completely legal acts or patterns of behavior are illegal. After seeing so many television episodes in which a hateful Ku Klux Klansman sneaks around like a criminal and is treated like a criminal by the other actors, the viewer can hardly be blamed for having the confused notion that there's something inherently illegal about being a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1989, among many others, we had *Dead Bang* and *So Proudly We Hail*, two anti-skinhead films which distort the skinhead life-style into something far beyond the bounds of reality. Skinheads are depicted as the violence-prone storm troopers of a huge, sophisticated, highly organized neo-Nazi network. The latter of these films was a made-for-TV film written and directed by Lionel Chetwynd of the American Jewish Committee. In a booklet published by the Jewish group in conjunction with the

broadcast of the film over CBS-affiliated stations, Skinheads: Who They Are & What to Do When They Come to Town, Chetwynd writes:

“So Proudly We Hail” is my way of speaking out. Through a fictionalized account based on real events, the film demonstrates how hate can be cultivated and grown into ideology.”

One can only wonder what “real events” Chetwynd had in mind. The film shows a neo-Nazi organization developed to a level that real neo-Nazis can only dream about. And it drags out old, long-discredited Jewish canards about lampshades made from the skin of flayed Jewish concentration-camp victims and the like. The bulk of the American Jewish Committee’s booklet shows as little regard for the truth as the film itself, consisting mainly of absurdly exaggerated claims of the menace to ordinary citizens from skinheads and exhortations to support various Jewish “model statutes” on “hate crimes” and outlawing semiautomatic weapons.

In 1990, the “White terrorist” genre is expanding to include segments of several popular cops-and-robbers television series, as well as full-length films. And the dual purpose remains: to both repulse and frighten the average American. Racially conscious White men and women must be perceived by the conforming television viewer as both hateful and dangerous.

Within the next few years the ADL hopes to have enforceable Federal “hate crime” legislation in place which, in the name of preventing “religious vandalism” or “ethnic intimidation,” will make it illegal to print, possess, sell, or post a sticker of the sort Richard Lindstrom put on a traffic sign in West Milford, New Jersey, earlier this year. Not just stickers, but also books, pamphlets, leaflets — or any public utterance — offensive to a racial or religious minority or to homosexuals will be outlawed. Whether or not a person was motivated by a dislike for Blacks, Jews, homosexuals, or some other officially protected minority when he took some action against one of them will determine his punishment, and anything that he has said or written in the past may be used to infer what his motivation was. “Hate crime” will have become “thought crime.”

Lest there be any doubt that this is what the Jews actually are aiming for, consider the following comments by Jewish lawyer Bruce Fein, who writes on legal topics for a number of publications. The comments come from a feature article by him published in the May 1, 1990, edition of the Washington Times, and the article in turn is based on his remarks at an Oxford-Northwestern Debate in Washington the preceding month:

“Should speech intended to ignite religious or racial animosity be prohibited? Let the answer speak from the weeping cemeteries around the world overflowing with the victims of racial and religious prejudice. ...What is the paramount purpose of speech in a civilized society? It is to trigger contemplation, reason and tolerance for competing ideas as the moving force for private and political

action. ...What is the purpose of racially or religiously bigoted speech? It is to arouse unthinking hatred, violence and intolerance in the audience... In sum, the invectives of the racial or religious bigot are no more free speech than is [sic] the vulgar pornographic ululations of Annie Sprinkle a cousin of the Bolshoi Ballet. If the law supposes otherwise, as Mr. Bumble observed, "the law is a ass, a idiot." If racially or religiously bigoted speech were innocuous, then it might be ignored by governments. But it is not.

The ugliest marks in the history of the United States have stemmed from the incitements to racial prejudice practiced by Theodore Bilbo, Orville Faubus, the Ku Klux Klan, and the producers of "The Birth of a Nation." Diatribes of these types create an explosive social nitroglycerine waiting for an epithet or racial incident to spark violence. ...It is said that if racially or religiously bigoted speech is squelched, there will be no stopping point to prevention of genuine free speech. Nonsense! The progress of civilization has been the progress of making refinements and differentiations in the law. Prohibitions on racially or religiously derogatory speech have existed in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, West Germany, and elsewhere without undermining democracy, political dissent or debate. ...Prohibiting racially and religiously bigoted speech is praiseworthy because it seeks to elevate, not to degrade, because it draws from human experience, not from woolly dogmas or academic slogans, because it salutes reason as the backbone of freedom and tolerance. Is that clear enough?"

Those "woolly dogmas" and "academic slogans" this smart-mouth Jew boy dismisses with a sneer are the things that the founders of this nation were prepared to defend with their lives, things that men of our race have given their lives for often in the past. He and his fellow Jews evidently believe, however, that the present generation of Americans have had their minds and their spines sufficiently softened by 40 years of Jewish propaganda so that they won't even look up from their television screens when our freedom to speak our minds is taken away from us and Jewish "reason" becomes the law of the land.

He is correct, of course, in indicating that speech is restricted in many other countries — although hardly without undermining dissent or debate. In Canada, Great Britain, West Germany, France, and Sweden, to mention just a few places, the Jews have succeeded in making it a criminal offense to question their perennially profitable "Holocaust" claims, for example. The German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, whose case has been discussed several times in these pages, has been convicted and sentenced in Canada for that very "hate crime." In Sweden last December a radio broadcaster was sentenced to prison and the license of his station was revoked because he criticized Israeli actions against Palestinians in a way that Jews considered derogatory.

George Orwell missed the date by a few years — at least, for the United States — but it is clear that if B'nai B'rith has its way the Thought Police will be a fact of life here in the near future, and racism

will be a crime — not Jewish racism (also known as Zionism), of course, or Black racism, just racism of the White variety. Mr. Fein and his compatriots in the ADL are counting on having patriotic Americans disarmed by that time, so that they will be powerless to resist those designated by the government to enforce the laws against “thought crime.” Be that as it may, Fein and Company should be aware that there still will be a few White Americans, with or without assault rifles, willing to die for their freedom — but they don’t intend to be the only ones to die. Got that, Jew boy?

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Censors of the Universe

by INAYET NAHVI (a Muslim) | Compiled 1997-2000

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) has spearheaded efforts at censorship against all people who wish to express themselves in a way that by ADL is seen as anti-Zionist or “anti-Semitic”. The Director of the ADL Richard Gutstadt wrote to all periodicals he could find to censor the book, “The Conquest of A Continent”. Mr Gutstadt brazenly writes, “We are interested in stifling the sale of this book”.

The ADL was also instrumental in terrorizing St. Martin's Press into canceling their contract last year [1996] with David Irving. The ADL recently “hailed” the arrest and imprisonment of a German man who questioned the Holocaust.

The ADL tries to cover its anti-free speech activities by giving out a Free Speech “Torch of Liberty” award occasionally. The most prominent recipient is flesh peddler and woman denigrator Hugh Hefner. Obscene pornographer Larry Flynt is another supporter who has contributed 100,000's of dollars to the ADL.

ADL's Criminal and Spying Operations

In 1993 the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices of the ADL were raided for evidence of criminal wrongdoing in many spheres. The raids turned up evidence of the ADL's compliance in the theft of confidential police files stolen from California police departments. The ADL had been paying Roy Bullock a salary for decades to spy on people and steal police files. He stole files from SFPD through corrupt cop Tom Gerard. His illicit contact in San Diego was white racist sheriff Tim Carroll.

The ADL has been linked closely to organized crime, especially Las Vegas Mafia boss Meyer Lansky. Theodore Silbert worked simultaneously for the ADL and the Sterling National Bank (a Mafia operation controlled by the Lansky syndicate). As a matter of fact the granddaughter of the Mafia boss Lansky, Mira Lansky Boland herself is the ADL's liaison to law enforcement. (What a convenient arrangement! She used ADL money to treat Tim Carroll and Tom Gerard to an all-expense paid luxury vacation in Israel.)

Another Las Vegas gangster, Moe Dalitz was honored by the ADL in 1985. Another among the shady contributors to the ADL's supremacist activities is the Milken Family Fund, of "junk bond" fame. The ADL uses its well-oiled propaganda machine to protect their "friends" in the Mafia and pornography industry by shrieking "Anti-Semitism!" at the slightest movement of the law against these perverse interests.

ADL's Ethnic Intimidation

The ADL has mastered the art of intimidation and blackmailing unlike any of the powerful Mafiosi they are associated with. The ADL has influential contacts in media and politics that can ruin a person or business if they don't follow ADL's agenda.

Already mentioned are instances of bad cops falling under the allure of the ADL, ones such as Tom Gerard and Tim Carroll. Yet now good cops and even freshmen cops are being "conditioned" for the type of anti-free speech, anti-cultural diversity, police state that the ADL would like for our country. Throughout the nation the ADL is threatening police departments with all kinds of retribution if they don't initiate state-funded lectures and seminars for law enforcement given by ADL spokesmen. The ADL rakes in large sums of money for these sessions, boosting their already overflowing coffers. Already ADL men have been seen at the scene of crimes ordering cops on how investigations are to be conducted.

Perhaps at no time in history has any other criminal organization, such as the ADL, been able to infiltrate and influence law enforcement to such an extent, and its tentacles are growing.

Freshmen sheriffs in San Diego are now being personally "trained" to respond to "crimes" by the Southwestern Director of the ADL, Morris Casuto.

The most alarming part –

The ADL is a very powerful, secretive racial/religious supremacist organization, with substantial ties to the underworld of crime and pornography. To burrow their way into the minds of children the ADL has created the "World of Difference" program designed to influence them at an early stage.

In a report to its few, but wealthy supporters in 1995, ADL boasts that it has reached more than ten million students and more are ready to be indoctrinated. The ADL hopes to make children susceptible to the world of crime and vice they and their criminal associates have in store for the USA.

Gallery of The Criminal ADL:

Abe Foxman. National Chairman of the hate group Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. His main job is to write to celebrities and powerful people who say something unkosher and temporarily forget that Jews are a special criticism-proof people. Claims whole family was "holocausted" in the last war.

Roy Bullock. The ADL's paid informant who rummaged through trash for decades for the ADL, until he was given the sensitive position of being the conduit for stolen police files coming from the San Francisco Police Department by way of Tom Gerard. He was paid \$550 per week for his services. Also an associate of racist sheriff Tim Carroll. His existence was discovered after the FBI raids on ADL offices in 1993 and resulted in the publicizing of 750 pages of information on the spying operations of the ADL.

Tom Gerard. San Francisco Police Officer who stole sensitive, confidential files from his agency and gave them to Roy Bullock to assist ADL's spying operations on Americans. Among files stolen were ones on the Black Muslims, Arabs and right-wing organizations that were in any way critical of ADL. Received an all-expense paid luxury vacation in Israel, courtesy of the ADL.

Tim Carroll. Racist ex-detective in San Diego's Sheriff Department. Remarked in 1993 that he would like to see "all illegal aliens shot" and "all the niggers sent back to Africa on a banana boat". An associate of both Roy Bullock and Tom Gerard. He mysteriously retired from the Sheriff's Department after the raids on the ADL offices at the early age of 54. Also received an all-expense paid luxury vacation in Israel, courtesy of the ADL. Despite his overtly racist nature, he was put in charge of security at the ADL's National Convention in September, 1997 using strong-arm tactics against participants and visitors. This is interesting considering it was his bumbling confessions to an investigator that led to the raids on the ADL.

Mira Lansky Boland. The "law-enforcement liaison" for the ADL. She arranged luxurious trips to Israel for certain key police officers who could have something to offer the ADL in return. Among these were file thief Tom Gerard and racist Tim Carroll. She is uniquely positioned in that she is the granddaughter of Meyer Lansky, one of the most powerful Mafia figures in US history.

Hugh Hefner. Famous pornographer who was honored by the ADL with its ridiculous "Torch of Freedom" award. From him proceeds protection for all pornography in the US, which is and has always been associated with vice elements like the mob and ADL.

Larry Flynt. This pornographer is a major contributor to the ADL of 100,000's of dollars. He has been jailed often for "obscene pornography" and the general hideous defiling of women in his Hustler magazine (whose description is beyond the limits allowed on a decent web page).

Theodore Silbert. Mob associate of Meyer Lansky, employee of the ADL and Mafia front “Sterling Bank.” Was simultaneously the CEO of “Sterling Bank” and National Commissioner of the ADL.

Moe Dalitz. Las Vegas mob figure and close associate of Meyer Lansky who was honored by the ADL in 1985.

Michael Milken. Family Fund Billion dollar fund that has given extensively to the ADL, the money of which was made in the “junk bond” scandals.

Morris Casuto. Jewish Southwestern Director of the ADL who personally trains freshmen law enforcement to do the bidding of him and his criminally indicted organization. Morris Casuto is also close friends with white racist Tim Carroll. Boasted in March 1999 that Alex Curtis’ “luck will run out. And he will be sent to prison for a very long time.” Is this a threat from a man whose group has already been criminally indicted for nefarious connections to rogue police agents?

Rick Barton. National Commissioner of ADL . Another racial integrationist who lives on an expensive cul-de-sac in pure white Olivenhain.

Teresa Santana. Deputy DA of San Diego who works with the criminal ADL and prosecutes non-Jews for imaginary “hate crimes” against Jews.

Bill Kolender Jewish Head of San Diego Sheriff’s Office who is a member of B’nai B’rith, the racist secret society that oversees the criminal ADL. The anti-Zionist organisation The Nationalist Observer was raided by the SDSO in April 1999 for political reasons.

Jessica Lerner. Jewish Assistant Director of the San Diego hate office. Morris’ back- up spokeswoman when he is out of town or on his annual pleasure trip to Amsterdam, The Netherlands – sin capital of the world.

Dan Willis. La Mesa Police Department detective who is in close contact with Morris Casuto and has personally raided the home of Alex Curtis and the offices of The Nationalist Observer three times in the last year and a half.

The Ugly Truth About the ADL

Chapter 7

Railroad!

What follows is Chapter 7 from {The Ugly Truth About the ADL,} a soon-to-be published book which exposes the organized crime and drug-running activities of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. {The Ugly Truth About the ADL} will be released nationally before the end of 1992.

This chapter of the book concentrates on the ADL's vendetta against anti-drug fighter Lyndon LaRouche, and is titled "Railroad!"

In early March 1986, within days of the assassination of Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme, ADL Fact-Finding department chief Irwin Suall was en route to Stockholm. An Oxford University-trained Fabian Socialist, Suall was the ADL's long-time top dirty trickster. Since 1978, with the publication of the book {Dope, Inc.}, Suall's efforts had been almost obsessively focused against Lyndon LaRouche, the American political economist who had commissioned the anti-drug study published by New Benjamin Franklin House.

Suall's transatlantic voyage to Stockholm was in pursuit of that obsession.

Working in tandem with the East German secret police (Stasi), the Soviet KGB, Swedish socialists, and NBC-TV, Suall helped launch the disinformation campaign blaming LaRouche and his Swedish collaborators in the European Labor Party for the Palme assassination.

Just as Suall's efforts were beginning to bear fruit with a series of "LaRouche killed Palme" smear stories in the U.S.A., Swedish, and Soviet press, the ADL trickster was suddenly confronted with a major crisis: On March 16, 1986, two LaRouche-backed candidates—Mark Fairchild and Janice Hart—won the Illinois Democratic Party primary elections for lieutenant governor and secretary of state, respectively. The victory of the LaRouche candidates was no fluke. LaRouche-backed candidates had been winning

between 20-40 percent of the vote in Democratic primary elections in different parts of the country since the early 1980s. A leading Democratic Party pollster had written frantic messages to the Illinois state party chairman warning about a LaRouche upset months before the election.

Not surprisingly, the upset victory by the LaRouche slate was electrifying. The Wall Street and Freemasonic circles who own the ADL were shocked into action. Suall hurried back to New York City, where he oversaw the preparation and mass distribution of a violent ADL smear sheet against LaRouche. Over the next few months, according to records of the Federal Election Commission, over 6,000 copies of the ADL libel—at a cost of at least \$10,000—were circulated to every member of Congress, 1,580 news outlets, and other government offices and opinion makers. Tens of thousands of media attacks against LaRouche—branding him as everything from an anti-Semite, to a KGB agent, to a neo-Nazi, to an international terrorist—were published in the United States alone. Among some anti-Zionist lobby and Third World circles, the ADL even accused LaRouche of being a closet “mole” for the Israeli Mossad! The invariant in all the contradictory slanders conjured up by the ADL was to scare people away from the LaRouche political movement.

The ADL smear campaign was a panicked and flagrant violation of its tax-exempt status. It was also a violation of FEC rules, which prohibit a tax-exempt organization from engaging in politicking. On June 16, 1987, the FEC officially acknowledged that the ADL action against LaRouche was illegal; but a few months later, the commissioners decided they would take no action against the League. The smear campaign was meeting with only modest political success, although it had a severe effect as financial warfare. LaRouche-Democrat candidates continued to do well. In 1988, Claude Jones, a long-time and well-known LaRouche activist, was elected chairman of the Harris County, Texas Democratic Party, shortly after the Illinois victories. Harris County, which includes Houston, is one of the largest electoral districts in the United States, and a Democratic Party stronghold. Jones beat a powerful incumbent to take over the party post. The *{Washington Post}* in May 1986—summing up the consensus among the liberal establishment—editorialized that Lyndon LaRouche must be in jail, not on television, by the time of the 1988 presidential elections.

An Ongoing Frameup Effort

On October 6, 1986—less than seven months after the Illinois primary—400 federal, state, and county police invaded the offices of the LaRouche-associated Campaigner Publications in Leesburg, Virginia. FBI and Virginia State Police special sniper units were backed up by a Loudoun County SWAT Team. Helicopters, fixed-wing aircraft, and even an armored personnel carrier were held in reserve at a 4-H fairgrounds a short distance from the farm where Lyndon LaRouche and his wife were staying. In fact, recently disclosed government documents demonstrate Pentagon involvement in the Leesburg raid—specifically the Special Operations unit of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The mobilization of an invasion force larger than that used in Grenada in September 1983, to serve two search warrants and four arrest warrants, was not the result of overzealous planning. Since no later than 1982, Irwin Suall, Mira Lansky Boland (the Jonathan Jay Pollard-linked CIA agent-turned ADL dirty trickster), and an army of other ADL agents and assets had been engaged in a systematic campaign to sic the government on LaRouche. By the time the raid took place, the government raiding party had been so jacked up by ADL disinformation that they were expecting to run into a terrorist armed camp that would make the Irish Republican Army green with envy.

The March 1986 Illinois upset victory provided the ADL and its collaborators in what became known as the Get LaRouche Strike Force with the opportunity and motive to go all-out.

How did it work?

Since the spring of 1982, according to the ADL's own published accounts, Suall and company were closely collaborating with Henry Kissinger, the former U.S. secretary of state, and long-time LaRouche hater. In August 1982, Kissinger wrote to then-FBI Director William Webster the first of a series of personal letters demanding that the FBI move to shut down the LaRouche political movement. In a more detailed note in November, Kissinger's attorney lied that LaRouche had foreign intelligence ties—a lie calculated to activate government "active measures" under the guidelines of Executive

Order 12333. E.O. 12333, signed by President Ronald Reagan in December 1981, gave the CIA, the FBI, and the Pentagon intelligence services broad latitude to investigate and disrupt groups suspected of working for hostile foreign governments. In January 1983, Kissinger's allies on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB) made a formal request for such an active measures campaign against LaRouche. The FBI, operating through Judge Webster and Oliver "Buck" Revell, quickly launched such an effort.

Ironically, as the Kissinger-ADL wing of the national security and law enforcement apparatus of the federal government was activating its illegal war against LaRouche, President Reagan—with the backing of his national security adviser Judge William Clark, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and other senior military and security advisers—was moving ahead with the Strategic Defense Initiative, a plan based on a concept advanced by LaRouche even before the Reagan administration came into office.

According to court testimony in Roanoke, Virginia by Richard Morris, Judge Clark's NSC security chief, LaRouche had worked with the Reagan White House on at least eight national security projects—including SDI—most of which are still classified to this day. Was this a case of the right hand not knowing what the left hand was doing? Hardly! The ADL and Kissinger were painfully aware of LaRouche's growing influence within the Reagan administration, and they were out to break the rules to shut down all the LaRouche-Reagan ties.

According to court testimony by the ADL's Mira Lansky Boland on May 24, 1990 in Roanoke, Virginia, she was an active participant from day one in the illegal government covert operation against LaRouche that led to the October 1986 raid, and a series of federal and state criminal prosecutions in Boston; New York City; Alexandria, Leesburg and Roanoke, Virginia; and Los Angeles. The black propaganda aspect of that covert operation which we picked up in Stockholm at the beginning of this chapter was launched at an April 1983 meeting at the New York City office of Wall Street broker and self-styled intelligence agent John Train. Mira Lansky Boland was present at that secret meeting, representing the ADL. National Security Council consultant Roy Godson, a long-time ally of the ADL, was also present, along with a dozen journalists and editors from such organizations as NBC News, {Reader's Digest, The New Republic} and

{Business Week.} A CIA funding conduit deeply involved in the secret Iran-Contra operations, the Smith Richardson Foundation, provided the cash for the orchestrated smear campaign against LaRouche. While much of the anti-LaRouche propaganda spewed out of NBC, {The New Republic,} the {Wall Street Journal} and {Reader's Digest} consisted of name-calling aimed at scaring off active and prospective LaRouche supporters, enough charges of "terrorism" and "international espionage" were thrown in to assure that federal and state prosecutors would be forced to maintain open investigative files and, eventually, to launch grand jury probes. The "kill phase" of the ADL-led dirty war against LaRouche was already well under-way when the spring 1986 events in Illinois took place.

Financial Warfare

The ADL-John Train black propaganda campaign was not merely aimed at discouraging voters from pulling the levers for LaRouche candidates on election day. To successfully throw LaRouche in jail—or worse—the ADL set out to bankrupt the LaRouche publishing operations and turn some of LaRouche's own supporters and financial backers against him.

Spending millions of dollars, and working with groups like the CIA-spawned Cult Awareness Network (CAN), ADL dirty tricksters targeted thousands of LaRouche campaign contributors, whose names, addresses and phone numbers were maintained in public files at the FEC. The ADL-CAN operators would contact relatives, financial advisers, and friends of the LaRouche supporters, and literally subject them to scare-tactic behavior modification. The techniques used were often those developed in the secret laboratories of the CIA and the FBI for use against enemy prisoners of war and captured spies. Through these highly illegal actions, the ADL built up a profile list of weak and vulnerable people, many senior citizens, whose only "crime" was that they financially supported the legitimate political campaign activities of Lyndon LaRouche. The names of these targets were passed on to the Department of Justice's Get LaRouche Strike Force in a fashion reminiscent of the worst of the Nazi Gestapo operations. In May 1988, after 92 days of trial, the first federal prosecution of Lyndon LaRouche and a half-dozen of his associates came to a screeching halt when Boston District Court Judge Robert Keeton declared a mistrial. Evidence of wild government

misconduct—implicating Oliver North and Vice President George Bush—had disrupted the trial, so that the government wanted to be done with it. As press reports later showed, it had also convinced the jury that any criminal activity associated with the case had been committed by the government, not by Lyndon LaRouche. Prosecution claims of credit card fraud by LaRouche campaign fundraisers and publications salesmen had been thoroughly discredited.

The collapse of the first government effort at framing up Lyndon LaRouche was a direct blow to the ADL. Mira Lansky Boland and Boston ADL official Sally Greenberg had been virtually integrated into the prosecution staff of Assistant U.S. Attorneys John Markham and Mark Rasch. Although suffering a bad setback in Boston, the ADL-driven prosecution strike force had already opened up a second front in its illegal drive to wipe out the LaRouche movement. In April 1987, Loudoun County, Virginia Deputy Sheriff Don Moore, a Vietnam War Marine bunkmate of Ollie North and a secret paid agent of the ADL-CAN, wrote a patently false affidavit for federal prosecutors, claiming that LaRouche and company were getting ready to pick up stakes and go underground to avoid the pending federal prosecution and the prospect of paying large fines. The Moore affidavit was then used by then-U.S. Attorney Henry Hudson to induce a federal bankruptcy judge to order an involuntary bankruptcy against three LaRouche-identified companies, including two publications with a combined circulation of 250,000 readers. In a highly illegal “hearing” at which no stenographic records were made and where no attorneys representing the three entities were present, the judge was convinced to sign the seizure order. The next day, U.S. marshals padlocked and seized the same offices that had been raided six months earlier. Three years later, the same federal bankruptcy court judge, after a full trial of the bankruptcy action, reversed his initial ruling and threw out the involuntary bankruptcy, ruling that the government had filed the petitions in “bad faith” and had committed “fraud upon the court.” A higher court upheld that ruling, and the government chose not to appeal. Why appeal it? The damage had already been done!

With the bankrupting of the four LaRouche companies, federal prosecutors and FBI agents stepped in to advise thousands of LaRouche supporters that millions of dollars in loans they had made to those companies would not be paid—unless they cooperated with the government railroad of LaRouche. The claim that money would be paid back if

the “victims” played ball with the government prosecutors was another Big Lie. Once the printing presses were shut down, and the publications discontinued under the government trustees, the companies were penniless. No money could be paid back because the government had taken the viable, successful publishing operations and driven them into the ground: first, through intensive ADL propaganda branding LaRouche a monster, and next through the fraudulent bankruptcy proceeding itself.

In the majority of cases, the LaRouche supporters knew it was the government, not LaRouche, that was behind the bankruptcy and their personal losses. The former supporters who did succumb to the government pressure tactics were invariably those whose families, bankers, friends, etc. were already sucked in by the ADL-CAN dirty war.

ADL Clearinghouse

Government prosecutors admitted under oath that Mira Lansky Boland of the ADL had served as the “clearinghouse” for trial witnesses in all of the federal and state prosecutions of LaRouche and his associates. Lansky worked from the outset with Don Moore, the Loudoun deputy sheriff who authored and signed the fraudulent bankruptcy affidavit. In September 1992, Don Moore was arrested by the FBI for his role in a plot to kidnap two LaRouche supporters. Moore was working for the ADL-allied Cult Awareness Network in the kidnapping scheme. That case is scheduled to go to trial at the end of 1992. When in December 1988, a federal jury in Alexandria, Virginia convicted LaRouche and six associates on conspiracy fraud charges stemming from the government and ADL-instigated bankruptcies, Mira Lansky Boland was the only nongovernment official to attend the “victory party” at the prosecutors’ office. The conviction had been won on the basis of a pretrial order by Judge Albert V. Bryan, Jr. forbidding defense attorneys from informing the jury that the government had been responsible for the bankruptcy.

Back in 1987, Bryan had been the judge who had initially upheld that bankruptcy action. At the sentencing of LaRouche and the others in January 1989, Judge Bryan boasted that Boston trial Judge Robert Keeton “owed him a cigar” for ensuring that LaRouche and the others were so quickly convicted and shipped off to prison.

The jailing of LaRouche in what amounted to a thoroughly unjust life sentence did not end the ADL drive to destroy LaRouche and his political movement. The Commonwealth of Virginia, as part of the ADL's Get LaRouche dirty war, had joined in the feeding frenzy by indicting over 20 LaRouche associates on state charges stemming from the identical bankruptcy scheme.

In a series of trials in Roanoke, Virginia, the ADL was caught red-handed in a judge-buying effort. State Judge Clifford Weckstein, a political protege of Virginia ADL chief Murray Janus and other top state ADL figures, was provided with a full collection of ADL smear sheets on LaRouche by the league. In a series of back and forth letters released by Weckstein in the trial of one of the LaRouche defendants, it was revealed that Janus and other local ADL officials had mooted they would back Weckstein for a seat on the Virginia State Supreme Court. The implication that his handling of the LaRouche prosecutions would be crucial to his future career on the bench was apparently not lost on the judge.

Michael Billington, a LaRouche associate who had already served over two years in federal prison as the result of the Alexandria federal case, was sentenced by Weckstein to 77 years in state prison on patently phony loan fraud charges.

Source: The Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, CODOH

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Trapped in a Nazi Fantasyland

By Bradley R. Smith

MARVIN STERN, DIRECTOR FOR THE NORTHWEST Regional Branch of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), can't conceal his bewilderment over what he calls "the growing Holocaust revisionist movement." Mr. Stern expressed his dismay in a column published in *The Oregonian*, the largest-circulation daily in the Northwest. His alarm was triggered by the appearance in that newspaper of our ad, "A Revisionist's View of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum."

Stern lays the blame for the growing influence of revisionism on the "ignorance" and "anti-semitism" of Americans. He appears not to understand that he's charging tens of millions of American citizens with being ignorant, anti-Jewish bigots (a recent Roper poll reported 20 to 30 percent of adult Americans doubt they are being told the truth about the Holocaust story). Spokesmen for the ADL have propagandized themselves into an empty intellectual corner. Having refused to judge revisionist research on its merits, refusing still to admit that revisionists have any substantive arguments whatever, refusing debate or even an exchange of civility, the ADL'ers are left with no intellectual tools to work with but invective, misrepresentation, slander, and a sickly dependence on playing their "nazi" card.

One result of this intellectually and psychologically stunted behavior is that many ADL'ers appear to be obsessed with nazis and nazism, neo-nazis, intimations of nazism, rumors about nazis and crazy nazi conspiracies to rehabilitate Adolf's reputation. Some ADL'ers, Stern appearing to be one of them, live in an imaginary nazi wonderland where they fantasize armies of nazis marching toward them from distant horizons, singing songs of conquest, whips in hand, about to leap through the ADL office window to lash the hapless drudges inside and mistreat them sexually.

Such fantasies must be traumatizing for those who suffer them, but to others they can appear comic and infantile. The text of my ad, which prompted Stern's response, makes at least two claims which admittedly are controversial. It asserts that the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum exhibits no proof that homicidal gas chambers existed anywhere in Europe, and no proof that even one child, woman

or man was “gassed” at any German camp liberated by the Allies. I flew to Washington, toured the Museum, and that’s my assessment of its exhibits.

Mr. Stern writes that the best response to the “outrageous lies” of revisionism, that is, the text of my ad about the Museum, is to “reiterate the truth” and “repeat the facts.” It’s good advice, but Stern avoids it like the plague. Instead, he reveals the common ADL self-serving obsession with hate movements growing like cancers in American society. He doesn’t even try to assure his readers that the Museum does, in fact, exhibit proof of one gas chamber or one victim of a gas chamber. Why?

The Marvin Sterns and the ADL face a conundrum. They can continue to rail with empty irrationalism against legitimate revisionist research and watch the number of Americans who are increasingly unsure what to believe about the Holocaust story increase year after year. Or they can turn to the orthodox scholars in the field for help in responding to revisionist questions. That would be the adult thing to do. The ADL’ers however, true to form, have chosen to do the childish thing—to substitute schoolyard insults for a grown-up exchange of ideas.

Stern’s article in the *Oregonian* ran under the head, “Holocaust Revisionists Should Be Challenged, Repudiated With Truth.” Marvin and I are in complete agreement on this one. Do it! Challenge the claims in my ad with truth! That has always been what I’ve asked for. It’s my invitation to the ADL’ers and my challenge to them—and to all others. Respond to my ads with truth. I don’t ever want to run an ad that contains an inadvertent error of fact. Why do the Marvin Sterns talk about repudiating revisionism with “truth” and always evade doing so?

Here’s my guess. While revisionists almost certainly are not right about everything, we’re not wrong about everything either. No one is wrong about everything! That’s what terrifies Marvin Stern and his ADL buddies. The day they admit the possibility that revisionists are not wrong about everything, their psychological world will collapse. They’ll have addmitted that revisionists are human beings, that we eat our soup with a spoon just like they do. And there’s the rub. The ADL’ers can’t afford to admit that revisionists are ordinary men and women—that is, human beings. The ADL committed itself to its nazi devil fantasy half a century ago and has ridden it so long so successfully it can’t get off, no matter how broken down and exhausted the old nag is.

Marvin Stern is probably a nice guy. He’s probably a smart guy. When a smart guy goes over the line and becomes a true believer it’s almost impossible for him to change his mind. When a true believer changes his mind he becomes an apostate. He feels like a traitor. A dumb guy can just change his mind and go about his business. A smart guy who’s become a true believer has to work out a theory explaining how, being so smart, he could have believed something so dumb so long. It’s not easy. I know.

Marvin, I used to believe everything about the Holocaust story you believe now. It's not a sin to be wrong. It's human. You have a theory you believe is true, I have a theory I think is true. Let's talk things over. You know how it goes. I listen to you. You listen to me. We have a beer. We settle the world's problems.

(Bradley R. Smith is director of Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust.)

(This piece appeared in *The Albany Student Press*, the State University of New York, Albany, on 10 December 93.)

UC Santa Barbara Students Confront ADL's Genocide Denial

Students Protest Anti-Defamation League's Involvement in UCSB Matter

Almost two years ago, a group of outraged students at UC Santa Barbara banded together. They united, just as citizens in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had done before them, to get campus and community entities to disassociate themselves with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and its No Place For Hate (NPFH) program.

The students came together in response to the immoral and callous decision by the ADL to issue a statement that they were against the passage of a resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide and were actively lobbying against it in the halls of Congress. Armenian Americans and humans rights advocates alike believed then and now that the ADL forfeited any moral authority to sponsor NPFH once it took a stance so inconsistent with such a profound human rights issue.

The road to get campus and community groups to disassociate themselves from the ADL's NPFH program has encountered many obstacles and bureaucratic hurdles. Berj Parseghian, now a UCSB alumnae, and Garo Manjikian, former community organizer in Santa Barbara and current ANCA Legislative Affairs Director, began the campaign with an intense letter writing campaign aimed at encouraging a handful of campus organizations, which the ADL listed as participants of the NPFH program, to disassociate. Their hard work resulted in two major organizations, the University Religious Center and Empowerment Works, immediately cutting ties with the ADL.

The leadership of the campaign grew to include Amy Kaladzhyan and Shant Karnikian. These two students presented the issue at the Sacramento Issues Awareness Caucus of 2008 and gained the support of legislators such as Assemblymember Pedro Nava and Assemblymember Anthony Portantino, Chair of the Higher Education Committee. Back in Santa Barbara, Parseghian and Manjikian brought the issue to the attention of Chancellor Henry Yang of UCSB, who in turn urged them to continue the campaign and raise awareness of the issue among students because he "expects every community member to adhere to a set of values that include mutual respect, tolerance and civility."

Fueled by the thoughtful words of encouragement from the Chancellor, a meeting was arranged between the leadership of the campaign and the Dean of Students, Assistant Dean, and the Director of Judicial Affairs, which lists ADL as a resource for students. The students took the opportunity to educate the UCSB administration about various issues surrounding the Armenian Genocide, as well as the importance of disassociating the university from an organization which, because of its opposition to the recognition of a crime against humanity, has no place on a college campus. The Armenian Student Association (ASA) organized a panel discussion to raise campus awareness about this issue and allow the ADL to present its side of the story. The panel was comprised of Shant

Karnikian on behalf of the ASA, Antranig Kzirian from the Armenian National Committee-Western Region, and Chris Villavicencio on behalf of STAND: An Anti-Genocide Coalition. The ADL turned down the invitation to be a part of the panel. Oddly enough, the event was hosted at the Multi-Cultural Center, a campus organization that was formerly associated with the NPFH program. The deliberate and well-planned efforts of the students at UCSB have been effective. Presently there are no campus entities that are seeking certification from NPFH.

While the UCSB community has expressed grave concern with the ADL's hypocritical stance on the Armenian Genocide, with many departments no longer seeking to renew their membership with the NPFH program, the issue has become one that is no longer focused on just the Armenian Genocide. In early March, Abraham Foxman, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, invited a number of school officials and faculty members to a meeting to urge university officials to investigate charges of anti-Semitism against Professor William Robinson, a sociology professor who drew comparisons between Israeli soldiers in Gaza and the Nazi siege of Warsaw, Poland. The ADL was quick to respond to this incident in an attempt to limit academic freedom and yet they were nowhere in sight when the Muslim Student Association was victim to a print attack in the school newspaper, *The Daily Nexus*, by David Horowitz accusing them of being a part of the Muslim Brotherhood.

It is important now, more than ever, to fight against the ADL's involvement in academic or even community affairs, especially in the Santa Barbara area. The students of UC Santa Barbara will continue to work to keep the genocide deniers at the ADL off their campus. These students, who are dedicated to human rights, are determined to set an example for other student groups, Armenian Americans and other minorities alike, to take action when they are marginalized by a more powerful entity.

Clearly, no one benefits when the sponsor of a community program diminishes a crime against humanity and denies the historical truth of any genocide. The ADL's position as deniers of genocide is untenable. In southern California, the ADL has learned, the hard way, that they will enjoy no safe haven to practice genocide denial on the campus of UC Santa Barbara.

The ADL Pushes "Tolerance"?

Why I'm leaving after 25 years



Foxman never tires
in his search for
'hate' — real or
imagined

By Carl Pearlston

<http://www.jewishworldreview.com> – MY love affair with the ADL began almost 25 years ago. It has just ended with a curt note from the Board President advising me that I haven't shown a sufficient "demonstration of commitment to the ADL" to warrant retention on the Executive Committee or the Regional Board." How did it come to this?

I had been nominated to the Board by a judge with whom I had worked during the heady civil rights years, and then to the Executive Committee by the head of the Speakers Bureau, for which I was very active. Not that the romance had not been rocky. I had always known that my conservative Republican political views were barely tolerated by my overwhelmingly liberal colleagues, and I was tempted to keep them to myself. We were nominally a non-partisan organization, but our meetings frequently felt uncomfortably like those of a Democratic Party club in which it was assumed that all shared a common liberal or "progressive" political worldview and none could, or wanted to, hear a differing viewpoint.

Just after the recent presidential election, our Director accosted me at a meeting with a vehement "You stole the election!" Our positions were usually those of the liberal wing of the Democratic party on issues like abortion, school choice, teacher pay, bilingual education, affirmative action, the homosexual agenda, gun control.

I once cited the comprehensive study by Yale University Law School's Dr. John Lott on gun laws to the effect that in those states where people could legally carry concealed weapons, crimes against people actually declined, since criminals do not want to take a chance that their victim may be

armed. I was met with the sarcastic and dismissive response that “Only John Lott, [talk show host and JWR columnist] Larry Elder and you believe in that study.”

There was not a great tolerance for diversity of viewpoint nor introduction of new information. I was barred from distributing written material which was germane and relevant to issues under discussion; only material from staff could be disseminated. To be fair, a member did once tell me that at least I kept them honest — i.e. they were forced to at least be exposed to — even if not to consider, a different view.

But, it was an uphill struggle.

When I once confessed to our National Director, Abe Foxman, my feelings of just spinning my wheels, he candidly told me that I would have to realize that over 95% of those involved in the ADL were liberal and would be unsympathetic to my conservative views.

DEMONIZING EXPONENTS OF JEWISH VALUES

Lack of sympathy frequently translated into lack of civility. For example, at several meetings, there were objections that Dr. Laura Schlesinger’s radio program and planned TV program was offensive and insensitive to homosexuals. I pointed out that her views enunciate traditional Jewish values which deserve the support of a Jewish defense organization, and was greeted with derision and intemperate, hostile responses. When it came to the issue of homosexuals versus the Boy Scouts, ADL chose the homosexuals, all the way to the Supreme Court.

Then, in its otherwise commendable nationwide partnership with Barnes and Noble in the program Hate Hurts, which sponsors books and educates teachers and young children to fight hate, the ADL endorsed the books Heather Has Two Mommies and Steve Has Two Daddies as suitable tools for teaching tolerance to young children. Teachers’ workshops and children’s reading groups were organized, using these and other books in conjunction with the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), which had earlier achieved a certain notoriety for its own school workshops wherein teenagers were taught the fine points of “fisting” and other homosexual practices.

TURNING JUDAISM ON ITS HEAD

In this manner, fighting “hate” became a euphemism for an attack on sexual morality, the traditional family, and the Jewish view that children deserve a loving father and mother, not two fathers or two mothers. It is only through a perverse notion of “tolerance” that support for traditional teaching about the family is intimidated, and condemned.

When Dennis Prager participated by invitation in a panel discussion on church-state issues, some members actually hissed and booed his remarks in a hostile display of intolerance. A respected board member persistently repeated to all who would hear that Prager was insane.

When the organization published its harsh attack on the Religious Right in 1994, I was distressed as were many politically conservative Jews who do not share the ADL view that politically-active conservative Christians are our enemy. As (Jewish) syndicated columnist and JWR contributor Mona Charen wrote, "The ADL has committed defamation. There is no other conclusion to be reached after reading its new report, *The Religious Right: the Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America*. It is sad that an organization with a proud history of fairness should have descended to this kind of character assassination and name calling."

A Board member of another affiliate was forced to resign because he publicly expressed disagreement with that report. It seems that the term "religious right" is a talisman used to invoke a reflexive response of hostility without thought. So deep was the antagonism that when Ralph Reed, then head of the Christian Coalition, appeared at an ADL leadership conference and gave a heartfelt apology for past insensitivity, prejudice, and discrimination by Christians toward Jews, the private response by most members to his apology was hostility and distrust.

CONSTRUCTING A SOLID WALL BETWEEN 'SYNAGOGUE AND STATE'

There was a particular intolerance on the issue of church-state. The theory that freedom of religion require "strict separation of church and state" was transformed into hostility to any public display of religion in general, to Christianity in particular, and even to Judaism. I do not understand the logic of a Jewish organization expending its time and resources to forbid the public display of the chief gift of the Jews to civilization— The Ten Commandments. Nor does it seem appropriate for us to engage in litigation to forbid another Jewish organization (Chabad) from displaying a Menorah on public property. I was told that such a display would encourage other religious groups, including Moslems, to exercise their right to similar displays.

Well, why shouldn't they? It is implicit in the meaning of freedom of religious expression and religious diversity, a freedom we have so long struggled to attain for ourselves. It is not in our country's interest for us to demand a naked public square, devoid of any reference to G-d. Our cramped view of religious expression led us to oppose even the observance of a moment of silence in schools as being likely to encourage prayer.

The issue of parental choice in education, either by tax credits or vouchers, met with unwavering opposition based on what I believe is an erroneously perceived constitutional doctrine of "separation

of church and state,” along with a strong commitment to the teacher’s unions. At one meeting, I questioned Abe Foxman as to what the ADL would do in the likely event that the US Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of school vouchers. He said the ADL would never agree and would continue to press the court until the decision was reversed and the ADL viewpoint was adopted.

“YOU SHOULDN’T HAVE DONE THAT!”

Then, as he passed the table where my wife and I were sitting, he said to me, “You shouldn’t have asked that question.” I then realized that the bloom was really off the romance.

I had always strongly believed in the ADL’s mission, as defined on a banner frequently displayed at the front of our meetings: “... to stop the defamation of the Jewish people, and secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike....” Our efforts against anti-Semitism were without peer. We were a Jewish organization primarily concerned with issues affecting the Jewish community, and secondarily with equality and fair enforcement of laws for everyone. I recall that many times in days past we deferred action on an item on the grounds that it was not related to Jewish community, and was thus beyond our purview.

AS ANTI-SEMITISM DECLINES, FINDING A NEW NEED TO EXIST

As years passed, the purview kept increasing along with the budget. While overt, and even latent, anti-Semitism was decreasing, our traditional mission as defender of the Jewish community was expanded to defender of all. We have become just another of many leftist “rights” organizations. This realization was confirmed when I saw a new banner, displaying an unfamiliar mission statement: “...dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time.”

This grandiose expansion of mission has had other consequences. The curbing of defamation—an action that has expanded to curbing of hate—a feeling, or emotion, or state of mind. If we can change people’s minds and the way they think, we will not have to control their actions. The program for changing hearts and minds, A World of Difference, was created in 1985 to change prejudiced feelings through “sensitivity training”. It is reportedly very successful, highly commended, and widely used by governmental agencies and many companies.

Unfortunately, my exposure to the program at a leadership conference indicated that teaching the values of diversity, multiculturalism, and cultural relativism resulted in denigrating the values and achievements of Western civilization and the desirability of a common American identity. There is now a nationwide industry of multicultural activists teaching various “sensitivity” programs which increase awareness of racial identity, and result in racial separation and racial hostility.

CREATION OF A ‘CRIME’

This focus on eliminating “hate” logically led to the creation of “hate crimes,” in which, a two-tier system of criminality was created: 1) those who commit crimes of violence for any reason other than hate, and 2) those who do injury solely because they hate the status or class of the victim (race, sex, nationality, religion, disability, occupation, sexual orientation, etc). Criminals of the latter class are punished more severely than those of the former, even though both may commit the same violent crime.

The punishment is levied on the thought, or feeling, or state of mind of the criminal and not the action, in keeping with the emphasis on eliminating and punishing hateful thoughts and feelings. Creating preferred classes of crime victims is not a proper function of the American criminal justice system. Nor does it seem desirable to federalize and supplant state criminal law enforcement, which is what results from enacting “hate crime” legislation at the federal level.

The concept of “hate crimes” inevitably leads to that of “hate speech”, in which offensive, insensitive, or hurtful speech is legally banned, as it is in Canada where the criminal law punishes offensive speech as a form of group defamation. A minister was arrested there for publicly preaching, in accordance with the tenets of his faith, that the practice of homosexuality was immoral.

CHEAPENING THE HOLOCAUST

The ADL has properly rejected repeated demands by some of its leaders for adoption of similar group defamation laws as violating our free speech guarantees. At the same time, the ADL has led the effort to abate hateful speech not only in the public, but even the private forum in the interest of “tolerance”. There have been repeated condemnations of various incidents of speech deemed hateful, hurtful, insensitive, or embarrassing to particular groups. All too frequently, however, free speech and the expression of religious belief have been the targets of these condemnations, such as religious references by political candidates, Christian prayers at the inauguration, religious symbolism in comics, expressions of religious beliefs by sports figures, or even expressions of the politically incorrect, as was the case when conservative activist David Horowitz was condemned as racially insensitive for placing ads in college papers denying the wisdom, fairness, and practicality of the growing movement for Slavery Reparations.

The ADL has illogically compared those ads to ones denying the Holocaust, while ignoring the issue of free speech curtailment in the violent reactions by students and compliant acts by college administrators to censor the ads and prevent intelligent discussion of the significant issue involved.

GIVING UP MY FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The ADL has always been a firm and loyal supporter of Israel, but it was also an early and naive advocate of the now-defunct Oslo peace process, to the ultimate detriment of actual peace. I frequently complained that we concentrated more on the process than the substance of peace, and that true peace was unlikely to occur since the root problem was not how much land Israel would give up, but Arab refusal to accept a viable Jewish state. All of our “insider” briefings on the Mideast downplayed the risk to Israel posed by an armed Palestinian Authority or Palestinian state, and held out rosy and unrealistic prognostications of peace.

For example, at a leadership conference, we were treated to a talk by an Arab Ambassador urging us to take steps for peace, which translated into urging support for the election of Labor (Peres) over Likud (Netanyahu) in the coming election. It was portrayed, and accepted by many attendees, as a last chance for peace that was almost within our grasp. Most of us now see, in light of the past year’s warfare, that the “peace” being urged was illusory and chimerical. So blinding was this hope for peace that, as reported, ADL had complimented the PA on their new school textbooks without even having read them, completely overlooking the virulent anti-Semitism contained therein. When I questioned our National Director about this, I became the target of attack and public humiliation for bringing up the matter. Nor did I endear myself by dwelling on our National Director’s central role on behalf of the ADL in devising and wangling a pardon for criminal fugitive tax-evader Marc Rich.

When I expressed my views on some of these matters in various letters and articles, in which I was not identified as an ADL Board member, I was rebuked in a stern letter from our President advising that I had publicly taken positions contrary to ADL policy, which was not permitted. I had not realized that, as the price of Board membership, I had given up my freedom of speech on issues on which the ADL had taken a position.

This was much like the old Leninist doctrine of “democratic centralism”, in which debate is allowed only before a policy is adopted, and no dissent is tolerated thereafter. It seems odd that an organization which boastfully espouses and teaches “tolerance” and “diversity”, will not tolerate a bit of dissent and diverse viewpoint in its own lay leadership.

Carl Pearlston, a national board member of Toward Tradition, writes from California. Comment by clicking [here](#).

B'nai B'rith and the German-Jewish Tragedy

B'nai B'rith Magazine, May 1933.

CRITICISM is heard: B'nai B'rith did not join the public protests against the German-Jewish tragedy! The power of B'nai B'rith was not exploited sufficiently in the public press! What an opportunity B'nai B'rith had to keep its fame on the front pages in this crisis! Such things have been said.

The members of this organization have cause to be proud of their affiliation with a Jewish body that obscured its own prestige in order to serve its German brethren the better. Not the glory of B'nai B'rith but the safety of German Jews was paramount at the moment and quietly B'nai B'rith moved to the defense of these brethren through the strong hand of the State Department.

What was the position of American Jewry in the tragic hour? It was as if a robber had entered one's house and seized one's child and held it for a shield... You shoot at me and you kill your child!

What does a man do in such a pass? Shoot? He puts aside his pistol. He considers other means of meeting the crisis.

With the Hitler government threatening reprisals against Jews, should B'nai B'rith have rushed forward with loud protests? In the eyes of the unthinking this might have enhanced the prestige of B'nai B'rith³ How courageous is B'nai B'rith they might have said.

B'nai B'rith puts aside the opportunity for valor (5,000 miles from the scene of danger!) and with what power is in its hand and in co-operation with other Jewish agencies, set in motion the diplomatic efforts that are already historic. Aye, B'nai B'rith might have thrown itself alone into the breach so that it could be said of it, Single-handed this organization battles for the rights of Jewry. But B'nai B'rith greatly desires unity in Israel and it marched with other organizations and still so marches.

If there has not been complete unity in Israel in this crisis, it is no fault of B'nai B'rith.

Weeks before the German-Jewish tragedy became the pain of all Jewry, B'nai B'rith, conscious of forebodings, took steps, met with the leaders of other organizations, considered what was best to do, having always in mind that nothing ought to be done that would endanger rather than mitigate the unhappy situation of the German Jews.

This policy directs and will continue to direct every move of B'nai B'rith acting in co-operation with the American Jewish Committee. We have no quarrel with other organizations that went their own

way to make public protest. We believe, however, that time will show that the policy of B'nai B'rith is founded on better wisdom. We regret that in the momentous hour American Jewry is not united.

Even those who were at first hot for public protest have come to see that discretion is the better part of valor in an hour when lives are in the balance. They have announced that in deference to the wishes of the State Department they refrain from making (further) comment on the tragic situation of the Jews in Germany.

For B'nai B'rith there was, besides, a poignant special cause to restrain it from action that might seem rash in the moment. It has fraternal ties with many Jews in Germany where the finest of Jewry is included in the membership of B'nai B'rith. Hostile public words or actions by B'nai B'rith in America might have reflected dangerously on the B'nai B'rith of Germany of whom it might have been said by their enemies, They have instigated their fellow members in America against us.

The conscience of B'nai B'rith could never have acquitted itself had any ill-considered action by the Order in America caused injury to our brethren in Germany.

And what of the future? It may be answered that B'nai B'rith in co-operation with the American Jewish Committee is alert; that things are being carefully done; that perfect unity of speech and action exists between the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee.

If the Jews desire the unity of all Israel in America in the presence of this tragedy they can have it by demanding it of the organizations that represent them. As for B'nai B'rith, it feels that its action in this crisis will make a worthy chapter of its history.

Source: Committee for the Re-Examination of the History of the Second World War, CRHSWW
Bulletin #25

Days of Remembrance / A Department of Defense Guide for Commemorative Observance.

The front cover also bears the inscriptions: "This book was produced with the assistance and cooperation of the International Center for Holocaust Studies of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith./OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE." U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988 (207-121-814/80028). 96 pages, 27.6 x21 centimeters. 27 illustrations plus two maps.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber, Ph.D.

Although reviewers customarily place their value judgments of books toward the ends of their reviews, I can not refrain from stating my evaluation at the outset: This book is an outrage. Although the book takes a strongly biased position on a controversial historical question of great importance, all American taxpayers have been forced to pay for its production. This book is an outrage against those members of our armed forces who are sincerely trying to provide security for the United States. It is an outrage against historical reality. It is an outrage against the most important European member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), namely Germany, without whose cooperation the defense of western Europe would hardly be possible. No book could be better calculated to play into the hands of the Kremlin by causing disunity amongst the member nations of the NATO. It repeats propaganda lies against the German nation which have been disproved by competent scholars. How can we Americans expect Germans to tolerate the mendacious abuse against them in this book and still cooperate in the defense of western Europe? Finally, it is an outrage against persons of German extraction who pay taxes to the United States.

The contents of this book are largely a compilation of quotations from the works of various authors, with occasional brief comments on them (pp. 22-88). Prominent amongst these quotations are those from the works of Elie Wiesel, whose improbable tales, self-contradictions and arrogant reproach of President Reagan on his famous visit to the cemetery in Bitburg have made him the object of derision by revisionists. A work frequently quoted also is Jay Lifton's The Nazi Doctors, which was reviewed in Bulletin 21.

This book contains a good many samples of the errors and absurdities which have caused many people capable of independent critical thought to suspect that the “Holocaust” material is essentially a fraud propagated with well calculated purposes. Limitations of space allow us to mention only a few examples.

On page 18 the statement is made that German forces were “within 20 miles of Moscow” on 22 June, 1941. In reality, they were, at their closest, about 500 miles from Moscow on that day, the day on which “Operation Barbarossa” commenced. Such an elementary mistake about the basic history of the Second World War must make the reader question the reliability of the contents of the book as a whole.

On the same page there is also repeated the long-disproved absurdity of the claim that fat from corpses of Jews was used to manufacture soap. For the disproof, see The Journal of Historical Review, Volume I, no. 2, pp. 131-139, where the origin of the absurdity is traced to a false interpretation of the initials “RIF” on some soap (i.e., Reichsstelle fuer Industrielle Fettversorgung – National Office for the Supply of Industrial Fats) as “Rein Juedisches Fett” (= purely Jewish fat).

On page 39 the claim is made that in one (unspecified) camp 36 ovens were capable of “burning 500 bodies an hour.” It takes only a little fifth-grade arithmetic to calculate that this means that each unit could reduce to ashes approximately eleven bodies an hour, while even modern crematory units require about two hours for one body. A somewhat similar absurdity occurs on page 68, where it is claimed that in the spring and early summer of 1942 “hundreds of thousands of Jews were being gassed every day at Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and Treblinka.” Assuming 200,000 Jews every day and a period of 120 days, that would mean the gassing of 24,000,000 Jews, many times the maximal number of Jews under German control, which has been estimated at about 3,800,000.

On page 47 the book is spiced up with a sort of Freudian episode, viz., the claim that the camp commander at Flossenbürg masturbated at the sight of inmates being tortured.

On page 48 the claim is made that bodies were burned in “large trenches” at Auschwitz, which was in an area with a high level of ground water. Bodies require a great deal of fuel and oxygen to reduce them to ashes, so that it would not make sense to burn them in pits, where the supply of oxygen would be limited, even if there were no problem of ground water seeping into the pits.

On Page 93 it is claimed that the Wannsee Conference held in January, 1942 planned “the annihilation of the Jewish people.” (Never mind the fact that only a modest fraction of the Jewish people was ever under German control.) Anyone who has ever read carefully the text of the minutes of this conference could note that it contains no such plans, rather plans for the deportation and employment of Jews. (These minutes are known as the “Wannsee-Protokoll,” of which only one copy

is known out of 30 which were supposedly prepared and classified as secret.) As Prof. Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyons has pointed out, the Wannsee-Protokoll even contemplates the eventual release of the inmates in the phrase, "bei Freilassung." Also on page 93 there is even confusion about the dates of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, which started on 19 April, 1943.

The map on page 33 claims that the following numbers of Jews from various countries were "murdered":

450,000 Hungary

210,000 Germany and Austria

105,000 Holland

90,000 France

80,000 Bohemia and Moravia

75,000 Slovakia

54,000 Greece

40,000 Belgium

26,000 Yugoslavia

14,000 Bulgaria

8,000 Italy

1,000 Luxembourg

900 Norway

1,253,900 Total

Of the six million or so Jews commonly claimed by Zionists to have been “murdered” while in German captivity, the other nearly five million thus claimed were living in countries occupied or partly occupied by the USSR before June, 1941. During or after the war, the Baltic republics, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, central Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania were all made part of the Soviet empire with little real sovereignty. For that reason we are dealing with statistics pertaining to Jewish mortality during the war which originated from areas held by communists, who have a strong interest in exaggerating statistics on alleged German crimes in order to make obscure the crimes which the USSR itself committed, such as the Katyn massacres, the genocidal starvation of millions of Ukrainians in the early 1930s, etc. (For an example of the Communist falsification of statistics, see pp. 98-106 of Alfred Schickel’s *Vergessene Zeitgeschichte*, which was reviewed in Bulletin 18.)

Approximately three million Jews migrated to Palestine after 1939 in addition to huge numbers of them who migrated to various other countries throughout the world. The 90,000 mentioned on the map on page 33 in the case of France are just a little more than one-tenth of the total living in France according to the Wannsee-Protokoll of 20 January, 1942. In view of the fact that the Jewish populations of western Europe were aging as a result of low reproductive rates, natural attrition could easily account for the 90,000 deaths if the number given in the Wannsee-Protokoll, 865,000, is correct. We also know from a Zionist source (Maurice Bisgyer’s *Challenge and Encounter*, 1967) that approximately as many Jews were living after the war in what is now the territory of the German Federal Republic as there were in 1939 (see Bulletin 9). Even *Days of Remembrance*, page 33, concedes in fine type under the map: “There is no way to establish an accurate figure for the total number of Jews murdered in the Final Solution.” Indeed! If the real number of Jews who died from one cause or another while in German captivity could ever be determined, it would probably be a quite modest one in comparison with the number of Germans murdered during the expulsions after the war (see Bulletin 18) or the number of Ukrainians deliberately starved to death in the early 1930s by the Communists. The chaotic conditions and corpses of victims of diseases in such camps as Bergen-Belsen at the time they were liberated by advancing Allied armies furnished shocking pictures, but what fraction of six million do these corpses represent? Such conditions were largely caused by the paralysis of transportation facilities by Allied bombings and the general scarcity of food in Europe as a result of the Allied blockade. For a detailed analysis of the difficult subject of the extent of Jewish mortality during the Second World War, see Walter Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* (1983). For a brief summary of the evidence against the Extermination Thesis in general, see Bulletins 14 and 15.

The historical distortions which *Days of Remembrance* projects are even more a result of what it does not contain than what it does contain. The central fault of this book lies in the fact that it presents only one side of an important argument and that the book was published at the expense of all American taxpayers. Many books written by Zionist authors and by lackeys of Zionists are

recommended in the sections entitled "Further Reading" (pp. 32, 38, 53, 60, 70, 83), but not one revisionist title of the growing number of them concerning the Extermination Thesis is included. There is no mention of the genocidal threats against the German people in such a book as Germany Must Perish (1941), the massacres of the German population in the Bromberg area in September, 1939, the hunger blockade of the European continent from 1939 to 1945, the fact that partisan warfare (p.81) and typhus epidemics (see Bulletin 13) were important reasons for the decision, finally, to intern the Jews 2-1/2 years after the outbreak of the war, the irresponsible demand for the unconditional surrender of Germany, the useless bombing of Dresden, etc. As we know today, the Germans' fears of genocide were well founded, since about 3,000,000 of them died at the end of the war and during the following year or so in conjunction with the brutal expulsion actions (see Bulletin 23).

There is no mention of the shameful Allied Operation Keelhaul, in which hundreds of thousands of anti-Communist Russians were turned over to almost certain death at the hands of Stalin. No mention is made in the book of our interning persons of Japanese descent within a few weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor, presumably for reasons of military security. By contrast, German authorities were so dilatory about interning Jews that as late as April, 1943, some 32 months after the outbreak of the war, there were still so many Jews left in the Warsaw ghetto that they were able to hold off German military forces for weeks during their uprising.

There is no mention of the facts that Hitler's hostility toward Jews was partly a result of American influences and that eugenic sterilization (to which the book makes a number of references) was not introduced in Germany until 1933, long after the practice had commenced in the United States (see Bulletin 5 and 21). Were the compilers of this book too ignorant to have pointed out such facts or were they simply too dishonest to have done so? Although it is argued (pp. 39 and 71) that the suffering of Jews in Europe during the war was unique, no mention is made of the genocidal, deliberate starvation of millions of Ukrainians during the early 1930s by the Communists (see Bulletin 7), for example. Finally, Days of Remembrance avoids any objective analysis of the main reasons for the hostility toward Jews so prevalent throughout Europe after 1917; the perception that Communism, with its gross cruelty, was essentially a Jewish phenomenon and the perceived economic gains which Jews made at the expense of their host populations as a result of the hyperinflations in central and eastern Europe.

Although such nonsense and questionable, biased material as that which has been enumerated above are commonly contained in other Zionist publications, it is quite frightening to contemplate their occurrence in a book published by "our" Department of Defense, a book which even includes strong recommendations for it over the signatures of President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. These recommendations (pp. 2 and 3) are in the form of letters dated 8

February, 1988 and accompanied by the smiling portraits of these two gentlemen. There can thus be no doubt that President Reagan and Secretary Carlucci must be held responsible for the publication of this book, with its prejudiced, irresponsible and mendacious contents.

Another frightening aspect of this book is the detailed set of instructions for indoctrinating U.S. military personnel (pp. 6-21), which even include sample plans for a ceremony. The compilers of this book are so confident that such indoctrination of military personnel will be extended over a period of many years that they even include observation dates projected for the years 1988 to 2000 (p. 16).

A sharp bone which keeps sticking in the throats of the Zionists, however, are the silence and inaction by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Not only that, important Jews close to Roosevelt, such as Rosenman, Lehman, Baruch and Frankfurter showed little concern about the "Holocaust" alleged to have been taking place at the time (pp. 67-68). Could it be that these men, with their access to all sorts of intelligence reports, had no "Holocaust" with which to be concerned? Roosevelt, with his nearly pathological hatred of Germans, would certainly have shouted into many microphones about a "Holocaust" if one had actually been going on. Why, too, did Pius XII maintain his famous "silence" about the alleged extermination actions?

In one of the most frightening passages in the whole book, "Rudolf, son of a Nazi, interviewed by Peter Sichrovsky" declares that he had decided to put an end to his noble lineage by never having any children as a result of his feeling of guilt (pp. 85-86). Germany, in fact, has such a low birthrate that during the coming years its aging population will shrink rapidly, to be replaced by immigrants from many lands.

Why was Days of Remembrance published at a time when the world is aghast at the almost daily criminal behavior of the Jewish state in Palestine? Is the purpose of the book to gain some sort of sympathy and understanding for Jewish members of the armed forces? That could hardly be the case because at present there are extremely few Jewish members of the armed forces. Was the purpose of the book to combat the traditionally hostile, widespread attitudes toward and distrust of Jews on the part of the American officer corps, attitudes intensified by the Israel attack on the "Liberty"? Was the purpose to justify our role in Europe during and after the Second World War, a war which left nearly half of Europe (west of the western boundaries of the USSR as of 1938) under the tyranny of the Communists and which left the nations which had fought Communism in economic and physical ruin? Or was there a more immediate purpose? Is the Department of Defense contemplating the possibility that our troops will be ordered to defend the criminal Jewish state in Palestine, which has come to be such an abomination to so many Americans? Whatever the motivations for publishing this book at the expense of the American taxpayers, its publication calls for a loud protest. Is the publication of this book an act which none dare call treason? We shall

probably be justified at some future time in considering the publication of this book a major blemish on the eight-year administration of Ronald Reagan.

Charles E. Weber, Ph.D., is Chairman of Committee for the Re-Examination of the History of the Second World War. This review was published in CRHSSWW Bulletin #25.

Source: The D.C. Observer | Washington, June 13, 1988

ADL Report Diminished its Reputation

by Leonard Larsen (Scripps Howard News Service) | June 13, 1988

WASHINGTON— The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is a proud organization that is celebrating its 75th anniversary in fighting discrimination – sometimes perilously, always unselfishly and frequently wading into struggles on behalf of non-Jews whose rights need a strong and honest voice.

But now in a just published ADL “special report,” an “Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents: The Anti-Israel Component,” the ADL clouds its own record.

Surprising, perhaps shocking from an organization whose work and ideals are so much a part of the American fabric, the ADL dangles a suggestion that free speech can be held suspect if the object of criticism is the state of Israel.

With the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories in its seventh month, with more than 200 Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers, with harsh treatment of Palestinians under Israeli military rule now a settled way of life, the ADL publication clearly implies that to voice opposition to Israel's political and military policy and to support a Palestinian viewpoint is “anti-Semitic.

The ADL special report on “anti-Semitic incidents,” covering the first 4-1/2 months of 1988, dwells mainly on acts that can be seen as vandalism, clear threats against Jews and their institutions and other products of thuggery and hate.

But while the ADL, in its past annual reports on anti-Semitism, has included in its audits what have been called acts of “propaganda carried on by anti-Israel and anti-Zionist organizations,” the authors of the current special report say that a “new anti-Semitic pattern has emerged” has emerged in “anti-Jewish acts (which) have been linked to unrest in the West Bank and Gaza.”

Of the 88 “episodes” in which the ADL finds such links, most are of brutish behavior that is invariably the work of bigoted fools of the night – spray-painting of synagogues, anonymous threatening telephone calls and mailings, vandalism and verbal harassment.

Included, however, are a few incidents which, in the ADL view as “anti-Semitic” only because they recount brutal acts of repression against Palestinians by the Israeli government.

One ADL account of “anti-Semitism,” for example, arrives from Palm Beach, Fla., where it was reported, there had been “distribution of pro-Palestinian literature on several occasions.”

Another incident in the ADL special report came from East Tennessee State University in the distribution of “anti-Israel and anti-Semitic literature featuring pro-Palestinian sympathies.

From Boston, the ADL said, came more “anti-Semitic” conduct by the person or persons who set out for public display “pro-Palestinian/anti-Israel graffiti throughout the subway system.”

The Boston subway slogans cited by the ADL – presumably the most vicious examples of anti-Semitism – were “Victory to the Palestinian People’s Struggle” and “Down With the Reactionary Israeli-Settler State and Their U.S. Masters.”

Lumping together all the 1988 reports of “Anti-Semitic Acts Linked to West Bank/Gaza Unrest,” the ADL describes everything – from vandalism against synagogues to pro-Palestinian pamphlets – as “anti-Semitic crimes with a political twist,” and expresses confidence that “all Americans, no matter their views on the current conflict in the Middle East, will join us in condemning such bigoted activities.”

For months, years even, efforts to equate criticism of Israel and support for Palestinians with anti-Semitism has come from paid Israeli lobbyists. What is disturbing is that an organization so deserving of honor and respect as the ADL would now join in the tactic.

An obvious intent here is to use intimidation to silence criticism of Israel's political and military conduct. The participation of the ADL in such work diminishes its history and tradition.

Source: Noam Chomsky's *Necessary Illusions*, <http://www.zmag.org/chomsky/ni/ni.html>

Noam Chomsky Describes the ADL

As eloquently described by Noam Chomsky in his book *Necessary Illusions* (1989):

The leading official monitor of anti-Semitism, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, interprets anti-Semitism as unwillingness to conform to its requirements with regard to support for Israeli authorities.... The logic is straightforward: Anti-Semitism is opposition to the interests of Israel (as the ADL sees them). ...

The ADL has virtually abandoned its earlier role as a civil rights organization, becoming "one of the main pillars" of Israeli propaganda in the U.S., as the Israeli press casually describes it, engaged in surveillance, blacklisting, compilation of FBI-style files circulated to adherents for the purpose of defamation, angry public responses to criticism of Israeli actions, and so on. These efforts, buttressed by insinuations of anti-Semitism or direct accusations, are intended to deflect or undermine opposition to Israeli policies, including Israel's refusal, with U.S. support, to move towards a general political settlement.

"Through its 31 offices across the country, the ADL monitors school curricula, library acquisition lists, and public conferences and symposiums, working behind the scenes to stifle intellectual freedom."

Robert Friedman, *The Jewish Thought Police: How the Anti-Defamation League Censors Books, Intimidates Librarians, and Spies on Citizens*, The Village Voice, July 27, 1993.

Hitler's Apologists Review of ADL Smear Pamphlet

Source: The CODOH web-site

Hitler's Apologists

Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust 'Revisionism'.

An Anti-Defamation League Publication. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, 1993. \$8.00 plus \$2.50 postage. 8 +88 pages. Preparation of the publication is credited to Marc Caplan and a number of research and editorial contributors.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber, Ph.D.

AS A REVISIONIST HISTORIAN I have written many a page in an attempt to inform readers about the absurdities and falsehoods of the "Holocaust" material, which has been used for various political, psychological and economic purposes by organized Jewry. This book contains obvious absurdities, self-contradictions and evidence against the "Holocaust" material. For that reason I welcome its publication, even though its purpose is to denigrate the many historians who have had the courage and moral compulsion to raise questions about the "Holocaust" material in spite of the huge sums that have been expended, even by the United States government, to propagate it. Many Americans are quite unaware that there are historians who question the "Holocaust" material. This book will bring them information about their existence and efforts.

Any halfway thoughtful, unbiased and perceptive reader of this book is compelled to ask himself why the many historians with respectable academic credentials and impressive publications presented in this book have risked their careers, relationships with their publishers, costly litigations and even their physical safety by raising questions about the "Holocaust" material. Even the Jewish historian, Professor Arno J. Mayer of Princeton University, has pointed out in his book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (1988; reviewed in our *Bulletin* 38, reprinted in the *Liberty Bell* of August, 1989), that sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable.

Mayer's book seems like an attempt to admonish Zionist propagandists to tone down their claims lest they make fools of themselves, even if Mayer adheres to many of the traditional aspects of the "Holocaust" material. Pages 48-49 express the discomfort which the authors of *Hitler's Apologists* feel with regard to Mayer's book.

One very great advantage which purveyors of the "Holocaust" material have in the United States lies in the simple fact that most Americans who lived during the Second World War and its aftermath *want* to believe the material for some very strong emotional reasons. We allied ourselves with a regime, Stalin's, which was so evil that by comparison National Socialism looked benign. Our airplanes burned scores, if not hundreds of thousands of Germans to death. The ruined European cities the refugees from the east and the starving German children were there for the world, including millions of American soldiers, to witness, quite in contrast to the Soviet death camps in remote sites in Polish forests. The war crimes of our Soviet allies later became known, even on the basis of postwar Congressional investigations. The "Holocaust" material thus provides a psychological rationalization for what our armed forces and politicians did in Europe, and in particular Germany, a country of a size comparable to our state of Texas (as of 1938).

The whole "Holocaust" controversy is a complicated one. It is unfair and misleading to assert that revisionist historians simply "deny the Holocaust," a formulation which the Zionist propagandists favor. Revisionists do not deny that Jews suffered during the Second World War, especially during the chaos of the closing phases of the war, a war which influential Jews helped to bring about by bribing British political figures, notable Churchill, as David Irving has pointed out (see our *Bulletin* 12). The suffering of Jews, however, was only a small fraction of the enormous suffering caused by the war, the suffering of the people of most European nations. Even if the gas chamber tales were true, it must be admitted that death from Zyklon B would have been far less painful than being burnt to a crisp in incendiary bombing attacks, such as those against Hamburg (1943) and Dresden (1945). The suffering of Jews was by no means unique. Taken as a whole, it was probably far less than that of such nations as the Ukrainians in the early 1930's during the famines deliberately caused by the cruelty of Stalin's regime or the suffering of the Baltic nations as a result of the Soviet occupation during 1940-1941 and 1945 ff. It is entirely understandable why Ukrainians and Balts welcomed German

armed forces as liberators, even if German administrators were not astute in taking advantage of these sentiments, a point almost universally conceded by German historians. *Hitler's Apologists* makes the usual ethnocentric claim that Jewish suffering was unique, a claim that is a misleading distortion of history and a callous disregard for the suffering of the Jews' host populations. I, for one, would certainly not deny to Jews the right to mourn their dead anymore than I would deny that right to Ukrainians and Balts, to mention two groups that suffered especially from American support of Stalin's tyranny (see our *Bulletins* 7 and 15), including the infamous "Operation Keelhaul," a dark stain on the history of the United States. It would have been far more appropriate to build a memorial museum to the victims of Communism than the one which has been recently dedicated in Washington.

Much of *Hitler's Apologists* is directed against specific revisionist historians and investigators, such as Fred Leuchter (pages 8-9), David McCalden (pages 16-18), David Irving (pages 19-25), Charles Weber (pages 28-29), Hans Schmidt (pages 30-32), the nationally know journalist Pat Buchanan (pages 35-36), and even the Jewish (!) historian, Professor Arno J. Mayer (pages 48-49). The book by the Canadian journalist James Bacque, *Other Losses*, is bitterly attacked on pages 49-51. Bacque found evidence in American military archives that hundreds of thousands of German prisoner of war were killed by very severe and easily preventable condition in prison camps after the war. A rather long section (pages 68-73) is devoted to editorial advisors of the *Journal of Historical Review*.

Parts of the book convey an almost gloating boastfulness about Jewish power to frustrate the efforts of revisionists by any means, such as attacking the professional status of the revisionist in question, as in the case of Fred Leuchter (pages 8-9), physical attacks, as in the case of Prof. Robert Faurisson (page 42), or deprivation of academic degrees, as in the case of Wilhelm Staglich and Henri Roques (page 43). Such unscrupulous tactics, which would be impossible if it were not for the remarkable power of organized Jewry in North American and European courts, universities, legislative bodies and the media, simply serve to emphasize how weak and assailable the "Holocaust" claims are. Crimes such as the arson attack against the Institute for Historical Review in 1984 or the nearly fatal attack against Prof. Robert Faurisson in Vichy in 1989 are a striking demonstration of the validity of the revisionists' arguments.

In the "Foreword" Abraham Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, claims that Willis Carto, I, Hans Schmidt and Ernst Zundel are motivated to deny the "Holocaust" in order to defend totalitarianism. Actually, there is a far simpler and more obvious motivation involved. Those of us who are Germans or are of German descent are angered by the lies and distortions which have put us at social, professional and economic disadvantages. Even the title, *Hitler's Apologists*, is misleading. It implies that revisionists dealing with the "Holocaust" material have some sort of unified, complicated political agenda. The truth of the matter is that such revisionists have quite varied political, philosophical and religious orientations.

Mr. Foxman also continues to adhere to the assertion that Hitler's regime murdered six million Jews during World War II. This figure is contradicted on page 82 of the book, where Raul Hilberg gives a total of 5,100,000, a total which is also impossible on the basis of prewar and postwar population statistics. Hilberg, by the way, is the man who declined to testify at the second trial (1988) of Ernst Zundel for fear of the withering cross-examination by Zundel's brilliant defense attorney, Douglas Christie, as he had to admit in a letter dated 5 October, 1987 to the crown Attorney John Pearson. Even Polish authorities, who also have a vested interest in the "Holocaust" material, finally came to the realization that four million deaths at Auschwitz was so absurd that the claim had to be withdrawn and memorial stones to that effect had to be effaced. Six minus three equals three!

Elie Wiesel is quoted at some length on page 67. This man, as well as millions of other members of his race who survived the occupations by German forces, have provided living proofs that there was no general extermination order.

On the cover of the book is a picture of a German (?) soldier pointing a rifle in the direction of a boy with upraised arms. Although the fact is not mentioned on any page of the book, this particular child survived the war and went on to a successful career in London after the War. (See *VHO-Nieuwsbrief* 1993, nr. 2, page 6.)

The Anti-Defamation League has advocated with considerable success that compulsory "Holocaust" courses be introduced into schools, where, of course, there is a captive audience consisting of pupils hesitant to contradict their teachers and not yet

possessing much critical capacity. One Illinois couple had the courage to protest such indoctrination of their daughter (pages 27-28). If this book is used in such compulsory courses, there might even be a few bright seventh-graders who will notice the statistics on page 78, where the claim is made that the “Nazis forced to their deaths 700 to 800 men, women, and children at a time” into gas chambers measuring an average of 225 square feet. Thus, as many as 800 divided by 225 = more than 3 1/2 persons per square foot, an obvious impossibility. The further claim is made that the gas chambers at various camps accounted for 20,000 victims per day at the height of the extermination program. How could such a number of bodies be cremated? Where would the huge quantities of scarce fuel required for such cremations be obtained? If the bodies were not cremated, where are they buried? Revisionists have been pointing out such absurdities for years in the “Holocaust” tales, but Zionist propagandists continue to publish them, confident that their control of the media would prevent the raising of questions.

In the section aimed against David Irving, the matter of the recently released death records of Auschwitz is brought up (page 23). The statement is made that crucial to Irving’s “misrepresentation” the fact is ignored that these rosters “were only a partial listing of victims killed during a few months of 1942.” This statement is simply false. Actual death certificates from the years 1941 and 1943 are reproduced in the fall, 1992 issue of the *Journal of Historical Review*.

I have expressed my own criticisms of David Irving in *Bulletin 65*, which was republished in the *Christian News* of 5 April 1993 and the *Liberty Bell* of May, 1993. In particular, I feel that by the time *Hitler’s War* was published in 1977, Irving should have been well aware of the mass of evidence against the usual versions of the “Holocaust” material, even the absurdities in some of the “documents” and confessions produced by torture presented at the Nuremberg trials. (For details, see Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia/The Holocaust*.) These, of course, had been published many years before 1977. Before that year there were also books by the earlier revisionists, by Rassinier, App and Butz.

I felt flattered that 1 1/2 pages (pages 28-29) were devoted to the Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War, with its tiny financial

expenditures. My own writings are mentioned in some detail, such as my arguments in favor of the use of the “Aryan” and *Bulletin* 5, in which I analyzed the factors which brought about National Socialism and in which I pointed out that some of the features of National Socialism were by no means peculiarly German, and that some American influences on National Socialism were obvious. *Bulletins* 14-15 are also mentioned, which bore the title, “How to Discuss the Extermination Thesis (Holocaust) at a Cocktail Party or at a ‘Holocaust’ Seminar Sponsored by Zionists.” I am accused of making “ongoing efforts at revitalization of National Socialism and ‘Aryan’ supremacy.” Having been involved in Denazification after the war when I was still in military service, I am well aware what a thorough job of brainwashing was done by the Allied occupation authorities in Germany and how close to impossible a revitalization of National Socialism would be, even in Germany itself. I am also delighted that the authors of *Hitler’s Apologists* believe that the Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War consists of only one person.

On page 74 we have a quite welcome list of representative revisionist books offered for sale by the Institute for Historical Review. This list is a valuable guide for the reader who wishes to investigate the other side of the “Holocaust” controversy, the side which is never presented in Hollywood films or network television series or, for that matter, typical courses in universities on recent European history, even though universities should be redoubts of historical objectivity if they really intend to serve their students honestly.

The Anti-Defamation League grows in importance and hence the ability to attract donations by frightening Jews into believing that historical revisionism is only very modestly financed and virtually completely excluded from influence on the media of the United States, especially its television networks, which continue to pour out a stream of programs based on the “Holocaust” claims, such as the very expensively produced television series, *War and Remembrance*. (For reviews of this series, see our *Bulletins* 32 and 37. The thought has sometimes crossed my mind that a preoccupation with the “Holocaust” material has done considerable psychological damage to Jews themselves. Although several of my own writings were presented in a somewhat critical manner in this book (pages 28-29) and in spite of the basic intent of the book, I hope that it will be widely read. The materials presented in this book, including the valuable little guide to

revisionist literature on page 74, and the quotations from various revisionist authors should indicate to a reader with capacities for analysis and critical thought that there is a reasonable basis for questioning the usual versions of the “Holocaust” material.

Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War (Bulletin No. 66)

ADL Turned Notion of Human Rights on Head

Source: The Village Voice | May 11, 1993, Vol. XXXVIII No. 19

How The Anti-Defamation League Turned the Notion of Human Rights on Its Head, Spying on Progressives and Funneling Information to Law Enforcement

By Robert I. Friedman

ROY BULLOCK wanted to be a spy since he was a teenager in Indian and read "I Led Three Lives," Herbert Philbrick's Cold War saga of penetrating the Communist Party for the FBI. Philbrick had become an American folk hero in the 1950s for building dossiers on unsuspecting colleagues. It was a time when Hollywood produced more than 30 films portraying the informer as the quintessential American patriot. In Boston, where Philbrick led three lives as an FBI informant, Communist Party member, and private citizen, the mayor even proclaimed a Herbert Philbrick Day and presented the spy with a plaque.

For Bullock, a shy young man who was coming to terms with his homosexuality in the straight-arrow '50s, the life of a double agent was the perfect way to hide his lifestyle while fighting the Communist menace.

"I was fascinated with Herbert Philbrick," Bullock recently told federal investigators, "and so I thought I would try to infiltrate the Communist Part. In 1957, I went to the Sixth World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow with the American delegation. I gave them [the FBI a full report on it when I returned, along with some photos I took of some Soviet military vehicles."

Bullock was hooked. For the next two years, he worked as an unpaid informant for the FBI. But he found his true calling when he became a paid spy for the Anti-Defamation League in 1960. Now his activities are at the center of the biggest domestic spy scandal in recent American history -- a scandal that may end with the ADL's criminal indictment in San Francisco.

Over a 30-year period, he compiled computer files for the ADL on 9876 individuals and more than 950 groups of all political stripes, including the NAACP, the Rainbow Coalition, ACLU, the American Indian Movement, the Center for Investigative Reporting, Pacifica, ACT UP, Palestinian and Arab groups, Sandinista solidarity groups, Americans for Peace Now, and anti-apartheid organizations.

Bullock, who even spied on the recently slain South African nationalist Chris Hani when he visited the Bay Area in April 1991, sold many of his ADL files on anti-apartheid activists to South African intelligence. Meanwhile, between 1985 and 1993, the ADL paid him nearly \$170,000, using a prominent Beverly Hills attorney as a conduit in order to conceal its financial relationship with Bullock.

Last month, police raided ADL offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco, as well as Bullock's home, confiscating computer files and boxes of documents. According to court records, Bullock's files contained the driver's license and vehicle registration information, in addition to criminal histories on individuals -- much of which was allegedly stolen from the FBI and police computers. Bullock, 58, told the FBI that copies of virtually everything in his computer data base had been given to the San Francisco ADL office. "Based on the evidence," says Inspector Ron Roth, in a police affidavit, "I believe that Roy Bullock and ADL had numerous peace officers supplying them with confidential criminal and DMV information."

What's more, the San Francisco D.A. is investigating Bullock for tapping phones, accessing answering machines, and assuming false identities to infiltrate organizations. Documents seized from Bullock's home also contained evidence of his forays into Bay Area trash cans: He had the names and phone numbers of employees at the Christic Institute in San Francisco, as well as telephone message slips to staff members (including names and phone numbers of callers), office correspondence listing the names and return addresses of the senders, and inter-office memos. He also had receipts from Christic Institute's bank accounts at Wells Fargo and Eureka Federal Savings, as well as itemized canceled checks with the names of the payees, the dates, and amounts. Bullock even knew the balance in the Christic Institute's checking account.

Investigations by the FBI and police in San Francisco have revealed that the ADL has shared at least some of its spy gathering material with Israeli government officials. What's more, Israel apparently used tips from the ADL to detain Palestinian Americans who travelled there.

The ADL was established in New York City in 1913 to defend Jews, and later other minority groups, from discrimination. It led the fight against racist and fascist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, and in the 1960s championed the civil rights movement.

But there was also a darker side. In the late 1940s, the ADL spied on leftists and Communists, and shared investigative files with the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI. The ADL swung sharply to the right during the Reagan administration, becoming a bastion of neoconservatism. To Irwin Suall, a repentant Trotskyite who heads the ADL's powerful Fact Finding Department,

the real danger to Jews is posed not by the right -- but by a coalition of leftists, blacks, and Arabs, who in his view threaten the fabric of democracy in America, as well as the state of Israel. In the tradition of his ideological soulmate William Casey, Suall directed the ADL's vast network of informants, who were given code names like "Scumbag," "Ironside," and -- for a spy reportedly posing as a priest in Atlanta -- "Flipper."

For years, journalists and liberal members of the Jewish community knew the ADL spied on right-wing hate groups. As long as the targets were anti-Semitic organizations like the Liberty Lobby and Lyndon Larouche, no one seemed to be particularly troubled. But the Bullock case reveals that the ADL also spied on groups that have a nonviolent, and progressive orientation. This apparent massive violation of civil liberties may end with the ADL's criminal indictment in San Francisco, where the investigation began. The human rights group faces possible criminal prosecution on as many as 48 felony counts, including an indictment for gaining illegal access to police computers. Says one source close to the West Coast investigation, "It is 99 per cent certain that the ADL will be indicted."

In the wake of the San Francisco investigation, police probes of ADL spying are spreading to other parts of the country. "We have received numerous complaints about ADL [spying]," says Sam Adams, a spokesperson for the mayor's office in Portland, Oregon. On April 16, the Harlem-based Black United Fund of New York, and African American self-help group that Bullock allegedly spied on, wrote District Attorney Robert Morgenthau, requesting "an immediate investigation" of the ADL. "The ADL's actions cause great concern, as it is a direct and flagrant violation — at minimum — of our civil rights....We call upon you to join with the District

Attorney of San Francisco to...bring and end to this latest form of McCarthyism.”

Gerald McKelvey, a spokesperson for Morgenthau’s office, says, “We have no evidence before us that warrants any sort of investigation.” McKelvey adds that Morgenthau offered to assist the FBI and the San Francisco D.A.’s office on their pending investigation. “They have not, so far, asked for our assistance.” The ADL acknowledges sharing information on violence-prone groups with law enforcement officials. It also admits to maintaining extensive files on a wide variety of organizations, but says, in a two-page press release, “The vast majority of ADL’s files are composed of news clips, magazine articles, books, journals, and other documents....”

“ADL has made it clear that it does not and will not countenance violations of the law on the part of anyone connected with the agency, and the process by which the League gathers information is presently under review to insure that no laws are being violated.” That’s what the ADL says for public consumption. But morale is so low that its employees complain of sleepless nights and crying fits. And even as other Jewish groups circle the wagons around the ADL in a show of solidarity, many do so holding their noses. More than a few Jewish officials privately say the ADL has to decide whether it is a human rights group or a secret police agency.

“The ADL is regarded both inside the Jewish community and outside the Jewish community as the definitive source of information on anti- Semitism and extremist groups,” says Daniel Levitas, the former executive director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, an Atlanta- based group that monitors anti-Semitism, racism, and hate groups. “One of the things this scandal has done is that it has completely tainted the ADL’s credibility and reputation

with regard to its objectivity. This scandal is going to be a devastating blow to the Jewish community at large because people regard the ADL as synonymous with American Jewry.”

Bullock’s talents as a snoop and his extreme conservatism meshed well with the ADL’s Cold War worldview. In 1960, he moved to Southern California where he became an ADL spy for \$75.00 a week. Bullock almost always used his real name when snooping, although he once called himself Elmer Fink when corresponding with supporters of Alabama governor George Wallace. Bullock provided the ADL’s office in Los Angeles with written reports, which were transmitted to Fact Finding Department head Irwin Suall, according to court records. Under Suall’s stewardship, Fact Finding Department had become the ADL’s heart and soul. Located at ADL national headquarters across from the United Nations, the department had assembled a vast library on “hate groups,” culling material from publications, speeches, and informants reports.

Bullock was more than adept at leading a double life. Not long after moving to California, he ingratiated himself with a woman in the John Birch Society who helped him gain access to the group’s Boston office. There, he found a file the right-wingers were keeping on the ADL. The discovery gave rise to speculation in the ADL New York office that they had somehow been penetrated by the Birchers. Bullock focused almost exclusively on right-wing extremist groups until the early 1970s when ADL L.A. head Milton Sinn was replaced by Harvey Schechter, who encouraged him to target the left as well. A few years later, Bullock moved to the Castro District in San Francisco where he posed as an art dealer. And ADL fact finder who had infiltrated the local Arab community had just been

exposed. When the ensuing scandal died down, Bullock was ordered by the ADL to penetrate the Arabs.

The ADL was especially concerned about the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, founded by the former South Dakota senator James Abourezk to combat Arab-bashing. In a page out of the CIA's dirty tricks handbook on penetration and destabilization, Bullock joined the ADC, and then recruited Nazis into the group, apparently trying to discredit it, according to published reports.

In 1987, the ADL sent Bullock to attend the National Association of Arab Americans annual congress in Washington. According to court documents, Bullock was told to find the source of the group's funds. Bullock was unable to "follow the money." But he did such a good job at ingratiating himself that he was appointed to head a NAAA delegation that visited Congress member Nancy Pelosi. It's not surprising that the ADL penetrated Arab organizations. But only acute paranoia explains their interest in groups like ACT UP. As far as Bullock was concerned, gay groups in San Francisco were heavily infiltrated by what he called "gay left revolutionaries," prompting him to write about their activities for the ADL.

Bullock soon expanded his horizons, moving into the shadowy realm of foreign espionage after Richard Hirschhaut, the head of ADL's San Francisco office, introduced him to Thomas Gerard in 1986. Gerard was then a detective with the San Francisco Police Department's Intelligence Unit. Gerard had worked as a demolitions expert for the CIA in El Salvador in the early 1980s, where he apparently had more than a passing interest in right-wing death squads. (Police searching Gerard's briefcase found extensive CIA literature about torture and interrogation, photos of blindfolded and chained men, as well as passports made out to Gerard in 10 different names, including Thomas Clouseau. From a remote jungle island redoubt in the Philippines where he fled last November, Gerard told

the Los Angeles Times that he will blow the lid off the CIA's involvement with Latin American death squads if he is indicted in the ADL spy case.)

After their very first encounter in the ADL office, Gerard and Bullock had lunch at McDonald's, "I liked Tom right off," Bullock later told a San Francisco police investigator whose report of the interrogation was obtained by the *Voice*. "Tom is a very charming, roguish character, with a great deal of integrity. Let me say here, I consider Tom Gerard one of the finest policemen I've ever worked with, absolutely. Honest, capable, intelligent and 100 percent American."

Before long, Bullock was providing Gerard with confidential ADL reports on various groups and individuals. In turn, Gerard gave Bullock classified police intelligence files on local Arab Americans, skinheads, and others. Bullock told the FBI that Gerard's material ended up in his ADL reports. "I would say 99 percent of the data that I got was name, address, and sometimes physical description. Criminal history, very rarely," Bullock told investigators. Gerard also gave Bullock a chart that outlined a vast network of Bay Area Arab American businessmen and organizations that allegedly has ties to Middle East terror groups, as well as surveillance photos of Arab Americans receiving weapons training overseas. Bullock claims that U.S. Customs in New York gave Gerard the photos. "It was understood that Bullock would be very careful with what he did with the information Gerard gave him, and that Bullock would not release it except to the ADL or other law enforcement officers," says an FBI report.

There was nothing unusual about Bullock's cozy relationship with law enforcement. By the mid-1980s, the ADL was swapping files with hundreds of "official friends," the organization's euphemism

for U.S. law enforcement and intelligence sources. The ADL's relationship with the FBI's counterterrorism office was so close that ADL's reports on Arab American group's covert ties to Middle East terrorists were "must reading."

It's no accident that police found a 1986 classified FBI report entitled "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—New York Area" while searching the ADL's San Francisco office. In 1987, ADL spooks investigated seven Palestinians and a Kenyan studying in California universities on student visas. When the ADL discovered they were disseminating PFLP literature, it informed the FBI, which in turn took the case to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. After the INS ordered the students deported as subversives, ADL regional director David Lehrer gloated in the *Los Angeles Times* about his office's cooperation with law enforcement, although he's backpedaling now. The "Los Angeles 8" deportation is still under appeal.

While the ADL worked quietly with America's top cops, it enjoyed similar ties with Israel's spy agencies — a charge that ADL leaders vehemently deny. But as early as July 7, 1961, ADL director Benjamin Epstein wrote to B'nai B'rith executive secretary Saul Jofte, requesting \$25,000 for his investigators. "Our information," he boasted to Jofte, "in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States Department and the Israeli Government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge to each that we are the source."

In 1987, the ADL came under FBI scrutiny in the wake of the Pollard spy scandal. While assigned to the Navy's Anti-Terrorist

Alert Center, where he had access to the most closely guarded U.S. secrets, Jonathan Pollard stole thousands of pages of classified documents for Israel, which, according to federal prosecutors, “could fill a room the size of a large closet...ten feet by six feet by six feet.” Pollard’s handler was Avi Sella, an Israeli air force colonel whose wife worked for the New York ADL as a lawyer. Pollard later wrote to friends that a prominent ADL leader was deeply involved in the Israeli spy operation.

While there is no proof that anyone connected with the ADL was involved with Pollard, there is evidence that the ADL freely passes information to Israeli intelligence. In March 1993, the FBI interrogated David Gurvitz, an ADL fact finder in Los Angeles until 1992 when he was fired by Suall for illegally obtaining police information to use against a rival at the Simon Wiesenthal Center. The FBI pointedly asked Gurvitz if he had ever transmitted information to Israel. Gurvitz admitted that in 1992 he had learned from a law enforcement contact that Michael Elias, allegedly a member of a radical PLO faction, was scheduled to travel from San Francisco International Airport en route to Haifa. Gurvitz phoned the deputy Israeli consul general in L.A. with the information. “Later the same day,” according to a 15-page FBI interview of Gurvitz obtained by the *Voice*, “Gurvitz was called back by another man, who said he was from the Israeli Consulate, and who asked Gurvitz to repeat the information about Elias. Gurvitz did not get this man’s name, but their conversation was in Hebrew so Gurvitz felt confident the man was actually an Israeli Consulate official.”

Among the 12,000 names of private citizens that police found in ADLn files in San Francisco was Mohammed Jarad, a 36-year-old Chicago resident who was arrested in Israel on January 25, for allegedly distributing hundreds of thousands of dollars to Hamas,

the large Islamic fundamentalist movement in the Occupied Territories. The Chicago ADL office runs at least three undercover informants who work with “official friends” in local law enforcement, according to documents released by the San Francisco D.A. and sources close to the ADL. Given these facts, Arab American groups surmise that the ADL has passed information on Jarad to Israeli intelligence.

One technique used by the ADL to monitor the large Arab American community in the Midwest was to scan the local Arab press for funeral notices. According to sources familiar with the practice, ADL investigators in unmarked vans videotaped the Palestinian funerals, which sometimes turned into PLO rallies. Palestinians have been detained at Ben-Gurion Airport simply on the basis of having been filmed attending a funeral in Chicago, according to Suhail Miari, the executive director of the United Holy Land Fund, whose cousin was an Arab member of Israel’s Knesset.

Shortly after Jarad was arrested, the Israeli government announced that Hamas was being run from America with money and operational instructions relayed by courier or fax. Israel’s charges were played up on the front page of *The New York Times*. According to well-placed sources, Yehudit Barsky, an ADL fact finder in New York, worked closely with Israeli officials on this campaign of vilification, introducing “friendly” reporters to “official friends” in Chicago law enforcement.

Barsky, who is fluent in Arabic, prepared an ADL report about how Hamas is funded in America. She identified the Dallas-based Islamic association for Palestine in North America as the front organization for Hamas in the U.S.A. “Its infrastructure functions as an interlocking network of organizations, small businesses, and individual activists,” says the February 1993 ADL report, which

outlines the organization's development, its activities on U.S. college campuses, and its "metamorphosis" during the Gulf War. It also traces Hamas fundraising through a plethora of alleged front-groups from Plainfield, Indiana, to Culver City, California. It is doubtful that Barsky could have compiled such sophisticated data without the help of "official friends" and ADL spies.

Barsky refused to comment. But she used to talk to Greg Slabodkin as many as three times a week when he was an opposition researcher for AIPAC, whose spy operation was disclosed last summer in the *Voice*. "The level of cooperation was very close," Slabodkin said during a recent phone conservation from Israel where he is in graduate school. "If we felt our files were lacking, we contacted the ADL."

When Sha'wan Jabarin, a 30-year-old Palestinian human rights worker in the Occupied Territories won a \$25,000 Reebok Human Rights Award in 1990, Slabodkin recalls that Barsky faxed AIPAC the man's entire police file, which she had obtained from the Israeli embassy. Jabarin had been arrested numerous times in Israel, and once confessed to being a member of the PLO after having been severely tortured. Jabarin, who received a short jail term, became an Amnesty International Prisoner of Conscience. Of course, to AIPAC and the ADL, Jabarin was a terrorist. Slabodkin, who was ordered to keep tabs on him when he was in the U.S. to receive his award, called a representative of Al Haq, the Palestinian human rights group that employed Jabarin, to obtain his itinerary. AIPAC even opened a file on musician Jackson Browne, who presented Jabarin with the Reebok award.

While the ADL may be able to rationalize its close monitoring of Arabs, and even left-wing gay revolutionaries, it has a far harder time explaining its obsession with spying on anti-apartheid activists.

David Gurvitz told the FBI that when he started working as a fact finder for the ADL in L.A. in March 1989, ADL files already bulged with information about the Israel-South African connection and anti-apartheid groups. “Gurvitz confirmed that the ADL did routinely collect information on persons engaged in anti-apartheid activities in the United States,” says the FBI report. While Gurvitz said there were files in the L.A. ADL office dating to the 1930s, he estimated the oldest material on anti-apartheid activities dates back to the late 1970s, paralleling Begin’s rise to power in Israel and a deepening of ties between the Jewish state and South Africa. “In about August, 1992,” says the report of the FBI’s March 3, 1993, interview with Gurvitz, “an anti-apartheid demonstration was held at the South African Consulate in Los Angeles. Participating in the demonstration were the Los Angeles Student Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party. Gurvitz went to two demonstration planning sessions, and a subsequent demonstration. He wrote a report for the ADL on each of the planning sessions and on the demonstration. Copies of the reports were disseminated to Bullock, among others, in care of the San Francisco ADL office.”

In 1986 Bullock learned that the consul general of the South African Consulate in Los Angeles would be speaking in Las Vegas at a meeting organized by Willis Carto, the head of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby. “Suspecting that the Consul General did not know who Willis Carto is,” says the FBI report, “Bullock suggested to Gerard that they might want to warn the South Africans. Gerard agreed and informed the Consul General, who canceled his appearance.”

A few months later, Gerard phoned Bullock and told him a South African intelligence officer wanted to meet them. During a rendezvous in a hotel near Fisherman’s Wharf, the South African said he was interested in acquiring information on American anti-

apartheid activists. The South African, who called himself Mr. Humphries, also asked for information about groups that were advocating divestments. “Gerard, who was present throughout the meeting,” says the FBI report, “told Humphries that he [Gerard] had been employed by the CIA....Humphries offered to pay Bullock \$150.00 per month in exchange for information. Bullock noted that much of the information Humphries said he wanted was already in the possession of Bullock and the ADL.”

Between 1987 and 1991, Bullock sold information to South African intelligence, receiving steady raises, which he split evenly with Gerard. “Bullock said it was his impression, though Gerard never explicitly told him so, (and Bullock never asked) that Gerard may have been telling the CIA about his and Bullock’s contacts with the South Africans,” says the FBI report. “Gerard had said he knew the CIA ‘resident agent’ in San Francisco....Once, after Gerard dropped Bullock off at Bullock’s residence following a meeting with Louie [who replaced Humphries as their handler], Gerard said he was going to go to the San Francisco CIA office.”

All the while, Gerard may have been “tasking” Bullock for the CIA. “Bullock recalled that once, after he had met Gerard, Bullock went to Chicago, Illinois to conduct an investigation on behalf of the ADL,” says the FBI report. “The target of the investigation was a group called the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Bullock learned that a woman [name deleted] was transporting money between the PLO or the PFLP, and the United States. Bullock told this to Gerard. Gerard later told Bullock that Gerard’s ‘guy at the CIA’ would like to know more. Gerard asked Bullock if Bullock would go back to Chicago to gather more information on the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Bullock, however, never did go back.”

Gerard also seems to have had a close relationship with Mossad, which may have started in 1991 when he went on an ADL junket to Israel. The ADL frequently sponsors trips for American law enforcement officials to Israel, where they are wined and dined and meet their counterparts in various intelligence agencies. According to an affidavit by San Francisco police inspector Roth, the “all-expense paid trip [to Israel] was more or less a thank-you gift and a liaison gesture by the ADL to continue the close relationships it has with specific law enforcement officers from the United States.” Gerard may have liked what he saw in Israel. A short time after travelling there, he went to Addis Ababa where he helped with Mossad’s rescue of Ethiopian Jews.

As Gerard’s relationship with South Africa deepened, he talked more openly about his exploits in the CIA. “Bullock recalled Gerard mentioning that he had been in Algeria on CIA business, and that Gerard discussed the PLO and ‘safehouses,’” says the FBI report, “To this Louie once responded that Israeli intelligence had determined that the PLO and the African National Congress were cooperating. Gerard also spoke of having travelled with the CIA to Afghanistan.... Louie also [told Gerard and Bullock] about his adventures inside South Africa as an intelligence officer. Both Gerard and Louie traded ‘war stories’ and regaled each other and Bullock with tales of ‘narrow scrapes.’”

Although there is still much mystery about what triggered law enforcement’s investigation of the ADL, it was probably the theft of a classified FBI report on the Nation of Islam from the FBI’s San Francisco office. Police armed with search warrants recovered the report in the ADL San Francisco office. Gurvitz says he had sent a copy of it to Mira Boland, the director of the ADL’s fact finding division in Washington, D.C. Boland was preparing an op-ed piece for *The Washington Times*, in which she argued that the Nation of

Islam should not receive federal funds for the reconstruction of L.A. because the group is anti-Semitic and violence-prone. (Boland, who had arranged the ADL police junket to Israel attended by Gerard, testified in a 1990 criminal trial in Roanoke, Virginia, that she had worked for the CIA for 14 months and later was a subcontractor for the Defense Department before joining the ADL. During the trial, Boland admitted to sharing information with a CIA official at an invitation- only ADL conference.)

After he was questioned by the FBI last fall, Gerard fled to the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with America. Gerard is believed to have supplied information from police computers not only to the ADL, but to Israel and South Africa as well. The San Francisco Examiner reported that Gerard may be charged with violating federal espionage laws.

Although Bullock worked for the ADL for 30 years, and Irwin Suall praised him in a July 1992 memo as “our number one investigator,” the ADL now argues that he was a rogue agent. In its own defense, the ADL also asserts that its fact finders operate no differently than journalists. After all, ask ADL officials, don’t journalists keep files? But the difference between the practice of journalism and the ADL’s method of gathering information couldn’t be more striking.

Journalists place information in the public domain where they are held accountable for falsehoods, distortions, and libel. And for the most part, journalists don’t share their investigative files with foreign and domestic police agencies. The ADL has no such inhibition. Because many of its files are not open to public scrutiny, false information collected by ideologically biased researchers cannot be corrected. Once a proud human rights group, the ADL has become the Jewish thought police.

“The ADL says it’s a human rights group not just for Jews but for everyone,” says Chip Berlet, a highly respected researcher at the Massachusetts-based Political Research Associates, which monitors right-wing extremist groups. “That’s fine but it can’t do that and spy on Palestinians. It’s blatantly unethical and frankly immoral.”

“My argument to people is that the ADL wears four hats. Each of the hats independently is appropriate. It is a broad-based human rights group that looks at the broad issues of prejudice and discrimination. It is a group that defends Jews against defamation. Entirely noble. Nothing wrong with that hat. It is a group, whose leaders, at least, consistently defend the actions of Israel against its critics, which again is entirely appropriate. And it is a group that maintains an information-sharing arrangement with law enforcement. Again, there is nothing wrong for a group to do that.”

“But you can’t do all four. It is impossible to do all four and not violate the bounds of ethics. There’s a built-in conflict of interest if you wear all four hats.”

ADL national director Abraham Foxman apparently sees no such conflict. In a September 1, 1992, letter to the *Voice*, Foxman complained: “ADL has a proud 80-year record of fighting bigotry and promoting civil rights and constitutional freedoms. Any imputation of an effort or motive on our part to smear or stifle the free speech of anyone is false and baseless”

“Throughout his pieces [on AIPAC's spying], Friedman describes the dissemination of information as if it were slander, and the existence of files as a token of McCarthyite inclination. The depiction is misleading in several ways. Virtually every journalist, academic, politician and organization keeps files on subjects they deem relevant; tracing the logic of Friedman’s reckless charges, the Library of Congress is tantamount to the KGB. Moreover,

disseminating the public record of a public figure is neither defamation nor McCarthyism.”

But many believe the ADL is increasingly in the defamation business. Ask Jesse Jackson, James Abourezk, or the leaders of the New Jewish Agenda — all past targets of ADL smears. (At the same time, the ADL exonerated the fascist World Anti-Communist League, which assisted Ronald Reagan’s covert war against Nicaragua, a policy endorsed by ADL leaders.)

In the early 1980s, researchers Russ Bellant and Berlet asked to meet fact finding head Irwin Suall, to discuss their work on anti-Semite Lyndon LaRouche. “Our view then of Irwin Suall was that he was this really terrific investigator,” says Berlet. “So we introduce ourselves, say what we are up to and Suall leans back in his chair and basically runs down a dossier on each of us: about what our political activities are, who we work with, what organizations we belong to. Obviously, he was just trying to blow us away and he succeeds admirably. We were just sitting there with our mouths open feeling very uncomfortable.”

“And then he leans forward and says, ‘The right-wing isn’t the problem. The left-wing is the problem. The Soviet Union is the biggest problem in the world for Jews. It’s the American left that is the biggest threat to American Jews. You’re on the wrong track. You’re part of the problem.’ We were stunned. I was virtually in tears. This is not how I perceived myself. We basically stumbled out of there in a daze.”

Letters (response to Friedman’s article)
The Village Voice, May 18, 1993, Vol. XXXVIII No. 20

A LEAGUE OF HIS OWN

Robert I. Friedman's assault on the Anti-Defamation League [The Anti- Defamation League Is Spying On You." May 11] demonstrates that he has an axe to grind and his own prejudiced and biased agenda to promote. It also demonstrates that concern for accurate reporting is far down on his list. The story is replete with inaccuracies, innuendos, and outright falsehoods, and conveys a picture of ADL so divorced from reality as to be farcical. Friedman is even wrong on such basic, easily determined facts as where ADL was founded (Chicago, not New York) and the building in which ADL'S San Francisco office is located (not the Jewish Community Federation building pictured).

ADL has done the work of fighting haters for 80 years, without “spying” on organizations or individuals and with profound respect for the law. Our mission is to monitor and expose those who are anti- Jewish, racist, anti-democratic, and violence-prone, and we monitor them primarily by reading publications and attending public meetings. Through the years, we have published scores of reports on anti- Semitism emanating from both the left and the right. In fact, although Friedman's bias leads him to assume the contrary, ADL's primary concern is still the far right.

Because extremist organizations are highly secretive, sometimes ADL can learn of their activities only by using undercover sources. Friedman's hyperbole notwithstanding, these sources function in a manner directly analogous to investigative journalists. Some have performed great service to the American people — for example, by uncovering the existence of right-wing extremist paramilitary training camps — with no recognition and at considerable personal risk. The information ADL obtains is placed in the public domain,

and through the years ADL has established a reputation for accurate reporting.

Friedman's article, by contrast, contains so much misinformation that it would take an article equally as long to set the record straight. A few examples: He states that an "ADL leader was deeply involved in the [Jonathan Pollard] Israeli spy operation," and that Pollard's handler's wife "worked for the New York ADL as a lawyer." Not true. Friedman also states: "ADL investigators in unmarked vans videotaped Palestinian funerals." Not true. Elsewhere, he asserts that ADL was obsessed "with spying on anti-apartheid activists." Again, not true. We could go on and on — and, of course, Friedman does not reveal **his** sources.

The distortion games Friedman plays when he mentions numbers further reveal his lack of objectivity. When it comes to how much ADL paid Roy Bullock a week — as an independent contractor, not an employee (an important distinction Friedman also fails to make) — he includes the zeros (\$75.00, \$150.00), inviting the reader to see a large number. By contrast, when he observes that ADL paid Bullock "nearly \$170,000" between 1985 and 1993, he chooses not to point out that amounts to little more than \$20,000 a year — hardly an excessive sum.

What is accurate about Friedman's story is Chip Berlet's description of ADL's four hats. Yes, ADL looks at broad issues of prejudice and discrimination. Yes, ADL defends Israel against critics. And yes, ADL maintains an information-sharing relationship with law enforcement regarding extremist activities and hate crimes. We see no conflict in these four activities, and we believe most *_Voice_* readers won't either.

ABRAHAM FOXMAN National Director Anti-Defamation League
Manhattan

ROBERT I. FRIEDMAN REPLIES:

For the ADL to compare itself to investigative journalists is absurd. Journalists don't spy on Arabs and anti-apartheid activists and then freely pass their files to South African and Israeli intelligence. But according to police the confessions of two paid ADL investigators, buttressed by 700 pages of court documents and interviews, the ADL does.

Indeed, the ADL spies on groups that are neither anti-Semitic nor violent. Police confiscated ADL files on hundreds of mainstream groups ranging from ACT UP to Peace Now. Respected intellectuals and Middle East scholars who disagree with the ADL's political views have ended up on ADL blacklists, their reputations smeared. "Private organizations have no business paying operatives inside police departments or having spies," says an April 17 editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, condemning ADL spying.

On April 10, police armed with search warrants raided ADL offices in San Francisco and L.A. after concluding that "ADL employees were apparently less than truthful" in voluntarily turning over documents during an earlier search, according to San Francisco police inspector Ron Roth's sworn affidavit. Roth also asserts that Bullock was a "paid employee for the ADL." If so, by failing to pay taxes on \$170,000 of income paid to Bullock, the ADL could face a total of 48 felony counts, according to court papers.

The ADL may also face felony charges for illegally obtaining confidential information from police computers. As for errors: The ADL was founded in Chicago, and moved to New York in 1947. But it was an original tenant in the San Francisco building shown in the Voice photo, moving out a few months ago. I never wrote that an “ADL leader was deeply involved in the [Pollard] Israeli spy operation.” I reported that Pollard himself made the charge. And in court papers, Pollard’s own lawyer said that the wife of Pollard’s handler worked for the ADL. If I have a bias, it is on the side of the First and Fourth Amendments.

Source: Reprinted from American Dissident Voices, Program of 29th May, 1993

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: America's Greatest Enemy

by Kevin Alfred Strom

Part 1

Welcome to American Dissident Voices. I'm Kevin Alfred Strom. Did you know that there is a secret espionage and "dirty tricks" agency operating with impunity in communities across the United States, spying and maintaining files on thousands of ordinary Americans, an organization which is not even a part of the U.S. government? Did you know that a former top official of this group has stated in sworn courtroom testimony that this organization is actually an agent of a foreign government, the government of Israel? Did you know that one of the biggest stories of this year, which has been downplayed by most, though not all, of the establishment media, is the discovery of thousands of stolen police intelligence documents and supposedly confidential government data on thousands of Americans in the files of this nefarious group? This un-American and anti-American espionage agency for a foreign government, and international conspirator against our nation and our people's freedom is officially known as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, or ADL for short. The ADL was founded in 1913 as an adjunct to the international Jewish fraternal order and secret society, the "B'nai B'rith," whose name, translated literally from Hebrew means "sons of the cut" – referring to circumcision – which is a figure of speech usually interpreted as meaning "Sons of the Covenant." While posing as a public-spirited "civil rights" group, they have been working for decades to disarm law-abiding Americans, to control our sources of news and other information, and enslave us under a totalitarian world government which many have come to call the "New World Order." They do this through overt and covert propaganda, the creation of humanitarian-sounding front groups secretly controlled by the ADL, by the conducting of brainwashing sessions called "sensitivity-training" for members of our police forces, by the production and introduction into the public schools of ADL propaganda as "textbooks" or "resource material for teachers," and by their cozy

relationship with the controlled media, which routinely print and broadcast ADL propaganda releases as so-called “news.” Now it is apparent that the section of the ADL that they call their “Fact-Finding” division has been engaging in illegal espionage against American citizens on a scale undreamt of by the KGB. And, ladies and gentlemen, my friends – they’ve just been caught in the act. One of the top ADL spies in this country, Mr. Roy Bullock, a homosexual from San Francisco posing as an “art dealer” whose specialty was the infiltration of patriotic, Arab-American, and other organizations on behalf of the ADL, has been found to have in his possession illegally obtained data, stolen from police and other confidential government files; data that was also discovered in the files of the ADL itself when police recently raided ADL headquarters in San Francisco and Los Angeles. We and other patriots have been telling you for many years that the ADL was the greatest enemy of American’s freedom and independence – a far greater enemy than the KGB ever was. Now, at long last, a few brave and, as yet, lonely, journalists from the establishment media have broken their decades-long silence on this dangerous group, triggered by the police investigation of stolen files that led to Roy Bullock and the ADL. I often criticize the establishment media on this program, and I think they, in general, richly deserve the appellation “controlled media,” as any reader of our research report, Who Rules America well knows. But let me now give credit where credit is due, especially to the reporters at the Los Angeles Times and ABC News, who put their careers on the line to report some of the grisly truth about an organization which acts as though it is untouchable and above the law. This is a story that every American needs to hear. It may well be the most important story I’ve ever covered on American Dissident Voices.

Let’s begin this amazing story with an article from the Los Angeles Times of 9th April, 1993, by Richard C. Paddock: “Dateline San Francisco: Police on Thursday served search warrants on the Anti-Defamation League here and in Los Angeles, seizing evidence of a nationwide intelligence network accused of keeping files on more than 950 political groups, newspapers, and labor unions and as many as 12,000 people. “Describing the spy operations in great detail, San Francisco authorities simultaneously released voluminous documents telling how operatives of the Anti-Defamation League searched through trash and infiltrated organizations to gather intelligence an Arab-American, right-wing, and what they called “pinko”

organizations.... "...Police allege that the organization maintains undercover operatives to gather political intelligence in at least seven cities, including Los Angeles and San Francisco. "Groups that were the focus of the spy operation span the political spectrum, including such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Aryan Resistance, Greenpeace, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Farm Workers, and the Jewish Defense League. Also on the list were Mills College, the board of directors of San Francisco public television station KQED, and the San Francisco Bay Guardian newspaper. "People who were subjects of the spy operation included former Republican Representative Pete McCloskey, jailed political extremist Lyndon LaRouche and Los Angeles Times correspondent Scott Kraft, who is based in South Africa.... "...In addition to allegations of obtaining confidential information from police, the Anti-Defamation League could face a total of 48 felony counts for not properly reporting the employment of its chief West Coast spy, Roy Bullock, according to the affidavit filed to justify the search warrant. "The Anti-Defamation League disguised payments to Bullock for more than 25 years by funnelling \$550 a week to Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman, who then paid Bullock, according to the documents released in San Francisco. Hochman, a former president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles and one of the state's leading tax attorneys, will be out of the city until late next week and could not be reached for comment, his office said. "Until 1990, Hochman, a former U.S. prosecutor, also was a member of a panel appointed by then-Senator Pete Wilson to secretly make initial recommendations on new federal judges in California. Hochman is a former regional president of the Anti-Defamation League.... "David Lehrer, executive director of the Los Angeles ADL office, said the organization has not violated the law.... "...But in an affidavit filed to obtain warrants for Thursday's searches, San Francisco police allege that 'ADL employees were apparently less than truthful' in providing information in an earlier search conducted without a warrant.... "...The police affidavit contends that Lehrer had sole control of a secret fund used to pay for [what the ADL calls] 'fact-finding operations.' Lehrer, according to the documents, signed checks from the account under the name 'L. Patterson.' ... "...League officials will not confirm or deny whether Bullock was an employee and have said they simply traded information with police departments about people who might be involved in hate crimes." Let me add here that the category of crime called "hate crimes" was virtually invented by the ADL. The goal of the ADL in doing that is to criminalize any thought or action which impedes their program to turn

America into a Third World province in a multicultural “world government.” Under the Orwellian-sounding “hate crimes” laws, American citizens would receive different sentences for the same crime, depending on whether or not their thoughts are “Politically Correct” on issues relating to homosexuality, race, nationality, and politics; and ultimately, having certain “politically incorrect” opinions would become a crime in itself. I continue with another article from the Los Angeles Times, 13th April, 1993, also by Richard C. Paddock: “Dateline San Francisco: To the outside world, Roy Bullock was a small-time art dealer who operated from his house in the Castro District. In reality, he was an undercover spy who picked through garbage and amassed secret files for the Anti-Defamation league for nearly 40 years. “His code name at the prominent Jewish organization was Cal, and he was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once chosen to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-San Francisco) in her Washington, D.C. office. “For a time, ‘Cal’ tapped into the phone message system of White Aryan Resistance.... From police sources, he obtained privileged, personal information on at least 1,394 people. And he met surreptitiously with agents of the South African government to trade his knowledge for crisp, new \$100 bills. “These are among the secrets that Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former Los Angeles-based [ADL] operative, divulged in extensive interviews with police and the FBI in a growing scandal over the nationwide intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League.... “Transcripts of the interviews – among nearly 700 pages of documents released by San Francisco prosecutors last week – offer new details of the private spy operation that authorities allege crossed the line into illegal territory. “At times, the intelligence activities took on a cloak-and-dagger air with laundered payments, shredded documents, hotel rendezvous with foreign agents and code names.... “On one occasion, Gurvitz recounts, he received a tip that a pro-Palestinian activist was about to board a plane bound for Haifa, Israel. Although the Anti-Defamation League publicly denies any ties to Israel, Gurvitz phoned an Israeli consular official to warn them. Shortly thereafter, another [Israeli government] official called Gurvitz back and debriefed him. “The court papers also added to the mystery of Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francisco police officer accused of providing confidential material from police files to the Anti-Defamation League.... Bullock said it was Gerard who sold official police intelligence. Bullock said he split about \$16,000... evenly with Gerard, telling him at one point, “I may be gay, but I’m a straight arrow.”... “Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was interviewed by the FBI, but

left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents included passports, driver's licenses, and identification cards in 10 different names; identification cards in his own name for four different embassies in Central America; and a collection of blank birth certificates, Army discharge papers, and official stationery from various agencies. "Also in the briefcase were extensive information on death squads, a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations, and photos of blindfolded and chained men. "Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADL confidential driver's license or vehicle registration information on a vast number of people, including as many as 4,500 members of [j

ust] one target group [of interest to the ADL], the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee. "Each case of obtaining such data from a law enforcement officer could constitute a felony, San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth noted in an affidavit for a search warrant." Thank you, Richard C. Paddock and the Los Angeles Times. Now, at least a few of the ADL's nefarious deeds are being exposed to the light of day! 4,500 felonies! And that's just the illegal ADL files from one small group that was on the ADL's enemies list! Evidence seized from ADL spy Roy Bullock's computer database indicate that the ADL was using him to compile data on individuals belonging to over 950 groups – and Bullock is just one ADL spy! This investigation has so far uncovered the merest tip of a gigantic iceberg of subversion and crime. Let us hope that those few honorable men left in our justice system in this country will hold to their guns and get to the bottom of this case, and prosecute those who are guilty, regardless of their prominence, wealth, or positions of influence in society. Now we turn to an article in the New York Daily News for 9th April, 1993, by Mark Mooney: "Police in San Francisco and Los Angeles yesterday seized documents from a prominent Jewish-American organization accused of amassing confidential information – sometimes illegally – on thousands of people in the United States. "The alleged operation was directed from the New York City offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, ABC News reported last night. "The ADL has long been one of the most respected civil rights organizations in the country, tracking hate crimes and exposing prejudice. "But ABC said that for several decades the spying operation has snooped into the records and activities of more than 10,000 people in the United States, including many who simply opposed the policies of Israel and South Africa.... "The report identified the leader of the intelligence ring as Irwin Suall. "Sources told the Daily News that Suall is one of about 15 people in the ADL's research department in Manhattan. Neither Suall or other ADL officials could be reached for

comment. "We're talking about the use of information from Department of Motor Vehicles files, other confidential files of state and local agencies, illegally furnished and illegally received by private agencies," San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith told ABC. "Similar raids were carried out in Los Angeles and San Francisco in February. "The report did not surprise militant Arab-Americans or militant Jews here. "They have been in this business for years, and I personally have been a target," said M. T. Mehdi, head of the Arab-American Relations Committee. "From the days I was in San Francisco in the 1960s, I had a feeling that someone was looking over my activities." Many questions remain to be answered in this investigation into the spying operations of the ADL. In my opinion, one of the main reasons that this story saw the light of day at all is that many Leftist and "Liberal" groups were targeted by the ADL for infiltration and so-called "fact-finding," in addition to the ADL's normal targets of patriots and nationalists on the Right. If the ADL had only violated the privacy and Constitutional rights of "Right-wingers," it is unlikely that the current scandal would have been allowed to emerge in the press. But since the Leftists and the "Liberals" form such a powerful part of the establishment in this country, and since they are obviously only imperfectly controlled by the forces behind the ADL, the screams of pain from the Left could not be ignored. And they were screams not only of pain, but of betrayal. After all, much of the Left considered the ADL to be their ally. Wasn't Irwin Suall, current top ADL spymaster, a former national secretary of the Socialist Party of America? Wasn't the ADL the leader in the fight to get self-defense weapons out of the hands of dangerous right-wing American farmers, homeowners, and senior citizens? Wasn't the ADL the chief organization engaged in brainwashing – er, I mean educating Americans to accept a multicultural, non-American, non-Western future? What these Leftists failed and probably still fail to understand is that the forces behind the Anti-Defamation League go far beyond the terms "Left" or "Right." Though the ADL is undoubtedly a foreign agent on behalf of the government of Israel, it is also far more than that. It is nothing less than the organizational outcropping of a vast network of influence and control working ceaselessly to bring about the end to American freedom and sovereignty – and in fact, and end to the freedom and sovereignty of every nation – and to bring into existence a world government controlled by the forces behind the ADL. They work to infiltrate, manage, and control groups of all political, racial, ethnic, and social persuasions. Those that they cannot control they seek to destroy by perverting our legal system so that certain opinions become "thought crimes." They care nothing for socialism, communism,

or capitalism. They have used all of these and more to advance their aims, and have quickly discarded them if they no longer suited their purposes. Ladies and gentlemen, there is far more material on the ADL, its illegal and un-American activities, and the current scandal in which it is embroiled than I can possibly fit into this one program. With your indulgence, I am going to continue this fascinating story on next week's program. What I do want each and every one of you to do is to obtain a copy of our extensively documented research report on the ADL, which was compiled for the June 1990 edition of our patriotic magazine National Vanguard. It's available to you now as our Radio Offer Number 6, to every listener who requests it and donates a minimum of \$5 to keep this program on the air. Send as much as you can afford to keep our voice of truth on the public airwaves, a gift of at least \$5, and request Radio Offer Number 6. Write to National Vanguard Books, Department R, PO Box 90, Hillsboro, WV 24946 USA. That's \$5 or more to National Vanguard Books, Department R, PO Box 90, Hillsboro, WV 24946 USA. And remember to ask for Radio Offer Number 6. You cannot understand the perilous situation of our nation – unless you understand the insidious agenda of the ADL. I'll continue this vital message next week – on American Dissident Voices.

Part 2 Program of 5th June, 1993 Welcome to American Dissident Voices. I'm your host, Kevin Alfred Strom.

On last week's program, we uncovered the growing scandal surrounding the organization known as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, or ADL for short. The ADL, which likes to portray itself as a humanitarian and civil rights organization working to oppose prejudice against Jews and other racial minorities, and which has 31 regional offices across the United States, has recently been implicated in the theft of confidential police and government files on thousands of innocent American citizens. These citizens were mostly ordinary Americans, neither accused of or guilty of any crimes, but who were either critical of the government of Israel, for which the ADL acts as an illegally unregistered foreign agent, or who had criticized some aspect of the multicultural, "one world" future planned for this country by the forces behind the ADL. For these "thought crimes," these Americans had been placed on the ADL's enemies list, and were considered fair game for the Jewish group's spying operation. On today's program, I'll

continue our coverage of the ADL – America's greatest enemy, on American Dissident Voices.

The ADL p.r. section are masters at portraying themselves as noble and innocent victims of persecution, and at portraying anyone who criticizes them as that ultimate in unanswerable smear words – “anti-Semitic.” With the cooperation of their close friends in the media, this image of pious untouchability usually means that criticism of the ADL is usually not allowed in print or on the air, and on the rare occasions when it is, such criticism is most often characterized as “hate” or “bigotry.” But it didn’t quite work that way this time. What possibly tripped up the ADL and allowed this story some media exposure, when police investigators got on the trail of the ADL because certain police files in San Francisco had been discovered missing, was the fact that the ADL did not restrict its spying to so-called “right-wing extremists” and other American patriots. No, they also infiltrated and gathered data on a number of Leftist and Liberal groups, lest they stray too far from the ADL party line and start doing unacceptable things, like honest Liberals occasionally do, like criticizing Israel’s genocide of Palestinians. Many groups on the Left – and make no mistake about it, the Left is very influential in academic and media circles in this country – had regarded the ADL as an ally in their quest to change America and turn her away from her Western, European roots toward a Third World future; so many Leftists felt shocked and betrayed by the ADL when they discovered that they were on the ADL’s enemies list right along with the National Alliance and other patriots. For example, the NAACP, the Rainbow Coalition, the ACLU, the American Indian Movement, the homosexual group ACT UP, anti-apartheid groups, and even the hard-left Pacifica radio network were victims of ADL spying. So a few journalists have broken this story of ADL spying and intrigue, and the ADL is no longer an “untouchable” entity that cannot be criticized in public. A civil claim has been filed against the ADL by nineteen individuals who claim that the Anti-Defamation League spy network violated their privacy rights, including the wife of former Congressman Pete McCloskey and the son of former Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens. Former Representative McCloskey is the lawyer for the plaintiffs. McCloskey, who was a critic of Israel and was the subject of ADL smears when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1982, said, according to a Los Angeles Times story of 15th April, that the ADL should be investigated to determine whether it is an agent of the Israeli government. If it is, he

said, it should register as all foreign agents are required to do. Let me quote from that article: "McCloskey said most of the plaintiffs believe that their careers have been compromised by ADL attacks on them after they made anti-Israel statements. Two people joining the suit who spoke Wednesday are former television and radio commentators. "Donald McGaffin, a former commentator at San Francisco television station KPIX, said that after he questioned Israeli policy on negotiating with hijackers in 1985, he was informed by his management that the ADL 'had sent groups of people to try to get me fired.' "Colin Edwards said that he was fired from a job as a commentator on a San Francisco FM radio station, KALW, after his boss told him the group had protested his Middle Eastern commentaries." Let me interject that such is standard procedure with the ADL, who are not at all shy about using strong-arm tactics and intimidation, threats, smears, and threatening the loss of advertising to any media outlet that dares to criticize Israel, the ADL, or their agenda. One indictment has been handed down in the case, against former San Francisco Police intelligence detective Tom Gerard, who emerged from hiding in the Philippines only to be arrested at San Francisco International Airport on May 8th. Gerard apparently sold confidential government files to the ADL's top West Coast spy, Roy Bullock, a homosexual "art dealer" from San Francisco whose specialty was the infiltration of Arab and patriotic American organizations and reporting on their activities to the ADL. How extensive is this spying by the ADL? We now know it includes infiltration of groups on both the left and the right which the ADL considers "enemies of Israel" or a threat to the ADL's worldwide agenda. But did you know it reaches even into college classrooms of professors who don't toe the line properly, as the ADL sees it? Let's look at an article entitled "Spies for Zion," in the San Francisco Weekly for 28th April, 1993: "For decades the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has gathered secret files on critics of Israel. As the San Francisco District Attorney prepares criminal charges against the group, will pressure from prominent Jewish leaders derail the prosecution? "Professor Dwight Simpson and the consul general of Israel stood in a corner at the Fairmont Hotel discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict amid a bright tinkling of glasses and soft murmuring of voices. Halfway through the conversation at the cocktail party, the Israeli diplomat, Harry Kney-Tal, said: 'By the way, that was a very funny joke you told your class the other day.' "The San Francisco State University international relations professor didn't think much of the comment at first. But later that night, he asked himself: 'How in the hell does the Israeli consul general know the jokes I tell in my

class?" "As a critic of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Simpson had been targeted by Jewish students in the past. They picketed his class on several occasions, handing out leaflets charging that he's anti-Semitic and opposes a Jewish homeland." So the professor didn't have to wrestle with the consul general's statement for long. He quickly surmised that Kney-Tal got his information from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith [or ADL for short] by way of Jewish students who do political surveillance work on campus for them. 'It's always confused me why they have to spy on me,' Simpson said, 'My work isn't secret. My whole life is an open book.' After a heated demonstration in 1989 that disrupted Simpson's class, the Jewish Student Action committee was expelled from campus for violating academic freedom. 'This is a serious problem in academia,' Simpson added. 'Whenever you have monitoring and surveillance, it stifles the free discussion of ideas....' "Simpson is just one of thousands of people whose lives have been affected by the far-ranging spy activities of the ADL. An 80-year-old nonprofit whose professed mission is to fight anti-Semitism, the ADL uses a less controversial term – 'fact-finding' – for its spying...." ADL attorney Barbara Wahl denied any wrongdoing.... Wahl said she has reviewed the ADL's files that prosecutors say contain illegally gathered information. When asked if she saw anything illegal, she paused and then refused to comment.... "Some close observers believe that political pressure will make it impossible to prosecute the respected Jewish organization. 'Mark my words, this is going to be obfuscated, obliterated, and desecrated,' said one veteran police inspector. 'It's going to a classic study in how things get covered up. You don't do Jewish people in San Francisco. It's not PC. Especially when you have two U.S. Senators who are Jewish (Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein) and the city's chief of protocol is Dick Goldman (a prominent fundraiser in the Jewish community)." Last week, Goldman called Police Chief Tony Ribera about the police department's own internal investigation. After the call, the police decided to exclude the ADL and Bullock from the probe.... "Last year, when federal authorities were considering funding a Black Muslim group in Los Angeles after the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles, the ADL's top 'fact-finder' in Washington, Mira Boland, sent the word out to ADL informants that she was looking for a criminal conviction on one of the Muslims to use in an op-ed piece in the Washington Post." What ADL spy Mira Boland got from her informant, who turned out to be none other than David Gurvitz, who lately has been talking a lot to the police and the FBI, was a copy of a classified FBI report on the Nation of Islam which had recently been stolen from the San Francisco FBI office. It

was later recovered by police when they raided the San Francisco offices of the ADL. Interestingly enough, according to the Village Voice article by Robert Friedman of 11th May, 1993, it was Mira Boland who had arranged the trip to Israel, one of many arranged for the indoctrination of U.S. police officers, of Mr. Tom Gerard, late of the Philippines and one of the main conduits of stolen police and government information to the ADL. According to this same article, Boland admitted at a 1990 criminal trial that she had, in typical ADL Newspeak, “shared information” with members of the CIA at an invitation-only ADL conference. There is also an ADL connection to the Jonathan Pollard spy affair. I quote again from the Village Voice: “In 1987, the ADL came under FBI scrutiny in the wake of the Pollard spy scandal. While assigned to the Navy’s Anti-Terrorist Alert Center, where he had access to the most closely-guarded U.S. secrets, Jonathan Pollard stole thousands of pages of classified documents for Israel, which, according to Federal prosecutors, ‘could fill a room the size of a large closet … ten feet by six feet by six feet.’ Pollard’s handler was Avi Sella, an Israeli air force colonel whose wife worked for the New York ADL as a lawyer. Pollard later wrote to friends that a prominent ADL leader was deeply involved in the Israeli spy operation.” (By the way, anti-American forces, for the last year or so, have been quietly working to secure Pollard’s release. Though he betrayed the people of the United States, they consider him a hero.) A headline in the Village Voice article, I repeat the very liberal, very Jewish Village Voice article screams out the truth at us: “The Anti-Defamation League has become the Jewish thought police.”

Let’s take a look at the agenda of the ADL for America. They are experts in the art of making subversive aims sound innocent or humanitarian – but listen carefully, and I think even the most skeptical should begin to see that their drive for so-called “hate crime” legislation is really a drive to stifle all criticism of their program. And their program is to change the racial and cultural character of this country to that of a Third World nation, so that we can more easily be incorporated into a one-world government. With those goals held firmly in mind, let’s take a look at a recent article from the Pomona Star-Ledger, entitled “Stockton Coalition presses Clinton to reduce bigotry, promote diversity.” I might add that forming a coalition with well-meaning Liberal dupes is both the standard ADL and Communist technique for disguising their own programs as supposedly coming from “the whole community.” I quote: “A group of civic, religious,

school, and college leaders has called on... Clinton to promote cultural diversity and reduce prejudice. "Named the Stockton State College/Community Human Relations Coalition, the organization wrote to Clinton last month with recommendations developed during a more than three-hour meeting. "At that session were representatives from student groups, the college administration, local governments and schools, the Jewish War Veterans, a church and several synagogues, a day care center, and the Anti-Defamation League. Several of those participating came from the college's Holocaust Resource Center." In explaining why they wrote, they noted that the members of the coalition "are committed to the provision of strong and vibrant leadership in the pursuit of harmony and understanding throughout all levels of our multicultural and diverse society. ...We strongly believe that racism, bigotry, and intolerance have reigned too long in America and have become too acceptable to be tolerated any longer." "...in the field of education is their wish that Clinton 'educate the American people about cultural diversity' and 'offer courses in prejudice reduction in communities.' Other recommendations are to 'create a national initiative' through a President's Council on Hate Crimes and Prejudice Reduction, to strengthen the Civil Rights Commission, and conduct a prejudice reduction audit.... "Among the aspects of institutional change they want Clinton to achieve are: "Encourage the Secretary of Education that multiculturalism be taught at all levels of elementary and secondary schools."

(Translation: Out with Washington and the Continental Army and in with bogus African history and the Sandinistas.) "Leverage federal funding to compliance with multicultural inclusion." (Translation: Schools that still have mostly traditional American students, and still teach in one language instead of 13 including Hindustani and Swahili, will lose their federal funds.) "Encourage all businesses to have training on multiculturalism and cultural diversity." (Translation: Government contracts and regulations will be used as weapons against private businessmen who do not enthusiastically promote the multicultural agenda of the ADL planners.) "Recognize the efforts of groups working in the nation to alleviate intolerance, bigotry, and racism." (Translation: Give taxpayer's money and policy-making power to the ADL and its various front groups.) "Encourage the federal government to be a leader in cultural diversity throughout its ranks." (No translation necessary.) And "Establish a President's Award for Social Justice and Unity for persons, groups, and organizations who have achieved some success in reducing prejudice, bigotry, and racism." (Translation: Traitors to America's traditional heritage and values are to be rewarded and elevated as heroes in the sick world the ADL is building

in what used to be called America.) We know what the ADL's agenda is. We know that they broke the law routinely, as did the police departments that collaborated with them. It was common knowledge that the ADL was getting paid large sums of government money to "train" – that is, to indoctrinate – police officers and government officials, not just over a period of years, but decades. A report by Richard Cotten, entered into the Congressional Record by Congressman John Rarick, indicates that this has been going on since at least 1963, and furthermore indicates that a large number of the police officers involved in this so-called "sensitivity training" knew or suspected they were being brainwashed, in their own words, possibly by those with a "Communist agenda." How has the ADL been able to get away with it until now? The answer lies in two facts – facts which also explain many other things about the decline of America. The first fact is that the major media in this country are largely owned or controlled by the same element that controls the ADL, and they have the same agenda. Until just a few weeks ago, when a few brave reporters dared to breathe the forbidden words that the San Francisco District Attorney was saying (all of them, I might add, at the risk of their careers, which may now be much shortened), the ADL was untouchable, and even its most outrageous, pro-Communist, and subversive activities were ignored, and any reportage it got was only the most fulsome praise. The ADL was made respectable by the controlled media. The second important fact is that the government officials and police officers who condoned ADL manipulation and control of their departments, were typical unprincipled careerists, who valued respectability above all other things, even their oaths of office and their country. If the TV said that the ADL were public-spirited humanitarians, and if the TV said that patriots who were trying to expose the anti-American activities of the ADL were evil bigots and haters, why the choice was clear to these public servants. They chose to hobnob with the ADL, and would rather have had a limb amputated than be associated with the patriots. Well, friends, a small crack has now appeared in the great wall of lies and brainwashing that has so far obscured the subversive activities of the ADL. This crack is an opportunity for patriots to educate others, and to help bring about a great patriotic renewal to this land. The truth is that most Americans don't agree with the agenda of the ADL, and would be horrified if they knew the extent to which that group has spied on and manipulated the minds of their fellow Americans. Won't you help us spread the truth to as many people as possible this week? I am offering our scholarly, well-documented research report on the ADL today as our Radio Offer Number 6. It is vitally important that as many Americans as possible

have this report, before it's too late, before, as the veteran police inspector said, this case is "covered up, obfuscated, obliterated, and desecrated." Our research report is a part of our handsomely printed and education magazine for patriots, National Vanguard. Our special research report on the ADL is yours for a small donation of \$5. just send a donation of as much as you can afford to keep this program on the air, a minimum of \$5, to National Vanguard Books, Department R, PO Box 90, Hillsboro, WV 24946 USA, and remember to ask for Radio Offer Number 6.Thank you for your support, and I'll see you next week on American Dissident Voices.

Source: The Nation, published by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

The ADL Spy Probe

from Alexander Cockburn's "Beat the Devil," a bi-weekly column in The Nation. May 31, 1993



ADL President Abraham Foxman

THERE have been fears that political pressure might squelch the case against the Anti-Defamation League spies being built by the San Francisco District Attorney, Arlo Smith.

But the "San Francisco Examiner" for May 11 [1993] carried a story by Dennis Opatrny and Scott Winokur reporting that top officials of the ADL are "the ultimate targets of the San Francisco district attorney's domestic spying investigation." Such officials include the ADL's New York-based director of research, Irwin Suall. Meanwhile, the ADL's strategy is to link critics of its spy operation with neo-Nazis and with the World Trade Center bombers.

I note here a story on the scandal in "The Village Voice" for May 11 by Robert Friedman. Since Friedman once wrote "The Nation" complaining I had credited another reporter for facts he had unearthed, I must say that I have a serious problem with the way he avoids giving credit to anyone but himself.

Last July, in “Washington Report on Middle East Affairs,” Gregory Slobodkin broke the story of AIPAC’s smear operation in a story titled “The Secret Section in Israel’s US Lobby That Stifles American Debate.” On August 4, Friedman did a “Voice” story, “The Israel Lobby’s Blacklist.” Nowhere in Friedman’s story was it stated that Slobodkin had already published an account of his experiences at AIPAC.

In his May 11, 1993, piece on the ADL, Friedman was still boasting that AIPAC’s “spy operation was disclosed last summer in the ‘Voice,’ ” which it wasn’t. And he never thanks his sources or acknowledges the efforts of people long laboring on the story, such as journalists in San Francisco or ABC-TV’s James Bamford, who discovered the Benjamin Epstein letter from which Friedman quotes without tipping his hat to the journalist who got the document first.

In fact, Friedman relies uncritically on the statements of ADL spy Roy Bullock to the FBI and to San Francisco police, as though they were proven facts. And in the end he lets off the ADL with a light stroke, courtesy of researcher Chip Berlet, who says the ADL “is a group whose leaders, at least, consistently defend the actions of Israel against critics, which … is entirely appropriate” and “is a group that maintains an information-sharing arrangement with law enforcement. Again, there is nothing wrong for a group to do that.” Berlet argues that it was some malign synergy between such ADL functions that led to trouble. In effect, he OK’s the ADL’s venomous smearing of critics as anti-Semites and then makes the amazing statement that there’s nothing wrong with illegal acquisition and dissemination of privileged government information about individuals. This is the basis of the class-action suit against the ADL in California.

Source: The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, June 1993, Page 18

The Changing Role of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League

By Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal

Following an April raid on the offices of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) by the San Francisco police, the San Francisco Chronicle broke the story of a nationwide political spy operation. ADL had illegally obtained information from a corrupt police officer, Tom Gerard (who fled initially to the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the U.S., but later concluded his life was in danger if he stayed overseas), and Roy Bullock, a political informant and infiltrator on the ADL payroll since 1960. In the ADL offices were files on Arab Americans and members of Greenpeace, NAACP, the Mills College faculty and various other institutions, groups and individuals.

B'nai B'rith, ADL's parent organization, was founded in 1843 as a Jewish counterpart of fraternal orders then flourishing in America. The new group's purpose, as described in its constitution, called for the traditional functions performed by Jewish societies in Europe: "Visiting and attending the sick" and "protecting and assisting the widow and the orphan." Its founders had hoped that it soon would encompass all Jews in the United States. This did not happen, however, since other Jewish organizations also were forming around the same time.

In 1913 Leo Frank, a northern Jewish executive of a factory in Atlanta, Georgia, was arrested and charged with the murder of a young girl working in the factory. In an atmosphere of mob fury, he was declared guilty, even though the evidence was inconclusive. He was kidnapped from state prison and lynched. This obvious miscarriage of justice and manifestation of prejudice led to the formation by B'nai B'rith of the ADL as the first group organized explicitly to fight anti-Semitism. What exactly constituted anti-Semitism was to receive continually different interpretations. With the creation of Israel in 1948, the meaning of that word was broadened and, eventually, totally distorted.

Because it dealt with a subject of increasing importance to Jews everywhere, and one about which emotions could be aroused easily, the ADL soon emerged as the most powerful Jewish organization in the U.S., even outshining its B'nai B'rith parent organization and the aristocratic, well-financed American Jewish Committee.

Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, ADL's two most important executives over a 35-year period, wrote a number of widely distributed books, which often received front-page notice even before they were published. These included *The Trouble Makers* (Doubleday, 1952); *Cross Currents* (Doubleday, 1956); *Some of My Best Friends* (Farrar Strauss, 1962); *A Danger on the Right* (Random House, 1964); *Report on the John Birch Society* (Random House, 1966); and *The Radical Right* (Random House, 1967).

ADL can exert enormous influence and intimidation.

The direction which the organization was to take was made clear in the initial book, which described a "secret meeting" between Azzam Pasha, then secretarygeneral of the Arab League, and members of a new organization, the Holy Land Emergency Program (HELP), organized to assist the newly created Palestinian refugees. The book charged that a conspiracy was hatched at the meeting to spread anti-Jewish propaganda. In fact, no such meeting ever took place. At the time of the alleged meeting, HELP already had ceased to exist.

At the very outset of the Palestine question, the Anti-Defamation League's publication, *The Facts*, sought to place an anti-Semitic label on the activities of such friends of justice for the dispossessed in Palestine as Barnard College Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, U.S. presidential emissary Kermit Roosevelt, and former American University of Beirut President Bayard Dodge.¹ The publication's May 1948 issue charged: "Their espousal of the Arab League cause and opposition to Zionism has been marked by the increasingly hostile attitude toward the Jewish people themselves. While anti-Zionism and sympathy for the Arab cause are not necessarily indications of anti-Semitic prejudice, there are many whose pro-Arab utterances and activities have contained sufficiently expressed or implied anti-Semitism to give cause for genuine alarm. "

This same strategy to discredit critics of Israel or defenders of Palestinian human rights has been employed by the ADL ever since. "Guilt by association" and "guilt by juxtaposition" -intermingling the names of those who might more accurately be deemed sincere critics of specific policies of Israel or its U.S. lobbyists with those of notorious bigots like Father Coughlin or Gerald L. K. Smith-have become hallmarks of ADL publications and public pronouncements. By using smear tactics to intimidate or discredit opponents, ADL has largely succeeded in impressing its will and interpretation of Middle East events on American public opinion.

The ADL has some 31 regional offices around the country and three in Canada, with an annual budget of more than \$32 million. It employs a professional staff of 400, including specialists in human relations, communications, education, urban affairs, social sciences, religion and law. In

addition, it has unpaid representatives in hundreds of communities from coast to coast and has compiled thousands of secret dossiers on private citizens in Canada and the United States.

“Notorious” Activities

In 1983, the ADL released a handbook, Pro-Arab Propaganda in America: Vehicles and Voices, projected to be the first in a regularly updated series. Individuals or organizations who voiced the slightest criticism of Israel or Zionism found themselves listed in this volume with a list of their “notorious” activities. All were portrayed as extremists seeking to abolish the state of Israel and/or incite prejudice against Jewish Americans.

Each regional ADL office has its own board of directors drawn from local leaders and prominent citizens, some of them non Jews. In hundreds of communities throughout the nation, according to its own pamphlet, “The ADL is able to cooperate as a neighbor to solve important local problems.” Through its multiple private and public reports and publications, allegedly directed against prejudice and bigotry, the ADL can exert enormous influence and intimidation, often bordering on blackmail, in organizations and individuals, particularly people in public life. It provides an indispensable backup for AIPAC’s effective lobbying of the Congress and White House on behalf of an ever-increasing economic and military aid to Israel.

As I pointed out in one of my books, The Zionist Connection I (and H), several ADL leaders, including directors Forster and Epstein, Seymour Graubard and the late Dore Schary (playwright, producer and influential figure in Hollywood), have boasted of ADL’s use of undercover agents. Trying to be as inoffensive as possible, Newsweek magazine called the ADL’s methodology “highly selective” and “never a total portrait.” Anyone reviewing the ADL’s reports would have to agree with author and famed Unitarian minister Dr. John Nicholls Booth that the ADL continually “strains to fit the products of its own espionage into the procrustean bed of its own personal predilections.

Many ADL charges against critics of Israel and Zionism are totally inaccurate, questionable, or based upon half-truths. Its secret and confidential reports, widely distributed in liberal circles, often attribute the stock quotation, “but some of my best friends are Jews,” to its subjects, implying anti-Semitism. Odious impressions are created by twisting or distorting a few words, or the context in which they were uttered.

With the help of the ADL and the plethora of Zionist and pro-Israel groups with which it cooperates, Israeli intelligence has continued to penetrate into every part of the U.S. The Pollard case represented only the apex of this activity. Even synagogues and rabbis have become unpaid vigilantes in the effort to compile files and lists of alleged anti-Semites, and to obtain any information

of possible use to Israel or its U.S. operatives. A cynical Pentagon joke was that confidential military memos had to be typed in triplicate: “One for the White House, one for the State Department, and one for Tel Aviv.”

A New Definition of Anti-Semitism

In *The New Anti-Semitism*, Forster and Epstein’s seventh and final book, a new and stunningly broad definition of anti-Semitism was set forth:

“The hostility of the Radical Left, the Radical Right, pro-Arab groups, black extremists, and malingering anti-Jewish hatemongering that has plagued the United States since the early ’20s has allegedly now been augmented by others within the government, the media, the clergy and the arts who are insensitive to Jews and Jewish concerns, particularly to the needs and wants of the state of Israel. The heart of the new anti-Semitism abroad in our land lies in the widespread incapacity or unwillingness to comprehend the necessity of the existence of Israel to Jewish safety and survival throughout the world. ”

In his foreword to the tract, national ADL Chairman Seymour Graubard laid the groundwork for the kind of tactics recognizable in the current revelations from San Francisco:

“While the memory of the Nazi Holocaust was fresh in mind, anti-Semitism was silenced. As that memory fades, however, as Jews are more and more being considered a part of the Establishment, there are new growths of anti-Semitism. They are being nurtured in a climate of general insensitivity and deterioration of morality and ethics, the kind of climate, history reminds us, in which anti-Semitism grows best. ”

The ADL was ever ready to apply the smear and vilification so as to censure and silence, thus building an iron curtain over America that would bar any criticism, however constructive, of Israel, Zionists, or Jews (Judaism is rarely, if ever, involved). The book from which the quotations above were taken led New York Post columnist James Wechsler, a long-time, avid friend of Israel, to write that the latest ADL work “is grievously flavored by an intolerance of their own in equating criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism. ” Calling the presentation “illegitimate and uncivil,” the columnist decried a work which “proceeds from a well-documented dissection of the frenzies of an obvious antiSemite, Gerald L. K. Smith, to a loose indictment of Senator J. William Fulbright and columnists Evans and Novak. They do not explicitly apply the label ‘anti-Semitic’ to the latter three. But the context in which the attack appears-indeed their inclusion in the volume-carries, to borrow their words, ‘an unmistakable message’ and an inescapable ‘innuendo. ’”

It can be said without exaggeration that the ADL is the single most influential organization in the United States. It works closely with the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad, and sometimes with the FBI or CIA. Through its multifold activities and ability to crush dissent, it is probably more responsible for American attitudes and American foreign policy toward the Middle East than any other single force.

The annual Washington conferences of the parent organization, B'nai B'rith, draw the presence of presidents and presidential aspirants. No politician with national ambitions will forego the opportunity of doing public battle with the specter of Adolf Hitler. At these conferences, however, ADL itself maintains the lowest possible profile. Few of these same politicians are prepared to associate themselves with its violations of the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, and the letter of America's Bill of Rights.

1Its January-February 1957 issue devoted its four pages to detailing the "noxious" and varied activities of this writer following the publication of *What Price Israel?* three years earlier.

Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal is the author of *There Goes the Middle East*, *The Other Side of the Coin*, and the monumental *The Zionist Connection*. He edits the *Middle East Perspective Reader*.

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Source: Middle East Labor Bulletin, Vol. 4 No. 3 Fall 1993

ADL's Ties With Mossad

Considerable suspicion exists that the Anti-Defamation League not only serves as an “unofficial” propaganda arm of the Israeli government Q a role its National Director Abe Foxman unabashedly claims Q but that it also provides information on Palestinians and Arab-Americans to the Israeli government and its intelligence service, Mossad.

The suspicions increased when a Chicago resident, Mohammed Jarad, whose named appeared in Roy Bullock’s files, was arrested and accused of being an agent for Hamas, upon his arrival in Israel to visit relatives in the occupied territories.

Also, as revealed in an interview with the FBI, former ADL Los Angeles operative, David Gurvitz, acknowledged that having “learned from a law enforcement contact that a known member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine,” was about to travel from San Francisco to Haifa, he “called the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate and advised the Deputy Consul General.I” Later, a Hebrew-speaking individual from the Consulate called back to confirm the information.

Both Bullock and Gurvitz, however, denied that there is any direct link between the ADL and Mossad. However, a letter written by then National Director of the ADL, Benjamin Epstein on July 7, 1961, would indicate otherwise. Epstein was writing to Saul Jofte who was, at the time, the Executive Secretary of the International Council of B’nai B’rith, the ADL’s parent organization, requesting additional funds.

“Our information,” wrote Epstein, “in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge that we are the source.”

Jofte, a 22-year veteran with B’nai B’rith did not believe that this was the proper business of the ADL and balked; at which point B’nai B’rith decided to fire him. Jofte turned around and sued Rabbi Kaufman, the responsible B’nai B’rith executive, and entered Epstein’s letter as an exhibit in his behalf.

In an affidavit filed in that action, Jofte stated:

"B'nai B'rith has become an international organization engaged, by Rabbi Kaufman's admission, in other things besides charitable religious and educational activities. It is no longer non-profit. It engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the Government of Israel. Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. That is why Rabbi Kaufman tried to fire me.

"He was making B'nai B'rith a servant of the Israeli Government." That was 1961.

On May 6, 1993, the ADL's representative in Jerusalem sent a memo to National Director Abe Foxman informing him that he had attended "a small, farewell luncheon that Shimon Peres gave for Bill Harrop (the outgoing U.S. ambassador). According to Wall, "There were no other American Jewish representatives invited."

Source: The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, January 1994, page 6

Special Report:

ADL Didn't Do Anything Wrong and Promises Never to Do It Again!

By Rachelle Marshall

The Anti-Defamation League, which last spring was found in possession of illegally obtained information on Arab Americans, members of the anti-apartheid movement, and other political and human rights activists, will not face criminal charges, the San Francisco district attorney's office announced on Nov. 15. Roy Bullock, ADL's longtime undercover agent, was also absolved of any crime. Bullock had supplied ADL with confidential police and motor vehicle records provided by retired San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, who was indicted last May on charges of conspiracy and concealing government documents.

In return for having the charges dropped, ADL agreed to contribute up to \$50,000 to a reward fund for hate crimes and to spend another \$25,000 on a program to teach school children about the evils of violence and discrimination. All of the files seized by police from ADL and Bullock will be returned to them, except for the documents obtained from Gerard.

Although ADL officials Abraham Foxman and Melvin Salberg crowed that the district attorney's decision "confirms our consistent position that ADL has engaged in no misconduct of any kind," the organization also agreed to a permanent civil injunction barring it from receiving classified information from any state or local employee who is prohibited from sharing it. In other words, ADL is perfectly innocent but had to promise never to do it again.

Outraged But Not Surprised

Members of organizations targeted by ADL's spy operation were outraged but not surprised by the district attorney's lack of backbone. In late October a coalition of nearly a hundred groups spied on by ADL held a press conference to denounce what they correctly predicted would be a lenient settlement. Members of the Coalition Against Surveillance said they had been told by anonymous sources that a "sweetheart deal" was in the making and called it "a great disservice to the thousands of victims of the ADL spy operation."

Christine Totah, secretary of the Arab American Caucus of the California Democratic Party, said the settlement “made a mockery of the justice system. You can bet that if it was an Arab-American organization that behaved this way, it would have been tried, prosecuted and hung.”

On Nov. 17, two days after the decision was announced, 20 members of the Coalition walked to ADL’s San Francisco office to ask for a conference with ADL officials. When they were not allowed to enter, the group asked if two of their members could talk with someone from the organization or make an appointment for a later date. ADL’s response was to call the police, who, when they arrived, went inside in an unsuccessful attempt to arrange a meeting between ADL and the Coalition.

Allan Solomonow, Middle East program director for the American Friends Service Committee and a member of the Coalition’s coordinating committee, called the settlement a result of the “immense pressure” brought to bear on the district attorney. He pointed out that since last spring high-level ADL officers had met repeatedly with city officials in an effort to forestall an indictment. Letters and phone calls from ADL supporters in the community added to the pressure, as did a massive public relations campaign portraying ADL as a defender of human rights and the investigation as an attack on the entire Jewish community.

According to the *San Francisco Examiner*, ADL’s major tactic in negotiations with the district attorney was to emphasize the legal deficiencies of a possible case against ADL and Bullock. A battery of ADL lawyers was prepared to challenge the legality of the police searches of the organization’s offices and they questioned the prosecution’s ability to prove that ADL officials and Bullock had “criminal knowledge” when they accepted information from Gerard. Another problem for the prosecution was ADL’s insistence that as an organization engaged in journalism it was protected by state laws guaranteeing press freedom. With an annual budget of \$32 million, ADL could afford to drag out the case forever.

But in the end, political considerations were the deciding factor. “District Attorney Arlo Smith didn’t think it was politically expedient to dump on the ADL,” a source in the D.A.’s office said after the settlement was announced. Smith has all but declared he will run for California attorney general in the next election against incumbent Republican Dan Lundren. Without the support of the Jewish community and its generous contributions to liberal Democratic candidates, Smith’s campaign would be dead in the water. Other local candidates would be affected as well, since they would be forced to choose sides if a case against ADL were to proceed, and much of their Jewish support would depend on the choice they made.

Don Bustany, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, noted the irony in the district attorney’s decision: “The ADL had been known for decades

as a defender of rights for Jews and others, and now, when it's caught violating the civil rights of literally thousands of Americans, it pulls political strings to escape responsibility. "

Prosecution of ADL seemed almost certain last April, when a search of its offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles turned up files on more than 10,000 individuals and 500 groups, all but a small fraction of them involved in legitimate political activity. Organizations as diverse as Greenpeace, Women in Black, the American Civil Liberties Union, and public radio station KQED were included in the list along with several Arab-American groups. Because some of the files contained classified records obtained illegally by Gerard, San Francisco police accused ADL of "misuse of confidential government information and the invasion of privacy of over 1,000 persons." The police said ADL had also committed a possible felony by failing to report Etullock's employment while paying him hundreds of thousands of dollars over nearly 30 years. Police inspector Ronald Roth accused ADL of being "less than truthful with regard to the employment of Bullock and other matters."

Since then ADL has succeeded in stalling efforts to examine the confiscated files. It achieved victory in early fall when Judge Lenard Louie, who had sealed the files, refused a request by the Coalition Against Surveillance to release them for scrutiny by the organizations that had come under ADL surveillance. Instead, Judge Louie ruled that he, the district attorney's office and ADL would jointly determine which files could be made public—a procedure that gave ADL veto power over any decision. Solomonow estimates that all but "about a box and a half" of the organization's voluminous files on individuals and groups will be returned to ADL intact.

Despite its success in avoiding criminal charges, ADL still faces strong court challenges. Last April attorney Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. filed suit in San Francisco Superior Court on behalf of 19 Bay Area citizens named in ADL's files, claiming that ADL and Bullock had violated their right to privacy. In mid-October, 12 Arab/American organizations filed suit in Federal District Court in Los Angeles charging police and sheriffs' departments in San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco with negligence in allowing ADL to spy on organizations and individuals engaged in legitimate political activity and thus interfere with their constitutional rights to freedom of expression and assembly. The suit seeks to bar ADL and the law enforcement agencies from conducting future spy operations. Mark Van Der Hout, an attorney in the case, said the suit was brought because people "have been spied upon, their mail looked through, their confidential police records given to ADL, their lives disrupted."

Although sharply critical of the district attorney's refusal to prosecute ADL, McCloskey believes it gave the civil suits a greater chance of success. "The decision by the district attorney raises a serious question of whether you can expect equal justice for criminal defendants in America," he said, "but it enables us to proceed more rapidly with the discovery process." McCloskey explained that before the decision, Bullock and ADL officials refused to produce documents requested by the

plaintiffs or disclose any information, citing their Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate themselves. Since no criminal charges will be filed against them, they can no longer use this argument but presumably will be obliged to cooperate. On Feb. 9 McCloskey will meet with ADL lawyers to discuss a possible trial date.

Meanwhile ADL remains undaunted in its role as thought policeman and champion of Israel. A recent full-page ad published in the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* asserted that ADL conducted its investigations of anti-Semitic and white supremacy groups “in much the same way as news organizations like NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN or the *Los Angeles Times*.” After this bland declaration, the ad continued: “We also seek to educate ourselves about what the critics of Israel say and write in order to present an informed and responsive defense of Israel.”

The ad did not explain what organizations such as Greenpeace or Women in Black have to do with anti-Semitism or white supremacy, or why ADL collects motor vehicle records and other confidential information about critics of Israel if its only aim is to respond to their arguments. Nor is it clear from the ad that CNN and NBC do not normally gather news by relying on undercover agents who adopt assumed names, rummage through garbage, and are paid from special bank accounts.

Recent actions by ADL provide a far more accurate view of the organization’s chief goal, which is not simply to counteract criticism of Israel but to promote that country’s interests regardless of other considerations. In early November ADL used its muscle to force Israel’s ambassador to the U.S., Itamar Rabinovich, to cancel a scheduled talk before the National Association of Arab Americans because the NAAA is party to one of the lawsuits against ADL. A Jewish Telegraphic Agency report published on Nov. 5 quoted an Israeli embassy official as saying that ADL Director Foxman “did not ask, he demanded,” that Rabinovich not appear at the conference.

The ADL director followed up his success with the Israeli ambassador by calling on American Jewish leaders to refuse dialogue with any of the American-Arab organizations that are suing ADL, a move that could undermine the process of reconciliation recently begun between the two groups. Referring to the historic handshake between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Foxman asserted, “You can’t shake our hands and punch us in the stomach at the same time,” as if suing ADL means striking a blow at Israel.

Foxman’s other major move last November was to appeal to President Clinton to commute the sentence of Jonathan Pollard, who was convicted in 1987 of spying for Israel. As an intelligence analyst for the U.S. Navy, Pollard sold what *The New York Times* reported as “suitcases full of military intelligence” to his Israeli handlers for \$50,000. It is instructive to see the head of an organization dedicated to the exposure of subversives and other un-American types championing a

man who may have seriously jeopardized the security of the United States. On the other hand, what Pollard did he did for Israel, and to the Anti-Defamation League that's all that matters.

Rachelle Marshall is a free-lance editor living in Stanford, CA. A member of the International Jewish Peace Union, she writes on the Mideast.

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Source: The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, July/August 1994, Page 21

Its Informant Sentenced, But ADL Criminal Charges Dropped

By Rachelle Marshall

Tom Gerard, a former San Francisco police officer who shared confidential police information on Arab-American and other political groups with a paid agent of the Anti-Defamation League, has pleaded no contest to the minor charge of illegal access to a police computer system, ending the criminal case against him brought last year by the San Francisco District Attorney's office, Gerard was sentenced to a three-year period of probation, 45 days on the sheriff's work crew, and a \$2,500 fine.

The original charges brought against Gerard when he was arrested in May 1993 included the theft of confidential police and Department of Motor Vehicle records. In late April of this year Judge J. Dominique Olcomendy said the case could not go forward because the FBI refused to release documents that Gerard's attorney said would prove his client's innocence. Gerard's long career in undercover police work involved frequent contacts with the FBI and included a stint with the CIA in Central America. Some of the documents subpoenaed by his attorney are thought to be summaries of FBI wiretaps that revealed Gerard and ADL employee Roy Bullock were selling data on anti-apartheid groups to the South African government.

The two men may have provided information to Israel's spy agency Mossad as well. Included in Gerard's files was information on every major Arab-American organization and hundreds of their members. The arrests last winter in Israel of three Arab Americans who were visiting the occupied territories prompted many supporters of Palestinian causes to suspect that reports of their legal activities in the United States were being sent to Israeli intelligence officials and used as a basis for arrest when they arrived in Israel. Although ADL was found in possession of much of this illegally acquired information, District Attorney Arlo Smith agreed last fall not to file criminal charges against the organization on condition that ADL contribute \$75,000 to educational programs over the next three years and refrain from soliciting confidential public records that it knew were illegally obtained. The FBI's refusal to cooperate in the case against Gerard is puzzling to those who recall that it was the FBI that tipped off San Francisco police in late 1992 that the former police officer had illegally retained in his home police intelligence files that had been ordered destroyed in 1990. But according to the April 30 *San Francisco Examiner*, the defense strategy crafted by Gerard's attorney, James

Lassart, "was to subpoena the FBI records, knowing that the bureau would not turn them over for fear of compromising its own investigative techniques and informants."

Despite the court's decision on Tom Gerard, the controversy over the ADL spy case is bound to remain alive. Arab Americans and others whose rights were violated were disappointed and angry when the original charges were dropped. James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute, said, "What was on trial was whether or not our system of justice would follow through and protect our rights ... Our justice system has been found wanting." Osama Doumani of the American-Arab AntiDiscrimination Committee (ADC) called it "a reverse David and Goliath situation."

In the long run it may be up to the victims of the spy operation to bring its perpetrators to justice. Two civil lawsuits against the ADL are inching their way through the courts, unfortunately at what ADL lawyers are trying to assure is glacial speed. One of the suits was filed last year in federal court by ADC and other civil rights organizations, and the other in California state court by a group of individuals represented by former Congressman Paul McCloskey, Jr. Plaintiffs in both suits were listed in ADL's files and charge that ADL violated their constitutional rights to privacy and freedom of expression.

It is likely to be months or years before these cases are resolved. Meanwhile, the failure of the judicial system to prosecute all of those involved in spying on thousands of their fellow citizens suggests that the effort to achieve full civil rights for all Americans still has a long way to go.

Rachelle Marshall is a free-lance writer living in Stanford, CA.

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Source: Michael A. Hoffman, <http://www.hoffman-info.com>

Gathering Wind: Morris Dees and The Rise of Mental Flatulence in America

Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat by Morris Dees with James Corcoran.

Reviewed by Michael A. Hoffman II. Copyright ©1996 by Michael A. Hoffman II. All Rights Reserved. A windbag stalks the land, casting its dessicating shadow over our American heritage of personal freedom. This vessel of gas is Morris Dees, witchfinder general of the American hinterland and proprietor of the Southern "Poverty Palace" Law Center, from which he has reaped millions of dollars in personal profit, (cf. "Poverty Palace," John Egerton, "The Progressive," July, 1988).

Dees is in the business of stampeding his vast mailing list into a panic at the spectre of a massive threat to the American people, posed by wicked militiamen who are hiding under every bed.

He is not ringing any alarm bells however, over the threat posed by inner city youth gangs who, armed with machine guns provided by our Most Favored Nation trading partner, the dear Chinese Communists, commit an estimated half-million crimes a year.

Nor does Dees have much interest in any threat from the Federal government, with its hundreds of thousands of mercenary killers, such as the late CIA director William Colby, who, as station chief in Vietnam from 1962 onward, ordered the assassination of at least 20,000 Vietnamese, as part of "Operation Phoenix."

Assassins like Colby, occupying high office, with billion dollar budgets at their disposal, are no threat to liberty, in the eyes of Morris Dees. Now that the forces of liberalism and Zionism have the Federal government firmly in hand (no matter which Republican or Democrat fills the President's shoes), neo-Marxists like Dees are all in favor of it.

No, what rankles ol' Morris are those trailer-park Americans hiking in the weeds with their surplus-store rifles, readying themselves for the apocalypse. By golly, there's a "threat" Dees can market to his yuppie mailing list. He opens his book (actually it's only half his, since Mr. Dees is semi-literate and cannot author a book without the collaboration of a factotum), with a melodramatic profile of the main villain of his piece, "the most dangerous," Louis R. Beam Jr.

Mr. Beam was charged in 1987 with sedition and placed on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list. He fled to Mexico where pursuing FBI agents told the Mexicans that Beam was a drug trafficker. Beam was seized and his wife

assaulted by Mexican troops. Mrs. Beam fired back, wounding one Mexican (Dees erroneously claims that the Mexican was killed).

Mrs. Beam was tortured (a fact Dees omits). It was only after her husband informed the Mexicans that he was not a drug dealer, but an opponent of the Federal government, that the Mexicans understood how badly they had been used by the Feds. They subsequently freed Mrs. Beam.

Louis Beam was extradited to Arkansas where he was acquitted of all charges in the landmark Federal sedition trial (which was only the third such trial in American history); a trial in which the presiding judge declared the prosecutor's case a disgusting travesty.

In *Gathering Storm*, Dees implies that Beam is the head of the militia in the U.S. This is the tabloid style of prevarication that sells the lucrative wolf tickets from which Dees derives his fortune.

In truth, Louis Beam has never been a member of any militia. But as a white separatist, he's just the scapegoat Dees requires in order to stigmatize the entire militia movement with volatile smear and bogey epithets intended to press the buttons of the corporate media.

Dees attempts to link the contemporary militia with a grab-bag of mostly defunct Klan groups, from out of Dees' aging hit-parade of lawsuits. But there is little evidence of such linkage.

In fact, white racist leaders such as Rick E. Cooper of Oregon, have decried the militia movement for its black membership and its refusal to make race—rather than resistance to the Federal government—its primary focus. In any dissident movement one will encounter a whole spectrum of radical opinion, and undoubtedly persons concerned about the integrity of the white race are attracted to the militia, but that hardly renders the militia itself a racist *core* group. The phenomenon is too disparate for any such sweeping generalization.

However, if one examines Mr. Dees' own organization, one finds a host of erstwhile government bureaucrats and repackaged Marxists, using the court system and their direct line to crony Janet Reno, to hammer their political opponents.

This is Dees' actual agenda—demonizing those whose politics are repugnant to his imperial personality, and then using the power of Federal repression to silence or jail those dissident activists.

Dees momentarily allows his mask to drop when he defends the government's mass murder at Waco and the slaughter of Randy Weaver's wife and son, at Ruby Ridge:

"Viewing the Waco incident...the deaths were by accident...The FBI pleaded with Koresh and the Davidians to come out of their compound for 51 days....

“Randy Weaver...and his wife inflamed the situation by making threatening statements...Weaver and his wife also used their children to help shield Randy from arrest.” (Dees, pp. 195-196).

This claim of hiding behind children is the same ignominious one the Israeli regime and its American mouthpiece-media make, whenever Palestinian kids are gunned down, along with their parents, by Zionist soldiers and police.

Apparently, when governments—whether in occupied Palestine or the U.S.—target the homes of civilians, where children are quite naturally going to be present, then the victims are blamed, for “using their children as shields.” Such a charge is beneath contempt.

Dees’ analysis of the Oklahoma City bombing is surreal. One the one hand, he cites the militia belief that the government bombed the facility itself. Dees characterizes that allegation as “absurd.”

Then, forgetting his own agit-prop, he says later, in a bid to paint the militia as inhuman, that, “The militia fanatics who rail against the New World Order do not even pretend that Oklahoma City bombers thought they had anything to worry about from the little children in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.”

How could they, when they believe Federal agents perpetrated the bombing? Most militiamen have championed the cause of the deceased children in Oklahoma from the beginning, magnifying the cry of one dead child’s mother, who wondered why the parents were not given the same advance warning that key government officials apparently possessed, when those officials absented themselves from their offices in the Murrah building, that fateful day.

Dees can’t keep his lies straight however and factoring subtle aspects of the Oklahoma case are clearly not in his interest or perhaps even within his intellectual capacity.

Furthermore, he claims that, “President George Bush did the nation a great service when he resigned from the National Rifle Association. The organization had described ATF agents as ‘jack-booted government thugs...’” (p. 195).

Of course Dees would be the first to condemn Nazi stormtroops, but he upholds ATF stormtroops. It’s not the tactics Dees disagrees with, but the targets. Suppressing the yeomanry of America by placing them under the iron heel of a police state, is necessary for the imposition of the kind of plutocracy of which Dees is an adherent.

The contention of *Gathering Storm* is that the militia movement has a hidden, Klan-like agenda, but for the time being, is attiring itself in more palatable imagery and rhetoric.

The same can be said of the well-connected Dees, who came close to being named Attorney General during the Jimmy Carter administration. Dees is in favor of the disarmament of the poor and working class through gun confiscation schemes advanced by his ideological soul-mate, Rep. Charles Schumer of New York.

Schumer is a rabid gun-controller who, like his cohorts at the *N.Y. Times*, does not believe in gun control for Jewish “settlers” on the West Bank, however. Israeli “settlers” (the Palestinians are presumably, the Indians), are allowed to have the most powerful automatic weapons. Only American working stiffs are to be disarmed. The rich and the well-connected, whether in Hebron or Brooklyn, can be assured of receiving weapon permits. Dees, like the Bolsheviks he emulates, ardently desires to use the police and the jails against his political foes. But he articulates little of this overtly. Rather, he strikes a chameleon’s pose and presents himself as a “concerned citizen” determined to halt “extremism” and “fanaticism.”

That he himself is a frontman for fanatical Zionists and Marxist extremists is never mentioned. Dees denounces “private militias” when they are of a political philosophy which he execrates. He has not one word of condemnation however, for the private Jewish paramilitary groups such as the JDL, who maneuver with tacit government approval in the California desert and the Catskill mountains of New York. Dees himself employs a heavily armed private goon squad.

Morris Dees is a political soldier, fighting an unconditional war on behalf of the Money Power, for the extirpation of nationalist and nativist communities. The bottom line lurking beneath Dees’ humanitarian jargon, is the disarmament of his political enemies as a prelude to their slaughter.

“*Gathering Storm*” is a tedious, p.c. flop, bound for the remainder shelves. Its solipsistic fantasies, cycled through the distorting prism of the hysterical alarmism of liberal hypocrisy, make the Report of the Tenth Plenary Session of the People’s Republic of Albania, compelling reading by comparison.

Matters are not helped by Dees’ incessant self-promotion and whining, which managed to exasperate even a couple of employees of the corporate media.

Bill Wallace, writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* states that “...the self-congratulatory tone of *Gathering Storm* soon begins to cloy...”

Joel Connelly of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* says, “*Gathering Storm*’ is the work of a windbag. Morris Dees is a man of towering ego. Page upon page is given over to the author blowing his own horn...The reader gets a gassy account of how Dees took his quarter-horse for a long ride, to work off his frustrations after the 1994 election.”

Indeed, this book is the 254 page equivalent of Dees breaking wind. The militia “threat” seems not half so odious as the mental flatulence retailed by the authors.

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The ADL Targets Shortwave Stations

By Nelson Rosit

In an article in the September 1995 issue of *Free Speech*, "The FCC's Selective Persecution of Dissident Radio," Kevin Strom reported on the harassment of our shortwave carrier, station WRNO, by the Federal Communications Commission. The vehicle for this harassment was an FCC regulation prohibiting shortwave stations from carrying programs aimed solely at a domestic audience. Of course, the assertion that *American Dissident Voices* is not intended for an international audience and is directed solely at American listeners is completely groundless, but the FCC demanded that WRNO prove that this was the case.

In their letter to WRNO, the FCC claimed that they were responding to complaints made about four programs aired on Saturday and Sunday evenings. Mr. Strom asked rhetorically, "Isn't it strange that out of hundreds of programs about which such questions might be raised, all four programs complained about are ones which criticize the role of organized Jewry in contemporary society? Must be a coincidence, don't you think?"

If anyone had any doubts about the coincidence they should be dispelled by *Poisoning The Airwaves: The Extremist Message of Hate on Shortwave Radio*, an Anti-Defamation League report put out recently. In this report, which characterizes shortwave as the "CNN for right-wing groups," the ADL laments that this medium "is cheap, reaches a large audience, and, perhaps most importantly, almost no government regulations are imposed on it."

Despite this last claim, the ADL goes on to charge that perhaps Federal regulations are being violated since, "there are several shortwave stations that broadcast extremist programs clearly meant for domestic US audiences." This is the same issue raised by the FCC regarding *American Dissident Voices*. Thus, it seems likely that the "complaints" that the FCC says it was responding to originated with the ADL or similar groups intent upon intimidating shortwave stations which carry Politically Incorrect programs.

Anyone who has listened to ADV for any length of time knows that we often deal with international issues, issues that concern White people worldwide. We have a stack of correspondence from foreign listeners to prove that we do reach people worldwide, and the ADL, with its vast intelligence network, certainly is aware of this. The truth is, our international reach is what concerns them the

most. Narrow racial-nationalist movements are easier to control. However, the prospects of White solidarity worldwide is truly our enemies' worst nightmare.

National Vanguard Books

P.O. Box 330

Hillsboro, WV 24946

Source: The Jewish Bulletin of Northern California

Pentagon lambasted by ADL for doubting Jews' U.S. loyalty

MATTHEW DORF

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, February 2, 1996

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Under fire from the Anti-Defamation League, the Department of Defense has repudiated a memo by its security agency warning government contractors that "strong ethnic ties" to American Jews allow Israel to steal military and industrial secrets "aggressively."

A low-level field official in upstate New York issued a confidential memo to defense contractors in October putting them on alert for Israeli espionage.

"The strong ethnic ties to Israel present in the U.S., coupled with aggressive and extremely competent intelligence personnel, has resulted in a very productive collection effort," the three-page memo states.

After the memo's existence was first reported in the February issue of the Jewish monthly magazine Moment, the Defense Department went public with its disdain for the memo.

"I want to stress that the content of this document does not reflect the official position of the Department of Defense," Assistant Secretary of Defense Emmett Paige Jr. wrote to Abraham Foxman, the ADL's national director.

"While we object to the document in general, singling out ethnicity as a matter of counterintelligence vulnerability is particularly repugnant to the department," he wrote.

The department stopped distribution of the memo in December and, as a result of the public outcry, has "canceled" the memo.

In a letter to the department, Foxman had chastised it for singling out Israel and its strong ethnic ties in the United States.

"This is a distressing charge which impugns American Jews and borders on anti-Semitism," Foxman wrote.

"In addition, we are disturbed by the general tenor of the memorandum considering the fact that Israel is America's longtime ally, considering the fact that only five years ago Israel refrained from taking military steps against Iraq despite Scud missile attacks because its U.S. ally asked for restraint."

Foxman called the department's response "the beginning, but not the answer."

"To issue a blip that the memo was canceled doesn't mean anything" unless there is a new memo sent detailing the department's policy, Foxman said.

In addition, Foxman belittled the department's claim that the author of the original memo was a low-level staffer. "That's her job" to write security memos, he said.

In a second letter Foxman sent on Tuesday, the ADL reiterated its request for an internal investigation into the matter.

Rep. Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), who is Jewish, added her voice to those calling for an investigation.

In a letter to Secretary of Defense William Perry, Lowey wrote: "I deeply resent the implication that American Jews would commit treason against their nation because of their Jewish heritage."

For their part, the department has "instructed appropriate personnel that similar documents will not be produced in the future," Paige wrote.

The memo labeled Israel a "nontraditional adversary" and warned contractors that "Israelis have a voracious appetite for information on intentions and capabilities relating to proliferation topics, i.e., nuclear, chemical and biological weapons."

The memo cited the case of Jonathan Pollard, a former U.S. Navy intelligence analyst serving a life sentence for spying for Israel, as a prime example of the danger faced by government contractors.

Pollard, who is Jewish, cited his loyalty to Israel as a reason for his espionage work.

"Pollard conveyed vast quantities of classified information to Israel for ideological reasons and personal financial gain," the memo stated.

Other incidents alleged include a 1986 theft of proprietary information from Chicago-based Recon Optical Inc., for which Israel paid \$3 million in damages in 1993, according to the memo.

The memo concluded with an oft-cited charge that Israel gave China U.S. technology for the Communist regime's fighter-plane program. The United States has never proven the charge, which Israel has vehemently denied.

An Israeli official in Washington refused to address the charges in the memo but said the Pentagon response speaks for itself.

While the memo drew swift condemnation, the charge that American Jews have greater loyalty to Israel than the United States is not new.

Polls consistently show over the past 30 years that about one-third of all Americans believe that American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States.

Another 20 percent of Americans routinely answer that they do not know where Jews' loyalties lie, according to "Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America," a study published by the American Jewish Committee.

Source: The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, July 1996, pgs. 24, 93

“Lies, Damn Lies and Statistics” The ADL’s 1995 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents

by Lenni Brenner

If politically oriented Americans had to describe the Anti-Defamation League, most would call it the leading Jewish civil rights organization. They know it best for its annual survey of anti-Semitism, which is widely cited in our major dailies. Even many critics presume that at least the *Audit* can be relied upon. But the *1995 Audit* reminds us, there are “lies, damn lies and statistics.”

Let’s start with the statistics. “The total number of...acts against both property and persons was 1,843. This...represents a decrease of...11 percent, from the 1994 total.” As there are 263 million Americans, and circa 5.5 million Jews, anti-Semitism is insignificant. However even the 1,843 figure distorts reality. It breaks down to 1,116 incidents of harassment, threat and assault, and 727 acts of vandalism, with the events in each category being so disparate that the two overall numbers tell us next to nothing.

Harassment, threats, and assaults includes “a large variety” of acts, from mailing Nazi literature to “Holocaust-denial advertisements in campus newspapers.” Thus there were 118 anti-Semitic campus incidents including six ads in school papers submitted by a rich crank. The editors printed them on free-press grounds. We may disagree with their decision, but there were no anti-Semitic incidents at those schools.

Because there were few campus incidents, they are described, even if minimally. Eight took place at Kennesaw College in Georgia over a three-month period. Three were “flyers distributed,” three were flyers or messages taped to mailboxes or doors, two were “graffiti found in the library.” We speculate that all were done by one person, who then got a job delivering pizza or whatever. But by listing them separately it looks like Kennesaw is a hot-bed of anti-Semitism with almost 7 percent of all campus incidents taking place there. Similarly, there were six swastikas found on six days at Pennsylvania State University, and eight incidents at Kean College in New Jersey, with seven being things like “swastika drawn on an anti-bias poster.”

Mad Itemization

This mad itemization has not escaped criticism. Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, ridicules “too much counting of swastikas in bathrooms.” Sure enough, the *Audit* does this: “Swastikas and racist remarks found in a bathroom” (Kean College); “Sticker denying the Holocaust found in a bathroom” (Northwestern University); “Anti-Semitic graffiti on a bathroom wall targeting a Jewish professor” (University of Pittsburgh).

The eighth Kean College listing is “Leonard Jeffries gave a speech which included a diatribe against Jews.” However, we aren’t given an example. An illustration of the ADL’s success in demonizing some of its targets is the fact that well-intended people have been led into seeing Jeffries as a crackpot black racist. Yet this is what he actually said, in dealing with the Jewish role in black slavery, in a July 20, 1991 speech which the ADL claims is one of the most infamous orations of our age: “Now, we’re not talking about most Jews. Most Jews were being beat up and down Europe persecuted for being Jewish. We’re talking about rich Jews, and we specifically make that distinction.”

Five incidents were speeches by Stokely Carmichael, the 1960s civil rights leader, aka Kwame Ture. At the University of Maryland he declared that “Zionism is the enemy of humanity”; at Washington University in Missouri he “distributed literature from the World Wide African Anti-Zionist Front”; and at the University of Pennsylvania he “referred to ADL as the ‘African Death League.’”

What kind of a monster are we dealing with here, Holmes? Given the ADL’s ranting against the African National Congress while it was fighting apartheid, not a few blacks (and whites) would see “African Death League” as a carefully measured description. In any case Ture is no anti-Semite. His position was spelled out during the Iraq war, in a May 1991 article in *The Anti-War Activist*: “We must properly distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. But our slogan must be King’s slogan: ‘Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.’”

There were “108 individuals arrested in connection with anti-Semitic bias crimes.” The FBI charged four named suspects, involved with the “Tri-State Militia,” in a failed effort to bomb several organizations, including the ADL. A 22-year-old was sentenced to jail for mounting a pig’s head on a synagogue. Two youths who desecrated a Jewish cemetery on Halloween were arrested on state charges in New Jersey and indicted under a civil rights statute by a federal grand jury. “A racially mixed group of five young men, ages 15 to 18, was...convicted” for two assaults. But the other shoes never fall. We are told nothing about the other individuals.

Every poll shows anti-Semitism declining.

There is a reason. Irwin Suall, the ADL’s chief fact-finder, i.e., head spy, once told me that the majority of those arrested for anti-Semitic crimes were white teenagers with no connection to hate organizations. Such incidents, painting swastikas on tombstones and the like, don’t rise above malicious mischief. They do it because it makes adults furious. Indeed only 17 incidents, down from 24, involved organized neo-Nazi skinheads.

The most serious incident occurred on Dec. 8, 1995, when Roland Smith, an African-American ex-mental patient, stormed into Freddy’s Fashion Mart on 125th Street in Harlem. Eight people, none Jewish, died in the blaze he set, including Smith, who had demonstrated against the Jewish owner over a dispute with a black

tenant. But the Feb. 27 *New York Times* reported that “law enforcement officials said they had been unable to tie Mr. Smith’s actions to any other protesters.”

Smith and the white would-be bombers saw “the Jews” as the enemy of *their* people, but their actions are abhorred by the vast majority of those they claim to champion. Every poll shows anti-Semitism declining. But although the 1992 *Highlights from an Anti-Defamation League Survey on Anti-Semitism and Prejudice in America* admitted that “a 1964 ADL survey showed that three-of-ten Americans (29 percent) held a significant number of anti-Semitic beliefs. Today, the number is down to 20 percent.” The *Survey* called an almost one-third decline in anti-Semitic beliefs a “modest decrease” and a “jarring testimony to the intractableness of certain strains of prejudice.” Yet the poll shows such views to be most likely found among “older, less-educated” people, which means that anti-Semitism will continue declining. Archie Bunker isn’t about to become the American Adolf Hitler.

The *Survey* found that the percentage accepting traditional canards about sharp Jewish business practices is down, but that the percentages believing Jews stick together, are more loyal to Israel than to the U.S., and have too much power have gone up. However, Philip Weiss discussed this in the Jan. 29 issue of *New York* magazine: “(W)hen the Anti-Defamation League surveys the goyim, one of the questions it asks is whether they think Jews stick together. If they say yes, that’s evidence of anti-Semitic attitudes. Urging Jews to stick together on the one hand while at the same time blasting the world for believing that we stick together: I don’t think you can really have it both ways.”

Jerome Chanes, editor of *Antisemitism in America Today*, also responded to the *Survey*: “Jews in America are a power group; is it unreasonable for some people to ask whether Jews have too much power?” Weiss pointed out that “When the NRA exercises political power, it’s a hot-button issue. When Jewish money plays a part, discussing it is anti-Semitic.”

Weiss correctly remarked that “The redistribution of wealth and privilege helps explain the friction between blacks and Jews. For all the historic talk about commonality in persecution, our statuses are today sharply different.” Yet though the ADL never stops denouncing black anti-Semitism, the poll showed that “the overall level of anti-Semitism among blacks has declined.” In the last New York senatorial race, the black percentage for Robert Abrams, a Jew, was higher than the percentage of Jews voting for him.

The main black ADL target is Louis Farrakhan, who has definitely expressed anti-Jewish sentiments. His paper, *The Final Call*, reported on March 15, 1995 that he claims the ADL “has been used to fight anybody...who would expose those Jews who have been at the root of the control of the banking system of the Federal Reserve.” However, the ADL doesn’t claim the Nation of Islam is involved in violence against Jews. The ADL vehemently opposed the Million Man March, calling it “The Largest Event Led by an Anti-Semite in American History.” But Farrakhan made no anti-Semitic remarks at the rally. He called for reconciliation with the Jewish establishment, and urged the crowd to join the mosque, church or synagogue of their choice.

Jew-hatred will never be a basis for a black mass movement. In fact such a movement is the practical answer to it. This was proved by Cornel West, Ron Daniels and other progressives who ignored the ADL and united with Farrakhan. He knew that if he injected anti-Semitism into the March, those progressives, whose participation in planning it was crucial, would have raced for the exit.

Another Freddy's can happen. But an anti-Semitic mass movement, black or white, can't happen, not even in the wake of a 1929-style Depression. Anti-Semitic traditions permeated Germany's upper and middle classes. Our capitalists are not anti-Semites the CIA and the Federal Reserve are headed by Jews and our middle class worships the ground under Jewish entertainers.

Weiss wrote that "We were oppressed. Today we aren't, but we still seem to be competing with the blacks for victim points." Surely the ADL is guilty of this when it gives endless publicity to Holocaust deniers who most Americans would have never heard of but for it. And Bronfman is correct. The ADL wildly inflates the significance of contemporary anti-Semitism when it patrols the men's rooms of America, from Key West to the Aleutian Islands, counting swastikas.

Brandeis sociologist Earl Raab says only one in 10 Jews experienced anti-Semitism in recent years. Given the propensity of Zionists to see anti-Semitism in even mild criticisms of Israel, the percentage who had to confront real Jew-hatred is surely smaller. Yet, according to J. J. Goldberg, in the May 17, 1993 *New Republic*, "ever growing numbers of Jews believe anti-Semitism in America is rising to crisis proportions." He says that, "In private, some Jewish agency staffers insist the alarmist tone set by....the ADL" is responsible for the hysteria. "People give generously to the...ADL."

Certainly it is trying to justify its \$32 million per year budget. In addition it uses these audits to push its purblind political agenda, notably the notion that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. And since the 1960s the ADL has been the venomous enemy of all black movements that empathize with the Palestinians as fellow oppressed.

However, on one point Goldberg is incorrect. The "ever-growing numbers" of Jews that he sees believing the ADL line only represent the minority of Jews who still are affiliated to the rump organized community. The bulk of better-educated Jewish youth who are intermarrying are not usually polled by the surveys he relies upon. And the truly significant statistic is that the number of informed Jews who see through the ADL's confidence game, as with Bronfman, Weiss, Chanes, Raab and Goldberg, is rising.

He was hopeful this would come to pass.

In an interview earlier this year, Yehudi Menuhin told a Reuters reporter he was saddened by renewed fighting in the Middle East, "because Israel needs friends and the reaction to the present unleashing of indiscriminate killing is not going to win Israel any friends."

In a beautifully written autobiography, *Unfinished Journey*, Yehudi Menuhin tells of how he began playing the violin when he was four. The reader can picture a little boy in knee-pants having the confidence to present himself before distinguished musicians and announce that they should give him an audience. He made his debut at the age of seven. By the time he was 13, he had performed in Paris, London, New York and Berlin. In Berlin, his performance was hailed by physicist Albert Einstein.

Reuters' reporter Roger Jeal in London wrote that Yehudi Menuhin was probably the world's highest paid musician "before he extended his range to conducting and teaching." One might wonder if the change in what he was paid—and how many concerts he played—did not come about because he increasingly played his violin and spoke on behalf of greater understanding and justice—not just for Jews—but for all of humankind as well.

Earlier this year Yehudi Menuhin turned 80. I salute him as one of my great heroes. And it seems to me that father Moshe Menuhim would be most proud of this son.

Source: Washington Report On Middle East Affairs – October 1996, pg. 20

Earning My Living as a Writer: The Year the ADL Changed My Job Description

by Grace Halsell

When I made my first journey to Jerusalem in 1979, I had earned my living as a writer for 37 years. I always thought I was lucky, being able to sell articles and pay my way around — and around — the world. I lived as a writer in Europe, the Far East and South America. I also went as a writer to cover the conflicts in Korea, Vietnam and Bosnia. For most of my life, I've reported what I saw with my own eyes and what others on the scene told me.

Since I have earned my living as a writer since my high school days, it came as a surprise to learn that a Jewish organization chose, unilaterally and arbitrarily, to classify me not as a reporter, journalist or writer but rather as a propagandist. What prompted one organization to assume the authority of changing my job description?

I was one of 34 persons identified as propagandists in A Handbook, 1983 — First Edition, put out by a Jewish organization, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). While the others on the list undoubtedly would think of themselves as professional persons — doctors, lawyers, heads of organizations — in the ADL listing they, like me, become propagandists. We were singled out for one purpose: we've said that as regards the Arab-Israeli conflict, there are two sides of the story — and that most Americans know only one.

Our sin, in the eyes of the Jewish ADL, is having disseminated Pro-Arab Propaganda in America. Although the ADL champions the cause of justice for all Jews, it apparently does not condone others speaking of justice for Palestinians.

Looking at the ADL Handbook, I am left wondering: how widely has it been circulated? If any of those listed in the Handbook apply for a job, will a boss clear their names with the ADL? Is the Handbook used as a guide for pro-Israeli editors not to print articles written by anyone the ADL terms a propagandist? Is it a guide for pro-Israeli lecture agents to refrain from sponsoring any speaker who mentions the plight of Palestinians? Is the action taken by the ADL intended to set us aside, to mark us for life with a brand of their choosing?

As a child, I often heard my father relate how, in the frontier days before fenced-in property, he heated over open flames an iron rod and put a brand on cattle. Later, living through the Second World War, I learned that the Nazis branded individuals by forcing them to wear yellow arm bands. The arm bands were used to brand Jews, gypsies and other so-called enemies of the state as different, suspect, not reliable, unsuitable. In its Handbook, the ADL also chooses to set individuals apart.

The intent is to suggest that we are suspect, unreliable.

Unlike branded cattle, I do not suffer the pain of burning flesh. Nor am I forced to wear a yellow arm band. Since I suffer no physical abuse, is it fair at all to make an analogy with those who endured torture worse than death and of the multitude of others who indeed were killed? Compared with those tragedies, the ADL listing of individuals in a handbook may seem innocent and non-invasive. Yet, while the dissemination of such a handbook is done professionally, with skill, sophistication and subtle use of pejoratives, the intent seems clear: it is to suggest that we differ from the norm, that we are suspect, unreliable, not given to write or relate what we see with veracity.

The ADL Handbook targeted a medical doctor, a former U.S. senator, 10 university professors and 3 attorneys. It listed a half-dozen men of Jewish heritage: Rabbi Elmer Berger, Edmund R. Hanauer, Mark Lane, Alfred M. Lilienthal, Haviv Schieber and Israel Shahak. And it named 23 Arab Americans presumably guilty of being pro-Arab.

In addition to individuals, the ADL Handbook also targeted 31 organizations. In this listing, 17 were committed to giving the Palestinian side of the story. These organizations, in their financial resources, membership and over-all influence and

impact on American society, may be likened to a grain of sand in the vast sea of huge, wealthy pro-Israel groups that operate throughout the United States.

Since the pro-Israel organizations are so vast and successful in their endeavors and the pro-Arab groups so small and largely ineffectual, why did an influential Jewish organization, one of the wealthiest and most powerful in America, go on the attack? In the ADL Handbook preface, it explained that after the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israel began to get bad publicity:

The nightly television news which brought pictures of death and destruction directly from Lebanese battlefields, and the print media with its exaggerated casualty figures created fertile ground for the latest propaganda campaign characterizing Israel as a militaristic, brutal and oppressive nation.

Blaming the Messenger

The ADL gave no rebuttal to charges that Israel in its invasion of Lebanon was acting as a militaristic, brutal and oppressive nation. Rather than investigate the charges, the ADL investigated those who called attention to the wrong. It blamed the print media with its exaggerated casualty figures. Generally, the press reported that the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon killed and wounded some 200,000 people, most of them civilians. The ADL in its Handbook, found no fault with the invasion itself, only what it termed exaggerated casualty figures.

The Handbook's purpose, ADL reported in its preface, is to identify the leading individuals and organizations who have mounted this and previous propaganda campaigns targeted against Israel. If the massacre simply were not reported, the Handbook seems to imply, Israel and its supporters would have had no problems with the massacre itself.

One result of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon was Israel slicing off a portion of Lebanon which became known as Israel's security zone. The Handbook pointed out, however, that criticism of Israel started much earlier on than the invasion of Lebanon, and in fact, the criticism started at the very beginning of the Jewish state:

Shortly after the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, the preface said, there were those questioning the basic legality of the infant state. Indeed, most American Jews at that time did not support Zionism nor its goal to take land from Palestinians. In 1967, after Israel initiated a new war, seizing military control of the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, critics of Israel, the Handbook said, promoted the myth of an oppressive, imperialistic Israel seeking to expand her borders from the Jordan to the Euphrates.

Again, the Handbook, while claiming that the descriptive terms are myth, gave no evidence that refuted an aggressive, imperialistic Israel — one that was dramatically and successfully executing a plan to expand her borders. Rather than being a myth, it was, especially for the victims, a tragic reality.

In the wake of the Camp David accords, the preface continued, champions of Palestinian rights began calling attention to issues they claimed had been overlooked by the 1979 peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel. Charging the Jewish state with gross human rights violations — including torture, educational and economic repression of the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, the propagandists stepped up their campaign aimed at discrediting Israel in the eyes of the American public.

Here again, rather than deal with the accusations — that Israel engages in gross human rights violations — including torture, and educational and economic repression of the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza the Handbook attacked not what might be at fault, worthy of ADL's own investigation, but rather those who expose the wrongs.

By branding those who say Israel engages in gross human rights violations as suspect characters, the ADL hopes that others will see the charges as a myth, coming from persons not so pure as the rest of society.

ADL Blocking Software

ADL/AOL Blocking Software

AOL has 10 million subscribers. What ADL wants is to have AOL include software set to block the ADL list, knowing that most neophytes will never know they are blocked or figure out how to unblock access. Thus the key issue is whether ADL can reach a deal with AOL blocking right wing sites as the default option. Note also the fact that Fletcher and his editors somehow instinctively and reflexively know to use a well worn propaganda technique to set the proper emotional tone at the beginning of their NEWS article. The crude image of Klan hangings is used to justify the private censorship effort of ADL. In fact, the ADL is interested in blocking access to the intellectual sites, not the crude ones! Many of the crude sites are run by liberals trying to discredit us. This is just one more example of how ADL gains control of the media.

Yggdrasil

Oct. 24, 1997

Web sees hate sites spread

- As alarm rises, however, free-speech activists worry about proposed cures**

BY MICHAEL FLETCHER
The Washington Post

WASHINGTON – If a contestant misses a word while playing the online version of the game hangman on a Ku Klux Klan Web site, he gets to hang “Leroy,” an African American figure. After the lynching, the computer screams: “You win!”

Another site on the World Wide Web promotes the fictional notion that the Holocaust never occurred. “Did six million die?” it asks.

Still another Web site proclaims that Jews are “the anti-Christ,” the result of a union between Eve and Satan. Another resurrects the ridiculous tale, popular in 19th century Europe, that Jews use the blood of Christian children as an ingredient in matzo.

Those are a small part a fast growing phenomenon cited in a new Anti-Defamation League report on the use of the Internet by racist and other hate groups to spread their messages and recruit supporters.

The ADL says there are 250 hate sites on the World Wide Web, a figure that has more than doubled in the past year.

While racist and separatist groups have long distributed their propaganda using everything from fliers and newspapers to radio shows and public access cable, the ADL says the Internet represents a more ominous threat because of its revolutionary low cost and global reach.

“Shrewd bigots of all kinds are rushing to use the enormous power of this new communications medium, and we must match and surpass them,” said Abraham Foxman, the ADL’s national director. “We must continue to expose them, to hold them up to public scrutiny and to counter their messages of hate.”

The ADL says children are especially vulnerable to these materials because they are more likely to accept them as fact.

How to combat hate on the Internet is a problem the ADL is struggling to solve. Most speech on the Internet is protected by the First Amendment, putting it out of reach of

lawmakers. Also, many Internet access providers are reluctant to censor materials voluntarily, for fear of the unending demands that would no doubt surface.

"We have people who say 'Tom Sawyer' and 'The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn' ought not be in the library," said Dennis Van Roekel, a National Education Association official who spoke at an ADL panel Tuesday on hate on the Internet.

ADL is working with America Online to develop software that would allow people to filter out hate sites.

"There is nothing wrong with brand-name filtering software," said Christian Wolf, a lawyer working with ADL to monitor objectionable material on the Internet. "If you don't like ADL's view of the world, you don't have to use our software."

The idea of software filters does not sit well with free-speech advocates. Barry Steinhardt, associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said any type of censorship is something the ACLU will watch closely.

"We of course have always believed that the best response to bad speech is more speech," he said. "We applaud the ADL for bringing to light what they view as hate speech and for responding to it.... (But) we are waiting to see precisely how the ADL software is to work and what their alliance with America Online will be."

Bookburners and Their Victims: First-Hand Accounts of Pro-Israel McCarthyism

In California Court Case, ADL Still Delaying Disclosure of Where It Got and What It Did With Personal Data on Anti-Apartheid and Pro-Palestinian Activists

By Kurt Holden

WASHINGTON REPORT on Middle East Affairs
DECEMBER 1997, Page 57

In late 1992, the FBI informed the San Francisco police that one of its officers, Tom Gerard, had been secretly cooperating with a "spy," Roy Bullock, who had been secretly paid by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith for over 30 years to infiltrate organizations which the ADL deemed hostile to Israel.

Gerard was believed to have illegally turned over to Bullock material gathered from police files. Worse, the police previously had been ordered to destroy those files, which a court had ruled violated the civil rights of the people upon whom files had been opened.

Bullock's job was to collect facts about "enemies of Israel" which were then organized in central ADL files in Los Angeles and New York, and used for confidential dissemination to the "active" Jewish community, which could be counted on to take "counter-action" to neutralize or discredit these "enemies."

In the 1980s, Bullock's assignments had been expanded to include surveillance of individuals and organizations opposed to apartheid in South Africa, presumably because Israel and South Africa were allies, drawn to each other because both were resisting United Nations human rights resolutions regarding the Palestinians and indigenous South Africans.

Bullock would ingratiate himself into Arab-American and anti-apartheid groups by indicating he was in sympathy with their goals. Attending their meetings and going into their homes, he would note their car license plates and, through "official friends" who were police officers or who had access to government records, try to get drivers' license numbers, P. O. boxes and criminal investigative reports, if such existed.

FBI officials had become interested in 1992 when they discovered that in addition to collecting information for the ADL, Bullock and Gerard were selling information to South African intelligence agents.

The San Francisco police, made up of officers largely of Irish and Italian ethnic backgrounds (and certainly not aware of the enormous political clout of the Jewish community), obtained search warrants and seized some 12 boxes of records at the ADL headquarters in Los Angeles and San Francisco in early 1993.

Subsequently they sent notices to some 12,000 people and organizations whose names were found in ADL's files. In at least two cases, they also provided such individuals with excerpts from ADL's files on them which obviously had come from confidential government records.

Both individuals, Jeffrey Blankfort and Steve Zeltzer, were prominent Jewish advocates of fairness to Palestinians and for ending apartheid in South Africa. From those activities they already were aware that the ADL worked in cooperation with Israel's Mossad.

In 1993 they and 17 other plaintiffs filed a class-action lawsuit in the San Francisco Superior Court. The suit has become known as Audrey Parks Shabbas, et al., plaintiffs, vs. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, et al., defendants. In addition to the three above-named plaintiffs, others are Victor Ajlouny, Yigal Arens (son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens), Amal Barkouky-Winter, Manuel Dudum, Colin Edwards, Carol El-Shaib, George Green, Paula Kotakis,

Stephen Mashney, Helen Hooper McCloskey, Margaret Ann McCormack, Donald McGaffin, Anne Poirier, Agha Saeed, Jock Taft and Marianne Torres. Attorney for the plaintiffs is former Congressman Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, who practices law in Woodside, California.

In fact, the suit was filed on behalf of two classes of individuals--those who opposed Israeli policies toward the Palestinians and those who opposed apartheid in South Africa. The lawsuit alleged an invasion of their privacy, citing a California law which imposes a minimum of \$2,500 in punitive damages for each act of publication of confidential information obtained from governmental files.

The ADL responded by arguing that it is a newsgathering organization and thus entitled to the reporter's privilege of keeping sources of information secret.

Under California law and a famous Supreme Court ruling known as the Mitchell decision, a plaintiff is barred from obtaining what a reporter claims is "privileged" information until the plaintiff can show that he has exhausted all other reasonable means of obtaining the facts necessary to prove his case, and has met four other requirements. For four and a half years, ADL refused to produce the information.

An Order to Disclose

Depositions were taken of ADL employees and law enforcement personnel, but ADL was able to withhold the information until Aug. 19, 1997, when Judge Alexander Saldamando of San Francisco ruled that ADL and the San Francisco police would have to disclose to the plaintiffs the illegally obtained information, from whom it had been obtained, and to whom it was sent.

ADL has announced it will seek a writ from the Court of Appeals to block enforcement of Judge Saldamando's order. The result should be

known by Oct. 30, which is the date ADL is required to produce the information.

The stubborn refusal of ADL to reveal where it received its information, and to whom and for what purposes it was disclosed, promises many more revealing insights on the methods and motivations of this American-incorporated organization which has been working diligently on behalf of the governments of Israel and apartheid South Africa.

Kurt Holden is a free-lance writer who divides his time between the U.S. and the Middle East.

Source: CounterPunch, 3220 N Street, NW, Suite 346, Washington, DC 20007
1-800-840-3683, counterpunch@counterpunch.org, Edited by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair

The ADL Snoops

Were the Spies “Journalists”?

The organization's main “fact-finder” was doubling as a spy for the white South African government while his buddy, a San Francisco cop who had tutored El Salvadoran death squads on the finer aspects of torture, was providing its officials with personal information on the organization's putative enemies when the story broke in San Francisco in December, 1992. The organization was the Anti-Defamation League.

The ADL claims to be the nation's leading defender against prejudice and bigotry but in this instance its targets were members of the African National Congress and its supporters, and apparently everyone, Arab and non-Arab, who had the temerity to criticize Israel. This included some who drove to Arab community events where the ADL's “fact-finder,” Roy Bullock, and the cop, Tom Gerard, took turns writing down their license plate numbers, which Gerard turned into addresses thanks to his access to California motor vehicle records.

Their spying efforts proved to be part of a much larger intelligence gathering operation that targeted some 12,000 individuals and more than 600 left-of-center organizations in northern California. After the first flurry of publicity, the ADL's spin doctors successfully kept the story from receiving the national coverage that the situation warranted. But the story hasn't gone away.

Last November the California Court of Appeals handed down a decision that paves the way for a major test later this year of the ADL's penchant for spying on its enemies. It was the most significant episode in a slow-moving class-action case filed in 1993 by 19 pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists who claim to be victims of the ADL's snooping operations.

The plaintiffs say they were illegally spied on by Bullock, then considered the ADL's top “fact-finder” by his now deceased chief, Irwin Suall, and that such spying constituted an invasion of privacy under the provisions of the California Constitution.

The ADL's defense, accepted by the court in 1994, is that the Jewish defense organization is, collectively, a “journalist” and, therefore, can legally engage in information-gathering activities regardless of the source. At question was access by the plaintiffs to information contained in 10 boxes of files seized by the San Francisco police from the ADL's San Francisco office in April, 1993,

and placed under court seal where the ADL has fought fiercely to keep them. In the years since then, efforts by the court to settle the case have foundered on the ADL's refusal to allow potentially embarrassing depositions taken by plaintiffs' lawyer ex-Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey of Bullock, ADL officials and police officers to be made public and its files opened. The plaintiffs have been unwilling to compromise on either of these issues.

Then, in September, 1997, Judge Alex Saldamondo ruled that McCloskey's clients were entitled to see what the ADL had on them in its files. Two plaintiffs, Jeffrey Blankfort and Steve Zeltzer, co-founders of the Labor Committee on the Middle East, who had "outed" Bullock as an ADL spy after he infiltrated their group in 1987, received an extract of their files from the DA's office the day before they were ordered sealed. Both contain illegally obtained information, much of which, say Blankfort and Zeltzer, is erroneous.

When ADL's appeal of that decision was rejected by Court of Appeals Judge Anthony Kline, the ADL persuaded the State Supreme Court to return the case to the full court for a hearing. On November 15, 1998, the court reaffirmed ADL's status as a journalist and acknowledged its right to maintain files and obtain information on all but two of the remaining plaintiffs on the basis that they are "limited-purpose public figures", which it defined as having been publicly engaged and identified in activities around a particular issue, in this instance opposition to Israeli occupation and/or South African apartheid. There is no protection, said the court, for obtaining information illegally on non-public figures.

The court made an important qualification, however, ruling that for "limited purpose" figures, the journalist's shield only applies if the information obtained is to be used for journalistic purposes. It does not protect the ADL from charges that it passed information about the plaintiffs to "foreign governments (in this instance, Israel or South Africa) or to others", which is what the plaintiffs claim the ADL has done.

Although the Court of Appeals vacated Judge Saldamondo's decision, it did state that representatives of the plaintiffs had the right to request a review of ADL's files to discover possible constitutional violations, each of which would be worth \$2500. While this may seem a small sum, there are hundreds of Arab-Americans and anti-apartheid activists whose names appear in the ADL's files who potentially could collect if the ADL loses in court or is forced to settle the case.

The origins of the story are murky. What the press reported was that the SFPD acted on a tip from the FBI, which was supposedly concerned about files on the Nation of Islam that were stolen from its local office, and arrested Gerard, who allegedly had done the pilfering. In Gerard's computer they found files on more than 7,000 individuals, many of them Arab-Americans, as well as information on hundreds of left-to-liberal organizations filed by Gerard as "pinko". In his locker, they found a black

executioner's hood, a number of photos of dark-skinned men bound and blindfolded, CIA manuals, a secret document on interrogation techniques, stamped "secret" and referring to El Salvador, and numerous passports and IDs in a variety of names, all with his picture.

This splendid fellow began meeting with Richard Hirschhaut, chief of the ADL's San Francisco office in 1986, during which, according to a "confidential" Hirschhaut memo to the aforementioned ADL chief "fact-finder" Suall, he provided "a significant amount of information" on "the activities of specific Arab organizations and individuals in the Bay Area". That memo hasn't been made public but what was reported created a nightmare for the ADL when it turned out that Gerard had been exchanging non-public, personal information from government files with Bullock, a paid informant for the ADL since 1954 and whose own computerized "pinko" files on leftish and liberal folks, when seized by the police, proved to be a third again as large as Gerard's. According to police, his computer contained the names of nearly 12,000 individuals, 77 Arab-American organizations, 29 anti-apartheid organizations, and more than 600 "pinko" groups which included such revolutionary outfits as the NAACP, Asian Law Caucus and SANE/FREEZE, as well as 20 Bay area labor unions including the SF Labor Council. There were in addition, files on 612 right-wing organizations and 27 skinhead groups.

According to SF police inspector Ron Roth, 75 percent of their contents was non-public information illegally obtained from government agencies.

After indicating that the ADL would be charged with violating the California's Business and Profession's code, SF District Attorney Arlo Smith did an extraordinary thing. He made available to the public, merely for the copying costs, some 700 pages of documents incriminating the ADL in a nation-wide intelligence gathering operation run out of New York by Suall. One of the significant parts of that report was Bullock's admission that he was paid by a South African intelligence agent to spy on anti-apartheid activists (which he was already doing for the ADL.) He had reported on a visit to California by the ANC's Chris Hani, ten days before the man expected by many to succeed Nelson Mandela, returned home to be brutally murdered.

The ADL attempted to portray Bullock as a free-lance investigator, but no one was convinced, because since 1954 Bullock had been paid through a cutout, an ADL lawyer in Beverly Hills. After his exposure, Bullock was put directly on the ADL's payroll. ADL's position on the ANC was identical to that of the South African government – they considered it to be a "terrorist", "communist" organization. At the time, Israel was furnishing arms to maintain the apartheid regime in power. In 1994, Smith announced that he would not prosecute either the ADL or Bullock since it would be "expensive and time-consuming both to the SFDA and the defendants," a curious judgement considering the overwhelming evidence in his possession.

In its settlement with the city, the ADL, admitted no wrongdoing, agreed to restrain their operatives from seeking non-public data on ADL's enemies from government agencies and, putting a happy face on the story, promised to create a \$25,000 Hate Crimes Fund and another \$25,000 for a public school course.

Another class-action case filed by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and other spied-upon groups such as CISPES, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network and the National Lawyers Guild, was settled in 1996, also under conditions favorable to the ADL, but without the approval of some of the suing groups.

In that instance, again without admitting wrongdoing or opening its files, the ADL agreed: to remove questionably obtained information from its files; that it would not seek non-public information on individuals from government employees and would pay \$25,000 to a fund to improve relations among Jews, blacks and other minorities. A similar deal was offered to McCloskey's plaintiffs but they turned it down since it would let the ADL off the hook and allow its secrets to be kept intact. Both sides will be back in Judge Saldamando's court in March to hear a new discovery motion from McCloskey and probably to set a trial date, something the ADL has been trying to avoid, given the embarrassment that would inevitably ensue, whatever the outcome. Its latest ploy has been to ask the judge for a summary judgement, in other words, dismissal of the case, something he is unlikely to do.

The deaths of veteran journalists Colin Edwards and George Green reduced the number of plaintiffs by two and subsequently four others, whose political activities were relatively limited, were dropped from the case. McCloskey, himself a victim of ADL attacks and whose wife Helen is one of the plaintiffs, is pursuing the case pro bono. Typically he is faced in court by four or five lawyers for the ADL. Contributions for the plaintiffs may be sent to Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. Atty., 333 Bradford St., Redwood City, CA 94063 (For more information see:<http://www.adlwatch.org/> or e-mail at melblcome@igc.com.) **CP**

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Secrecy Defended by ADL

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Secrecy defended by Jewish group

Fighting a lawsuit, Anti-Defamation League says that its files should be given the same protections as the work of journalists

By Bob Egelko ASSOCIATED PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO -- A Jewish civil rights organization, accused by pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists of spying on them, told a state appeals court Wednesday that its files must remain secret even if they contain information illegally disclosed by government agencies.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith acts as a journalist in gathering information and publishing reports on extremist groups, and it has the same right as any other journalist to keep its records and sources confidential, attorney Stephen Bomse told the 1st District Court of Appeal.

"Courts say a government employee may be punished for violating a duty to keep information private, but if you are a journalist, you may not be punished" for receiving the information and sharing it with others, Bomse said.

The ADL is appealing a judge's order allowing 17 activists to see material that the ADL may have gathered on them and on organizations supporting Palestinian rights and opposing South Africa's former apartheid government.

The order, issued last September by Superior Court

Judge Alex Saldamando, applies to internal ADL memos and to more than 10,000 ADL files seized by San Francisco police in 1992.

A now-retired San Francisco police inspector, Tom Girard, later pleaded no contest to a misdemeanor charge of illegally accessing government information.

Girard's ADL contact, Roy Bullock, acknowledged selling information to the South African government, then Israel's ally. The ADL said he did it on his own, but admitted that some of its information was shared with the Israeli government. The ADL paid \$75,000 to settle a civil suit by the city of San Francisco.

The activists, who include some Jewish dissidents, were notified by police that their names were in the files. They contend the ADL illegally obtained confidential records from the state and used them to get people blacklisted among the organization's supporters. The ADL denies having a blacklist and says it was merely keeping tabs on hate groups and terrorists.

The suit, which seeks class-action status for up to 1,000 people, relies on a state law banning the disclosure of confidential government information, and providing damages of \$2,500 for each disclosure. Before the files were sealed, two activists learned they contained one man's Social Security number and another's driver's license.

The suit has been stalled by the dispute over the confidentiality of ADL files. Material from the files is the activists' only hope of proving illegal disclosure -- as one appellate justice noted when Bomse argued that there was no evidence of lawbreaking that would justify invading a journalist's files.

"The reason there may not be a scintilla of evidence is that your client has it and won't disclose it," said Presiding Justice J. Anthony Kline.

Justice Paul Haerle questioned whether the ADL was "operating as a journalist" when it allegedly obtained government records, which were supposed to be confidential, and transmitted them to foreign governments.

Gathering and transmitting information is what journalists do, Bomse replied. Kline agreed, saying he assumed journalists regularly obtain records that should not have been disclosed, but added that the rules protecting journalists from suit for ferreting out newsworthy information about public figures might not apply to digging up an obscure activist's driver's license.

The activists' lawyer, former Congressman Pete McCloskey, contended the ADL's journalistic status in some of its activities did not give it the right to disclose confidential government information, even to other ADL offices.

Journalists lack "the power to invade privacy and transmit private records," he said.

A ruling is due by the end of December.

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1998 Contra Costa Times

ADL and Mossad

Date: Fri Sep 18 00:30:24 1998

CONSIDERABLE suspicion exists that the Anti-Defamation League not only serves as an "unofficial" propaganda arm of the Israeli government - a role its National Director Abe Foxman unabashedly claims - but that it also provides information on Palestinians and Arab-Americans to the Israeli government and its intelligence service, Mossad.

The suspicions increased when a Chicago resident, Mohammed Jarad, whose name appeared in Roy Bullock's files, was arrested and accused of being an agent for Hamas, upon his arrival in Israel to visit relatives in the occupied territories.

Also, as revealed in an interview with the FBI, former ADL Los Angeles operative, David Gurvitz, acknowledged that having "learned from a law enforcement contact that a known member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine," was about to travel from San Francisco to Haifa, he "called the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate and advised the Deputy Consul General." Later, a Hebrew-speaking individual from the Consulate called back to confirm the information.

Both Bullock and Gurvitz, however, denied that there is any direct link between the ADL and Mossad. However, a letter written by then National Director of the ADL, Benjamin Epstein on July 7, 1961, would indicate otherwise. Epstein was writing to Saul Jofte who was, at the time, the Executive Secretary of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, the ADL's parent organization, requesting additional funds.

"Our information," wrote Epstein, "in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli government. All

data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge that we are the source."

Joftes, a 22-year veteran with B'nai B'rith did not believe that this was the proper business of the ADL and balked; at which point B'nai B'rith decided to fire him. Joftes turned around and sued Rabbi Kaufman, the responsible B'nai B'rith executive, and entered Epstein's letter as an exhibit in his behalf.

In an affidavit filed in that action, Joftes stated: "B'nai B'rith has become an international organization engaged, by Rabbi Kaufman's admission, in other things besides charitable religious and educational activities. It is no longer non-profit. It engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the Government of Israel. Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. That is why Rabbi Kaufman tried to fire me.

"He was making B'nai B'rith a servant of the Israeli Government."

That was 1961. On May 6, 1993, the ADL's representative in Jerusalem sent a memo to National Director Abe Foxman informing him that he had attended "a small, farewell luncheon that Shimon Peres gave for Bill Harrop (the outgoing U.S. ambassador). According to Wall, "There were no other American Jewish representatives invited."

ADL Info Helped HUAC in 1947 Witch Hunts

Date: Fri Sep 18 00:27:37 1998

REPORTS THAT the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) furnished information on individuals and organizations to government agencies is not new. At press time, the MELB learned that in 1947, Congressional hearings revealed that the self-styled "civil rights" organization had been furnishing information to the U.S. Civil Service Commission on persons either alleged to be "communist," or linked, even indirectly, to someone who was. This information, was in turn, used by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the FBI.

The investigation was conducted by a House Subcommittee on the Expenditures of the Executive Department on October 3, 6 and 7, 1947. Its purpose was "to make inquiry as to the authority of the Civil Service Commission to expend federal funds to compile an 'investigators' leads file containing facts, rumor, and gossip bearing upon the views, opinions, and acts of individuals who were neither federal employees nor applicants for positions coming under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. Also to learn for what purpose the 'file' was to be used."

What the Subcommittee learned, clearly to its disgust as a reading of the hearings make clear, was that the Anti- Defamation League was major source of information which Subcommittee Chair Clare Hoffman declared to be "all hearsay."

As an example, Hoffman held up a card, referring to the National Lawyers Guild, February 20-22, 1937,* which stated that it came "from the subversive files in the office of Attorneys Mintzer & Levy, 39 Broadway, room 3305, and the files were made up in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League" (P. 17).

According to the Commission President Harry B. Mitchell, the files contained "the names of persons connected with some person who

may be disloyal, subversive in some way. And we have the names of a great many who registered as Communists, who filed a petition, a nominating petition as a member of the Communist Party" (P. 10). It also apparently, included the names of some Senators and Congressmen (sic).

"You must remember," Mitchell later acknowledged, "that there is no evidence against the names on the list." "No," responded Hoffman, "but it furnishes a most admirable smear list." (P. 17)

Subcommittee member, Fred Busbey of Illinois, asked Commissioner Arthur Flemming how he could "reconcile your statement before this committee [regarding its activities] with the order put out by the Civil Service Commission on November 3, 1943, prohibiting your investigators from even asking questions about various Communist-front organizations - whether the man read the Daily Worker, or whether he was a member of the Washington Bookshop, or the American League for Peace and Democracy, or other organizations of that type?"

Flemming replied that "the Commission became convinced that the technique being used by some of the investigators, instead of helping us achieve our objectives, was deliberately playing into the hands of the persons against whom the investigations were being conducted. That type of information could be more effectively developed in other ways without playing into [their] hands."(P. 21)

Busbey, noting the "numerous cards" in the Commission's files that came from the ADL, asked Flemming to explain the relationship that existed between anyone on his staff and the ADL, and another organization, the Friends of Democracy, whose name was linked to it on the cards.

Mr. Busbey: Do you have any knowledge as to who in your organization contacts the Anti-Defamation League and checks their files, and how often they go to their offices and check their files for leads for your files?

Mr. Flemming: I do not know, and I do not have such information.

Busbey, obviously frustrated when this line of questioning produced no results, urged the committee to "subpena before it the executive head of the Anti-Defamation League, and that they have Mintzer & Levy, I subpoenaed, to ascertain what they had to do with getting that kind of information into this file" (P. 36) The "advisability" of doing so was immediately questioned by Subcommittee assistant, Porter Hardy, the chair agreed and it went no further.

The Commissioner was adamant in his refusal to let the Subcommittee review the files, despite acknowledging that investigators from other committees, such as HUAC, and the FBI had been given access. In a letter to Hoffman, dated December 19, 1947, Commission President Mitchell reported that of the 487,033 cards (on individuals) in its New York City office, "6,000 or 7,000 cards" compiled, to some degree, "in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League." (P.63)

It should be noted that 1947 was the year in which ten Hollywood writers, producers and directors, who came to be known as the "Hollywood Ten," were called before HUAC and asked whether or not they were "now or had ever been" members of the Communist Party. All refused to answer, claiming that their First Amendment rights protected them from such an inquiry. They were judged to be in contempt of Congress and sentenced to a year in federal prison. The House Un-American Activities Committee, at the time, with whom the ADL made common bond, was largely made up of Southern racist "Dixiecrats" and ultra-right wing Northern Republicans.

*This was during the infancy of the first HUAC, which came to be known by the name of its notorious right-wing chair, Martin Dies, as the Dies Committee.

Cal on Spying and Names

Date: Fri Sep 18 00:23:41 1998

ADL Spy Network 2nd Part

Question: "What was the purpose of keeping all those names, Cal?

Answer: "What was the purpose? I was an investigator for the ADL. I investigated any and all anti-democratic movements.

Question: "And these investigations that you were doing, were they all in behalf of the ADL?

Answer: "They were all in behalf of the ADL."

(From deposition of Roy "Cal" Bullock, interviewed by San Francisco Police inspector Ron Roth, January 25. (Pp. 138 and 139)

ROY "CAL" BULLOCK has been on the "unofficial" payroll of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for nearly 40 years and as recently as July 19, 1992*, was described by its New York-based chief spymaster, Irwin Suall, as "our Number One investigator." Bullock, as of 1992, was receiving close to \$25,000 annually for monitoring what Bullock and the ADL apparently considered to be "anti-democratic" organizations and individuals. The numbers of the former stretched into the hundreds and the names of individuals he had in his computer went well beyond 10,000, according to 700 pages of documents released in April by San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith.

While Bullock monitored and at times infiltrated neo-Nazi and skinhead groups, his and the ADL's main concerns were organizations and individuals considered threats or potential threats to Israel. These seemed to include not only the more obvious targets, Palestinians and Arab-Americans and their support groups, but organizations representing virtually every segment of the progressive

social, legal and political spectrum, with a special emphasis on those opposing apartheid.

Under a separate "Arab" category he kept 77 files on 58 Arab-American organizations; among 647 groups described as "pinko," multiple files were maintained on the African National Congress and 47 other anti-apartheid organizations, both here and South Africa-based. His surveillance of the latter reflected the ADL's desire, as part of Israel's "unofficial" U.S. propaganda arm, to neutralize critics of Israel's military and economic ties to the apartheid state, an effort, which, the records show, was largely successful.

This eventually led him to do similar spying for the South African intelligence service together with his buddy, now retired San Francisco police inspector Tom Gerard who kept his own set of files (which is more than just a departmental no-no and has him already indicted and facing a possible conviction).

Among the hundreds of others groups spied upon were such diverse organizations as the NAACP, the National Indian Treaty Council, Greenpeace, the Japanese-Americans Citizens League, the Centro Legal de La Raza, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Earth Island Institute and the Harvey Milk Gay and Lesbian Democratic Club. A half dozen American Jewish and Israeli groups also received his attention including the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center, Americans for Peace Now, Friends of Yesh G'vul, the International Jewish Peace Union and Israelis Against Occupation.

There were also files on 20 Bay Area labor unions, plus the San Francisco Central Labor Council, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Boycott Shell Committee, the Green Giant Frozen Food Workers Committee and the San Francisco Chapter of the Committee for Labor Union Women. In alphabetical order, files were maintained on: AFSCME Local 3218, AFT 151, AFSCME Local 3506, Carpenters Local 22, NABET Local 51, HERE Local 2, IAM Local 565, ILWU, ILWU Local 6, NALC Local 214, OCAW, OCAW 8149, Plumbers & Fitters Local 93; SEIU Local

535, SEIU Local 616; Teamster Local 921 (S.F. TDU), United Farm Workers and UTU Local 1730.

In addition, records were kept on the Bay Area Network on Central America, the Portland Labor Committee on Central America, the Free South Africa Labor Committee and the Labor Committee on the Middle East.

In Bullock's computer, all were labeled "pinko," (which in his interview with SFPD inspector Roth, he equated with "left wing.")

Robert Carl Miller, writing in The Voice, (July/Aug. '93) the publication of the spied-upon Letter Carriers Local 214, asked:

"Why would the ADL, dedicated to 'translating the country's democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans', be wasting their time and resources (an estimated 34 million dollars a year) investigating all of the above-named groups?

Why was this spy network interested in rooting out possible anti-Semitism in the Boycott Shell Committee but had no interest in any anti-Semitism in the boardroom of Standard Oil? Are the wealthy purer of heart than the working class?

The history of oil companies is littered with anti-Semitism. Henry Ford, not the UAW, was supporter of Hitler. There were no files listed for corporations with this spy network."

What information Bullock entered into in his files will be secret, at least until September 10th, thanks to an accommodating San Francisco judge, Henry Louie, who accepted the ADL's version of reality Q that their files and those of Bullock, who remains on the ADL payroll, are their private property, as well as protected by the First Amendment.

On a more ominous note, an announcement by Smith in April that indictments would be filed against Bullock and/or the ADL by the middle of June, appears, at best, to have been premature, and at worst, projects the possibility that the massive pressure being applied to stop the investigation by the city's Jewish establishment Q not only on the D.A.'s office, but on the mayor and the chief of police Q may result in a compromise that would leave the ADL free of criminal charges (see accompanying story on Page x).

A private class action suit has already been filed by Attorney and former Congressman Paul "Pete" McCloskey, himself a long-time victim of ADL surveillance and disinformation, representing, initially, 19 individuals who believe they were victimized by the ADL either for their public opposition to Israeli policies and/or their opposition to South African apartheid. The suit contends that the ADL violated certain right to privacy laws that are protected by the California civil code which are designed to prevent private institutions, such as the ADL, from receiving and disseminating personal information that is not publicly available.

To refresh those who have not kept up with a fast-breaking story that has now slowed down to a crawl: in early December, a recently retired San Francisco policeman and former CIA operative in El Salvador, Afghanistan, Algeria and Honduras, the aforementioned Gerard, was accused by the FBI (for whom he had also previously worked) of being in possession of files on anti-apartheid activists which he had illegally obtained and was passing on to South Africa.

It was apparent, from an investigation of Gerard's computer files, that he was also, illegally, providing personal information on individuals to the ADL. He also had turned over to Bullock, hundreds of San Francisco Police Department files that the SFPD had been ordered to be destroy following a previous investigation of local police spying.

They also found in a search of Gerard's gym locker in February, a black executioner's hood, photos of blindfolded men, presumably El Salvadorans, 10 passports in different names, a CIA cable marked "Secret," what were apparently CIA interrogation manuals and over a 100 names and phone numbers under the title, "International Activities Division-Special Activities Group," a who's who of the CIA," Gerard told an L.A. Times reporter who sought him out in the Philippines where he had initially headed, one step ahead of the authorities, and from where has since returned and been indicted.

All this was proof, Gerard told the Times, (April 27) that the CIA was directly involved in the training and support of torturers and death squads operating in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in the mid-80s.

It turned out that Gerard had a partner, a beefy, pathologically anti-communist (of the Joe McCarthy stripe) dealer in Asian art named Roy Bullock, who had been a paid agent of the ADL since 1954, and who, like Gerard, had also been working for the South African government as well as moonlighting for the FBI. (In August, 1987, Bullock was revealed to be an ADL agent after joining LCOME; see MELB 4/2.)

The ADL predictably pleaded innocent and attempted to distance itself from both Gerard and Bullock, referring to the latter as a "independent contractor." To keep Bullock's undercover identity intact, the ADL paid him through a "cut- out," Bruce Hochman, a Beverly Hills attorney who serves on the organization's Southern California Board.

The ADL's alleged lack of knowledge of Bullock's activities failed to convince Yehuda Lev, associate editor of Los Angeles's Jewish Journal (April 30). Lev wrote:

"I also have enough common sense to know that a 40-year relationship with a client and agent should result in some knowledge ,

each about the other. The official explanation that Bullock was an "independent contractor," holds no water. That may affect his Social Security payments and tax deductibilty, but an employee of a firm for more than four decades is more than a freelance researcher."

Between 1985 and 1982, Hochman's checks to Bullock totaled \$169,375. His salary for 1992 was \$24,400. The ADL's failure to his pay social security taxes and withhold income tax are among the possible felonies with which ADL may be charged.

As late as February 25, the ADL was not even willing to admit to many of its own senior employees that Bullock was working for "the firm." In a memorandum sent to ADL Regional Directors on that date, Jeffrey Sinensky, ADL's Director of its Division on Civil Rights, and Ann Tourk, its Director of Community Service refer to "information [that] was found in the possession of an individual who is alleged to have a relationship with ADL." The memo also attacked reports "falsely implying that ADL worked covertly with Tom Gerard to monitor Arab Americans." Similar statements were included in a five-page booklet, "Talking Points," which the directors were advised to use in defusing criticism from ADL's "allies" in the civil rights field.

In the memo and in statements to the press, ADL officials denied any wrong doing and kept repeating that they were "cooperating" with law enforcement agencies, It was soon clear, at least to the San Francisco Police Department, that they weren't.

What the San Francisco investigators found remarkable was the refusal of the Los Angeles Police Department, which evidently had been heavily infiltrated by the ADL, to assist the SFPD in the investigation, a decision that was shamelessly hailed by the B'nai B'rith Messenger, the ADL mother organization's weekly paper in Los Angeles. (The Messenger also applauded the New York Times for not reporting the story.)

The story took a major leap when the SFPD and FBI staged multiple raids on ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and found thousands of files on individuals and organizations, some of which the ADL had apparently "doctored" in the meantime.

Subsequently, some 718 pages of documents and police and FBI interviews with Bullock, David Gurvitz, a former ADL operative in Los Angeles, and San Diego Police Officer, who had collaborated with Bullock, were released to the public by District Attorney Smith along with the list of organizations spied upon. They appeared to contain enough information to file multiple charges against the ADL and, at the very least, seriously, threaten its tax-exempt status.

"We are talking about the use of information from DMV files, criminal files, and other confidential files," Smith told ABC News, "files from state and local agencies that were being illegally furnished and illegally received."

His opinion was corroborated by SFPD police inspector Ron Roth. "Based on the evidence," Roth wrote in summarizing his findings, "exhibits and facts in this affidavit, I believe that Roy Bullock and the ADL had numerous peace officers supplying them with confidential criminal and DMV information." He was not just referring to San Francisco.

Citing his interview with former ADL employee Gurvitz, he learned of the existence of "other [ADL] code named fact finders and field investigators. In Chicago there is an ex- police officer named CHI-3 (there are also references to CHI-1 and CHI-2 who apparently are not policemen. QED.). In St. Louis there is IRONSIDES. In Atlanta there is an Arab speaking man named FLIPPER."

Roth was unable to locate any files on the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in ADL's San Francisco office. Gurvitz explained that there were many files on the ADC in the ADL's Los Angeles office, along with the names of "any Arab American with anti-

Israel leanings or any Arab Americans that wrote letters to the newspaper editors." He also volunteered the information that Bullock's home computer was "the repository of the fact finding information for the San Francisco ADL office."

Roth estimated "after numerous interview and analysis of the documents seized in eight searches," that "inquiries were made to DMV vehicle registration and driver's license numbers of members listed at a ration of approximately 10- 15% of the total [ADC] membership." One of Gerard's assignments with the police was to act as liaison to the Arab community, which "required" that he attend community events, giving him the necessary cover to join Bullock in recording the vehicle licenses of those attending.

Some of Bullock's responses to inquiries by Roth and the FBI were truly extraordinary. One of the individuals he was keeping tabs on was Alex Odeh, the head of the ADC office in Orange County, who was murdered in 1987 by a bomb in his office, believed to have been planted by the Jewish Defense League.

"I happened to know Alex Odeh, a very nice, decent, humane guy," Bullock told Roth. "In fact, I missed going to the office by one day: I might have been there to open the door instead of him because he allowed me to go into the office if I was down there; just by sheer coincidence it wasn't me."

Bullock's expressed reason for spying on the anti-apartheid movement appeared even more disingenuous: "Because," read the FBI report of its interview with him, "he wanted to help South Africa make a better assessment of the anti-apartheid situation in the United States. Bullock said he hoped that by doing this he would encourage the Government of South Africa to bring it to an end." It should be noted that Bullock made this statement after learning that a document was found in his computer, addressed to his South African contact, warning him that he (Bullock) had been questioned by the FBI concerning S.A. agents in the area.

A more honest reason for the ADL's snooping on the movement was forthcoming from ADL's national director, Abe Foxman, on a sweep through the Bay Area in May.

"People are very upset about the [files on the] ANC," he agrees. "At the time we exposed the ANC, they were communist. They were violent, they were antisemitic, they were pro-PLO and they were anti-Israel. You're going to tell me I don't have the legitimacy to find out who they were consorting with, who their buddies are, who supports them." (No. Ca. Jewish Bulletin, May 7).

In May, 1986, the ADL Bulletin featured a cover story bashing the ANC. The article, co-authored by its then national director, Nathan Perlmutter, suggested that the organization "so frequently discussed as an alternative to the Botha government, merits a close, unsentimental look. The question can be fairly asked, what has all this to do with Jews?"

After favorably quoting an author who reported that "P.W. Botha has been dismantling apartheid by stealth," the article let loose with a litany of charges that focused mainly on the ANC's siding with the Palestinians, beginning with its support of "Soviet attempts to undermine the legitimacy of Israel," its "strident" support of the PLO; its denunciation of "Israel's aggressive expansionism" supported by the U.S. and its allies and its linkage of zionism with racism.

Since Bullock was already spying on the domestic anti-apartheid movement for the ADL, taking on the task for the South Africans meant little extra work, since, as he acknowledged to Roth, much of the information they wanted he and the ADL already possessed. One of the items found in his computer files was a report on a meeting in Los Angeles in 1991 that anti-apartheid activists staged for ANC leader Chris Hani. (Hani was assassinated in S.A. this Spring by a gunman who allegedly was hired by J. Darby Grace, the new president of the World

Anti-Communist League, an organization formerly headed by Gen. John Singlaub, which curiously enough, was not on Bullock's or the ADL's list of right-wing organizations.)

Bullock acknowledged receiving \$16,000 from the South Africans, some of which he shared with Gerard, who supposedly had help set up the connection.

The reaction of the Jewish establishment to ADL's predicament has been supportive, accepting, with but a handful of exceptions, the ADL denials of wrongdoing as statements of fact. On a national level this has come from the Conference of Presidents of the Major American Jewish Organizations, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, the World Jewish Congress, AIPAC and the American Zionist Movement. Locally, the city's leading Jewish political players whose wealth and influence is considerable Q as is their philanthropy Q are apparently doing what they can to get the ADL off the hook, although few have been as public as the mayor's chief of protocol, Robert Goldman.

Goldman, who owns one of the city's largest insurance brokerages and who is extremely active in Jewish community circles, contacted police chief Tony Ribera to let him know that the investigation of the ADL had caused the Jewish community a great deal of "anxiety." He claimed his call was a personal call, and "I wasn't trying to influence anybody or anything of the kind" (SF Examiner, April 25).

An apparent lone voice within the organized Jewish community who has the courage to criticize and ask hard questions of the ADL is Leonard Fein, former editor of Moment magazine, and now a columnist for the New York-based Jewish weekly, Forward.

Fein has devoted two columns to the ADL case. The first, "Circling the Wagons," (June 25) suggested that the organization has a responsibility to the Jewish community to do more than issue a blanket

denial of wrongdoing and "accuse the accusers of the 'big lie.'" Wrote Fein: "One wants to believe that the 'sinister' files others have accused it of maintaining Q files not only on extremist organizations but on utterly respectable organizations (e.g., NAACP) Q "are, as the ADL claims they are, merely benign background files, newspaper clippings and such, and whatever crimes the ADL's principal mole [Bullock] may have been guilty of were not in the course of his duties or at the behest of the ADL.

"Given the source of the accusations and their apparent gravity, wanting to believe doesn't quite make it. Nor, for that matter, do the enthusiastic endorsements of the ADL's probity by a variety of Jewish organizations and leaders who know only the details that the ADL has shared with them. The ADL has sought to quiet our legitimate concerns by claiming that behind all the smoke, there's no fire, just a smoke-machine."

Declaring that "no organization can be taken seriously as its own judge and jury," Fein suggested that an independent investigation of the ADL's activities take place within the organized Jewish community. "One might have hoped that the ADL board would itself have invited such an examination.

Apparently, it has not." Fein concluded his column with the question, asking "why, in any case, should an organization that has done no wrong not welcome such a proposal?" As would be expected, the ADL's Foxman, fired off a letter in rebuttal,(July 16) attacking Fein for not "seeing this episode for what it is Q not only an attack on ADL, but an attack on the whole community and its efforts to protect Jewish security and rights."

Fein's response on July 30, is worth quoting: "Over and over again, all we have heard from ADL is an ever-more strident denial of any and all wrongdoing, in its earliest response to the matter, ADL asserted that if its procedures had in any respect been faulty, it would correct them.

"Yet if there has since been information offered to either the public or even the ADL board regarding the faulty procedures, I am not aware of it. Evidently, somewhere along the line there was a policy decision that the best defense would be simply to stonewall.

"That style of haughty dismissal ill-becomes an organization opposed to defamation. There is distress and even anger among ADL's undoubtedly friends that they have given no thorough or even adequate explanation of the alleged felonies. I believe the community is entitled to more than verbal reassurance.

"ADL linen, which he [Foxman] and I both agree is Jewish communal linen, is hanging out there in public for all to see, and the question of whether that linen is clean or dirty is a real question that deserves a real answer, both for the ADL's sake and those who depend on ADL for their own protection."

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A Closer Look at the Enemy *by Dr. William Pierce*

You know, this world we live in is a complicated place. Behind every phenomenon we observe there are many forces at work, some of them obvious and some not so obvious. Trying to separate what's important from what's not important can be a confusing task. Every week when we discuss on this program what's happening in the world around us, and I try to explain events so that listeners can have a clear understanding of them, I must simplify the world. Clarity requires simplification.

Understanding demands simplification. A useful explanation requires separating the important things from those which are less important and focusing first on the former. If I tried to explain every phenomenon in the world in complete detail, leaving out nothing, I would succeed only in confusing everyone, especially myself.

So if we want to understand the world we must simplify it. But we must be careful not to oversimplify, or our explanations lose their value. Occasionally my listeners accuse me of oversimplifying, or they are aware of some factor which I have not discussed in detail, and they suspect that I have left it out deliberately because it would contradict some theory of mine.

Here's an old example of the way oversimplification can lead to confusion: After the Bolshevik takeover of Russia early in this century, many anti-communists in America spread the word that a majority of the Bolshevik leaders were not Russians but were Jews, and they warned Americans that there also were many Jewish communists in America who posed a danger of subversion. This was back in the days before the exposure of the Rosenbergs and other communist-Jewish spies and conspirators in America. The Jewish media countered this warning with a deliberate campaign of confusion. They said, "Oh, you used to accuse of us being international bankers and capitalists and of subverting nations with our money. Now you accuse us of being international communists and of being a threat to capitalism. So which is it? Are we capitalists or are we communists? It can't be both, so make up your mind." This response was supposed to make their accusers look foolish, and with much of the public the trick worked.

Of course, the truth of the matter is that Jews are both capitalists and communists — and neither. They are, first and last, **Jews**, and that really says it all, if one understands what a Jew is. The average Gentile thinks that a communist must be someone who is a believer in communist ideology, and a capitalist must be someone who is a believer in the ideology of free enterprise. It doesn't occur to him that for many Jews ideology is not something that one actually believes; it is simply a tool

which one uses for deceiving non-Jews. The aim always is to acquire wealth and power, and whether one uses capitalist methods and ideology or communist methods and ideology for this purpose depends upon the situation. Regardless of the methods one uses, one remains a Jew. That's what is important.

And of course, most of the people who were trying to warn their fellow Americans about the dangers represented by the Jews in their midst didn't try to explain that, because most Americans simply wouldn't have understood; it would have been too complicated for them. So the anti-communists simply said: "Watch out! The Jews are communists or are sympathetic to the communists." And that was an oversimplification of the truth.

Here's a more recent example: I have warned Americans that Bill Clinton is a puppet of the Jews, an obedient tool of the Jews, and I have pointed out the fact that most of the important appointments he has made as President have gone to Jews: two Supreme Court justices, his entire foreign policy and national security team, and so on. And I have stated that the Jewish media got him elected in 1992 and then reelected in 1996.

And so now some people have asked me, "Well, if Clinton is an obedient tool of the Jews, why are they now trying to destroy him? Why are some of the people who are in the forefront of those now pulling Clinton down Jews? Why would a Jewess, Monica Lewinsky, turn on him? Don't you know that some of Ken Starr's associates are Jews? Didn't you notice that one of Clinton's most important attackers is Connecticut's Jewish Senator Joseph Lieberman? It has been the Jewish media, like the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*, which have exposed Clinton's lies and other crimes. So how can you say that he is a puppet of the Jews? It doesn't make sense."

But of course, it does make sense — if one doesn't try to oversimplify. I don't want to spend too much time on this because I've already covered much of the ground in earlier broadcasts, but I'll try to add a few more details, so that the picture is still simple, still clear, but not overly simple. The basic facts are these: First, the Jews control the mass media — or more accurately, they are the most powerful of the conscious elites in the media world; they wield more control over the media than any other coherent and self-conscious group. And because of this media control they are able to exercise a determining influence on the electoral process: in other words, through their media control they are able to control the politics of a mass democracy, where everyone, even the most easily manipulated elements of the population, has an equal vote.

Second, Bill Clinton is a talented but utterly corrupt man. He is a typical child of the 1960s. He grew up believing that the world owed him something. He grew up believing that he was entitled to whatever he could grab. And he grew up cynical. He grew up during a period when the Jews were

turning American society on its head, when Jews were breaking all of the rules and getting away with it. Bill Clinton noticed this and learned from it. And Bill Clinton grew up with a talent for manipulating people, a talent for lying to people and getting them to believe him. This suited him perfectly for a career in politics.

And the Jews noticed Bill Clinton. They saw him as potentially very useful to them. He is exactly the sort of man they always are on the lookout for: corrupt but charming; someone who can attract votes but who understands which side his bread is buttered on. They supported him with their media and with their money. Without their support he wouldn't have gotten into the White House. And Bill Clinton reciprocated. He gave them whatever they wanted. He appointed them to every high position in the government, and he pushed their policies and programs. On all of this the record is clear. So why are they abandoning, even attacking, their good friend Bill Clinton now?

Well of course, he never really was their friend: he was their useful tool. And he has become a badly damaged tool as a consequence of his own personal weaknesses. The Jews did not set out to destroy him. He did that himself. Remember, Ken Starr was ready to throw in the towel and give up on investigating Clinton three years ago. If anyone besides Clinton deserves credit for his downfall it is Paula Jones. When Paula Jones sued Clinton for sexual harassment she opened the Pandora's box from which the affair with Monica Lewinsky eventually came to light. Remember, the Jewish media tried hard not to notice Paula Jones. That Paula eventually was noticed by the public resulted from several factors beyond the control of the Jewish media bosses.

And that's one of those little complications we must deal with in the real world. Despite all their media power and all their money, the Jews are not able to control everything all the time. Sometimes the Jews are compelled by circumstances just like the rest of us. They also have their vulnerabilities. Paula Jones opened a Pandora's box that the Jews would have preferred to keep closed. But once the box was open, they had to decide what to do about Clinton. On the one hand, they have Al Gore waiting in the wings, and Al Gore is just as corrupt as Bill Clinton, just as willing a tool. But on the other hand, Gore simply doesn't have Clinton's talents. He'll do what the Jews tell him, but he won't be able to charm the voters as effectively as Clinton could. They'd like to keep Clinton, but he's become a bit of a tar baby. And so we have had an opportunity to see another of the world's little complications, and that is that not even the Jews are always in complete agreement about the best way to proceed.

The Jews don't want to become too closely identified with Clinton's corrupt image. Looking a little further ahead than the mass of Gentile voters who still think Clinton should stay in the White House, the Jews understand that it will not be helpful for them to have a very close historical association with the Clinton administration. They don't want Clinton to be thought of as their man, because they have a suspicion that despite his present popularity his historical image will be very bad indeed. For

some of them that is the primary consideration, and they'd like to see Clinton go quickly and then muddle through with Al Gore as best they can. Other Jews are still fascinated by Clinton's approval ratings and his ability to charm the lemmings. They don't want to trade him in for Al Gore no matter how much tar rubs off on them. And of course, they also have the consideration that if they all abandon him simultaneously and all begin attacking him, he conceivably could turn on them and lash out at them. Better to keep him mindful that despite the fact that some of them are pulling him down, if he wants to stay out of prison he'd better keep obeying orders. So there are complications in life even for the Jews.

I'll give you one more example of the subtleties that one must deal with in trying to understand the role of the Jews in our society. Last week one of the most powerful Jewish organizations, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith — the ADL — held a huge press conference at the National Press Club in Washington and simultaneous press conferences in a number of cities around the country, and they announced that I am the most dangerous man in America. Really: I am the most dangerous man in America! And the organization I head, the National Alliance, is the most dangerous organization in America. Really: not the Mafia, not what's left of the Communist Party, not some violent and well armed militia group, not Louis Farrakhan and the Black Muslims, but the National Alliance.

Well, I long ago decided that any insult from the Devil is a compliment, but still there are some troubling aspects to what the Anti-Defamation League has done, and I'll share them with you, because they can help us understand better the way the Jews operate. When the ADL held its press conferences last week it handed out press releases to the reporters and politicians. The press release began with a statement by the top ADL commissar, Abraham Foxman, saying, "The National Alliance is an alliance of bigots and bombers thriving on hate," and then it listed a long series of violent crimes and terrorist acts the ADL claims are "linked to the National Alliance and its propaganda." The list begins:

- 1992-1995, Midwest: Authorities say the Aryan Republican Army, a white supremacist gang that required members to read *The Turner Diaries*, committed 22 bank robberies and bombings.
- April 19, 1995, Oklahoma City: The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building is eerily reminiscent of a fictional bombing scene in *The Turner Diaries*, of which Timothy McVeigh was a devotee.
- December 1995, Fayetteville, NC: Two soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg, who were avowed neo-Nazis and reportedly read National Alliance propaganda, murdered an African-American couple.

Et cetera. There's a lot more to the ADL's press release, but you get the idea: I and the other members of the National Alliance are bomb-throwers and bank robbers "linked" to 22 bank robberies

and bombings in the Midwest, to the Oklahoma City bombing, to the shooting of a Black drug dealer and his girlfriend in North Carolina, and to lots of other things. Now, as a matter of fact, neither I nor anyone else in the National Alliance had ever heard of the Aryan Republican Army and its 22 bank robberies and bombings, or of Timothy McVeigh, or of the soldiers at Fort Bragg who shot the Black drug dealer, until we saw these people on television news programs, like everyone else.

But we are “linked” to them, says the ADL. How? Did some of these folks listen to one of my *American Dissident Voices* broadcasts? Probably. At least, I wouldn’t be surprised. Did some of them read my 1978 novel, *The Turner Diaries*? Probably. At least, I’ve seen evidence to indicate that Timothy McVeigh did, although I don’t know about any of the others. There are a quarter of a million copies of the book in circulation, and probably a half-million readers altogether — including, no doubt, Abraham Foxman and a number of his associates in the ADL.

So that’s how I and the National Alliance are “linked” to bombings, bank robberies, and murders. Very clever. So then, it’s fair to say that the Catholic Church is “linked” to Mafia operations, and that the Automobile Association of America — the AAA — is “linked” to drunk driving, and that the folks who publish various editions of the Bible are “linked” to the crimes committed by people who quote the Bible as they take an ax to their wives or blow away a neighbor with a shotgun.

“The National Alliance is an alliance of bombers and bigots,” says Abraham Foxman. I am not aware of a single instance of a bombing committed by a National Alliance member — although a couple of years ago a former member in Florida had a pipe bomb he was trying to build blow up in his face. He wasn’t a member of the National Alliance at the time, and he didn’t actually bomb anything except himself — but that’s enough for Abraham Foxman and the ADL to describe the National Alliance as an organization of “bombers and bigots.”

You know, every organization which recruits from the public will occasionally recruit a member who has had or will have a problem with the law, but here’s something to remember: the Democratic Party has a much higher percentage of lawbreakers among its members than does the National Alliance. We don’t tolerate criminal activity, but the head of the Democratic Party seems to thrive on it — at least he did before Ken Starr got on his case.

Abe Foxman and the ADL seem to thrive on criminal activity too. Five years ago, in April 1993, search warrants were executed on the Los Angeles and San Francisco offices of the ADL, and police seized hundreds of confidential police files which had been stolen by the ADL. Some of these police files were from investigations of anti-apartheid groups in the United States, and the ADL had given copies to the South African government in return for access to confidential South African police files on anti-Israel groups in South Africa. A lot of the people whose names were in those confidential

police files the ADL had stolen sued the ADL for invasion of privacy, and that's still working its way through the courts.

But here's the really interesting part of all this: newspapers and other media took the ADL's press release last week as gospel, and they printed big excerpts from it. It's been in newspapers all over the country. You've probably seen some of these stories yourself. With one exception none of these newspapers even bothered to check with me first; they didn't call me up and ask me if the ADL's allegations were true or if I had any comment on them; they just ran sensational stories with headlines like "National Alliance linked to bombings and murders." And of course, they said nothing about the ADL's criminal activities or its links to the government of Israel. And many of these newspapers aren't even owned or edited by Jews. But they all follow the party line. They know that the ADL is an official Jewish organization, and therefore it cannot be criticized, and nothing it says can be questioned. That would be like questioning the "Holocaust," heaven forbid!

That's a little frightening, don't you think? So here's one of those complications about the way the Jews wield their power. They don't have to own everything in order to have things go their way. A newspaper editor or a television station owner doesn't have to be Jewish in order to slavishly follow the Jewish party line. The Jews own enough of the media — they hold enough of the policy-making positions — so that no one, or almost no one, wants to cross them. When an institution becomes corrupt — and that, unfortunately, is the case with our mass media, just as with our political system — the Jews can count on using their power to make things go their way. They thrive on corruption. The ADL thrives on corruption. The ADL could not exist in an uncorrupted society.

Finally, here's one other little complication in understanding the role of the Jews. I know and you know individual Jews who are not involved in any political or media activity, individual Jews who simply earn a living and go about their business and don't pay much attention to what the ADL is doing. And so I often have people write to me and ask me why I am so hard on the Jews. They remind me that there are lots of evil people in our society, even in the media, who are not Jews. They remind me that Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner aren't Jews, that Stalin wasn't a Jew, and that Lenin was only part Jewish. And that's true enough. And that's why we won't be able to dispense with the gallows even when we have no more Jews.

But the people who are focusing on the complications that many of the world's evildoers aren't Jews and that many Jews are not involved in sinister activities — these people are failing to see the forest because of the trees. When I speak about the role of the Jews in the world today or in the past I do simplify the world. I do simplify the facts, because my aim is for people to see the forest, to understand the forest, at least in rough outline, before they spend too much time studying the individual trees.

And the forest I want people to see, the big picture I want them to understand, even though it is a simplified picture, is this: Without Jews there would have been no Bolshevik Revolution and subsequent selective murder of two generations of the best and brightest of the Russians. Without Jews as an organized community pushing “multiculturalism” and “diversity” and open borders and racial mixing in the United States, White Americans would not now be facing the prospect of becoming a minority in their own country in the near future. It is the Jewish presence as a whole and its effect on our society that we must understand first, before we start trying to understand all of the complicating details.

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The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by Dr. William Pierce

Last week I mentioned a recent attack on me by a Jewish organization, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I gave this as an example of the way the Jews are able to use the mass media in America to serve their purposes. The specific point I made was that it is not necessary for all of the newspaper owners and editors and all of the local television station owners to be Jews in order for all of them to slavishly follow the Anti-Defamation League's party line. This is a very important point, a point essential for us to understand if we want to have a free society, and I'll elaborate on it now.

I mentioned last week that when the Anti-Defamation League — or ADL for short — handed out press releases on September 24 to newspapers and other media in which they said that the organization I head, the National Alliance, is "the single most dangerous organized hate group in America," and that we are "linked" to bank robberies, bombings, and murders all over the country, virtually all of the media simply printed these wild charges without checking them for accuracy. Of all the hundreds of newspapers which printed the ADL's charges, only one — West Virginia's *Charleston Gazette* — even bothered to call me first and ask for my comments. Some of the newspapers, in paraphrasing the ADL's press release, even managed to exaggerate the ADL's lies. For example, the *Tampa Tribune* began its news story on September 25 with the line: "A domestic terrorist group with a following in Tampa poses an ongoing threat of violence, the Anti-Defamation League said in a report issued Thursday." The ADL's words "most dangerous organized hate group" have been transformed by the *Tampa Tribune* into "domestic terrorist group." That's a significant change. "Hate group" is an ill-defined term which you can apply to any organization with whose policies or doctrines you disagree. Groups opposed to abortion, for example, have been called "hate groups" by feminists and their supporters. "Terrorist group," on the other hand, really suggests a group which actually engages in terrorist activity, such as bombings, assassinations, and the like.

Then there's the *Los Angeles Times*, which in its September 25 story based on the ADL's press release stated: "The group's activities [that is the National Alliance's activities] — including violent crimes such as robberies and bombings — have been uncovered in at least 26 states." I'll repeat that: "the group's activities — including violent crimes such as robberies and bombings." The *Los Angeles Times* certainly makes it sound as if I'm the head of an organization which actually commits violent crimes such as robberies and bombings as a matter of course, doesn't it? That was the *Los Angeles Times'* interpretation of the ADL's list of "criminal incidents linked to the National Alliance and its propaganda." What the ADL's list actually suggests is that the perpetrators of various bombings and murders may be "linked" to the National Alliance by having read a book or a pamphlet

published by the National Alliance or perhaps by having listened to one of my broadcasts. For example, one of the “incidents” in the ADL’s list of “criminal incidents linked to the National Alliance” reads: “December 1995, Fayetteville, North Carolina: Two soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg, who were avowed neo-Nazis and reportedly read National Alliance propaganda, murdered an African-American couple.” As I pointed out last week, neither I nor anyone else in the National Alliance had ever heard of James Burmeister before he shot a convicted Black drug dealer and the dealer’s girlfriend to death in Fayetteville in December 1995. But it certainly is possible that Burmeister listened to an *American Dissident Voices* broadcast or read some publication of the National Alliance. There are a lot of our publications in circulation. Burmeister also may have read *Reader’s Digest* or the Bible or *Newsweek* magazine, for all I know; there’s certainly a lot of criminal activity described in those publications. Anyway, the *Los Angeles Times’* interpretation of the ADL’s claim that the National Alliance is linked through its publications to various criminal acts is that we did it: we committed the criminal acts ourselves. The paper said flatly that our activities include “violent crimes such as robberies and bombings.” And nobody from the *Los Angeles Times* even bothered to check with me first!

So what am I supposed to do: hire a bunch of lawyers and sue all of these newspapers and perhaps the ADL too? Perhaps I will — but I doubt that anyone who has actually been involved in a libel suit would suggest such a course. The civil litigation system in the United States has been designed for the sole purpose of enriching lawyers, and because of that the system gives an overwhelming advantage to the litigant who has the most money to spend on lawyers. Perhaps some experienced civil-litigation lawyer who believes this is a worthy cause will contact me and offer his services. But while I’m waiting for that, let me draw a few conclusions from this nasty business. First, I’ll mention that I’m not especially peeved at the ADL about this new report labeling me as the most dangerous man in America. That doesn’t mean I won’t sue them, but at least I know where they’re coming from. The ADL is a professional hate organization. They are hate merchants. That’s the way they earn their living: selling hate. Along with a handful of other Jewish organizations — the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Morris Dees’s Southern Poverty Law Center, for example — the ADL makes its money by persuading Jews and wannabee Jews around the country that they are in great danger from people like me — but if everyone will just send them a nice, fat check today, the ADL will protect these Jews and wannabees from me. And so the ADL — and these other hate merchants — put out deliberately scary press releases to drum up donations. If the newspapers exaggerate things a bit, why so much the better. That’s why the press releases tend to be a little deceptive, why they are written in a way calculated to lead to misinterpretation.

The ADL is the oldest and most powerful of these Jewish hate groups in the United States. It was founded in 1913, after a Jewish factory owner in Atlanta, Leo Frank, was convicted of raping and killing a 14-year-old White girl, Mary Phagan, who worked in his factory. The killer was sentenced to death by the court, and there was a great deal of publicity about the case at the time. Powerful

Jewish organizations came to Frank's defense, and in behind-the-scenes maneuvering they were able to persuade Georgia's governor to commute Frank's death sentence. This blatantly corrupt act by the governor working in cahoots with his rich Jewish supporters so enraged the populace that a vigilante group of citizens took Frank out of jail and hanged him themselves. The Jews, realizing that they had bungled the Frank affair, organized the ADL for the purpose of handling such matters more skillfully in the future. In the past 85 years the ADL has grown to become the most powerful Jewish pressure group and lobbying organization in America.

Recent ADL lobbying projects have been the promotion of gun control laws and of state laws banning military-style training by patriotic groups. The ADL's biggest project for this decade, however, has been so-called "hate crime" legislation. Hate crime laws attempt to punish a person for what he was thinking before or during the commission of an offense against a member or a group of members of an officially favored minority. For example, if you set fire to a synagogue because you don't like Jews, you're liable for a much more severe punishment than you would be if you were hired by the rabbi to set fire to a synagogue so the congregation could collect the insurance. Arson is no longer simply arson. Now there's arson, and there's "hate arson." And to decide which it is, the government may look into your personal taste in reading material, check into the type of music you listen to, investigate your political and religious affiliations, ask your friends about any expressions of Politically Incorrect opinions you may have made — and then present all of this information in court as evidence against you. The whole concept of "hate crime" is Orwellian. It turns traditional American concepts of law and individual freedom on their heads. But because the noisiest group of people pushing for "hate crime" legislation are Jews, no politician dares speak against it. Bill Clinton is the Jews' current point man on Federal "hate crime" legislation.

One category of "hate crime" is "hate speech." In fact, the outlawing of what the ADL people call "hate speech" is their ultimate aim. "Hate speech," of course, is whatever they find offensive or dangerous to their interests. I find a lot of the films coming out of Hollywood these days offensive, and a lot of television programming, but you can be sure that's not what the ADL has in mind when it campaigns for laws against "hate speech." The ADL is especially concerned about the propagation of what they consider dangerous ideas over the Internet and has been working with software developers to develop censorship programs which can be installed on any computer, so that computer users cannot find any Politically Incorrect material on the Internet.

Lobbying to stamp out the Bill of Rights isn't the ADL's only activity. They're also the largest and most effective private espionage organization in America. They have their spies in every community in America where there are Jews or wannabees. Reports go from their regional offices around the country to massive data banks in New York and in Israel, where the ADL maintains dossiers on hundreds of thousands of Americans. For example, if a state legislator somewhere in America makes a speech which a Jewish listener considers unfriendly to Israel, a report goes into the ADL

data bank. If a businessman at a Chamber of Commerce meeting makes a joke which might indicate a less-than-worshipful attitude toward Jews, and a wannabee informs the ADL of the joke, that businessman will henceforth have a dossier in the ADL's files. Then if that state legislator or that businessman ever runs for Congress, say, the ADL will search its files for his name, find his record, and launch a campaign against him as an "enemy of Israel" or as an "anti-Semite."

And the ADL has not hesitated to break the law in its spying activity. In April 1993 police obtained search warrants and raided the offices of the ADL in San Francisco and Los Angeles, where they found hundreds of stolen confidential police files. Some of these police files were on anti-apartheid activists in the United States, and the ADL had passed copies on to the South African government in return for South African police files on pro-Palestinian groups in South Africa. This caused a stink even in liberal circles, which ordinarily are pro-ADL. And this business of the ADL's stolen police files is still in the courts in California.

So as I said, I understand where the ADL is coming from. I'm not surprised that they consider my broadcasts dangerous. I'm not surprised that they want to shut me up and are trying to do that with their current smear campaign, claiming that I am "linked" to bombings and murders. I expect that sort of behavior — I expect lies of that sort — from the ADL. What's really disappointing is the enthusiastic collaboration the ADL receives from the politicians and the media. The two newspapers I cited a minute ago, the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times*, for example, are essentially Gentile newspapers, as far as I have been able to determine. I may be mistaken, but I believe that the editors and publishers of these two newspapers are not Jews. So why do they go out of their way to exaggerate the ADL's lies about me? Why does the *Tampa Tribune* call the National Alliance a "domestic terrorist group"? Why does the *Los Angeles Times* say that the activities of the National Alliance include "violent crimes such as robberies and bombings"? Why did neither of these newspapers contact someone in my office and ask about the ADL's claims before printing them? Why didn't any of the newspapers which carried the ADL's attack on me mention the ADL's history of illegal activity?

Let me tell you what I think about that. I believe that in general there are two factors at work here. I'll call them the corruption factor and the lemming factor. Let's look at the corruption factor first. It's the factor which motivates virtually all of the non-Jewish politicians, but also many non-Jews in the media. It's the factor which has led Bill Clinton to pack his cabinet with Jews and to promote every Jewish policy they have presented him with. It's the factor which has led New York's Senator Alphonse D'Amato to serve as front man for the Jews' huge extortion effort against the Swiss. These politicians don't work for the Jews because they love Jews. Nobody loves Jews. They do it because they're corrupt, because they're willing to sacrifice the interests of their own people in order to serve the Jews if they believe that they can advance their careers by doing that. And many businessmen are just as corrupt as the politicians. They will do whatever they think is good for their business,

whatever will give them the biggest profit. And some businessmen are in the media business. They understand that Jews buy more advertising than any other group. They understand that Jews own a bigger chunk of the media than any other group. They understand which side their bread is buttered on.

And so when the ADL attacks me these media businessmen are ready to fall on me like a pack of starved Dobermans in order to curry favor with the Jews. But you know, the interesting thing about these corrupt people, whether they're in politics or in the media business, as soon as they believe that the balance of power is shifting, they'll jump. They'd as soon tear apart the Jews as they would the enemies of the Jews. That's something to keep in mind as our struggle proceeds.

Now, the lemmings in the media are more interesting than the corrupt businessmen. I've dealt with a lot of media people over the years, and one of the observations I've made is that they are the trendiest single occupational group in our society — even trendier than people in police work. I don't think I've ever met a journalist who had an original idea or who didn't follow the Jewish party line with a truly religious devotion. They all march in ideological lockstep.

I think it wasn't always this way. Back before the Second World War there were a few journalists in America who could think for themselves. H.L. Mencken is one who comes to mind. Nowadays, of course, the party-line journalists shrink in horror and embarrassment from the mention of Mencken's name. Mencken — gasp! — didn't like Jews and occasionally said so.

I can't say that I really understand why journalists today are such lemmings, but I am sure that it's more than the fact that Jews are so powerful in the media: I'm sure that it's more than corruption, as in the case of the politicians and businessmen. I suspect that today's journalists are people who have been more intensely socialized than most of the rest of the population. They are people who have been subjected to stronger group pressures to conform and have been selected according to how well they adapted to these pressures. Perhaps the journalism departments at our universities don't accept students who don't fit the lemming mold. Anyway, journalists certainly do have a very strong tendency to stick close to the herd and to regard with suspicion and hostility anyone who has strayed very far from the herd.

Now, this is an oversimplification, but I believe that the reason so many media people fell in love with Bill Clinton as soon as he appeared on the political scene back in 1991 or so is that they saw him as one of their crowd, their herd. "Bill marched with us for the Viet Cong," they thought. "Bill partied and smoked dope with us. He's one of us."

And they look at me and they think: "This guy Pierce is from the other side of the tracks. Instead of helping us trash the dean's office, he joined the John Birch Society. He doesn't belong to our crowd,

so let's trash him too." Anyway, I believe that there's an element of that sort of thinking in the average journalist's mentality.

Now, the bright side of this picture is that people who think like lemmings and have been conditioned by group pressure to have certain views can very easily be conditioned to have quite different views by the simple application of group pressure in a new direction. You won't be able to change an independent thinker's opinions this way, but if you put 100,000 typical journalists in a labor re-education camp and then select out 1,000 of them with leadership potential, straighten out the thinking of this 1,000 with two-by-fours, then put them in charge of the others, and put all except the 1,000 reoriented commissars on a diet of 300 calories a day, in a year every journalist in the camp will be reoriented: skinny, but sincerely reoriented. You can turn them loose with complete confidence that they'll follow the new party line just as slavishly as they followed the old party line, even after they've regained their former weight. That's the way lemmings are.

There's one other aspect of the ADL's operation which merits scrutiny, and that is its program of corrupting police departments around the country. At the press conferences they held in their regional offices last month when they promoted me to "most dangerous man" they had a number of local police officials with them. The appearance of these police officials on the platform along with the ADL's Jews tended to give the press conferences a sort of quasi-official or quasi-governmental atmosphere, and that undoubtedly encouraged the reporters present to accept the ADL's lies without question.

Some of the police officials were there because they have political ambitions. They're planning on running for the state legislature some day, and they want the Jews' backing. Others were there because the ADL has assiduously been cultivating its relationships with police agencies for many years. The ADL offers "anti-terrorist" seminars to police departments and indoctrinates policemen with its hate propaganda under the guise of teaching them how to recognize and combat "domestic terrorists" — such as William Pierce. The ADL gets away with this despite its own record of criminal activity. The ADL has been able to persuade the cops to overlook its having been caught with stolen police files. That's a little frightening. If we had a government with integrity, the ADL would be dangerous enough. But with a government like we have in the United States today, every decent citizen must regard with horror the subversion of our police agencies by the ADL.

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The Corruption of America's Police by the ADL

by Dr. William Pierce

Two weeks ago I began telling you about the corruption of American police officials by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: the ADL. Because this is such an important matter, such an urgent matter, I promised I'd tell you more about it. It is a shocking thing, and I needed time to present the details to you — details which you can check for yourselves, so that you will have no doubt that I am telling you the truth. It's easy to doubt this truth. It's easy to believe that the ADL is the so-called "human rights" organization that the mass media say it is. It's especially easy to believe this when you see ADL officials palling around with prominent politicians and policemen, when you see police chiefs and U.S. senators receiving awards at ADL banquets.

I'm telling you that the ADL is an anti-American gang of racketeers who break our laws with impunity because they have succeeded in corrupting our politicians and many of our law-enforcement people as well. And now I will prove that charge.

First, however, just as an aside, let's note that the parent organization of which the ADL is a branch is named B'nai B'rith. That name may sound strange to your ears because it is a Hebrew name. B'nai means "sons," and b'rith — which is often pronounced "briss" by American Jews — means "circumcision." B'rith — or briss — refers to the ritual circumcision of Jewish males which according to Jewish tradition is a sign of their "chosenness" or their special covenant with the Hebrew tribal deity Yahweh. You probably won't find "b'rith" in your dictionary with the apostrophe the way it's spelled by the ADL, but you should be able to find "briss." So in English B'nai B'rith means the Circumcised Brotherhood. But really, it's a criminal brotherhood, whose members are marked by circumcision much in the way many Japanese criminals who belong to the *yakuza* are marked by a missing fingertip, or members of many drug gangs are marked by a distinctive tattoo.

As I told you two weeks ago the ADL was founded in 1913 after a wealthy Jewish factory owner, Leo Frank, was convicted of raping and murdering a 14-year-old girl who worked in his Atlanta pencil factory. The trial of Frank was accompanied by a great deal of very embarrassing publicity for the Jews, and the ADL was organized primarily as a propaganda organization to neutralize such bad publicity: thus its name, Anti-Defamation League. But since 1913 the ADL has been involved in much more than pro-Jewish propaganda. As an arm of B'nai B'rith, which is an international organization with its tentacles in nearly every country on earth, the ADL has expanded its scope of interests and activities to include virtually everything concerning Jews anywhere.

For example, after the success of the Bolshevik Revolution, which resulted in the Jews riding high in Russia, the ADL concerned itself with countering the charge that the Jews had anything to do with communism, which never was popular in mainstream America. After the Second World War, when hundreds of communist spies — virtually all of whom turned out to be Jews — were being rooted out of the U.S. government during the so-called McCarthy era, the ADL worked overtime to discredit anti-communists. To the ADL, anyone who was anti-communist was “anti-Semitic.” Arnold Forster, who changed his name from Fastenberg and who was the ADL’s general counsel for 46 years, wrote in his 1988 memoirs, *Square One*, about the case of the atomic spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: “Like so many others, Jew and non-Jew alike, I suffered deep pain when the Rosenbergs were executed.”

The ADL had a significant role in the Jewish propaganda effort to portray the flushing out of Soviet agents from U.S. institutions as a “witch hunt.” Today most educated Americans who were born too late to experience the late 1940s and early 1950s as adults actually believe the Jewish propaganda myth that it was a dark period in American history, when everyone was looking over his shoulder, afraid of being denounced as a spy by a government informant. The Jews, of course, who had been almost to a man partisans of the Soviet Union, were looking over their shoulders. But ordinary Americans certainly didn’t feel intimidated by the government’s efforts to rid itself of the Soviet influences which had gained a strong foothold during the war.

In 1948, when the Jews made their first big land-grab in the Middle East after the war, forming the state of Israel with land stolen from the Palestinians, the ADL saw its principal new role as a defender of Israel. The label “anti-Semite” henceforth was applied by the ADL to anyone who was pro-Arab or who did not approve of American support for Israel. Being seen as a champion of Israel rather than as a champion of communism helped enormously with the ADL’s fund-raising efforts. Among others giving large sums of money to the ADL after 1948 were a number of Jewish organized crime figures, who felt a strong sympathy for Israel. These gangsters, including Jews such as Meyer Lansky, Longy Zwillman, and Moe Dalitz, were engaged in the White slave trade, in illegal drug trafficking, and in nearly every other kind of criminal activity imaginable. The ADL’s relationship with Moe Dalitz, one of the most notorious gangsters in America, may suffice to indicate the pattern. Morris — or “Moe” — Dalitz, like many other organized crime figures before the Second World War, got his start in the illegal booze business during Prohibition. Dalitz was the boss of a criminal organization in Detroit known as the “Purple Gang,” whose principal activity was smuggling whisky across the Detroit River from Canada into the United States.

The controlled media, through popular fiction and films like *The Godfather*, have given most Americans the erroneous idea that organized crime in America has been almost entirely an Italian affair. Although Sicilians and Italians made up most of the lower ranks of the Mafia and other gangster organizations in the 1920s and 1930s, at the top there were at least as many Jews as

Italians. And some of the most notorious and bloodthirsty criminal organizations were entirely Jewish, or nearly so. Murder, Incorporated, is an example of a Jewish criminal gang. Moe Dalitz's Purple Gang is another example.

Dalitz eventually moved his whisky-smuggling operation from Detroit to Cleveland and joined forces with another group of Jewish gangsters there. They moved so much illegal booze across Lake Erie that it became known popularly as the "Jewish lake." It's good to remember that gangsters like Dalitz did much more than smuggle whisky. They corrupted American society and American government. They bribed judges and politicians and police officials on a huge scale. They murdered people: hundreds of people. And when Prohibition ended in 1933 the gangsters simply switched from smuggling to extortion, loan-sharking, and White slavery. After the war they moved into the drug trade.

Toward the end of the war Dalitz and several other Jewish gangsters, including Bugsy Siegel and Meyer Lansky, began investing their ill-gotten wealth in Las Vegas. Soon they were all casino owners. Dalitz was one of the original owners of the Flamingo, which opened in 1946. Dalitz later took over the Desert Inn and became a part owner of the Stardust Hotel. His gang became known as the "Desert Syndicate." Dalitz and Lansky eventually decided that Bugsy Siegel was cheating them, and in June 1947 they ordered him killed in one of the most spectacular "rubouts" of the postwar period. After that Moe Dalitz was the undisputed "Godfather" of Las Vegas.

Over the years a great deal of Moe Dalitz's criminal income found its way into the coffers of the ADL — so much so that in 1985 the ADL gave its so-called "Torch of Liberty" award to Dalitz. The award ceremony was a black-tie affair featured on the front page of the *ADL Bulletin*, in which Dalitz was praised as a "philanthropist" and "deep appreciation" was expressed for his financial contributions to the ADL. And of course, the controlled media were discreet about the relationship between Dalitz and the ADL. There were never any headlines in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* about the ADL's ties to the mob, but anyone who has the time to dig back through the issues of the *ADL Bulletin* at a major library, will find Dalitz on the front page in 1985. Moe Dalitz himself was killed four years later, in 1989, in a gang shootout which also left seven other people dead. But the ADL had plenty of other Jewish gangsters contributing money by then.

The ADL was able to flaunt its relationship with Moe Dalitz and accept tainted money from him and other gangsters — money which was the product of criminal activity — without fear of legal repercussions, because at the same time it had been cultivating its relationships with Jewish organized crime bosses, it also had been cultivating its relationships with law-enforcement officials, especially in the FBI. During the post-war period the Jews spearheaded the effort to force racial integration on America, and they were bitterly resented by segregationist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan struck out at the Jews almost as much as at Blacks. The most newsworthy

Klan effort in that regard was the killing of two Jewish agitators, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, in Mississippi in June 1964. The Hollywood propaganda film, *Mississippi Burning*, was based on this incident.

To get revenge against the Klan for the Goodman and Schwerner killings — and also to put the Klan in its place — the ADL arranged a trap. Working in collusion with the FBI, the New Orleans office of the ADL, headed at that time by Adolph Botnick, paid two leaders of the Klan in Mississippi, brothers Alton Roberts and Raymond Roberts, to initiate a Klan project to bomb the home of Meyer Davidson, the ADL leader in Meridian, Mississippi. On June 30, 1968, two unsuspecting Klan members drove up to Davidson's home, intending to put a bomb on his front porch. They were Kathy Ainsworth, a young school teacher, and Thomas Tarrants. The FBI was hiding in the bushes, waiting for them, and opened fire on them as soon as they got out of their car. Kathy Ainsworth was killed instantly in the hail of bullets, and Thomas Tarrants lay near death after being shot 70 times by the trigger-happy FBI agents. Clearly the plan was to kill both Ainsworth and Tarrants, execution style, as a warning to the Klan not to mess with the Jews. And as I said, the ADL and the FBI together set up this murder trap: the ADL supplied the cash for the informants and provocateurs, and the FBI supplied the executioners. The killing of Kathy Ainsworth was nothing less than a planned murder by the ADL. This sort of criminal collaboration between the FBI and the ADL has continued to the present day. The ADL always has been an espionage organization, with much of its activity consisting in the gathering of personal information and the building of dossiers on everyone perceived as hostile to Jewish interests — and also on tens of thousands of other Americans as well, that the ADL might want to apply pressure to at some time in the future.

The FBI is prohibited by law from investigating people unless it has some evidence that they are involved in criminal activity, but the ADL operates under no such restrictions. The ADL hires people to steal the trash from the curbs in front of the homes of people it is interested in, and it engages in many even less savory practices. And the ADL is generally happy to swap information with the FBI, providing the FBI with confidential personal information on people the FBI is interested in but has no legal basis for investigating. The ADL and the FBI do favors for each other.

Occasionally, however, the ADL's espionage work has gotten it into trouble. In addition to stealing the trash from in front of people's homes, the ADL has illegally obtained confidential information on thousands of Americans by bribing employees in departments of motor vehicles or in police departments, including the San Francisco Police Department. When the San Francisco police realized that some of their confidential files had been stolen by the ADL, they obtained search warrants. The Los Angeles and San Francisco offices of the ADL were raided by the police twice, first on December 10, 1992 and then again on April 8, 1993. In these raids thousands of stolen police files were recovered. The police also raided the homes of an ADL undercover agent, Roy Bullock; and a sergeant in the San Francisco Police Department, Thomas Gerard. Gerard, who had

been stealing the police records for the ADL, subsequently fled to the Philippines to avoid prosecution.

Just prior to the April 1993 raids San Francisco Assistant District Attorney John Dwyer told news reporters: "The ADL is the target. Their involvement is just so great. People have called this the Gerard case. Now it's the ADL case. Gerard is just their guy in San Francisco. The ADL is doing the same thing all over the country. There is evidence that the ADL had police agents in other cities. The case just gets bigger every day. The more we look, the more we find people involved."

Although the Politically Correct media in America don't like to publicize news which doesn't "fit," the ADL story was too big to suppress, and you can find extensive news coverage of the ADL raids in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* in December 1992 and April 1993, including the statement I just quoted by the San Francisco assistant district attorney.

Among the 12,000 files on individuals and 950 files on organizations the police recovered in their raids, were files on the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee — the AADC — and many of its members. ADL employee Roy Bullock had been assigned the task of infiltrating the Arab group, and he had even gone so far as stealing a key to their Santa Ana, California, office. The ADL had an especially strong hatred for the AADC, because it countered the ADL's pro-Israel propaganda with news reports on Israeli atrocities against Palestinians. On October 11, 1985, the chairman of the AADC, Alex Odeh, was killed by a booby-trap bomb when he opened the door of his office in Santa Ana, California.

It didn't take the FBI very long to figure out who the bombers were, but the three Jewish suspects fled to Israel before they could be arrested. Even though Bullock had the stolen key of the AADC office in his possession at the time of the bombing, neither he nor any of his employers in the ADL were ever charged in connection with Odeh's murder. Also in 1985 Jewish activists used a bomb to kill another target of ADL spying and hate propaganda. He was Tscherim Soobzokov, accused by the ADL of having worked with the Germans in the Caucasus during the Second World War. On August 15, 1985, a bomb exploded on Soobzokov's front porch in Paterson, New Jersey, mortally wounding him.

The ADL used its illegally obtained files in other ways as well, passing some of them to foreign governments. At a court hearing in February 1993, the San Francisco assistant district attorney testified that the file of one American citizen which had been stolen by the ADL had been passed on to the government of Israel. That citizen was Mohammed Jarad, a man of Palestinian ancestry who owned a grocery store in Chicago. When Jarad visited his relatives in Israeli-occupied Palestine in January 1993, he was seized by the Israeli secret police as a result of information supplied to them by the ADL about Jarad's pro-Palestine activity in the United States.



Morris Casuto, Southwestern Director of the ADL

Now the really disturbing thing about all of this ADL activity is not that the organization accepts money from known crime bosses or that it spies on American citizens and turns some of the information over to foreign governments or even that it sets up assassinations or incites terrorist bombings against its enemies. There are other criminal organizations in the United States even more heavily involved in violent criminal activity than the ADL. What makes the ADL more dangerous than any of these others is its ongoing corruption of police officials. In public ceremonies very much like the one honoring gangster Moe Dalitz, the ADL presents awards to police officials and politicians — including the same "Torch of Liberty" award they gave to Dalitz. The ADL regularly persuades local, state, and national police officials to appear on the speaker's platform when the ADL is denouncing some new enemy of the Jews, just as they had police officials around the country at their press conferences a month ago when they declared me the most dangerous man in America.

The ADL also offers training seminars to police departments to teach them how to recognize and deal with "right-wing terrorists," believe it or not. And the police departments take them up on it; they have their officers sit and listen to the ADL, with its history of un-American and criminal activity, tell them about how to deal with people like me.

Why would any American police official accept an award from the same organization which had given an award to Moe Dalitz and praised him on the front page of its monthly publication? Why would any police official be seen in public with members of an organization caught red-handed with stolen police files? Why would the FBI collaborate with such an organization?

I think that in part it is naivete. Policemen tend to be respecters of authority, even more so than the average citizen. If the media praise the ADL as a “respected civil-rights organization,” and if ADL officials are obviously wealthy and well-connected men, with big offices and lots of secretaries, the police tend to feel that they must be all right. The feeling is that nobody who is rich and powerful and gets good press can be bad. The cops either haven’t seen the few media reports where the ADL got caught red-handed or they’ve conveniently forgotten.

But more often than naivete, I’m afraid that corruption is the reason for the collaboration. Certainly that is the case with the FBI. The FBI hasn’t forgotten about Moe Dalitz or the stolen police files or the bombing of Alex Odeh’s office. They certainly haven’t forgotten about the arranged murder of Kathy Ainsworth. And that’s frightening. The ADL alone is bad enough. The ADL teamed up with corrupt policemen all across the country should be a nightmare for every decent American.

Additional Reading: *The New Ethnic Mobs* by William Kleinknecht (Jewish organized crime). Available from National Vanguard Books.

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CA Appeals Court Decision on ADL

Filed 11/16/98

CERTIFIED FOR PUBLICATION
IN THE COURT OF APPEAL OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
FIRST APPELLATE DISTRICT
DIVISION TWO

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH et al.,

Petitioners,

v.

Respondent;
AUDREY SHABBAS et al.,

Real Parties in Interest. _____ /

A080694

THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO,

(San Francisco County
Superior Court No.951031)

The underlying issue in this case relates to the right to privacy. Whether that right was violated cannot be determined, however, without the disclosure of relevant evidence. The question before us now is whether such disclosure can be compelled without violence to the First Amendment values requiring protection of a journalist's confidential sources and information.

Petitioners Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and Roy Bullock seek to set aside a discovery order issued by respondent superior court (Judge Alex Saldamando) on September 19, 1997, granting reconsideration and ordering compliance with certain discovery requests by real parties in interest after finding that they have now met the criteria set forth in *Mitchell v. Superior Court* (1984) 37 Cal.3d 268, to overcome the journalist's qualified privilege. Respondent court stayed the effect of its order pending final determination of this writ petition. Initially, this court denied the petition without opinion. Thereafter, the Supreme Court directed us to issue an order to show cause and to place the matter on calendar.

As explained hereafter, we hold that petitioners, as journalists, are immune from liability for violating Civil Code section 1798.53 under the First Amendment as to all but one and possibly two other real parties in interest by virtue of their status as limited purpose public figures. As to the remaining non-public figure or figures, petitioners are not protected by the First Amendment from liability and a discovery order.

Petitioners are entitled to the protection of the First Amendment, however, only insofar as the information sought to be discovered was obtained and used by them for legitimate journalistic purposes. The journalist's privilege would not protect against discovery directed to whether any non-public information gathered about real parties in interest was privately disclosed to a foreign government or others in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53, as claimed, because such usage does not constitute journalism. The discovery order issued by the trial court was not so limited. The order must therefore be vacated and the matter remanded for reconsideration in light of our opinion.

I. FACTUAL AND PROCEDURAL BACKGROUND

Petitioners ADL and Roy Bullock, along with Richard Hirschhaut and Thomas Gerard, are defendants in an action brought by real parties

in interest for invasion of privacy in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53. Defendant Hirschhaut was the director o f ADL's office in San Francisco; defendant Bullock has been a paid "fact-finder" for ADL for the past 32 years; and defendant Gerard was employed by the San Francisco Police Department. The complaint alleges that defendants secretly gathered and disclosed personal information about real parties in interest, 17 individuals, in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53 because of their expressed views in opposition to the apartheid policy of the then-government of South Africa and/or Israeli policies vis--vi s the Palestinians.

Real parties learned of defendants' activities as a result of an investigation conducted by the San Francisco District Attorney and the Police Department. The District Attorney commenced the investigation in 1993 after the Police Department learned that one or more of its officers might have been improperly providing confidential government information to Bullock, who was employed by ADL to investigate organizations opposing the aforesaid policies of the governments of Israel and South Africa.

At the conclusion of his investigation, the District Attorney determined that Bullock and/or ADL had solicited and received government information not made public from San Francisco police officers and others. In November 1993, the District Attorney commenced a civil action against ADL and Bullock alleging violation of Business and Professions Code section 17200.1 That action was settled after ADL agreed to a permanent injunction prohibiting ADL and Bullock from obtaining documents or other information they know could not legally be disclosed to them. Real parties in interest, who commenced this action in April 1993, claim that non-public information contained in government records relating to each of them was improperly obtained and disclosed to others by ADL.

Civil Code section 1798.53 is part of the Information Practices Act of 1977, which generally imposes limitations on the right of governmental entities to disclose personal information about an

individual. (*Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspapers* (1986) 177 Cal.App.3d 509, 514, fn. 2.) The statute was designed by the Legislature to prevent misuse of the increasing amount of information about citizens which government agencies amass in the course of their multifarious activities, the disclosure of which could be embarrassing or otherwise prejudicial to individuals or organizations.² Indeed, the Legislature made express findings to that effect: "(a) The right to privacy is being threatened by the indiscriminate collection, maintenance, and dissemination of personal information and the lack of effective laws and legal remedies. (b) The increasing use of computers and other sophisticated information technology has greatly magnified the potential risk to individual privacy that can occur from the maintenance of personal information. (c) In order to protect the privacy of individuals, it is necessary that the maintenance and dissemination of personal information be subject to strict limits." (Civ. Code, § 1798.1.)

Civil Code section 1798.53 is a key remedial provision of the Information Practices Act. It provides a civil cause of action for damages against any "person, other than an employee of the state or of a local government agency acting solely in his or her official capacity, who intentionally discloses information, not otherwise public, which they know or should reasonably know was obtained from personal information maintained by a state agency or from 'records' within a 'system of records' (as these terms are defined in the Federal Privacy Act of 1974) . . . maintained by a federal government agency. . . ." Civil Code section 1798.53 additionally authorizes an award of exemplary damages of at least \$2,500 and attorney's fees and costs to a successful plaintiff.

On June 10, 1993, real parties served their first demand for production and inspection of documents. ADL moved for a protective order on the ground that ADL is a journalist protected by the qualified journalist's privilege set forth in *Mitchell v. Superior Court*, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d 268. After a lengthy hearing on the motion, the court (Judge Barbara Jones) ruled on November 17, 1993, that ADL,

which publishes magazines and newsletters, qualified as a journalist, and that ruling is not now disputed. The court granted ADL's motion for a protective order and denied real parties' document request as then phrased on the ground that the latter had failed to satisfy the criteria set forth in *Mitchell v. Superior Court*, supra, 37 Cal.3d 268. The order stated the court would reconsider the matter if real parties reformulated the document requests and were unsuccessful in obtaining the information from alternative sources.

Real parties continued their discovery attempts. On November 19, 1993, they served a second document request on ADL. On November 24, 1993, real parties served the San Francisco District Attorney with a subpoena for documents referring to specified persons and organizations that had been seized by the police department during its investigation of ADL. On April 6, 1994, the court granted ADL's motion to quash the subpoena "with respect to any documents that originated with ADL or Bullock, or that were obtained, procured or developed by ADL or Bullock." In September 1994, the court ordered Bullock to appear for deposition to explore only information not within the ambit of the journalist's privilege set forth in *Mitchell* and to produce certain documents. Discovery of other categories of documents was stayed "without prejudice unless and until plaintiffs have established, pursuant to *Mitchell*, their entitlement to proceed with discovery of matters protected by the journalist's privilege."

Mitchell v. Superior Court, supra, 37 Cal.3d 268, holds that there is a qualified journalist's privilege in a civil action to refuse to reveal confidential sources or information obtained from those sources and that the scope of the privilege depends up on a weighing of five factors.

The first is the nature of the litigation and whether the reporter is a party. "In general, disclosure is appropriate in civil cases, especially when the reporter is a party to the litigation." (Id. at p. 279.) "A second consideration is the relevance of the information sought to plaintiff's cause of action. . . . [M]ere

relevance is insufficient to compel discovery; disclosure should be denied unless the information goes 'to the heart of the plaintiff's claim.'" (Id. at p. 280.) Third, discovery should be denied unless the plaintiff has exhausted all alternative sources of obtaining the needed information. Fourth, the court should consider the importance of protecting confidentiality in the case at hand. (Id. at p. 282.) "Finally, the court may require the plaintiff to make a *prima facie* showing that the alleged defamatory statements are false before requiring disclosure." (Id. at p. 283.)

In June 1996, real parties sought reconsideration of the earlier limitations on discovery, arguing that they had now satisfied the Mitchell criteria.³ Specifically, they asked the court to order (1) ADL to produce documents in response to their third document request, (2) reissuance of the subpoena duces tecum to the police department, and (3) Irwin Suall to answer certain questions and to produce documents listed in his notice of deposition. Real parties memorandum of points and authorities recited the efforts undertaken since the earlier ruling: They took the depositions of defendants Gerard, Bullock and Hirschhaut, San Diego Sheriff's Deputy Tim Carroll, San Francisco Police Lieutenant Ron Roth, former Israeli Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky and ADL's fact-finding director, Irwin Suall. Real parties had reframed their document requests to seek information solely about plaintiffs and members of the putative class.⁴ Despite an order allowing real parties to ascertain the job assignments of Roy Bullock, ADL refused to produce documents or allow Irwin Suall, who made 95 percent of those job assignments, to identify them.

In their memorandum of points and authorities in support of the request for reconsideration, respondents characterized the facts that had emerged from their discovery as follows: (1) Bullock, with Hirschhaut's knowledge and under Suall's direction, soli cited and received confidential information including driver's license numbers and post office box numbers from law enforcement officers; (2) up to half of ADL's efforts during 1986 to 1993 were directed to obtaining information about individuals such as real parties in interest and

organizations holding views opposing Israel's policies or apartheid in South Africa; (3) of the ADL files in police possession, some seven and one-half boxes contain illegally-obtained confidential information about individual s and organizations; (4) Bullock and/or Hirschhaut admitted that ADL or its agents gave information to the Government of Israel and sold information to the Government of South Africa; (5) from 1986-1993, Bullock and Hirschhaut transmitted hundreds of reports to Suall and other ADL offices that included information from confidential sources or "official friends" (law enforcement officers); (6) ADL routinely provided information on individuals, including real party in interest Yigal Arens, to the greater community of 12,000 ADL supporters in the Bay Area, characterizing those opposed to Israel as propagandists using their anti-Zionism as a guise for deeply-felt anti-Semitism; (7) ADL's files seized by the police contained information from confidential government files on real parties in interest Steven Zeltzer and Jeffrey Blankfort; (8) information on real party in interest Helen McCloskey in ADL's files contained information that appeared to have come from the Government of Israel; and (9) ADL's head "fact -finder," Irwin Suall, had met with the Israeli intelligence officials in Israel.

Respondent court heard argument on the motion to reconsider on June 27, 1997, and filed its written order on September 19, 1997. The court found that real parties had met the criteria of Mitchell: (1) The news gatherers are parties to the action; (2) the information goes to the heart of real parties' case in that it will identify the source of illegally-obtained information admittedly obtained by ADL and the dissemination, if any, of such information in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53 and article I, section 1, of the California Constitution; (3) real parties have exhausted all reasonable alternative sources of information and do not have any practical way of obtaining such information from sources other than defendants and the San Francisco Police Department; (4) the non-public information to be disclosed does not relate to public figures or refer to matters of great public importance that would justify nondisclosure under Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspaper Co., *supra*, 177 Cal.App.3d 509; (5)

plaintiffs have presented a prima facie case that defendants Bullock, Hirschhaut and ADL have illegally solicited, obtained and transmitted Civil Code section 1798.53 information in the cases of plaintiffs Blankfort and Zeltzer, and there is a reasonable probability that they have done so in the case of the other named plaintiffs.

The court ordered the following discovery: (A) Reissuance of the subpoena duces tecum to the San Francisco Police Department and "in response to such subpoena the San Francisco Police Department shall produce for Plaintiffs' inspection and copying subject to the Protective Order herein all non-public information obtained by ADL from public agents which is contained in the ADL records seized by the Police Department in 1992 and 1993." The parties are authorized to select a discovery referee or master to be compensated by the parties to supervise and monitor the production of the seized records. (B) ADL is to fully respond to Plaintiffs' third document request within 20 days by producing the following documents: "(1) all memoranda or documents describing or relating to the work assignments of Roy Bullock from Irwin Suall which involve police or other public agents; (2) each document containing illegally-obtained non-public information relating to Plaintiffs and individuals or organizations in their putative class as described by Lt. Roth; (3) each item of non-public information gathered or acquired by ADL and/or Bullock which refer or relate to any of the named Plaintiffs; (4) each ADL publication distributed outside the ADL which includes the name of a Plaintiff or spouse; (5) all 'pink' reports [indicating information had come from confidential informant] dating from 1988 to 1993 transmitted from San Francisco as described by Bullock which contain or refer to non-public information about Plaintiffs' or members of organization in their putative class; (6) any ADL communications to the ADL, 'Jewish or larger community' identified by Mr. Hirschhaut in his deposition which referred to Plaintiffs or their class; and (7) a roster of the ADL 'community' as identified by Mr. Hirschhaut." (C) Irwin Suall was to answer in writing within 20 days specified questions that had been propounded to him at his deposition in April 1996, and he was to produce any documents demanded of him in his notice of deposition that

are in his possession and have not been previously produced. (D) The time for Victor Ostrosky to comply with the request to produce documents not within the journalist's privilege was extended to 60 days following completion of the deposition of Irwin Suall.

II. DISCUSSION

Petitioners mount two challenges to the superior court's ruling. First they argue that discovery from ADL may not be compelled because ADL cannot, consistent with free press guarantees, be liable under Civil Code section 1798.53. Petitioners' second argument is that respondent court erred in finding that real parties in interest had now met the Mitchell criteria to overcome the qualified privilege.^{5 A.}

Turning first to the question of immunity, petitioners maintain that Civil Code section 1798.53 must give way to a journalists free press rights, including the right to ask for, receive and publish confidential information from government sources.

Mitchell clearly does not provide journalists an absolute immunity. "When called upon to weigh the fundamental values arguing both for and against compelled disclosure, the overwhelming majority of courts have concluded that the question of a reporter's privilege in civil cases must be decided on a case-by-case basis, with the trial court examining and balancing the asserted interests in light of the facts of the case before it. Thus, the courts conclude, there is neither an absolute duty to disclose nor an absolute privilege to withhold, but instead a qualified privilege against compelled disclosure which depends on the facts of each particular case. [Citations.]" (Mitchell v. Superior Court, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at p. 276.)

Petitioners maintain that the weighing undertaken by the trial court in this case cannot be squared with a series of assertedly similar cases in which it was found that disclosure could not be punished. They rely on *Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspapers*, *supra*, 177

Cal.App.3d 509; *Alim v. Superior Court* (1986) 185 Cal.App.3d 144; *Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia* (1978) 435 U.S. 829; and *The Florida Star v. B.J.F.* (1989) 491 U.S. 524. Petitioners also find support in the California Supreme Court's recent opinion in *Shulman v. Group W Productions, Inc.* (1998) 18 Cal.4th 200. Real parties in interest respond that the cited cases are all manifestly distinguishable on their facts; and, indeed, that the cases petitioners rely upon actually support disclosure in the different circumstances presented in this case.

In *Nicholson*, an unsuccessful candidate for Attorney General sued the State Bar, two newspapers, and their reporters for damages arising from the publication of the unauthorized disclosure of the confidential fact that the Commission on Judicial Nominees Evaluation had found him not qualified for judicial appointment. The causes of action asserted against the media defendants included one for breach of Civil Code section 1798.53 and one for breach of the common law right of privacy by intrusion. The trial court found that the publication was constitutionally privileged and sustained the media defendants' demurrers without leave to amend. The Court of Appeal affirmed, noting that the allegations as to the media defendants were only that they had sought out newsworthy information which they subsequently published. Such allegations were insufficient to avoid the effect of the constitutional privilege. (*Id.* at p. 520.) There was no allegation of impermissible reporting techniques.⁶ The plaintiff was a public figure since he had recently run for statewide office, and the evaluation of the judicial qualifications was a newsworthy subject. (*Id.* at p. 515.) While the government may desire to keep some proceedings confidential and may impose the duty upon participants to maintain confidentiality, it may not impose criminal or civil liability upon the press for obtaining and publishing newsworthy information through routine reporting techniques." (*Id.* at pp. 519-520.) The court observed that although reporters are not privileged to commit crimes and independent torts in gathering the news, there was no allegation that any such impermissible techniques had been employed. (*Id.* at pp. 519-520.)

In Alim v. Superior Court, *supra*, 185 Cal.App.3d 144, Walter Atlee, former Chief Deputy Director of the Department of Veterans Affairs, sued a newspaper reporter, editor and publisher for invasion of privacy under Civil Code section 1798.53 and libel based on an article containing allegedly false and confidential information from federal Veterans Administration records indicating that he had wrongfully received overpayments of a veteran's disability stipend while employed. The trial court granted the newspaper defendants' motion for summary judgment on all causes of action but that under Civil Code section 1798.53 on the ground that Atlee, who was a public figure, could not prove malice under the New York Times doctrine. (*New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964) 376 U.S. 254.) The trial court denied summary judgment on the Civil Code section 1798.53 claim on the ground that the constitutional doctrine did not apply to it. The Court of Appeal disagreed, rejecting the claim that an action under Civil Code section 1798.53 is not subject to free press defenses analogous to those available in common law actions for invasion of privacy. The court held that a cause of action under Civil Code section 1798.53 is subject to the New York Times actual malice standard and that there is a privilege for truthful publication of information bearing on the fitness for office of a public official. (*Id.* at pp. 152-153.)

In *Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia*, *supra*, 435 U.S. 829, the Supreme Court held that the First Amendment did not permit the criminal punishment of a newspaper for publishing truthful information regarding confidential proceedings of the Virginia Judicial Inquiry and Review Commission. "The operation of the Virginia Commission, no less than the operation of the judicial system itself, is a matter of public interest, necessarily engaging the attention of the news media. The article published by Landmark provided accurate factual information about a legislatively authorized inquiry pending before the Judicial Inquiry and Review Commission and in so doing clearly served those interests in public scrutiny and discussion of governmental affairs which the First Amendment was

adopted to protect." (Id. at p. 839.) The court specifically noted, however, that the case did not involve "the possible applicability of the statute to one who secures the information by illegal means and thereafter divulges it. We do not have before us any constitutional challenge to a State's power to keep the Commission's proceedings confidential or to punish participants for breach of this mandate." (Id. at p. 837.) The only issue before the court was whether a newspaper could be punished for publishing truthful information about confidential proceedings. (Ibid.)

The *Florida Star v. B.J.F.*, supra, 491 U.S. 524, held that a newspaper could not be held liable for violating a state statute prohibiting the publishing of a rape victim's name which it had obtained from a publicly released police report. The court emphasized that its holding was limited to the situation in which the newspaper published truthful information that had been lawfully obtained. (Id. at p. 541.) The court expressly noted it was not addressing the question of whether a newspaper may ever be punished for publishing information that had been unlawfully acquired. (Id. at p. 535, fn. 8.)

Shulman v. Group W Productions, Inc., supra, 18 Cal.4th 200, addressed the common law invasion of privacy torts of public disclosure of private facts and intrusion in an action brought by two automobile accident victims against a television producer that videotaped and broadcast a documentary rescue program showing the plaintiffs' rescue and transportation to the hospital in a medical helicopter. The court held that summary judgment was proper as to the cause of action for publication of private facts but not as to the cause of action for intrusion. Lack of newsworthiness was held to be an essential element of a cause of action based on a claim that publication has given unwanted publicity to allegedly private aspects of a person's life. The subject matter of the broadcast as a whole was of legitimate public concern. "Automobile accidents are by their nature of interest to that great portion of the public that travels frequently by automobile. The rescue and medical treatment of

accident victims is also of legitimate concern to much of the public, involving as it does a critical service that any member of the public may someday need." (Id. at p. 228.) Likewise, the victim's appearance and words as she was extricated from the overturned car, placed in the helicopter, and transported to the hospital were of legitimate public concern. The intrusion cause of action, by contrast, was held not to carry any special immunity or privilege for the press. "In contrast to the broad privilege the press enjoys for publishing truthful, newsworthy information in its possession, the press has no recognized constitutional privilege to violate generally applicable laws in pursuit of material. Nor, even absent an independent crime or tort, can a highly offensive intrusion into a private place, conversation, or source of information generally be justified by the plea that the intruder hoped thereby to get good material for a news story." (Id. at p. 242, *italics in original.*) Thus, summary judgment was improper as to the cause of action for intrusion based on the cameraman's presence in the medical helicopter and the recording and amplifying of the victim's conversations with medical personnel. (Id. at pp. 237-238.)

The trial court found that the cases just discussed were inapplicable because they involved newsworthy information, plaintiffs who were public figures, or both. According to the trial court, the non-public information gathered about real parties was not newsworthy, and real parties were not public figures. Petitioners challenge these determinations, arguing that real parties are political activists visibly engaged in public opposition to policies of the Israeli government and have therefore made themselves limited purpose public figures.

Petitioners rely primarily on *Reader's Digest Assn. v. Superior Court* (1984) 37 Cal.3d 244; *Copp v. Paxton* (1996) 45 Cal.App.4th 829; and *Lind v. Grimmer* (9th Cir. 1994) 30 F.3d 1115. After reviewing these authorities and the information provided in the exhibits relating to the political activities that real parties in interest have undertaken, we agree that at least 14 and possibly 16 of the 17

real parties in interest must be considered limited purpose public figures in relation to this litigation.

The leading California case on public figures is Reader's Digest Assn. v. Superior Court, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at pages 254-255, where Synanon, a rehabilitation program for drug addicts, and Charles Dederich, its founder, were held to be public figures by virtue of their myriad attempts to thrust their case and Synanon in general into the public eye. In reaching that conclusion, the court traced the evolution of the public figure doctrine, noting that it was first recognized in *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts* (1967) 388 U.S. 130, and subsequently refined in *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.* (1974) 418 U.S. 323, where "the court provided a twofold rationale for extending the New York Times rule to 'public figures.' First, it recognized that public figures are generally less vulnerable to injury from defamation because of their ability to resort to effective 'self help.' Such persons ordinarily enjoy considerably greater access than private individuals to the media and other channels of communication. This access in turn enables them to counter criticism and to expose the fallacies of defamatory statements. (418 U.S. at p. 344.) Second, and more significantly, the court cited a normative consideration that public figures are less deserving of protection than private persons because public figures, like public officials, have 'voluntarily exposed themselves to increased risk of injury from defamatory falsehood concerning them.' (418 U.S. at p. 345; see also *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts*, *supra*, 388 U.S. at p. 164 (Warren, C.J., conc. in result).)" (Reader's Digest Assn. v. Superior Court, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at p. 253.)

"Having thus explained the rationale for the public figure classification, the Gertz decision defined two classes of public figures. The first is the 'all purpose' public figure who has 'achiev[ed] such pervasive fame or notoriety that he becomes a public figure for all purposes and in all contexts.' The second category is that of the 'limited purpose' or 'vortex' public figure, an individual who 'voluntarily injects himself or is drawn into a particular public

controversy and thereby becomes a public figure for a limited range of issues.' (418 U.S. at p. 351.) Unlike the 'all purpose' public figure, the 'limited purpose' public figure loses certain protection for his reputation only to the extent that the allegedly defamatory communication relates to his role in a public controversy." (Reader's Digest Assn. v. Superior Court, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at pp. 253-254.)

In determining that Synanon and Dederich must be accorded public figure status for purposes of their defamation action, the court based its conclusion on their efforts to thrust themselves into the public eye. Synanon and Dederich had been the subject of a full-length commercial movie, four books, favorable magazine articles in *Life*, *Time* and even Reader's Digest, and numerous newspaper articles. "For many years Synanon engaged in extensive publicity campaigns in which it sought and achieved a favorable reputation as an organization for the rehabilitation of drug addicts." (Reader's Digest Assn. v. Superior Court, *supra*, 37 Cal. 3d at p. 255.) The court concluded: "While any person or organization has the right to engage in publicity efforts and to attempt to influence public and media opinion regarding their cause, such significant, voluntary efforts to inject oneself into the public arena require that such a person or organization be classified as a public figure in any related defamation actions." (Id. at p. 256.)⁷

In *Copp v. Paxton*, *supra*, 45 Cal.App.4th 829, a self-proclaimed earthquake expert undertook efforts to organize a worldwide conference on disaster mitigation. In connection with his efforts he took issue with the conventional duck-and-cover advice given to schoolchildren and distributed a flyer describing his views. After being subjected to public criticism and attacks on his credentials, Copp brought an action for defamation against a county emergency services officer and others. Our colleagues in Division One of this court concluded that Copp was a limited purpose public figure because he had attempted to thrust himself into the forefront of debate on emergency preparedness by organizing a worldwide conference, passing out flyers and speaking at public meetings. (Id. at p. 846.) In reaching this conclusion, the

court observed: "It is not necessary to show that a plaintiff actually achieves prominence in the public debate; it is sufficient that '[a plaintiff] attempts to thrust himself into the public eye' (Rudnick v. McMillan (1994) 25 Cal.App.4th 1183, 1190) or to influence a public decision." (Id. at pp. 845-846.)

In Lind v. Grimmer, *supra*, 30 F.3d 1115, a newsletter publisher brought an action challenging the constitutionality of a Hawaii statute prohibiting disclosure of information concerning investigations undertaken by Hawaii's campaign spending commission. The Ninth Circuit held the statute unconstitutional as applied to Lind who revealed in a newsletter that he had filed a complaint against the University of Hawaii professional assembly alleging it had failed to disclose certain campaign contributions. The court rejected Hawaii's claim that it was justified in restricting political speech about complaints before the Campaign Spending Commission in order to promote other political speech by candidates and their supporters. The court observed that candidates "surely are public figures, and therefore must be prepared to endure a heightened level of criticism -- including charges of campaign spending improprieties -- precisely in order to promote First Amendment values. . . . Candidates' supporters, by injecting themselves into public debate and attempting financially to influence its outcome, also must be prepared to suffer what to them may be unpleasant discussion of their contribution practices." (Lind v. Grimmer, *supra*, 30 F.3d at p. 1120.)

Petitioners contend that real parties have sufficiently injected themselves into the maelstrom of public debate over Israeli-Palestinian relations and other topical issues to qualify as limited purpose public figures. As examples, they cite declaration s and interrogatory responses submitted by real parties Jeffrey Blankfort and Steven Zeltzer (who the trial court found to have made out prima facie cases of violation of their rights under the privacy statute) describing their interest and activities in support of Palestine and in speaking out against Israeli policies and against apartheid in South Africa. Blankfort stated: In 1981 he was a charter member of

the November 29th Coalition for Palestine; in June 1982 he solicited names and funds for an ad in the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner protesting the Israeli invasion of Lebanon; in 1983, he spent four months in Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and the West Bank as a free-lance photojournalist; in January 1987, he organized an anti-apartheid demonstration in San Francisco; in May 1987, he and Steve Zeltzer organized a forum on the Middle East at a church; in November 1989, he spoke at a conference in Boston on the connection between Israel and South Africa; he spoke on Israeli censorship in June 1993 at a meeting of the American Library Association; he is the editor of the Middle East Labor Bulletin. Zeltzer recited similar activities: He helped Blankfort form the Labor Committee on the Middle East in 1987 whose purpose was to provide information to the U.S. workers about the conditions of working people of the Middle East and to counter anti-Arab racism in the United States; in the early 1980s he helped form the Committee to Free Moses Mayekiso, a South African who had been jailed because of his union activities in defense of Black South African workers.

We agree that the activities undertaken by Blankfort and Zeltzer are sufficient to make them limited purpose public figures under the authorities previously discussed. (Accord Nadel v. Regents of University of California (1994) 28 Cal.App.4th 1251, 1269 -1270 [public figure status where plaintiffs played leadership role in protesting university's plan to build volleyball courts in People's Park by speaking at city council meetings and demonstrations, communicating with news media, and staffing information table at park]; Lewis v. Ueberroth (1983) 147 Cal.App.3d 442 [public figure status where plaintiffs were officers in organization opposing construction of Olympics sports facilities in Sepulveda Basin]; see also Annot., Who is "Public Figure" for Purposes of Defamation Action (1994) 19 A.L.R.5th 1.)

We have reviewed the declarations and interrogatory responses prepared by the fifteen other real parties in interest and submitted as part of the exhibits to determine whether the level of their

activities was such that they may also be found to be limited purpose public figures. We conclude that all but three of the fifteen have described sufficient involvement in Middle East and/or South African causes to be considered public figures for purposes of this litigation. These twelve individuals are each energetic members of numerous organizations dedicated to advancing human rights in the Middle East or South Africa or have otherwise been actively involved in such political efforts.

Jock Taft, however, does not appear to qualify as a limited purpose public figure. So far as the record reveals, the only pertinent activity in which he is engaged is teaching a class on the Palestinians at U.C. Berkeley between 1984 and 1990. Taft states that his classes were disrupted by students allegedly connected with ADL and may have been monitored by Bullock. Merely teaching a university class does not, in our view, constitute the purposeful political activity that warrants classification as a limited purpose public figure. Taft cannot be said to have voluntarily injected himself into the public arena merely because he teaches at a university.

The present record does not satisfactorily show whether the remaining two real parties in interest -- Paula Kotakis and Margaret McCormack -- are limited purpose public figures. The declaration of Paula Kotakis indicates that for an unspecified period of time she has been active in several unidentified organizations allegedly listed as targets of Roy Bullock's efforts to collect information. The information about McCormack's activities is even more sketchy. In response to an interrogatory inquiring whether protected information about her was disclosed, she responded: "The Palestine Human Rights Campaign is no longer active and its office in Washington, D.C. was burned." The record contains no other information regarding any relevant political activities in which Ms. McCormack may have been engaged. As we shall remand the case, the parties will have an opportunity to augment the record and obtain a ruling from the trial court as to whether Paula Kotakis and Margaret McCormack are limited purpose public figures for purposes of this litigation.

Aside from the question of public figure status, real parties in interest still dispute petitioners' claim of First Amendment immunity under Civil Code 1798.53 by arguing that because their news gathering techniques were unlawful these activities fell outside the scope of First Amendment protection. We do not believe the alleged unlawfulness of petitioners' information-gathering activities is dispositive of their right to the protection of the First Amendment. Petitioners would be entitled to that protection even if they did violate the statute, but only if they obtained, used and disseminated the information at issue as journalists.

One of the unusual aspects of this case is that, unlike most newsgathering organizations, petitioners' activities are not limited to journalism. ADL is a tax exempt non-profit membership organization which describes itself in its pleadings as "a civil rights and human relations organization [which] engages in a broad range of activities designed to combat anti-Semitism, prejudice and bigotry of all kinds. Through its Intergroup Relations Division, ADL works to promote greater understanding of Jews, Judaism and Jewish concerns, as well as intergroup and interreligious understanding. Through its International Affairs Division, ADL seeks to focus attention on the security of Jews around the world and the strategic importance of the State of Israel."

Many of the activities through which ADL seeks to achieve the foregoing purposes are unrelated to conventional journalism, which we conceive to be the gathering and editing of material of current interest for presentation through print or broadcast media , or on the internet, and available to interested members of the public. For example, ADL privately circulates information, some of it "confidential," only to certain members and persons affiliated with other groups that share its goals.

Unfortunately, the cases arising under Civil Code section 1798.53 do not shed a great deal of light on the breadth of constitutionally protected journalistic activities. Nicholson provides some guidance,

at least with respect to the gathering (as opposed to the dissemination) of information. That case involved a cause of action for breach of privacy by intrusion based upon news gathering activities similar to that at issue here, namely, "requesting and persuading" employees of the State Bar to engage in the "unauthorized and unlawful disclosure" of confidential information. (See fn. 6, ante.) The court characterized the allegation as simply stating that the media defendants sought out the newsworthy information which they subsequently published in a newspaper of general circulation. The court held that this type of activity was within the news gathering activities protected by the First Amendment. (*Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspapers*, supra, 177 Cal.App.3d at p. 520.) In reaching this conclusion the court relied upon *Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co.* (1979) 443 U.S. 97, which held that the state could not punish the publication of information obtained through routine newspaper reporting techniques (i.e., asking witnesses, police, and an assistant prosecutor for the youthful offender's name).

The Nicholson court distinguished routine news gathering techniques from those employed in *Dietemann v. Time, Inc.* (9th Cir. 1971) 449 F.2d 245, where newsmen gained entrance to the plaintiff's home by subterfuge and surreptitiously photographed him and recorded his conversations by means of a hidden camera and electronic devices. Such activities were not protected by the First Amendment, according to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Likewise, a photographer's constant surveillance, obtrusive and intruding presence in photographing Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis was held to be outside the news gathering privilege of the First Amendment. (*Galella v. Onassis* (2d Cir. 1973) 487 F.2d 986.) Such conduct was contrasted with the routine news gathering techniques which include "asking persons questions, including those with confidential or restricted information. While the government may desire to keep some proceedings confidential and may impose the duty upon participants to maintain confidentiality, it may not impose criminal or civil liability upon the press for obtaining and publishing newsworthy information through

routine reporting techniques." (Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspapers, supra, 177 Cal.App.3d at pp. 519-520.)

In light of the foregoing, it is apparent that, except with respect to Jock Taft and possibly also Paula Kotakis and Margaret McCormack, the manner in which petitioners allegedly obtained information about real parties constitutes legitimate newsgathering. At least fourteen real parties are limited purpose public figures engaged in a newsworthy activity. The fact that ADL apparently never published information about these fourteen individuals in the magazines and newspapers they publish and make available to the public is of no great moment, as such information may well have been sought in connection with stories that never materialized.

The problem in this case, however, relates not so much to the manner in which petitioners may have obtained the information in question, but the manner in which they may have used and disseminated that information. The case law does not address this aspect of the journalistic enterprise since the situations it deals with are invariably those in which the defendant published the information in question in a newspaper or magazine available to the public. Here, the complaint alleges that petitioners disclosed protected non-public information to foreign governments and other persons and organizations with no compelling need to know such information, in some cases for a fee. As indicated, petitioner Bullock testified at his deposition testimony that he had sold or given undisclosed information to representatives of the government of South Africa. Suall, ADL's chief "fact-finder," stated at his deposition that he had met in Israel with agents of the Mossad, the Israeli security agency, presumably for the purpose of sharing information. If Bullock's disclosures to South African officials involved non-public information about real parties, or if Suall's meetings with Israeli officials also involved disclosures of such information, the protections of the First Amendment would not be available, because private disclosures of such information to foreign governments could not conceivably constitute a legitimate and constitutionally protected journalistic activity. Nor

would the private or "confidential" disclosure of such information to a network consisting of members of ADL and/or affiliated organizations not involved in journalism constitute a protected activity.

To be sure, it has not been shown that any information that may have been gathered by petitioners about real parties in interest was in fact privately disclosed to the governments of Israel or South Africa, or to any other entities or individuals. Nonetheless, real parties have made a showing that ADL was found by the San Francisco Police Department to be in possession of non-public information pertaining to certain real parties in interest. The deposition testimony of Bullock and Suall creates a possibility this information was privately disclosed sufficient to justify discovery calculated to lay the matter to rest. Accordingly, we conclude real parties are entitled to discovery specifically tailored to learn whether any information gathered about them by ADL and its agents in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53 was privately disclosed to the government of Israel or South Africa, or to any other agency or individual not a member of or employed by ADL, or to any individual who was then a member or employee of ADL for a non-journalistic purpose. B.

Our conclusion that Jock Taft is not a limited purpose public figure (and that Paula Kotakis and Margaret McCormack also may not be such public figures) requires us to address petitioners' challenge to the trial court's finding that the Mitchell criteria had been satisfied. Petitioners assert that only one of the five factors set forth in Mitchell has been met -- namely, that they are parties to the litigation. According to petitioners, the remaining four factors do not justify disclosure in this case: (1) the importance of the information sought to plaintiffs' case; (2) exhaustion of all alternative sources of obtaining the needed information; (3) the importance of protecting confidentiality in the case at hand; and (4) making a *prima facie* showing. (37 Cal.3d at pp. 279-282.)

Petitioners dispute that the information sought goes to the heart of real parties' case. Real parties, on the other hand, claim the

information at issue is vital to their case. They emphasize that they cannot prevail without identifying exactly what Bullock illegally learned about them from confidential government sources, from whom he illegally obtained the information, and to whom he and ADL illegally transmitted it. The complaint alleges violation of privacy under article I, section 1, of the California Constitution and under Civil Code sections 1798.53 and 1798.569 as a result of a spying operation conducted by defendants who secretly gathered personal information about real parties in interest from state and federal agencies and disclosed it to individuals and entities with no compelling need to know such information. Petitioners contend that the discovery order goes well beyond the narrow confines of a Civil Code section 1798.53 claim in that it is not narrowly limited to tracking the language of the statute. Discovery, however, is not confined to the actual issues framed by the pleadings. The information sought need not be in a form that would be admissible at trial. There need only be a reasonable prospect that it might lead to admissible evidence. (See Hogan and Weber, 1 Cal. Civil Discovery (1997) § 1.5, p. 9.) In any event, petitioners have acknowledged that their complaints about possible overbreadth of certain requests may still be litigated below. (See fn. 5, *supra*.)

Petitioners vigorously dispute the trial court's finding that real parties have exhausted all reasonable alternative sources of information and do not have any practical way of obtaining such information from sources other than defendants and the San Francisco Police Department. According to petitioners, real parties never made any genuine effort to find alternative sources of the evidence they need. Petitioners argue, for example, that real parties could establish who transmitted the information by seeking discovery from certain governmental agencies.

The sufficiency of real parties' discovery efforts was argued below. Real parties deposed defendants Bullock, Hirschhaut, and Suall, and each refused to identify any information obtained about real parties.

They deposed Gerard and Carroll, the only police officers Bullock named as sources, who denied transmitting any of the illegally-obtained confidential information regarding real parties Zeltzer and Blankfort found in the possession of ADL. Real parties also deposed Lieutenant Roth, who could not provide any useful information due to a protective order earlier entered by Judge Jones. The court agreed with real parties that they had exhausted alternative sources. The finding that real parties here, unlike those in Mitchell, had deposed all known potential alternative sources was justified. (See *Mitchell v. Superior Court*, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at p. 282.)

Petitioners contend the court ignored the factor of the importance of protecting confidentiality in the case at hand. Mitchell directs that "when the information relates to matters of great public importance, and when the risk of harm to the source is a substantial one, the court may refuse disclosure even though the plaintiff has no other way of obtaining essential information." (37 Cal.3d at p. 283.) The information sought as to Jock Taft does not relate to a public figure or refer to matters of great public importance that would justify nondisclosure under *Nicholson v. Superior Court*, *supra*, 177 Cal. 509. This case is unlike Mitchell where the information at issue related to criminal or unethical conduct on the part of a powerful private organization. (Mitchell, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at p. 283.) Petitioners do not suggest that the information sought in this case reveals improper conduct on the part of powerful interests, but relates only to political activity on the part of private individuals which, so far as appears, is constitutionally protected. Moreover, petitioners have not persuasively shown that revelation of the information at issue would expose them or their sources to harmful retaliation.

Finally, petitioners object to the court's finding that real parties had satisfied the Mitchell requirement that a *prima facie* showing be made. The showing that needed to be made in Mitchell related to the falsity of the allegedly defamatory information . The Mitchell court explained that the routine granting of motions seeking

compulsory disclosure would emasculate the important principle established in New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, *supra*, 376 U.S. 254, and other cases, unless the substance of the libel charge was first established. A showing that the alleged defamatory statements are false would tend to tip the balance in favor of discovery since there is very little public interest in protecting the source of false accusations of wrongdoing. (37 Cal.3d at p. 283.) Accordingly, Mitchell states that "the court may require the plaintiff to make a *prima facie* showing that the alleged defamatory statements are false before requiring disclosure." (*Ibid*; italics added, fn. omitted.)

The Mitchell court's use of the word "may" indicates it viewed the *prima facie* showing as a discretionary requirement. Requiring a *prima facie* showing that the alleged defamatory statements are false before ordering disclosure of journalists' sources makes sense in the context of a defamation action. The information needed to show falsity would ordinarily be readily available to the plaintiffs. Thus, requiring such a showing before ordering discovery would not be an onerous burden on such parties.

As, unlike Mitchell, this is not a defamation case, the *prima facie* showing that would be made here relates not to the falsity of petitioners' statements but the likelihood that, in violation of Civil Code section 1798.53, they intentionally disclosed information, not otherwise public, which they knew or should reasonably have known was obtained from personal information maintained in the records of one or more government agencies. Such a showing is harder for a plaintiff to make in a suit under Civil Code section 1798.53 than the showing of falsity that may be required in a defamation action. The defendant in a defamation action ordinarily cannot prevent the plaintiff from independently establishing the falsity of charges, whereas a defendant in an action under Civil Code section 1798.53 often can prevent the necessary showing from being made simply by resisting disclosure. In the latter situation it may be unfair to permit the defendant to resist discovery if, having exhausted other possible sources of the necessary evidence, that is the only way the plaintiff can make the

requisite showing. This possible unfairness was one of the reasons the Mitchell court was careful not to say that a trial court must always require the party seeking discovery to make a *prima facie* showing, stating instead that the trial court "may" require such a showing. (Mitchell, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d at p. 283.)10

Ignoring the discretionary nature of the *prima facie* showing requirement, petitioners claim the court imposed such a requirement and found that it had been met only as to 2 of the 17 plaintiffs. According to petitioners, the trial court ruled that 15 of the 17 plaintiffs had not made out a *prima facie* case of any potential Section 1798.53 violation by ADL. This is not an accurate characterization of the ruling.

In pertinent part, the trial court stated as follows:

"Plaintiffs have presented a *prima facie* case that Defendants Bullock, Hirschhaut and ADL have illegally solicited, obtained and transmitted Civil Code Sec 1798.53 information in the cases of Plaintiffs BLANKFORT and ZELTZER, and there is a reasonable probability that they have done so in the case of the other named Plaintiffs and members of their class." The italicized language, which petitioners simply ignore, amounts to a statement that the remaining fifteen plaintiffs had either also made a *prima facie* showing, 11 or had at least made a showing that was sufficient under the circumstances. Since it allowed discovery to proceed on behalf of all seventeen plaintiffs, the trial court must have concluded that all had made the necessary showing that petitioners violated Civil Code section 1798.53. Since imposition of the *prima facie* showing requirement is not mandatory, the imposition of a somewhat lesser standard -- if indeed that is what the trial court had in mind -- is certainly permissible.

We agree with the finding of the trial court that real parties in interest have met the criteria set forth in *Mitchell v. Superior Court*, *supra*, 37 Cal.3d 268, as to Jock Taft. It is evident, however, that the discovery order itself is too broad and must be tailored to

the disclosure of non-public information about Jock Taft contained in ADL files and to whom, if anyone, such information was disclosed. C.

The discovery order must be vacated. To the extent that the information sought was within the scope of ADL's function as a journalist, ADL has a First Amendment privilege as to claims by all but one, and possibly two others, of the 17 real parties in interest. As to the real parties who do not have "public figure" status, discovery may be ordered, but it must be tailored to obtaining non-public information about them in ADL's files and discovering to whom, if anyone, such information was disclosed.

We have also concluded that, with respect to all real parties, ADL is protected under the First Amendment only to the extent its activities or those of its agents constitute journalism. Thus, allegations that ADL and its agents privately disclosed non -public information about real parties in interest to foreign governments or others not acting as ADL journalists are outside the scope of the journalist's privilege. Accordingly, discovery tailored to reveal whether such private disclosures were made should be permitted.¹² III.

DISPOSITION

The order to show cause is discharged. The petition for writ of prohibition and/or mandate is granted, and respondent court is directed to set aside and vacate its September 19, 1997, order (as amended at the November 6, 1997 status conference). The parties shall bear their own costs on appeal. CERTIFIED FOR PUBLICATION

Kline, P. J.

We concur: _____

Haerle, J. _____

Lambden, J. _____

Trial Court: San Francisco Superior Court Trial Judge:
Honorable Alex Saldamando Attorneys for Petitioner:
David Goldstein Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe
Attorneys for Real Parties in Interest: Audrey Shabbas

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith v.
Superior Court- A080694

1 Section 17200 of the Business and Professions Code defines unfair competition as including any act prohibited by Chapter 1 (commencing with section 17500) of Part 3 of Division 7 of the Business and Professions Code. Section 17500 makes it unlawful for any person, firm, corporation or association . . . to make or disseminate or cause to be made or disseminated . . . any statement, concerning . . . real or personal property or services, professional or otherwise, or concerning any circumstance or matter of fact connected with the proposed performance or disposition thereof, which is untrue or misleading, and which is known, or which by the exercise of reasonable care should be known, to be untrue or misleading"

2 Authorities trace the crisis of informational privacy in government records to a number of factors:

- (1) government's increased role in the lives of individuals through its provision of benefits and services and its regulation of the activities of private and public organizations;
- (2) an increasingly complex government bureaucracy's reliance on written records, rather than face-to-face contact or direct evaluation, for decision-making;
- (3) the vogue of behavior-predictive theories of decision making, which presume that a maximum amount of information will allow fine-grained distinctions on decisions and predictions as to future behavior; and
- (4) the unprecedented technological revolution in information handling, storage, transfer, and manipulation." (Note, California's Privacy Act: Controlling Government's Use of Information? (1980) 32

Stan. L. Rev. 1001, fn. 2, citing, inter alia, Statewide Information Policy Comm., California State Assembly, Final Report, reprinted in 1 Cal. State Legislature, 1970 Reg. Sess., Appendix to the Journal of the Assembly.)

3 The motion, memorandum of points and authorities, and declarations in opposition to the motion are included in the documents that we had ordered sealed pursuant to ADL's request. It would be nearly impossible, however, to write a meaningful opinion re viewing the court's discovery order without referring to the documents supporting and opposing the ruling. In response to our inquiry at oral argument, ADL consented to unsealing all exhibits we had previously ordered sealed. Accordingly, we hereby order Exhibits 36-38, 43, 44, 45, 46, and 49 unsealed.

4 On March 3, 1997, respondent court entered a stipulated order stating, inter alia, that the pending discovery motions shall pertain only to the 17 individual plaintiffs, and not to the putative class they purport to represent.

5 Petitioners acknowledge in their petition (pp. 14-15) that the only matter before the trial court on the motion for reconsideration was ADLs objection based on the journalists privilege and that their other objections to discovery are still outstanding and may be addressed after resolution of this petition. Thus, petitioners' objection to the order to produce "a roster of the ADL 'community' as identified by Mr. Hirschhaut" on First Amendment freedom of association grounds (NAACP v. State of Alabama (1958) 357 U.S. 449; Britt v. Superior Court (1978) 20 Cal.3d 844) may be addressed, if necessary, and resolved upon termination of these proceedings.

6 The cause of action for breach of privacy by intrusion alleged that the defendants pursued and conducted an unreasonably intrusive investigation into Plaintiff's confidential and private affairs by means of soliciting, inquiring, requesting and persuading agents, employees and members of the State Bar to engage in the unauthorized

and unlawful disclosure of information [knowing such information to be confidential].'" (Nicholson v. McClatchy Newspapers, *supra*, 177 Cal.App.3d at p. 520.)

7 The California Supreme Court recently addressed the definition of a public figure for purposes of tort and First Amendment law in *Khawar v. Globe International, Inc.* (1998) ___ Cal.4th ___ (98 Daily Journal D.A.R. 11307) where it held that plaintiff Khawar, who was photographed near Senator Robert Kennedy shortly before the Senator's assassination, was not a public figure. Khawar's appearance near Kennedy was not conduct by which he thrust himself into the limelight in an attempt to influence the resolution of issues. Mere association with a matter that attracts public attention, such as Senator Kennedy's candidacy, does not transform one into a public figure in the absence of some purposeful activity to invite public comment or to influence the public with relation to some issue. (Id. at p. 11310.)

8 Victor A. Ajlouny, Yigal Arens, Amal Barkouki-Winter, Manuel Dudum, Carol El-Shaieb, Stephen B. Mashney, Helen Hooper McCloskey, Donald E. McGaffin, Anne Poirer, Agha Saeed, Audrey Park Shabbas and Marianne Torres.

9 Civil Code section 1798.56 provides: Any person who willfully requests or obtains any record containing personal information from an agency under false pretenses shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000), or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

10 The other reasons suggested in Mitchell for not imposing the *prima facie* showing requirement is that it is closely related to another requirement, that there be no or little public interest in protecting confidentiality. (*Ibid.*)

11 *Prima facie* evidence is simply that evidence which will support a ruling in favor of its proponent if no controverting evidence is

presented. (People v. Bell (1989) 49 Cal.3d 502, 554 . . . (conc. opn. of Kaufman, J.); 9 Wigmore on Evidence (Chadbourn rev. 1981) Sufficiency of Evidence, § 2494, pp. 379, 381, 387; Black's Law Dict. (5th ed. 1979) p. 1071.) It may be slight evidence which creates a reasonable inference of fact sought to be established but need not eliminate all contrary inferences. (People v. Towler (1982) 31 Cal.3d 105, 115 . . .)" (Evans v. Paye (1995) 32 Cal.App.4th 265, 280, fn. 13.)

12 Petitioners raised some procedural objections in their reply memorandum that merit mention. They claim that real parties failed to file a verified answer or demurrer as required by rule 56(e), California Rules of Court. Real parties, however, did file a verified answer and return to the order to show cause. Petitioners also object to the exhibits filed by real parties with their verified answer and return on the ground that many of the documents contained therein were not before the trial court at the time of its ruling. Since we are reviewing the trial court's ruling, it is improper to consider documents that were not before the trial court. Accordingly, we have not considered matters not presented below.

ADL Accused of McCarthyite Tactics

/* Written 8:03 AM Nov 17, 1998 by FBOYLE@law.uiuc.edu in
igc:misc.activism. */

Dear Colleagues:

I can assure you these these ADL "enemies lists" and "blacklists" do indeed exist. I have seen them myself and have some of them in my files. As I said before, when a Jewish Professor friend of mine was blacklisted and subjected to McCarthyite tactics by them and AIPAC, I filed a Complaint on behalf of my friend and all other American Professors who had been blacklisted by ADL/AIPAC as "enemies" and subjected to McCarthyite tactics with the AAUP. The cowards and hypocrites at the AAUP refused to help, whereupon I resigned my membership in the AAUP. For my efforts I was then blacklisted by ADL.

By the way, ADL was sharing this illegally gathered intelligence information with the Afrikaaner apartheid regime in South Africa. Many of us who worked for Palestinian human rights were also involved in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. See my Defending Civil Resistance under International Law (Transnational:1987). The Complaint that I filed with the AAUP is currently being used by former Congressman McCloskey in the prosecution of these lawsuits.

Francis A. Boyle

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ADL Told to Open Files

November 17, 1998

Jewish Group Told To Open Files

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) -- A state appeals court ruled that a Jewish civil rights organization that was monitoring pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists must give them information about any illegal disclosures of their confidential files.

The 1st District Court of Appeal decided Monday that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is entitled to the same protections extended to journalists, meaning it can keep its files and sources confidential but must hand over any materials it illegally obtained and distributed.

The ADL was appealing a judge's order to produce internal documents concerning 17 activists who have sued the ADL for invasion of privacy.

The activists contend the ADL illegally obtained confidential records, such as driver's licenses and Social Security numbers, from the state and used them to get people blacklisted among the organization's supporters.

The ADL, which publishes newsletters and reports on hate groups, denies having a blacklist and says it was merely keeping tabs on terrorists and groups opposed to civil rights.

Some of the information the activists sought is part of 17,000 ADL files seized by police in 1992. The ADL

later settled a civil suit filed by the city accusing it of illegally obtaining the sensitive documents.

The appeals court said Monday that the ADL isn't entitled to keep its files secret if it used the material for nonjournalistic purposes, such as disclosing the information to foreign governments or to its private network of supporters.

Both the ADL and a lawyer representing the activists declared victory.

The ADL's regional director, Barbara Bergen, said the ruling ``reaffirms our status as a journalistic organization, with the right to protect our files.''

Bergen said the terms of the court's order does not entitle the activists to any new information because there have been no illegal disclosures.

Attorney Pete McCloskey, a former congressman whose wife, Helen, is one of the plaintiffs, said the information should enable him to take their long-stalled case to trial.

``It breaks through this almost incredible claim by these guys that they were immune for any violation of law,'' he said.

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Court Rules for Activists on ADL

Tuesday, November 17, 1998

San Francisco Chronicle

Ruling Allows Activists To Sue Over Disclosure

Bay Area political activists who have sued a Jewish civil rights organization are entitled to learn whether the group illegally disclosed confidential information about them, a state appeals court ruled yesterday.

The ruling by the Court of Appeals should enable the activists to go to trial in their long-stalled suit against the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The activists' suit, which asks for class-action status for as many as 1,000 people, relies on a state law banning disclosure of confidential government information, with damages of \$2,500 for each disclosure. Filed in 1993, the suit has been delayed by a dispute over the confidentiality of ADL files.

ADL regional director Barbara Bergen said that although the decision "leaves open the possibility of limited future discovery from the League," ADL officials predicted it would lead to a legal victory for the group in future litigation. The organization, which publishes newsletters about hate groups, has the legal status of a journalist, and it says it is therefore entitled to keep its files and sources confidential.

The appeals court, however, ruled 3 to 0 that the ADL could not keep its files secret if they were used for nonjournalistic activity.

ADL Claims Court Ruling Victory in Spying Lawsuit

Northern California Jewish Bulletin November 27, 1998

ADL claims court ruling victory in `spying' lawsuit

LORI EPPSTEIN
Bulletin Staff

After five years of court appeals and motions on secret files, Anti-Defamation League attorneys in San Francisco say the end is in sight for a class-action lawsuit filed against the agency by pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists.

Last week, a ruling by the California 1st District Court of Appeals determined that the ADL could be defined as a journalistic organization. As such, the agency can keep confidential any information gathered in a journalistic manner.

The ruling severely restricts the plaintiffs in gathering evidence for the case and may thwart their efforts to bring the case to trial, ADL attorneys said.

"Not only are we delighted with the ruling...but we are also delighted in the context of this lawsuit which means that [the plaintiffs] are not going to have anything because there isn't anything for them to have," said Stephen Bomse, an ADL lawyer.

Former Congressman Pete McCloskey, attorney for the activists, did not return phone calls. But in news accounts from the San Francisco Examiner and the Chronicle, the Woodside attorney called the ruling a

victory because it affirmed his right to future discovery, albeit limited. The ruling, he said, would enable him to take the case to trial.

The activists' lawsuit followed police raids on the San Francisco and Los Angeles ADL offices in 1992, during which confidential files were confiscated. The files revealed the names of individuals in activist groups that the ADL had been monitoring.

The ADL settled a civil suit brought by the city of San Francisco over charges that the organization illegally acquired confidential government information found in the files. Two years ago, the ADL also settled a related class-action suit brought by a dozen human-rights groups.

The activists in the current case asserted in 1993 that the ADL illegally obtained and disseminated private records of 17 individuals. Such information, the activists claimed, was used to blacklist individuals.

The ADL, which publishes various reports, books and special bulletins as part of its hate-monitoring activities, argued that it was merely gathering information about terrorists and other hate groups. It denied having any blacklist.

ADL lead attorneys Bomse and David Goldstein said that in light of last week's ruling, they will file a motion for the judge to dismiss the case for lack of evidence.

"I think now we are going to move very aggressively to have this end in ADL's favor -- and short of trial," Bomse said. "We think we can get the claims thrown out in short order."

Barbara Bergen, the ADL's regional director, said her organization has no intention of settling with the activists because its attorneys are confident they would prevail in court.

Despite the ADL's newfound status as a media organization, its attorneys said the case doesn't break new legal ground. However, the agency is still vulnerable to investigations into its practices by those who find its surveillance of extremist groups equivalent to spying.

Bergen said there's been no evidence in either the San Francisco district attorney's investigation or the current case to suggest that the ADL has gathered information illegally.

"We are very cognizant of the limits of the law and the methods of information gathering," she said. But she conceded that "there may have been instances" in which an investigator for the ADL unknowingly acted outside the law.

After settling its civil suit with the city of San Francisco, the ADL reviewed its fact-finding methods. The organization has not significantly changed its investigative practices, Bergen said.

ADL Journalistic Status Reaffirmed by California

Date: Wed, 30 Dec 98 22:07:13 -0000

NEW YORK, Nov. 17 /U.S. Newswire/ -- The Anti-Defamation League today hailed a California Court of Appeals' reaffirmation of ADL's status a journalistic News gathering organization and its ruling that ADL's files are largely protected from disclosure. The ruling came in the context of civil litigation brought by anti-Israel activists and others.

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL national director, issued the following statement: "We view the decision as a victory for ADL and a victory for the First Amendment. The California Court of Appeals' decision reaffirms our status a journalistic newsgathering organization with the right to protect our files. ADL is confident that the Court's ruling, which allowed for very limited discovery, will demonstrate that the plaintiffs' claims are unfounded.

----- The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

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ADL Suit Reinvigorated

Date: Wed, 30 Dec 98 22:09:45 -0000

Constitutional Law ADL Not Completely Protected By Reporter's 'Shield' Law Some Of It's Alleged Targets Are Entitled To Discover What The Group Found Out About Them

By Philip Carrizosa Daily Journal Senior Writer

Reinvigorating a suit that accuses the Anti-Defamation League of illegal spying, a state appeal court ruled Monday that at least some of the alleged targets are entitled to find out just what ADL learned about them and what, if anything, may be been disclosed to the governments of Israel and South Africa.

In a 3-0 decision, the 1st District Court of Appeal said the ADL is not completely protected by the reporters' shield law.

"ADL is protected under the First Amendment only to the extent its activities or those of its agents constitute journalism," wrote Presiding Justice Anthony Kline. "Thus allegations that ADL and its agents privately disclosed non public information about [persons] to foreign governments or others not acting as ADL journalists are outside the scope of the journalist's privilege."

While the decision in Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Superior Court, A090694, does not the the

17 plaintiffs in the case everything they wanted, the ruling might give them access to a great deal of new information currently in the hands of the ADL and San Francisco police.

Woodside attorney Paul McCloskey, the lawyer for the plaintiffs and a former congressman, said he was "delighted" with the ruling because it allows the plaintiffs to proceed with discovery.

"This sweeping claim by the defendants that they have complete immunity from discovery laws has been completely smashed by the courts," McCloskey said. Although it is not clear whether the plaintiffs will be able to learn the ADL's sources, the information that will now be disclosed is "critical" he said.

But an attorney for the ADL said the ruling will actually help the league and may pave the way for dismissal of the suit. Stephen W. Bonse of San Francisco's Heller Ehrman, White & McAuliffe said he believes the discovery ordered by the appeal court will yield no additional significant informations. "I doubt there is anything left to be disclosed," he said adding that the ADL WILL "absolutely not" seek review from the state Supreme Court.

The ruling came in a discovery dispute between the ADL and a group of 17 individuals who claim that the Jewish civil rights organization secretly gathered and disclosed personal information about them because of their opposition to the apartheid policy of the former government of South Africa or because of their criticism of Israeli policies toward the Palestinians.

The information-gathering was revealed five years ago when San Francisco police searched the ADL's offices after learning that one of its own officers might have been providing confidential government information to Roy Bullock, the ADL's local "fact fin der."

Then-District Attorney Arlo Smith later sued the ADL, but the case was settled after the ADL paid \$75,000 and agreed to a permanent injunction against obtaining information the group could not be disclosed to it.

In the meantime, the 17 plaintiffs proceeded with their civil suit, alleging the ADL violated California's Information Privacy Act, which allows exemplary damages of at least \$2,500, plus attorney fees and costs, for disclosing personal information from government records.

In response to discovery requests, the ADL asserted that it was a journalist and qualified for protection under the qualified journalist's privilege set forth in *Mitchell v. Superior Court*, 37 Cal3rd 268 (1984). Judge Barbra Jones, now an appeal court justice, ruled that ADL, which publishes magazines and newsletters, qualified as a journalist.

After conducting further discovery, the plaintiffs renewed their document requests, arguing they now satisfied the criteria of Mitchell. This time, Judge Alex Saldamando allowed discovery into all ADL files seized by San Francisco police as well as many of ADL's internal files on its information gathering activities.

At first, the appeal court denied the ADL's appeal to block Saldamando's discovery order.

But the state Supreme Court ordered the appeal court to hold arguments and reconsider it's decision.

In its 30-page opinion Monday, the appeal court ruled that the ADL is immune as a journalist for violating the Information Practices Act as to all but one and possibly three of the plaintiffs. One who taught a class on Palestinians at UC Berkeley, is clearly a private figure and possibly two others are as well, the court said.

But most of the plaintiffs have been sufficiently involved in Middle East or South African causes to be considered public figures and thus subject to the journalist's privilege, Kline said.

Nonetheless, the privilege protects the ADL only to the extent that its activities were limited to journalism, Kline said. If, as the plaintiffs contend, the information was disseminated to foreign governments, "the protections of the First Amendment would not be available, because private disclosures of such information to foreign governments could not conceivably constitute legitimate and constitutionally protected journalistic activity,' Kline wrote.

"Accordingly, discovery tailored to reveal whether such private disclosures were made should be permitted" concluded Kline, who was joined by justices Paul Haerle and James Lambden.

Source: The Campaign for Radical Truth in History,
<http://www.hoffman-info.com>
PO Box 849, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho 83816

Fact Sheet on the ADL

The ADL is "...one of the ugliest, most powerful pressure groups in the U.S...Its primary commitment is to use any technique, however dishonest and disgraceful, in order to defame and silence and destroy anybody who dares to criticize the Holy State ('Israel')."

–Noam Chomsky, Professor of Linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

REVISIONIST HISTORIAN MICHAEL A. HOFFMAN II (CENTER) HOLDS A COPY OF THE "FACT SHEET ON THE ADL" FLYER WHICH HE AND TWO OTHER ACTIVISTS DISTRIBUTED AS THEY PICKETED THE APPEARANCE OF BRUCE KORT, ADL'S SEATTLE REGIONAL DIRECTOR AT THE COEUR D'ALENE RESORT, WHICH CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND, IN COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) gave an award Nov. 18, 1998 to the city of Coeur d'Alene. City Fathers assume this is something to be proud of and have unthinkingly rolled out the red carpet for the ADL.

They think that an imprimatur from the ADL, a prominent Jewish group with a multi-million dollar budget and substantial media clout, is a kind of certification of our area's goodness. But in point of fact, hosting the ADL and its regional Seattle director at the Coeur d'Alene Resort is a shameful blot on our region.

The ADL is a branch of the masonic B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant), which was established Oct. 13, 1843.

Up until recently, for decades the chief “fact-finder” (head spy) for the ADL was the late Irwin Suall. From 1957 through 1962, Mr. Suall was national secretary of the Socialist Party. (1)

The ADL keeps extensive espionage files on those who are critical of Israeli policies. Last year the ADL attempted to blackmail Benjamin Chavis, leader of the NAACP, with some of those files. (2)

The ADL spies on American dissidents on behalf of the Israeli government. Automobile license plate numbers of people attending a meeting of the Committee on the Middle East were recorded by ADL agent Roy Bullock, channeled through San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, also an ADL operative, and furnished to the Israeli government. (3)

The ADL claims that it has the right to “investigate” dissidents and “probe into their private lives.” When asked in court, “Does that mean anyone who participates in a political rally can be the subject of an in-depth investigation?” ADL attorney Stephen Bomse responded in the affirmative. (4).

In 1996 the ADL praised the prison sentence meted out to an American publisher in Germany: “ADL today said it was gratified that a German court sentenced American...Gary Lauck to four years in prison for...disseminating anti-Semitic...hate material.” (5)

In January of 1998, ADL Director Abraham Foxman ordered Metropolitan Books to halt publication of “A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth,” a book which exposed fraud perpetrated by anti-German bigot Daniel Goldhagen. (6)

Early in November of 1998, ADL Director Foxman was at it again, this time ordering the media to ban black leader Louis Farrakhan from the airwaves. Foxman’s demand can be summarized as, “Keep Farrakhan off all the television networks!” (7)

In 1993 the ADL illegally obtained California police and government records in San Francisco on a wide array of dissident political groups and turned them over to the

Israeli government. Due to its enormous influence, the ADL escaped criminal prosecution in return for paying \$75,000 to groups that fight hate crimes. (8)

The ADL “runs a nationwide surveillance operation on political groups with the assistance of other law enforcement officials...The ADL spied on political groups in the US and this information allegedly made its way to Israeli security authorities.” (9)

On Aug. 2, 1994 seventy-five Jewish-Americans accused the ADL of “engaging in defamation” in the ADL’s attacks on Christian conservatives. (10)

The seventy-five stated that the ADL uses “such discreditable techniques as insinuation and guilt by association” to compile its secret files on dissenters. (11).

On Aug. 9, 1994 Houston attorney Gary Polland compiled an analysis of an ADL attack on Christians. “Among other things, the analysis demonstrates that ... (ADL Director) Foxman lied...” (12)

Syndicated columnist Mona Charen wrote: “...there is the crude, but undeniable fact that the ADL is in the anti-Semitism business...It is playing upon ancient fears...and it is doing so dishonestly, with quotes taken out of context and flagrantly false accusations.” (13)

In 1987 the B’nai B’rith of Canada was ordered to pay \$400,000 for defaming a Winnipeg woman. (14)

On March 14, 1996 the B’nai B’rith called a press conference in Toronto urging the government to arrest revisionist publisher Ernst Zündel for printing revisionist pamphlets the Zionist group abhors. (15)

Jewish journalist Robert I. Friedman says the ADL is “the largest private spy agency in America... working behind the scenes to stifle intellectual freedom.” [16]

According to the Associated Press, the ADL was instrumental in suppressing an advertisement on the Lycos Internet Website for the “Jews for Jesus” organization.

Lycos Inc. stated that it “would not renew an advertisement from Jews for Jesus because of complaints from some in the Jewish community.”

Lycos said several Jewish people took offense when the ad popped up on their computer screens as they searched for Web sites containing the word “Jewish.” Jeffrey Snider, Lycos’ general counsel, told The Boston Globe that the ad’s contract, which expires in several days, was not renewed because “controversial advertising is bad for business.”

According to the Associated Press, the ad “was opposed by the Anti-Defamation League’s Boston office. Diane Kolb, ADL associate director, said she believes the “Jews for Jesus” message is “misleading and blasphemous.” [17]

When the U.S. government keeps a file on a citizen that individual can pursue a Freedom of Information inquiry to ascertain the contents and accuracy of the government dossier.

But in the case of the secret files of the ADL which the group shares with U.S. Intelligence and the Israeli secret police (Mossad), the citizen has no recourse whatever.

If an anti-Communist, right wing group were to engage in such massive domestic spying our local press and politicians would thunder anathemas against this “new McCarthyism.” But when a totalitarian Zionist organization engages in such tactics, the Establishment media act as their dutiful mouthpiece, and the Federal government gives them semi-official status as “watchdogs over extremism.”

But what can these prevaricating ADL thought cops with their Stalinist tactics, offer America, other than the same kind of dictatorship that arose in Russia in 1917? Why do our government leaders and media executives seek the approbation and follow the dictates of so loathsome a group of snoops, censors, haters and tyrants?

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End Notes

- [1] Lenni Brenner, "The ADL," American Educational Trust, 1996, p. 18.
- [2] Village Voice, Nov. 11, 1997, pp. 48, 50, 53.
- [3] The Independent (San Francisco, CA), Oct. 22, 1998, p. 11.
- [4] Ibid.
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- [6] NY Times, Jan. 10, 1998.
- [7] "ADL Attack on NBC," Coeur d'Alene Press, Nov. 15, 1998.
- [8] "Privacy Suit Against ADL Allowed," A.P. Nov. 17, 1998.
- [9] SF Weekly, March 31, 1993.
- [10] NY Times, Aug. 2, 1994.
- [11] The New American, Sept. 19, 1994, p. 13.
- [12] Ibid.
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- [14] The Globe and Mail, Nov. 26, 1987.
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Source: The Spotlight

The ADL and the Great Sedition Trial

The role of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith in prompting the FBI's recent Project Megiddo report on potential Y2K "terrorism" has a frightening precedent in American history. This was the topic discussed on the Nov. 14 broadcast of The SPOTLIGHT's weekly call-in talk forum, Radio Free America, with host Tom Valentine.

Valentine's guest was SPOTLIGHT correspondent Michael Collins Piper, author of an article on "The Great Sedition Trial of 1944" in the January-February issue of the revisionist history magazine, The Barnes Review.

Piper described the little-known story of the criminal trial in which 30 Americans were tried on trumped-up charges of "sedition" brought by the Justice Department of President Franklin D. Roosevelt against his critics. The evidence shows that it was the ADL that actually provided the FBI the "evidence" used to bring the false charges against the defendants.

Today, the ongoing attacks against presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan bear a striking similarity to the attacks made against the so-called "seditionists" in 1944.

What follows is an edited transcript of the interview. Valentine's questions appear in boldface.
Piper's responses are in regular text.

Few Americans have heard about the Great Sedition Trial of 1944.

You always hear about "McCarthyism" in high school, but you never hear about the sedition trial. The way history books describe World War II you would never know that 90 percent of the American people opposed getting involved in that war in the first place.

The Great Sedition Trial took place 55 years ago, but it is very applicable to what is happening today.

What we are seeing today with the attacks on Pat Buchanan in the press, but also with this *Project Megiddo* report issued by the FBI, is a reflection of the same mindset that led to the Great Sedition Trial.

Judge Bolitha Laws called the Great Sedition Trial a “travesty on justice.”

That's right. Although the trial came to a halt in 1944, there were repeated attempts by the Justice Department to enter new indictments but the charges were ultimately thrown out. There were originally three indictments involving some 40 people but 30 people actually went to trial. The case was brought under the guise of accusing these people of supposedly attempting to disrupt the military and undermine the war effort. In fact, the bottom line was that the one thing that all of these people had done was to criticize the role of the Jewish lobby in pushing for U.S. involvement in the war. They also attacked the numerous communists in the Roosevelt administration (many of whom, in fact, were Jewish.)

That's really why they were indicted. That's what the Great Sedition Trial was really all about. Sedition had nothing to do with it. What they were indicted for is what Pat Buchanan is being attacked for doing—criticizing the power of the Jewish lobby.

There is firm evidence the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith was the prime mover behind the FBI in the trial.

No question about it. In fact, one of the defendants, David Baxter, later went through the Freedom of Information Act and got the files that resulted in his indictment. He found that in a great many cases it was not the FBI that had conducted the investigation—it was the ADL. The FBI merely received the reports ADL investigators had prepared.

“One can hardly tell from the reports,” Baxter said, “whether a given person is an FBI or an ADL agent. But at the time all of this was so hush-hush that I didn't expect the web-spinning going on around me. I hadn't considered myself that important.”

It's a shame that Americans didn't learn a lesson in 1944 in regard to the ADL's role in feeding disinformation to the FBI (and the FBI willingly accepting it at face value). Using this same technique, the ADL stirred up the mindset that created Waco and Ruby Ridge and the Oklahoma bombing and now they are behind this *Project Megiddo* report.

A reporter from *The Washington Post* played a key role in the scheme by the ADL and the Justice Department.

That's right. The defendants in the Great Sedition Trial were from all over the country, so the only way they could indict them was to link them to Washington, D.C., in order to get jurisdiction over them.

What happened was that this writer for *The Washington Post* named Dillard Stokes sent letters to the defendants asking them to send literature to him in Washington. His letters were written under an alias, “Jefferson Breem” (to hide his identity as a *Post* reporter) and the defendants responded as the ADL hoped.

On that basis, then, the Justice Department said: “Okay, their conspiratorial activities extended into the District of Columbia so therefore we can file charges against them here.” And they did. The third and final indictment actually went to trial, charging these defendants with interfering with the war effort.

These people had been critics of FDR’s efforts to get us into the war and they were critics of the U.S. wartime alliance with communist Russia, concerned that the Roosevelt administration was rife with Soviet agents during World War II, which indeed it was.

These people targeted by the ADL were dragged from their homes and brought to Washington to stand trial. Few of them had any money to defend themselves. Many of them were destitute and hardly influential at all.

That’s what’s so frightening. It could happen again today. Let’s take the case of Pat Buchanan. He’s probably the most prominent person today who reflects the America First sentiment, the very views of those who were put on trial in 1944.

People get nervous when I start talking about Israel, so let me put things in another context that won’t scare as many people. Let’s take the war on Serbia instead. Pat Buchanan opposed that war. A lot of people opposed that war. The SPOTLIGHT opposed that war. There were American troops in that war.

Under the same theory used to indict the sedition trial, Pat Buchanan and others could have been indicted because they were conspiring to undermine the war effort.

In the earlier Gulf War, Israel was our ally and it could have been alleged that Buchanan was attacking our ally by opposing the Gulf War just as in the sedition trial it was alleged the defendants were attacking “our great Soviet ally.”

In the trial in 1944, the people charged had expressed views that were anti-Jewish or anti-communist or both. They weren’t seditionists.

The irony is that these people were indicted under a law designed to crack down on Soviet agents in the United States.

That's correct. The Smith Act of 1940 was passed to prevent communist infiltration of the American armed forces and many of the people indicted had actually called for enactment of the Smith Act in the first place.

In the sedition trial, the government was saying that since Soviet Russia was the war-time ally of the United States, if you said anything about communist Russia you were opposing our ally and that this was "sedition."

FDR's own attorney general, Francis Biddle, didn't even want to bring these indictments.

That's correct. However, FDR was pushing for it. The ADL was lobbying heavily behind the scenes. It was a *fait accompli*. The poor attorney general didn't have much choice.

The lives of these innocent people were very much disrupted by these criminal charges. Describe what happened to Elmer Garner.

Mr. Garner was 82 years old and he died one week after the trial opened, with 40 cents in his pocket, staying in a tiny rented room in a flophouse in Washington. He was found slumped over his typewriter, working on his defense. They shipped his body home to Kansas in a wooden box.

Ironically, Elmer was a first cousin of FDR's two-term Vice President John Nance Garner of Texas. Old Mr. Garner's family was made destitute because of this. This old gentleman published a newsletter that hardly anyone read, but he was indicted and accused of trying to undermine the military.

Another defendant, Col. Eugene Sanctuary, was 73 years old. He and his wife had run the Presbyterian Church's foreign mission and he had written hymns and patriotic songs. In 1942, right before he was indicted, he had just published a song called "Uncle Sam, We Are Standing By You." That sounds really seditious to me.

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling's son, Kirkpatrick, was in the U.S. Army and was actually promoted while his mother was under indictment. At the same time, publicist George Sylvester Viereck, another defendant, had a son killed in action as a U.S. soldier, while his father was sitting in jail, accused of trying to undermine the armed forces.

Another defendant, Frank Clark, was a highly decorated veteran of World War I, wounded eight times in action, and in the 1920s was an organizer of the World War I veteran's Bonus March to Washington, lobbying for veterans' bonuses.

As another defendant, Lawrence Dennis (a personal friend of The SPOTLIGHT's executive publisher Willis Carto) later said, it was possible that some of the defendants had taken action, in some way, designed to undermine the armed forces. However, the government charged that all of these defendants, working together, had conspired to undermine the armed forces. In fact, most of these defendants didn't even know each other.

In addition, they were also charged with conspiring with Adolf Hitler.

Oh yes. This sedition trial was really a "black comedy." But it was tragic in so many ways. If Pat Buchanan had been speaking out in 1942-1944 as he is today, Buchanan would have been in line to be indicted.

Media reports today uniformly say, in shocked voices: "Why that Pat Buchanan sounds just like the America First Committee (AFC) prior to World War II. He says we shouldn't have fought Hitler. Isn't that shocking?" The ADL is "troubled" about this. They're always "troubled" about something.

Buchanan is saying precisely what a large majority of Americans believed then. Keep in mind the names of some of those who were supporting the AFC and whose own views reflected the views of those who were indicted in the sedition trial:

John F. Kennedy, then a student at Harvard, gave a \$100 contribution to the AFC. His brother Joe, who was later killed in the service, was a supporter, too.

Gerald Ford, as a student at Yale, was an AFC supporter.

We know other big names such as Col. Charles Lindbergh, Gen. Hugh Johnson, Gen. Robert Wood (another friend of Willis Carto's). Big names from Congress, Republican and Democrat alike, "right wing" and "left wing." They were allied on the premise that the United States had no business getting involved in the war.

Those who were actually charged, though, with "sedition" were outspoken pamphleteers, newspaper and newsletter publishers, radio broadcasters.

They didn't bring Sens. Robert Taft, William Langer, Burton Wheeler or other big names to trial.

That's what was actually very clever about the way they orchestrated the Great Sedition Trial. FDR knew that he could not get away with indicting members of Congress, who had actually done things a lot more indictable than many of those who were indicted.

Elizabeth Dilling was indicted for reprinting a speech by Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) on the floor of Congress. That's Orwellian.

I would call it Talmudic. You see, the sedition trial was designed to frighten the large majority of the population. The people indicted were outspoken people who wrote and spoke out in public forums. The real purpose of the trial was to warn the large number of Americans who agreed with the views of those who were indicted that if they, too, spoke out, they could also be indicted. The indictments were designed to frighten the great "silent majority" out there. Fortunately, though, the members of Congress who were not indicted (but who could have been indicted) did not back off and attacked the sedition trial. To his credit, North Dakota's Sen. William Langer demonstrated his contempt for the Justice Department and the ADL by purposefully coming to the U.S. Courthouse each day to escort Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling in and out of the courtroom.

A major villain of the Great Sedition Trial was the Justice Department prosecutor, O. John Rogge.

Rogge went at it with a vengeance. He had visited communist Russia and was a friend of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. In Russia he laid a wreath on the grave of a founder of the Communist Party USA. He was later the attorney for David Greenglass, the atomic spy who saved his own life by turning states' evidence against his own sister and brother-in-law, the Rosenbergs, who most deservedly went to the electric chair.

The way the trial came to an end was because the judge died. At that point the defendants agreed that they would ask for a mistrial. A mistrial was declared, although Rogge continued to push for a new trial.

However, the war came to an end and FDR died. Although Rogge claimed he would be able to find evidence in the captured German archives that would prove the defendants had been conspiring with the Nazis, he never did.

While trying to revive the trial, Rogge went on a lecture tour paid for by—you guessed it—the ADL. That's how close he was to the ADL. However, in 1946, the Justice Department realized the case had gone far enough and Rogge was fired.

Afterward, Lawrence Dennis said that the ADL "simply did not appreciate the difficulties of railroading to jail their political enemies without evidence of any acts in violation of the law."

There was a very interesting defense attorney named Henry Klein who played a part in the trial.

He was one of the most outspoken of the defense attorneys and he was Jewish. Some nervous types are probably thinking: “Well, what difference does that make?” That makes a difference because he was defending people who were accused of being anti-Jewish, and, in fact, many were. Nonetheless, Klein was concerned these people’s liberties were being violated through this ADL police state operation.

He said in his opening statement: “We will prove that this persecution was instigated by so-called professional Jews who make a business of preying on other Jews by scaring them into the belief that their lives and property are in danger.” He said the anti-Semitism charged in the indictment was a “racket run by racketeers for graft purposes.” He was talking, of course, about the ADL.

Famous broadcaster Walter Winchell played a major role in promoting the trial.

That’s correct. Winchell was quite influential at that time and he was a front man for the ADL. Neil Gabler, a well-known Jewish-American writer, wrote a biography of Winchell and revealed that Arnold Forster, the head of the ADL’s so-called “fact finding” division, actually drafted entire columns for Winchell and showed up at Winchell’s station to edit his radio broadcasts.

Winchell was a conduit between the FBI and the ADL and provided the ADL’s information to the FBI. But good patriotic Americans who heard Winchell’s broadcasts about the so-called “seditionists” didn’t know it was ADL propaganda wrapped in the American flag.

The ADL role behind the FBI in the sedition trial sounds like the role of the ADL in the FBI’s *Project Megiddo* report.

The *Project Megiddo* report is basically a smear of a wide variety of groups, suggesting that when the calendar turns to 2000 that they are going to rise up and try to overthrow the government. The Nov. 15 issue of The SPOTLIGHT shows that *Project Megiddo* is no more than a re-write of materials originally put together by the ADL.

Now, as a consequence millions of Americans are afraid when 2000 comes “hate groups” are going to be out in the streets trying to destroy America. (Actually, if truth be told, many of these “hate groups” are actually funded by the ADL and the FBI.)

The ADL’s tone suggests the ADL hopes that there will be violence.

Well, it's been well documented that there have been various political groups that have committed violence but that the violence were prompted by agents sent into those groups by the FBI and the ADL. That's the problem. This gives the government itself the opportunity to crack down on freedom of expression in the name of combating "terrorism."

That raises this question: If we have violence at Y2K, how can we be sure the violence isn't being committed by an agent provocateur inside one of these groups?

By giving this kind of nonsense to the FBI that's now in *Project Megiddo*, which the FBI then parrots to the media and which the media then reports to the public, the ADL is creating public turmoil. It creates suspicion and drives wedges between people—between whites and blacks, between neighbors who know that the lady down the street is a militia member.

Don't forget that the character who heads the ADL's "fact-finding" division is Neil Herman, who recently retired from the FBI as head of its "counterterrorism" division. He was also in charge of the FBI's investigation of the World Trade Center bombing. But Herman never reported what Jewish-American journalist Robert Friedman revealed in the Aug. 3, 1993, issue of *The Village Voice*: the likelihood that one of the Arabs involved in the bombing was more than likely a "mole" of Israel's Mossad.

Today the ADL and the FBI and the press are finding a Nazi or an anti-Semite or a Holocaust denier under every bed. You can't open up any major newspaper or, increasingly, any small town daily, without finding stories about "hate groups" and "the holocaust." It's a steady drumbeat. If Pat Buchanan's campaign picks up, we'll hear a lot more of it.

We just had the Bilderberg meeting here in Washington and Sandy Berger, the president's National Security advisor, spoke there. What Berger said was ominous. He said "it is urgent that internationalists find common ground around a common agenda of our own. We must learn to recognize when our beliefs are being threatened and we must defend them together."

That kind of language—using the term "threatened"—sounds somewhat paranoid. That's scary since this comes from the man who heads the National Security Agency of the United States and who controls the nation's spy mechanism that has access to our e-mails and our telephone calls and our fax machines. He's saying that—as he puts it "our beliefs," that the beliefs of the internationalists, the big banks, the ADL, all of these power blocs that make up the global elite—are, in his words, "being threatened" and "we must defend them together."

What does Berger have in mind when he says it is necessary to “defend” those beliefs? Does that include indicting people for sedition? Does that include increased spying on Americans? What does he mean?

Americans should never forget that their government and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization lied through their teeth repeatedly to justify the unjustified attack on Yugoslavia.

The attack, which was never authorized by the United Nations, was justified on “humanitarian grounds” to prevent a “human catastrophe” and “genocide.” Why, those nasty old Serbs may have killed 100,000 Kosovars, U.S. politicians speculated. Finally, they seemed to accept the British estimate of 10,000 to 11,000 dead. The American press frenziedly reported these wild accusations and added their own.

Well, after months of being totally in control of Kosovo, guess how many bodies NATO has found? A tad more than 2,100. Some gravesites remain to be examined, but, because the worst were done first, the count isn’t likely to go much higher.

Richard Gwyn, a columnist with *The Toronto Star*, was one of the first to report the discrepancy between NATO assertions and the evidence found so far. He cites a case in which NATO claimed that as many as 1,000 bodies had been dumped down a mine shaft. Then he reports that the International Criminal Tribunal reported the results of its investigation using Western forensic experts. How many bodies did they find in the mine shaft? Zero.

Like the soccer stadium at Pristina supposedly filled with Kosovar prisoners, according to our State Department, the mine shaft was empty. There was no genocide. There was no human catastrophe. There was no second holocaust. It was all lies. Comparing a two-hour ride on a passenger train from Pristina to the border with World War II Jews being packed like sardines into cattle cars and shipped all the way across Europe was absurd on its face, but when the national press gets all lathered up in spreading propaganda, nothing is too absurd to report.

Now one might think that the American press, as it discovers it was lied to and used as a vehicle for propaganda, might be all over the story, exposing these lies and exaggerations. No, members of the press are using their typical tactic: When the facts refute their earlier stories, they simply lose interest in reporting it.

So you are probably unaware that, “under the protection of NATO,” more than 100,000 Serbs have been forced out of Kosovo, and numerous Christian churches and monasteries have been destroyed or desecrated.

The kernel of the nut is that NATO lied to justify the attack, lied during the attack and lied about its intentions after the attack. Furthermore, NATO is denying aid to Yugoslavia on the grounds that Slobodan Milosevic is still in power, which is the pattern of U.S. and British behavior. After all, 500,000 Iraqi children have died because these toddlers refuse to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Imagine these kids not obeying the U.S. government.

In the first place, Milosevic was elected. Does NATO approve of democracy only when it likes the result of the vote? It seems so. In the second place, if there was no genocide, as there obviously was not, Milosevic is not a war criminal. It's true a lot of Serbs want to throw him out of office, but they are not mad at him for fighting to keep Yugoslavia intact. They are mad at him for losing the wars.

Apparently, though, Americans have become anesthetized to government lying. The American people are lied to all the time about all sorts of things, and it seems not to bother them. That is a sign of a dead society. We may not be a dead poets society, just a dead consumers society. Oswald Spengler, in his *Decline of the West* (published in 1918), predicted the end of Western democracies in the 1990s. His timing might have been off a smidgen, but just a smidgen. In the meantime, chalk up Kosovo as one more example of the Big Lie about a genocide that never happened.

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ADL Releases Software to Block “Internet Hate” Web Sites

By Shawn L. Twing

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a Washington, DC-based organization that monitors and combats anti-Semitism worldwide, recently released “HateFilter” software that blocks Web sites and other areas of the Internet with content it deems offensive.

Installed on a personal computer, “HateFilter” restricts access to a constantly updated list of Web sites the ADL considers hate-related. When an Internet user attempts to access these sites, he or she instead is directed to an ADL page that reads: “Hate Zone. Access Restricted. To Find Out More, Click the ADL Logo [below].”

When the ADL logo is clicked, visitors are directed to a special section of the ADL’s Web site with information on nine different categories of hate, including: Internet hate, anti-Semitism, Racism, Holocaust Denial, Neo-Nazi Skinheads, the Ku Klux Klan, the Identity Church Movement, the Nation of Islam, and Homophobia. [Anyone interested in viewing this section may find it directly at <http://www.adl.org/hate-patrol/1.html>]

Each category subsection has a definition of the subject, a brief history of the topic, and an explanation of why the ADL considers the material to be offensive. Many of the subsections also are cross-linked with other information available within the ADL’s Web site, as well as recommendations for ADL-printed publications on the subject at hand.

“HateFilter” is a component of another Internet blocking software package called Cyber Patrol, which allows users to voluntarily restrict access to Web sites, chat rooms, and news groups that contain pornography and other material that is not suited for children. Rather than using keywords that appear in the text or code of Web sites to restrict access—a method that has been criticized repeatedly for its inability to differentiate between sex in pornographic sites and sex in sexual education, for example—the ADL’s “HateFilter” software uses a list of Web site addresses, created and modified daily by humans, to deny access to material it considers offensive.

For its part, the ADL contends that “HateFilter” was developed to protect children. “Many parents are concerned that the Internet gives easy access to bigotry and prejudice. *ADL HateFilter is designed to empower parents* who want to restrict their children’s access to hate sites,” the ADL Web site reads (emphasis in the original).

“Hate sites,” according to the ADL, “are those sites on the Internet operated by individuals or groups that, in ADL’s judgement, *promote hatred or hostility toward groups*—Jews and others—on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other immutable characteristics” (emphasis in the original).

On the surface, the ADL’s “HateFilter” software seems relatively harmless. No one is trying to force it into public libraries—yet. It is installed voluntarily on an individual personal computer, and can be disabled or uninstalled without serious complications.

The problems with “HateFilter” and what it represents, however, are numerous, as are legitimate concerns about the organization that created and constantly updates the list of “hate sites”: the Anti-Defamation League.

“HateFilter” sits atop a long, slippery slope covered with free speech issues, and the ADL has a terrible track record for protecting, or even considering, the free speech of others. The ADL also has a history of serious rights abuse, including spying on more than 12,500 American citizens—primarily pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists—and compiling blacklists of individuals holding these and similar views (see story on facing page).

As recently as Nov. 16, 1998, a California State appeals court ruled that “Pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists are entitled to learn whether [the ADL] illegally disclosed confidential information about them,” the Associated Press reported. That ruling came six years after San Francisco police seized ADL files that included drivers licenses and Social Security numbers, collected and compiled illegally by the ADL, which “used them to get people blacklisted among ADL supporters,” according to AP. The ADL responded to the charges by saying, “it was merely tracking *hate groups* and terrorists” (emphasis added).

Although the ADL Web site, and an ADL spokesperson, emphasized that Web sites blocked by “HateFilter” are not political—a statement confirmed by this writer, who was able to access dozens of Middle East-related Web sites without a problem—the stage has been set to include political Web sites in the future.

Near the end of the ADL Web site’s section explaining anti-Semitism, under the heading “In the half-century since World War II, public anti-Semitism has become much less frequent in the Western world,” the ADL offers the following caveat: “There are exceptions, of course: disagreement over policy toward the State of Israel has created opportunities in which the expression ‘Zionist’ support for Israel as the Jewish homeland is often used as an anti-Semitic code word for ‘Jew’ in mainstream debate.”

Does that mean that, in the future, the ADL's "HateFilter" may restrict access to Web sites that contain information opposing Zionism, which is, by definition, a political movement? More importantly, what about the numerous Jewish and non-Jewish individuals and organizations that are not Zionist, oppose Zionism, or both? Despite what the ADL may believe and propagate, the overwhelming majority of people and organizations who oppose Zionism disagree with it on political grounds—particularly its role in Palestinian oppression—with no quarrel or ill feelings whatsoever toward the Jewish people, many of whom also oppose Zionism for the very same reasons.

Finally, it is interesting to note that "HateFilter" does not restrict access to two very serious forms of hate: anti-Muslim and anti-Arab incitement and propaganda. With "HateFilter" installed and operating correctly, the author was able to access a wide variety of extremist Web sites advocating, among other things, forcible expulsion of all Palestinians from the occupied territories, and the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa mosques in Jerusalem, and using ethnic and religious slurs not fit to print against both groups. These Web sites certainly "promote hatred or hostility toward groups—Jews and others—on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other immutable characteristics," which is the ADL definition of a hate group. Yet these sites are not included in the ADL's "HateFilter" criteria. These omissions speak volumes about the kinds of hate the ADL is not willing to condemn.

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Counterpunch February 1999

Were the Spies Journalists? The ADL Snoops

The organization's main "fact-finder" was doubling as a spy for the white South African government while his buddy, a San Francisco cop who had tutored El Salvadoran death squads on the finer aspects of torture, was providing its officials with personal information on the organization's putative enemies when the story broke in San Francisco in December, 1992. The organization was the Anti-Defamation League.

The ADL claims to be the nation's leading defender against prejudice and bigotry but in this instance its targets were members of the African National Congress and its supporters, and apparently everyone, Arab and non-Arab, who had the temerity to criticize Israel. This included some who drove to Arab community events where the ADL's "fact-finder", Roy Bullock, and the cop, Tom Gerard, took turns writing down their license plate numbers, which Gerard turned into addresses thanks to his access to California motor vehicle records.

Their spying efforts proved to be part of a much larger intelligence gathering operation that targeted some 12,000 individuals and more than 600 left-of-center organizations in northern California.

After the first flurry of publicity, the ADL's spin doctors successfully kept the story from receiving the national coverage that the situation warranted. But the story hasn't gone away.

Last November the California Court of Appeals handed down a decision that paves the way for a major test later

this year of the ADL's penchant for spying on its enemies. It was the most significant episode in a slow-moving class-action case filed in 1993 by 19 pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid activists who claim to be victims of the ADL's snooping operations.

The plaintiffs say they were illegally spied on by Bullock, then considered the ADL's top "fact-finder" by his now deceased chief, Irwin Suall, and that such spying constituted an invasion of privacy under the provisions of the California Constitution.

The ADL's defense, accepted by the court in 1994, is that the Jewish defense organization is, collectively, a "journalist" and, therefore, can legally engage in information-gathering activities regardless of the source. At question was access by the plaintiffs to information contained in 10 boxes of files seized by the San Francisco police from the ADL's San Francisco office in April, 1993, and placed under court seal where the ADL has fought fiercely to keep them. In the years since then, efforts by the court to settle the case have foundered on the ADL's refusal to allow potentially embarrassing depositions taken by plaintiffs' lawyer ex-Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey of Bullock, ADL officials and police officers to be made public and its files opened. The plaintiffs have been unwilling to compromise on either of these issues.

Then, in September, 1997, Judge Alex Saldamondo ruled that McCloskey's clients were entitled to see what the ADL had on them in its files. Two plaintiffs, Jeffrey Blankfort and Steve Zeltzer, co-founders of the Labor Committee on the Middle East, who had "outed" Bullock as an ADL spy after he infiltrated their group in 1987, received an extract of their files from the DA's office

the day before they were ordered sealed. Both contain illegally obtained information, much of which, say Blankfort and Zeltzer, is erroneous.

When ADL's appeal of that decision was rejected by Court of Appeals Judge Anthony Kline, the ADL persuaded the State Supreme Court to return the case to the full court for a hearing. On November 15, 1998, the court reaffirmed ADL's status as a journalist and acknowledged its right to maintain files and obtain information on all but two of the remaining plaintiffs on the basis that they are "limited-purpose public figures" which it defined as having been publicly engaged and identified in activities around a particular issue, in this instance opposition to Israeli occupation and/or South African apartheid. There is no protection, said the court, for obtaining information illegally on non-public figures.

The court made an important qualification, however, ruling that for "limited purpos "figures, the journalist's shield only applies if the information obtained is to be used for journalistic purposes. It does not protect the ADL from charges that it passed information about the plaintiffs to "foreign governments (in this instance, Israel or South Africa) or to others" which is what the plaintiffs claim the ADL has done.

Although the Court of Appeals vacated Judge Saldamando's decision, it did state that representatives of the plaintiffs had the right to request a review of ADL's files to discover possible constitutional violations, each of which would be worth \$2500. While this may seem a small sum, there are hundreds of Arab-Americans and anti-apartheid activists whose names appear in the ADL's files who potentially could collect if the ADL loses in court or is forced to settle the case.

The origins of the story are murky. What the press reported was that the SFPD acted on a tip from the FBI, which was supposedly concerned about files on the Nation of Islam that were stolen from its local office, and arrested Gerard, who allegedly had done the pilfering. In Gerard's computer they found files on more than 7,000 individuals, many of them Arab-Americans, as well as information on hundreds of left-to-liberal organizations filed by Gerard as "pinko". In his locker, they found a black executioner's hood, a number of photos of dark-skinned men bound and blindfolded, CIA manuals, a secret document on interrogation techniques, stamped "secret" and referring to El Salvador, and numerous passports and IDs in a variety of names, all with his picture.

This splendid fellow began meeting with Richard Hirschhaut, chief of the ADL's San Francisco office in 1986, during which, according to a "confidential" Hirschhaut memo to the aforementioned ADL chief "fact-finder" Suall, he provided "a significant amount of information" on "the activities of specific Arab organizations and individuals in the Bay Area" That memo hasn't been made public but what was reported created a nightmare for the ADL when it turned out that Gerard had been exchanging non-public, personal information from government files with Bullock, a paid informant for the ADL since 1954 and whose own computerized "pinko" files on leftish and liberal folks, when seized by the police, proved to be a third again as large as Gerard's. According to police, his computer contained the names of nearly 12,000 individuals, 77 Arab-American organizations, 29 anti-apartheid organizations, and more than 600 "pinko" groups which included such revolutionary outfits as the NAACP, Asian Law Caucus and SANE/FREEZE, as well as 20 Bay area labor unions including the SF Labor Council.

There were in addition, files on 612 right-wing organizations and 27 skinhead groups.

According to SF police inspector Ron Roth, 75 percent of their contents was non-public information illegally obtained from government agencies.

After indicating that the ADL would be charged with violating the California's Business and Profession's code, SF District Attorney Arlo Smith did an extraordinary thing. He made available to the public, merely for the copying costs, some 700 pages of documents incriminating the ADL in a nation-wide intelligence gathering operation run out of New York by Suall. One of the significant parts of that report was Bullock's admission that he was paid by a South African intelligence agent to spy on anti-apartheid activists (which he was already doing for the ADL.) He had reported on a visit to California by the ANC's Chris Hani, ten days before the man expected by many to succeed Nelson Mandela, returned home to be brutally murdered.

The ADL attempted to portray Bullock as a free-lance investigator, but no one was convinced, because since 1954 Bullock had been paid through a cutout, an ADL lawyer in Beverly Hills. After his exposure, Bullock was put directly on the ADL's payroll. ADL's position on the ANC was identical to that of the South African government - they considered it to be a "terrorist" "communist" organization. At the time, Israel was furnishing arms to maintain the apartheid regime in power.

In 1994, Smith announced that he would not prosecute either the ADL or Bullock since it would be "expensive and time-consuming both to the SFDA and the defendants" a

curious judgement considering the overwhelming evidence in his possession.

In its settlement with the city, the ADL, admitted no wrongdoing, agreed to restrain their operatives from seeking non-public data on ADL's enemies from government agencies and, putting a happy face on the story, promised to create a \$25,000 Hate Crimes Fund and another \$25,000 for a public school course.

Another class-action case filed by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and other spied-upon groups such as CISPES, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network and the National Lawyers Guild, was settled in 1996, also under conditions favorable to the ADL, but without the approval of some of the suing groups.

In that instance, again without admitting wrongdoing or opening its files, the ADL agreed: to remove questionably obtained information from its files; that it would not seek non-public information on individuals from government employees and would pay \$25,000 to a fund to improve relations among Jews, blacks and other minorities. A similar deal was offered to McCloskey's plaintiffs but they turned it down since it would let the ADL off the hook and allow its secrets to be kept intact.

Both sides will be back in Judge Saldamando's court in March to hear a new discovery motion from McCloskey and probably to set a trial date, something the ADL has been trying to avoid, given the embarrassment that would inevitably ensue, whatever the outcome. Its latest ploy has been to ask the judge for a summary judgement, in other words, dismissal of the case, something he is unlikely to do.

The deaths of veteran journalists Colin Edwards and George Green reduced the number of plaintiffs by two and subsequently four others, whose political activities were relatively limited, were dropped from the case.

McCloskey, himself a victim of ADL attacks and whose wife Helen is one of the plaintiffs, is pursuing the case pro bono. Typically he is faced in court by four or five lawyers for the ADL.

Contributions for the plaintiffs may be sent to Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. Atty., 333 Bradford St., Redwood City, CA 94063

(For more information see: <http://www.adlwatch.org/>
E-mail at melblcome@igc.com)

Stopping Extremism Before the Crime

August 12, 1999 New York Times

By ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

In the late 1980's violence by neo-Nazi skinheads was on the rise across America. At a meeting with Richard Thornburgh, then the Attorney General, we urged the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to place the skinheads on the F.B.I. watch list -- to monitor their activities and vigorously apply the law. The Attorney General did just that, and as a result violence by neo-Nazi skinheads declined significantly.

Fast-forward to this past July 4 weekend, when Benjamin Smith, who had been linked to the white supremacist, anti-Semitic World Church of the Creator, went on a shooting rampage, wounding six Jews coming home from Sabbath services and killing an African-American and an Asian before committing suicide.

The Anti-Defamation League and other organizations knew about this group -- we monitored its activities and Web site, sought to expose it in the news media. After the July 4 rampage, again we went to the Attorney General, this time Janet Reno, and asked that a full field investigation be initiated in keeping with the Attorney General's "Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations."

We believe we had documented examples of violence and criminal activity perpetrated by members of the World Church. I believe that if Ms. Reno was not restricted by certain legal parameters put in place since the

Thornburgh era, she would have acted immediately. Instead, she said she had to "review whether the group itself was tied to individual acts." Mr. Smith's activities on behalf of the World Church of the Creator, while public and abhorrent, were protected by the First Amendment, irrespective of his shooting rampage.

Now, in the shootings this week at a Jewish community center in Los Angeles, we have the worst act of anti-Semitic violence since the killing of Yankel Rosenbaum in Crown Heights eight years ago, and we have a suspect with clear ties to known hate groups.

The suspect, Buford Furrow Jr., who turned himself in yesterday, had spent considerable time at a compound of the Aryan Nations, authorities say, and he may have aspired to the Phineas Priesthood, to which one gains "membership" by committing violence against nonwhites.

Once again, the information we're getting about the suspect is coming largely from private groups. This doesn't mean that the F.B.I. has not been tracking these hate groups. But the Justice Department and the bureau are so hamstrung -- by the unpleasant legacy of the Hoover years, by fears of suits from the American Civil Liberties Union, by complaints from conservative lawmakers about avoiding another Randy Weaver fiasco -- that they can't act aggressively. They are unable to monitor individuals or groups unless a crime has been committed. They are unable to track hate group Web sites without a known, specific threat.

"We live in a free and open society," an F.B.I. official told ABC last night, adding that Congressional and Justice Department mandates "forbid us from going after" the groups. The bureau says it is particularly difficult

to investigate lone terrorists who are in the thrall of extremist ideology but who either don't belong to any group or are marginal members.

This is too timid an approach given the current rhetoric of these groups and its ability to inflame their more unstable adherents. The Constitution provides for the civil liberties of citizens, but it is not a prescription for suicide; it should enable us to protect our civil liberties against those who have no respect for the nation or would destroy it.

As we're assaulted in such horrendous ways, the time has come to recalibrate that balance -- to permit law enforcement not only to go get the man, but also to prevent the act. If law enforcement agencies should overstep the line, we should very swiftly take the authority away. But now is the time to give them that trust and that capability.

The world is changing rapidly around us. Most of this change is for the better. With sophisticated technology, however, come nonconventional weapons that could threaten us all. With the Internet come new opportunities for hate-mongers. With globalism come those who may feel left behind and more embittered.

Changing challenges require a new look at education, at law enforcement, at the role of the news media. Hatred can still destroy.

Abraham H. Foxman is national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Protecting Privacy Monitoring Hate

August 16, 1999 New York Times

To the Editor:

In "Stopping Extremism Before the Crime" (Op-Ed, Aug. 12), Abraham H. Foxman ignores Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter's observation that the history of liberty is the history of procedural safeguards against investigatory or prosecutorial abuses. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's history of spying against citizens without cause to suspect criminality confirms Frankfurter's words. Thick dossiers were compiled that served political blackmail more than law enforcement.

Mr. Foxman urges relaxation of balanced restraints on the F.B.I. with the goal of shadowing every government-perceived "hatemonger" without evidence of a threatened crime. He warns that "hatred can still destroy."

Yes, but the F.B.I. has destroyed as well when it has snooped around as thought police.

BRUCE FEIN McLean, Va., Aug. 12, 1999

The writer was an Associate Deputy Attorney General, 1981-82.

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To the Editor:

Abraham H. Foxman, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, says the Federal Bureau of

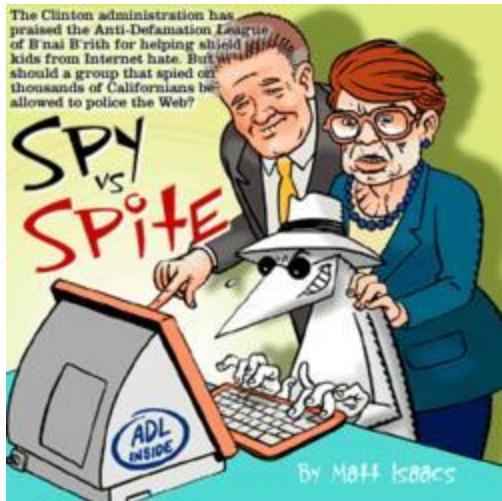
Investigation and the Justice Department have been "hamstrung" and "can't act aggressively" in monitoring extremist groups but fails to note the A.D.L.'s role in the imposition of these guidelines (Op-Ed, Aug. 12).

In 1993 the A.D.L. was accused of illegally obtaining California police and government records on a wide array of political groups. The league escaped criminal prosecution in return for paying \$75,000 to groups that fight hate crimes in San Francisco.

Mr. Foxman says "if law enforcement agencies should overstep the line, we should very swiftly take the authority away." Law enforcement, with the A.D.L.'s help, indeed crossed the line, resulting in the restrictions that Mr. Foxman now laments.

MITJA C. BAUMHACKL Brooklyn, Aug. 12, 1999

Source: Sfweekly, February 2, 2000



Spy vs Spite

The Clinton administration has praised the Anti-Defamation League for helping shield kids from Internet hate. But should a group that spied on thousands of Californians be allowed to police the Web?

By Matt Isaacs

The first snow of the season is falling on New York in big fluffy flakes, making the city look new again. The offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, located in U.N. Plaza, are stuffy, the windows steamed. Everyone appears a bit disheveled; rumpled clothes and flattened hat hair seem to be in vogue. Jordan Kessler, a handsome young man with a beard, sits at a computer terminal, talking about how he compiles his list.

Kessler is personally responsible for the ADL's HateFilter, a software program that blocks access to Web sites that, the ADL contends, contain bigoted or hateful speech. This 25-year-old Columbia grad has accepted the enormous task of seeking out and cataloging inflammatory language among the roughly 800 million Web pages available to the public. He has help, of course. The ADL, a group dedicated to securing "justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike," has 30 offices around the country tracking extremists of every different shade, and each office has Kessler's direct line.

Kessler assembles a list of all the groups his organization deems dangerous; it's a list that must be constantly updated because, he says, hatemongers have a tendency to mutate. To be deemed objectionable by the ADL, a site must be cleared by a committee of the organization's managers

before it makes Kessler's list. He won't say how many people are on the committee, or reveal the names of the organizations he has labeled as dangerous.

Some of the groups he watches, Kessler says, also watch him. Some revel, just because their sites have been chosen by the ADL, he says. It's like making the big time. The Web designers for the white supremacist site World Church of the Creator, for example, actually promote their work with a quote taken out of context from a Kessler report in which he grudgingly complimented the graphics for that site.

"If their Web site gets blocked by the ADL, in their eyes they've made it," he says. "They think we are all-powerful, in control of the government and everything that stands in their way."

Kessler's screen displays a number of yellow file folders. One folder is titled "Gays," presumably a file on gay-bashers. Another is titled "Arabs," presumably a list of anti-Arab groups. He says he takes great care in reviewing a site before he brings it to the committee. Many sites may be offensive, he says, featuring anti-Semitic jokes or caricatures, but they won't make the list of those to be blocked by the ADL's HateFilter. On the other hand, he says, some sites might be recommended for the list based on what the ADL knows about the organization rather than the content of the site. His organization has been monitoring hate groups for more than 85 years, he says, bringing an expertise that stretches far beyond HTML or Java codes.

The ADL has been fighting anti-Semitism, in its own way, since 1913. The organization was founded by Sigmund Livingston, a Chicago attorney, hoping to fight the overt presence of anti-Semitism in American society following the turn of the century. Livingston began with two desks, \$200, and the sponsorship of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, meaning "Children of the Covenant." Since then the organization has grown into a national nonprofit organization that took in \$46 million in revenues in 1998 and employs 200 people in its New York headquarters alone. In the 1960s the ADL fought stridently for the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. More recently it pioneered efforts to create a model for "hate crime" laws. It is an organization with a unique mission, given that its existence is largely based on the continuance of racism and bigotry. If anti-Semitism had disappeared from the face of the Earth during the 20th century, the ADL might have withered away, too. But even five decades beyond the fall of Nazi Germany, the world continues to be a prejudiced place, and the organization still regularly denounces anti-Semitic statements made in print, over the airwaves, and, more recently, over the Internet.

The Web is a new frontier, presenting the ADL with fresh challenges and opportunities for growth. The medium has given every electronic pamphleteer the reach of a worldwide television broadcasting network, making it easy for anyone with a computer to spread his message, racist or

otherwise. Because the Web is essentially unregulated, the ADL believes cyberspace is "a dangerous place for children," according to the organization's literature. "There are no parents or teachers standing by to guide and advise a child who has come upon a site that promotes hate. Without that guidance, there is a real chance children will simply accept what they read as fact." In response to this supposed threat to young minds, the ADL has stepped up its own efforts to combat intolerance by introducing the HateFilter, which runs on Mattel's CyberPatrol, a software package that blocks a wide gamut of material on the Internet. Consumers who purchase the HateFilter receive all of CyberPatrol's features, including categories other than hate speech, among them graphic violence and pornography. But CyberPatrol purchased on its own does not include the HateFilter, because Mattel has its own version of what it considers hate speech, and does not market the filter, nor does it necessarily approve of what the ADL's HateFilter blocks, company officials say.

So far, the ADL HateFilter has been marketed as a service to be used in the home. But that may soon change. CyberPatrol is already in 15,000 private and public libraries, schools, and universities, and the ADL has not ruled out broadening the distribution of HateFilter software to public institutions. "Right now, the HateFilter is not meant to be used by the government, but over the next few months we will be discussing whether we will advocate for its use in schools and libraries," says Sue Stengel, an ADL attorney.

It appears, however, that the organization, which wields tremendous clout in Washington, has already begun to advocate — at the highest levels. The ADL's national director, Abraham Foxman, met with President Clinton at least twice last year, once following the Littleton shooting in May, and again in the wake of an attack on a Jewish community center in Granada Hills in August. After the latter meeting, Malcolm Hoenlein, a top official in the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, told reporters that Clinton had agreed to take the lead in persuading Americans to install a "hate filter" on their computers. In October, Clinton again met with the ADL, and began his speech with a tribute to the organization's new software. "Thank you for your pioneering work to filter out hate on the Internet — which, lamentably, was part of the poison that led to the tragedy at Columbine High School," Clinton said.

More recently, Elizabeth Coleman, the ADL's director of civil rights, was asked to participate in a panel discussion concerning a "family friendly" Internet at a conference for the National Association of Attorneys General a few weeks ago — a conference where Attorney General Janet Reno gave the keynote address. Coleman demonstrated the filter for all the law enforcement officials in attendance. She said over lunch that the organization had also shown the filter to Vice President Al Gore, who "loved it."



Elizabeth Coleman, the ADL's director of civil rights

If made explicit, White House support for the ADL filter could have a significant impact on the policy decisions of public schools and libraries across the country. Although decisions regarding school and library Internet filters are currently made at the local level, a bill before Congress spearheaded by Sen. John McCain, called the Children's Internet Protection Act, would require all schools and libraries receiving federal funds to install Internet filters on computers accessible to children. If the bill wins approval, even a mention by the White House, combined with the ADL's strong regional lobbying, could go a long way toward encouraging local jurisdictions to choose the HateFilter from the filtering software on the market.

But if Clinton likes and Gore loves the HateFilter (at least in the ADL's eyes), many are aghast at the thought of the ADL having any say over what children may or may not see. These critics, whose political and religious affiliations vary widely, repeatedly describe the ADL as a self-appointed agent of Israel that cloaks itself in the rhetoric of fighting hate, while actively attempting to silence those who are not hatemongers, but mere opponents of Israeli government policy.

"The Number 1 goal of the ADL is the protection of Israel," says Pete McCloskey, a former Republican congressman from San Mateo who regularly criticized Israel's policies. "Any group whose sole purpose is to protect a foreign nation should not have anything to say about what's said or written here in America."



Pete McCloskey, a former Republican congressman from San Mateo

On a number of occasions since the 1970s, the ADL has been caught distributing lists of its enemies, replete with detailed descriptions of “black demagogues” and “pro-Arab propagandists,” including poet Amiri Baraka in the list of demagogues, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Noam Chomsky under the propagandist label. Then, in 1993, a longtime ADL investigator admitted to working with a member of the San Francisco Police Department to illegally gather information on almost 10,000 people, including members of socialist, labor, and anti-apartheid groups.

Some of the targets of that information-gathering effort have gone to court in an attempt to gain access to their dossiers, currently in possession of the ADL, but the ADL has refused to release the files, claiming that its investigator was an “investigative journalist” whose unpublished reporting materials are protected against disclosure by the California shield law, which was originally adopted to help journalists keep confidential sources who reveal important public wrongdoing confidential. Thus the ADL finds itself in a sticky position: While it advocates for a software product that limits access to the Internet’s open exchange of ideas, the Anti-Defamation League is also hiding behind a law put in place to encourage people to speak freely.

The ADL recently added one episode to a videotape it uses in workshops that are meant to promote cultural understanding in schools. The vignette shows a boy, about 15 years old, surfing the Web in his school library. He comes across a page called the Zundelsite, with the headline “Did Six Million Really Die?”

“Hey guys, come here,” the kid says to his friends. “Check this out. It says here the Holocaust was a bunch of bull. Like it never really happened like the Jews say it did.”

Two blond students lean over his shoulder, as a dark-haired student listens to the conversation in the background. "Wow, big surprise. I hear they always lie," one boy says.

"I guess they just want us to feel sorry for 'em," says a girl, as they look at a page titled "Holocaust Myth 101."

"Well. They can lie all they want," says the boy who found the page. "Looks like we dug up the truth." At this point, the instructor leading the workshop is supposed to stop the video and begin a discussion, using questions from an accompanying guide. On the whole, the questions are predictable classroom fare: "What happened?," "Has anyone ever experienced a similar situation?," and so on. But one question stands out: "Should the school have some kind of policy regarding what students can access on the Internet?"

In fact, many public secondary schools have Internet policies for minors, as do almost all public libraries. And both types of institutions are leaning toward the use of filtering software to limit what children can access on the Web. The San Francisco Unified School District, for example, employs a systemwide filter to block access to a variety of material, including "intolerance." School officials would not identify the name of the filter.

The policy discussions regarding the protection of minors on the Internet thus far have dealt almost exclusively with pornography. In the heated debate over First Amendment freedoms on the Web, smut has taken center stage because it has already been addressed and narrowly defined. The Supreme Court has ruled that "obscene" speech, meaning material appealing to a prurient or unhealthy interest in sex and lacking serious artistic, scientific, literary, or political value, can be regulated by the government.

The Supreme Court has also ruled that the definition of "obscene" can take the age of the audience into account. Thus, for adults, pornographic films are, by and large, protected by the First Amendment. But the government may prohibit the sale of these films to minors by labeling the material "indecent," a much broader, generally ill-defined category.

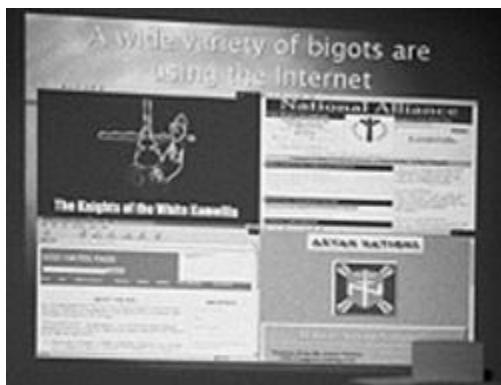
In 1996, Congress tried to apply the court's broad definition of "indecent" in its passage of the Communications Decency Act, a law prohibiting the transmission of "indecent" material over the Internet. But in 1997, the Supreme Court struck down the law in *Reno vs. ACLU*, declaring that communications on the Internet cannot be limited to what is suitable for children. The landmark ruling prevents a library from installing porn filters on terminals intended for adult use. But it still allows schools or libraries to restrict a minor's access to smut.

A school or library may also limit children's access to hate speech, but for a different reason. Ordinarily, in a public forum, anything outside the narrow definition of "obscene" is protected by the First Amendment. But schools and libraries are not the same as the town square (or the Internet), where people can spout hateful rhetoric to their heart's desire. A library has only so much shelf space; thus a professional librarian has the right to choose which materials to include in a collection, and which to leave out. The same goes for schools, which have the right to set their own curriculums and base the selection of library books on those curriculums.

"That's why if you were to go to your local library in search of books on the Holocaust, you would probably find many," says Frederick Schauer, a First Amendment professor at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. "But it's not likely you'll find any books that say the Holocaust didn't happen. And I think most people would agree that's appropriate."

Schauer says he believes the debate over allowing speech filters for minors into the public forum is only just beginning. Would it be possible for the ADL HateFilter to find a place in public libraries and schools? Yes, he says, although it would be challenged in court, and would probably be more likely to be allowed in secondary schools than in public libraries that serve all ages.

Some First Amendment lawyers find it curious that the ADL would even be getting into the business of speech filters. The Anti-Defamation League, after all, considers itself a civil rights organization. Judging from literature promoting the HateFilter software, it's clear the ADL is thinking about the apparent conflict between the civil right of free speech, and the limitation of speech inherent to Internet filtering software. Almost every page of HateFilter literature mentions the First Amendment, and explains that the ADL does not seek to censor or limit speech on the Internet. The HateFilter does not remove sites or censor their content, says ADL Director Elizabeth Coleman; it only blocks these sites from coming into the home at the parents' discretion.



Slide from Hate Filter presentation.

Parents have good reason for wanting to keep these sites off their computers, Coleman says. Many extremist sites cater to children, she says. For example, the World Church of the Creator site has a special link for kids. Other sites, she says, are highly polished, presenting themselves as mainstream academic thought. This misinformation, she says, can lead to the kind of violence that has made headlines in recent years. Last August, for example, three teenagers firebombed a judge's house in San Jose, believing he was Jewish. (He was actually Catholic.) Investigators say two of the kids had used computers at school to access white supremacist Web sites. Also, Matthew and James Williams, brothers suspected of murdering a gay couple in Redding and setting fire to three synagogues in Sacramento, were reported to have been led astray by radical right philosophies ferried on the Internet. (Although at 31 and 29 years of age, the brothers would not have been constrained by an Internet filter aimed at minors.)

Coleman says the best part of the HateFilter is that it doesn't just block sites, it also routes Internet surfers back to links on the ADL Web page that provide information about extremists such as white supremacists or Holocaust deniers. "Nobody else has the same educational component," she says. But critics of Internet filters wonder if they actually do more harm than good. A highly regarded study by Chris Hunter, a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, for instance, found that the devices block an average of 21 percent of Web sites containing useful, legal information, while failing to block an average of 25 percent of sites containing "objectionable" content. (The ADL's HateFilter was not included in the study.)

Even organizations that have historically spoken out against racism and gay-bashing, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, object to Internet speech filters. Ann Brick, an attorney with the civil rights organization, says that one of the inherent risks of filters is that consumers never know the political or commercial biases of the filter's manufacturer. "The ADL is a partial organization, in that they have a point of view," she says. "And what they consider hate speech might be a complex exposition of the Israeli-Arab conflict."

The Southern Poverty Law Center, another civil rights organization that publishes its own annual list of extremists on the Web, is also unconvinced of the efficacy of filters. Joe Roy, director of the center's intelligence project, says his organization supports any effort to fight hatred, but would not endorse a speech filter because, in the organization's opinion, filters simply don't work. The ADL's software manufacturer, CyberPatrol, has taken an especially hard beating from critics who say the filtering software has mistakenly blocked sites such as Creatures Comfort Pet Care Service and the MIT Project on Mathematics and Computations, for their explicit sexual content. Because the HateFilter has a narrower scope, ADL officials say, it is more sophisticated than other filters on the market. "You're getting 85 years of knowledge and experience monitoring these groups," says Coleman. "Yet we want to be subtle. You can't use a sledgehammer in this endeavor."

And in a limited test run of the software, the HateFilter does appear to be more refined than its competitors. It doesn't block the Pat Buchanan Web site, though Buchanan has been critical of Israel and made controversial statements about Jews in the past. It does block a site called Radio Islam, which blatantly flaunts its hatred of Jews. It also blocks what appears to be a very thoughtful — and hardly controversial — site called Interracial Voice, containing a long list of essays describing the challenges of growing up with parents from different cultures.

Elizabeth Coleman says the ADL's block on the Interracial Voice page was an oversight. The ADL will not provide a list of blocked sites, officials say, because in the wrong hands, it could be used as a kind of address book for extremists, allowing them easier communication with one another. Without a list of blocked sites, however, it's hard to get a picture of what the ADL deems inappropriate for children. And an understanding of this bigger picture is important, critics say, because contrary to Coleman's claims, the ADL has a history of making blacklists that do, in fact, attack legitimate schools of thought with a sledgehammer.

In the early 1980s, for example, records show the organization circulated through college campuses a confidential list of pro-Arab sympathizers "who use their anti-Zionism as a guise for their deeply felt anti-Semitism." The report contained the names of respected professors from Georgetown University, Columbia University, and the University of California at Berkeley, among others, who had criticized Israel for its invasion of Lebanon. When the Middle East Studies Association discovered the document, and called for the ADL to disown it, a high-ranking ADL official was quoted in the *New York Times* blaming it on an "overly zealous student volunteer."

Francis Boyle, a professor of law at the University of Illinois, still has vivid memories of what it was like to be the recipient of the ADL's wrath. He says when he and a colleague began giving lectures critical of Israel's attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon, the ADL and a local Jewish organization went far out of their way to silence them. Boyle says ADL members would sit in the front row during his lectures, simply to shout him down. The organizations also filed a complaint against him with the dean of the law school, he says. "I was really surprised. Here I thought the ADL was this great civil rights organization, and they're doing these things that are totally antithetical to what academic freedom is supposed to be about."

But Boyle says things were much worse for his Jewish colleague. When the colleague began speaking about the atrocities he had seen when he visited Lebanon in 1982, Boyle says the ADL organized for students to boycott the professor's classes and requested that the administration deny the professor tenure. "The ADL was far worse on Jews who criticized Israel than they were on Arabs. They treated them like traitors," Boyle says. "The ADL has turned itself into a dirty tricks organization for Israel."

Steve Zeltzer and Jeff Blankfort had already been active in Middle Eastern politics for many years when, in 1987, they founded an organization called the Labor Committee on the Middle East, a group that, by their description, was devoted to alerting American workers to the plight of laborers in all the Middle Eastern countries. It could hardly be called an organization, they say. It was really just a handful of like-minded people. Or so they thought.



Steve Zeltzer

The first meetings were held at Zeltzer's house in San Francisco. Those who attended were familiar with one another, except for a man named Roy Bullock. Blankfort says he had seen Bullock around the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "I recognized him and was a bit surprised to see him at our meeting. I wondered if he was really interested," Blankfort says.

But, Blankfort recounts, Bullock said he liked what they were doing and wanted to be a part of the gang, and, evidently, that was good enough for the other members. As is often the case with those who fashion themselves to be part of the radical left, the members chose as one of their first projects an event that had little to do with the group's core interest. They decided to organize a picket line at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, protesting a luncheon being held by an Israeli organization called Histadrut, which reportedly had financial interests in South Africa, then still in the grip of apartheid policies.

The guests of honor at the event were former California Assemblyman Richard Katz from Sylmar, and then-Speaker of the Assembly Willie Brown.

At the time, there was a growing anti-apartheid movement in the U.S., strongly supported by African-American organizations in the Bay Area, and if the public were to become aware of Histadrut's financial ties, Brown's participation in the event would not look good. Evidently he was aware of this, and sent a thoughtful, two-page response declining Zeltzer's request for him to pull out of the event.

The Labor Committee on the Middle East went forward with the protest, organizing about 60 people, including Roy Bullock, to picket in front of the Fairmont,

Not long after the demonstration, Blankfort received an anonymous envelope. Inside was a torn-out page from a newsletter published by the Institute of Historical Review, a Holocaust denial organization. Blankfort wondered why he would get something from a neo-Nazi group he despised. He was shocked to see it was an article accusing Roy Bullock of being a spy for the ADL. But spies of one kind or another are not uncommon in radical circles, Blankfort says. "My father was a blacklisted writer, and the FBI was poking around for years," he says. "I'm used to it."

As it turns out, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was tracking Bullock's activities; the FBI, however, was concerned with Bullock because he was an operative for the South African government.

When Bullock was questioned in 1993, according to court records, he told FBI agents that he had been instructed by the ADL to gather information on anti-apartheid groups, a statement he would later recant. He told federal agents he had been working as a "fact finder" for the ADL since 1954, when he was asked to gather information on a Communist Party club in Indianapolis. In 1987, he said, he met Tom Gerard, an officer with the San Francisco Police Department, who began supplying Bullock with records such as motor vehicle registrations and criminal histories — records that, by law, are to be used by police and prosecutors only in legitimate criminal investigations. Bullock also admitted to receiving approximately \$16,000 from the South African government in exchange for information on anti-apartheid groups. He also admitted to turning over information to Israel. At the time, Israel and South Africa maintained loose diplomatic relationships, because both faced trade sanctions, Israel from Arab countries, and South Africa from a wide variety of nations opposed to its apartheid policies.

The ADL says Bullock was acting on his own while collecting information on anti-apartheid groups. In an investigation by the city, San Francisco police seized 10 boxes of information from the offices of the ADL. A police officer testified that 75 percent of the material was illegally obtained from confidential government sources, according to court records. Police also examined Bullock's computer files, which contained information on 9,876 people, along with 1,394 driver's license numbers. The people were divided into four categories: "Arabs," "Pinkos," "Right," and "Skins." Zeltzer and Blankfort were listed under "Pinkos." Included in Zeltzer's dossier was a description of the protest at the Fairmont Hotel.

Although thousands of nonpublic documents were found in the possession of both Bullock and the ADL, the city offered a settlement agreement to the organization in November 1993. As a result of the deal, the ADL paid a \$75,000 civil fine — most of which went to charitable causes along the lines of the ADL's own interests, such as a Hate Crimes Reward Fund — while denying all allegations of wrongdoing.

Gerard, whom the ADL had sent on an all-expenses-paid trip to Israel in 1991, pleaded no contest to a misdemeanor charge of unauthorized use of a police computer and was sentenced to three years' probation, 45 days in jail, and a \$2,500 fine. He is no longer with the Police Department.

Since the city settled its civil case against the ADL, 17 people who had been subjects of the ADL's investigation have attempted to recover their files; they are represented in court by former Congressman Pete McCloskey, whose wife is one of the plaintiffs. So far, the ADL has blocked those efforts, claiming to be a news-gathering organization and invoking the need for journalists to protect their confidential sources. The California Court of Appeals has ruled that plaintiffs who were the target of illegitimate information-gathering that resulted in the transfer of information to a foreign government have a right to see what was transferred.

The lawsuit has certainly shed light on how the organization has gathered information. For example, the former director of the ADL's San Francisco office, Richard Hirschhaut, testified that he was aware that Bullock had prepared reports on hundreds of individuals and organizations. He also said that up to half of the ADL's activities in the seven years between 1986 and 1993 had been centered on discrediting political views that disagreed with the organization's support of Israel, rather than on the ADL's traditional efforts to counter bigotry and anti-Semitism.

The Internet has undoubtedly made it easier for children to access inappropriate information. Few would argue that a child has something to gain by reading the diatribes of the Farm Belt Führer, and, although hate crimes are actually on the decline in terms of numbers, the hate incidents that have occurred recently are conscience-shocking. Last year the country was introduced to Benjamin Smith, who went on a rampage in Indiana, wounding six Jews coming home from Sabbath and killing an African-American and an Asian-American before committing suicide. Buford Furrow Jr. became famous for shooting up a Jewish community center in Los Angeles. And of course there were Columbine's Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, two teenagers wreaking bloody havoc on their classmates. Teenagers are laughing while they send bullets into their peers, and the World Church of the Creator has a special section for kids.

Who wouldn't be looking for ways to stop the haters? Potential presidents certainly are.

John McCain is stumping through New Hampshire with his Children's Internet Protection Act, a bill that would require all public libraries and secondary schools receiving federal subsidies for their Internet hookups to install filtering software on computers accessible to minors. Many experts say the bill is very likely to win approval from Congress. Al Gore's campaign Web site has a link to Internet Safety for Parents and Kids, complete with follow-on links to the filter sites Cybersitter and Netnanny.

Judith Krug, a law expert with the American Library Association, says she expects to see an avalanche of Internet filtering laws passed at the state level. (Some states, including South Dakota and Virginia, have already mandated Internet filters for library computers accessible to children.) "Without a doubt, schools have to find ways to protect children from inappropriate material," says CyberPatrol Vice President of Marketing Susan Getgood. "I see schools implementing filters in record numbers."

It seems that the ADL's pet project, HateFilter, couldn't have materialized at a better time. Throughout its long life, the ADL has spent vast amounts of money collecting information on the groups it considers threatening, all for a small number of ADL publications that few people would ever read. Now the organization has the opportunity to have a major impact on how young people view the world.

It's quite possible that every library and school receiving federal funds across the nation will be forced to install filters on its computers, not just for pornography, but for extremist speech as well. These institutions will have a choice between a few commercial monoliths that provide filtering software — and a civil rights organization that can accurately say it has 85 years of experience in fighting bigotry. Some public institutions will almost certainly choose the HateFilter.

And without a list of sites the ADL has decided to block, parents won't ever know what their children are missing. Perhaps a lecture by Noam Chomsky on the mainstream media monopoly. Or a RealAudio spoken-word monologue by Amiri Baraka, formerly known as Leroi Jones. Or a detailed analysis of the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

So far, nobody is connecting the dots in a public way: An organization with a history of ruthlessly silencing its critics is trying to dictate the Internet content available to the country's young minds. And when asked about the HateFilter, the White House offers this vague comment of apparent support: "The president certainly supports any tool that blocks hate and other inappropriate material on the Internet."

The Labor Committee on the Middle East fizzled out a few years ago, but Steve Zeltzer is still active in radical politics. His Victorian home in Bernal Heights is cluttered with tall stacks of videocassettes, material for the documentary television show he produces, *Labor on the Job*.

Zeltzer says he's still haunted by the paranoid feelings that began when he realized he was being watched. For the first couple of weeks after his confrontation with ADL "fact-finder" Roy Bullock, Zeltzer says, his phone rang repeatedly; when the answering machine came on, the caller began dialing random numbers, an apparent attempt to retrieve messages left for Zeltzer. Now, if he answers the phone and nobody's there, he can't help but wonder if he's still being targeted.

Zeltzer says he's not surprised that the ADL is creating an Internet filter. To him, it's an extension of what the organization has been doing for decades. "They have always had enemies lists, and they have always wanted to control the flow of information," he says. "The HateFilter is just an extension of that."

New York Times
May 13, 2000

Neighbors' Spat Leads to a Huge Award
Against the Anti-Defamation League

By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

DENVER, May 12 -- As a dispute with their neighbors intensified in 1994, Mitchell and Candace Aronson of Evergreen, Colo., tuned in a police scanner to intercept private phone conversations and heard the neighbors make what the Aronsnons perceived were anti-Semitic remarks about them. The Aronsnons immediately sought help from the Anti-Defamation League, whose local director publicly called the neighbors anti-Semites.

Over the next five and a half years, the conflict widened into a vicious legal battle over issues of privacy and defamation, ending in a Denver federal court, where a jury recently returned the first verdict ever against the league, a unit of the B'nai Brith that has fought anti-Semitism, racism and bigotry for 87 years.

The jury also awarded the neighbors, William and Dorothy Quigley, \$10.5 million in damages -- a quarter of the league's annual budget.

The Aronsnons, who are now divorced, were not defendants in the case.

Lawyers for the league filed motions today asking the trial judge to set aside the verdict or, failing that, reduce the award. But the case has focused a rare spotlight on how aggressively an organization that prides itself on exposing anti-Semitism responds to perceived threats that, for many Jews, carry the emotional weight of historical persecution. In testimony, the Quigleys, who are Roman Catholic, insisted that their language did not mean to convey anti-Semitic feelings.

Still, by ruling that Saul F. Rosenthal, the director of the league's Mountain States regional chapter, defamed the Quigleys with public remarks that

relied upon phone conversations taped in violation of federal wiretap laws, the jury put limits on how far an organization can go toward fulfilling its mission. It also sent a message that protecting the privacy of personal telephone conversations is more important than punishing offensive language they might include. While some legal experts agreed with the jury's findings, others said that if the judgment survives appeal, the organization might have to temper its responses in the future. Barry Curtiss-Lusher, chairman of the Mountain States chapter, said that the possibility that the verdict could have a chilling effect on the organization was "one of our fears."

"It's frightening," Mr. Curtiss-Lusher said. "It's why we will appeal."

Abraham Foxman, the league's national director and a Holocaust survivor, disagreed, insisting that Mr. Rosenthal did nothing wrong on behalf of the Aronsons and that the league would respond in the same way again.

"We are always concerned about attitude because we don't know what the flash point is," Mr. Foxman said, referring to remarks made by the Quigleys that the Aronsons taped and found offensive. "With latent anti-Semitism, at what point is attitude converted into action or violence? This is what concerns us, and I would hope this verdict does not have a chilling effect on what we do."

"We will continue to stand up against racism and anti-Semitism. Even though we are sometimes misconstrued, that has always been our strength."

Only once before has the league been a defendant in a defamation case that went to trial, winning in 1984. Many other cases against the league were dismissed.

Alan M. Dershowitz, the Harvard law professor, who is not affiliated with the league, said: "In the final analysis, this could chill the work of a very important organization that lives by its freedom of expression. Sometimes they make a mistake, but the essence of American free speech is that you have the right to be wrong."

With appeals ahead, neither the Aronsons, the Quigleys, Mr. Rosenthal nor their lawyers would comment on the case.

The story of the Aronsons and Quigleys, as told through court documents and trial testimony, began the summer of 1994, when the two families lived two houses apart in Evergreen, an upscale suburb west of Denver in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Former New Yorkers all, they occasionally socialized; their children played together.

But starting with arguments over the behavior of their dogs, the friendship deteriorated, leading to an incident in which Mr. Quigley drove his car toward Mrs. Aronson, sitting in her car, before he turned away. In court papers, Mr. Quigley contended that Mrs. Aronson was taunting him by blocking his passage; Mrs. Aronson claimed Mr. Quigley was speeding to intimidate her.

In either case, after Mrs. Aronson told her husband what happened, he turned on a police scanner that he often used and picked up Mrs. Quigley speaking on a cordless telephone with a friend. Hearing Mrs. Quigley talking about him and his wife and discussing ways to drive them out of the neighborhood, Mr. Aronson began taping a conversation that lasted nearly two hours and included references to Holocaust imagery, like "painting a facsimile of an oven door" on the Aronson house, and suggestions that they would harm the Aronson children.

But Mrs. Quigley and her friend laughed about their conversation, as if to suggest that Mrs. Quigley was letting off steam. At one point, Mrs. Quigley conceded to her friend that their remarks were "sick."

The Aronsons were not so amused. In the days that followed, they complained to David J. Thomas, the Jefferson County district attorney, contending that the Quigleys had violated Colorado's ethnic intimidation law, which prohibits intimidation, harassment or actions against a person based on race, religion, ancestry or national origin.

They also contacted the Anti-Defamation League, saying they had become victims of anti-Semitism. At the suggestion of lawyers for the league who later

represented them, the Aronsons continued taping the Quigleys' phone conversations, amassing almost 100 hours worth in the next seven weeks.

Some tapes, testimony showed, included other derogatory comments about Jews and references to the Holocaust -- all by Mrs. Quigley -- which the Quigleys' lawyer, Jay S. Horowitz, characterized in court papers as "facetious or sarcastic."

Mr. Aronson dismissed that interpretation, testifying that he and his wife "lived in great fear" of the Quigleys because of what they had heard.

The tapes led to no physical actions by the Quigleys and they revealed no anti-Semitic remarks by Mr. Quigley, but they became the source of almost everything that followed and, ultimately, the reason the league lost in court.

Unknown to anyone at the time that the Aronsons were taping -- including Mr. Thomas, -- Congress amended the federal wiretap law, making it illegal to record conversations on a cordless telephone, to transcribe the material and to use the transcriptions for any purpose. The law already covered conventional telephones and cellular phones.

Without knowing about the change, the Aronsons used the tapes as the basis for a federal civil lawsuit against the Quigleys in December 1994. A day later, Mr. Rosenthal appeared at a news conference with the Aronsons in which he described their encounter with the Quigleys as "a vicious anti-Semitic campaign," based solely on conversations he and associates had with the Aronsons. Later that day, Mr. Rosenthal expanded on his remarks in an interview on a Denver radio talk show.

Two days later, Mr. Thomas used the tapes as the basis for filing criminal charges against the Quigleys.

But after Mr. Thomas learned of the change in the wiretap law and heard on the tapes the context of Mrs. Quigley's remarks, he dropped all charges but one, a misdemeanor traffic violation against Mr. Quigley for the incident in the street. In an open letter released to reporters, Mr. Thomas apologized to the

Quigleys, saying he found no evidence that either had engaged in "anti-Semitic conduct or harassment."

A swirl of lawsuits, countersuits and settlements over the next four years left only the Quigleys' civil complaint against the Anti-Defamation League and Mr. Rosenthal. In a four-week trial that ended last month, the jury determined that Mr. Rosenthal had made more than 40 statements defaming the Quigleys; their lawyers asked the judge today to use his discretion to triple the jury's damage award.

Source: The New American | Vol. 16, No. 13 | June 19, 2000

A Victory Against Hate by David Eisenberg



Abe Foxman
(A.Jerozolimski)

The ADL's Foxman

The Jewish Anti-Defamation League's power and prosperity depend upon an increase in anti-Jewish feelings among Americans, thus it has no scruples about both committing and provoking acts of religious bigotry.

Mr. Eisenberg, a retired aeronautical engineer, is a member of the National Council of The John Birch Society.

Shortly after Pope John Paul II conducted a "Liturgy of Forgiveness" last March, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), attacked the Catholic Church by accusing the pope of ignoring "specific Catholic wrongs against the Jewish people, especially the Holocaust." Foxman's statement was an astonishing denigration of the Catholic Church, which was recognized as an enemy by the pagan National Socialist (Nazi) regime and which saved hundreds of thousands of Jews during World War II.

While it may strike uninformed Americans as peculiar that an organization supposedly committed to fighting defamation would conspicuously disparage the Catholic Church, this incident makes perfect sense once it is understood that the ADL's power and prosperity depend upon an increase in anti-Jewish feelings among Americans — and the organization's public vilification of the Catholic Church is sure to provoke just that sort of hostility.

ADL's Bluff Is Called

The ADL has played this game for decades, but a court decision in Colorado indicates that the price of playing that game just went up. On April 28th, a jury found that the ADL had publicly defamed William and Dorothy Quigley and awarded the plaintiffs \$10.5 million in damages. The ADL had accused the Quigleys of mounting an anti-Semitic campaign against Mitchell and Candace Aronson, their neighbors in Evergreen, Colorado. In a December 1994 press conference, ADL spokesman Saul Rosenthal denounced the Quigleys for threatening to burn a cross on the Arons' property and to douse their child with a flammable liquid. The jury in the Quigleys' suit found that Rosenthal's statements were false and therefore defamatory.

But the suffering caused the Quigleys by the ADL was not limited to defamation. The day after the ADL's press conference, the Quigleys, who had already been hit with an ADL-instigated civil lawsuit, were arrested and charged with ethnic harassment — a felony. The basis for the felony charges was a tape recording of cell phone conversations in which the Quigleys expressed their hostility toward the Arons in ways that, according to the ADL, evinced anti-Semitism. The local print and electronic media took up the story, ruining the Quigleys' reputation and provoking death threats against them.

Upon examining the ADL's "evidence," however, Jefferson County District Attorney Jay Thomas concluded that the Quigleys' "intent was not racially and ethnically motivated." Describing the incident as "a neighborhood dispute," Thomas concluded, "we have an obligation, ethically, to drop the charges." In addition, the Arons admitted that they had illegally taped the phone conversations, using a police scanner — with the encouragement of an ADL attorney. Eventually, the Arons filed suit against their ADL-connected attorney, accusing him of pursuing the organization's interests rather than those of his clients.

Patterns of Attack

The original dispute between the Quigleys and the Arons involved petty issues that, in all likelihood, could have been worked out between the feuding neighbors. It was the intrusion of the ADL that prevented civility from breaking out in that Colorado neighborhood. The \$10.5 million

judgment against the ADL — reportedly an amount equivalent to nearly one quarter of the group's worldwide operating budget — indicates that the organization, at long last, is being held accountable. "I will say this: thank God for the jury system," exulted the Quigleys' attorney, Jay Horowitz.

The most remarkable aspect of this case is that it illustrates, in miniature, how the ADL has operated for decades. Wherever possible, acting under the guise of battling "hatred" and "intolerance," the group has vilified honorable people as "bigots" by defining "bigotry" in the most expansive and dishonest terms (essentially, for the ADL "bigot" and "conservative" are synonyms). Although, thankfully, anti-Semitism has not been a significant social problem for decades in the United States, the ADL has cynically preyed upon the fears of American Jews, many of whom have family histories written in the innocent blood of those who perished from persecution. And, as Foxman's unprovoked attack on the Catholic Church illustrates, the ADL has no scruples about committing, and provoking, acts of religious bigotry.

In 1994 — shortly before the Quigleys' ordeal began — the ADL published a 193-page smear entitled *The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America*. Cast in the same mold as earlier ADL screeds such as *Danger on the Right* (1964) and *The Radical Right: Report on the John Birch Society and Its Allies* (1967), the 1994 ADL report was designed as a resource for left-wing columnists, editors, academics, and policy makers — anyone looking for a handy soundbite that links principled American conservatives with Nazis, Klansmen, and other genuine practitioners of bigotry.

Not content to besmirch conservative American Christians, the ADL banished its former southwest regional director, Gary Polland, after Polland condemned the Religious Right report. Polland was among the 75 notable Jewish Americans who signed a full-page paid advertisement in the August 2, 1994 New York Times criticizing the ADL for "engaging in defamation of its own" against the "religious right." The ad pointed out that since Jews have too often been on the receiving end of religious bigotry, "we have a special obligation to guard against it, and all the more so when in the case of the ADL attack on our Christian fellow citizens, it emanates from our own community."

Mark this well: The ADL cast Gary Polland from its ranks because he took a principled stand against religious prejudice. "After much agonizing I signed the ad because the message needed to be sent," Polland explained in a letter to ADL members. "The ad informs the Christian community that there are prominent Jewish Americans who reject the [ADL] report — and regret the publication of such an inaccurate and poorly-researched report." Polland learned, much to his dismay, that there was no room in the ADL's leadership for someone who opposes religious bigotry in principle, rather than employing the charge of bigotry as a weapon against honorable conservatives.

Following the ADL's attack on the John Birch Society in 1967, I and many other Jewish members of the John Birch Society participated in the Conference of Jewish Conservatives in Chicago. From that meeting came an organization called The Jewish Right, through which we sought to help Jewish Americans understand the truth about the JBS and the conspiratorial forces the Society was created to expose. We also sought to help patriotic Christians understand that they had millions of potential allies among patriotic Jews who seek to save our Bible-based civilization from the conspiratorial threat to everything we hold dear.

The late Rabbi Chaim Etner (of blessed memory), who was the advisor to The Jewish Right, lamented that for the ADL and its allied left-wing Jewish groups, "Dishonesty is accepted as a kind of political license. This cannot have any place in Jewish politics, as Jewish politics must be based on principles of Jewish law. The weapons used can only be [those] which are in harmony with Jewish ethics and Jewish standards according to Jewish tradition of many millennia." The ADL and similar left-wing groups, while posing as protectors of Jewish tradition, are "in many instances – anti-Jewish and dangerous to the Jewish cause," argued Rabbi Etner, not only because of the dishonesty involved but also because of the way in which such left-wing groups engender hostility against the Jewish community they presume to represent.

Divisive Influence

As collectivists, the ADL and similar groups want to delude people into defining their enemies in collectivist terms — that is, to regard "the Jews," or "the Christians," or some other group, as the enemy. The John Birch Society has always understood that enemies of freedom are defined by their actions, not their racial or religious identity. In a 1969 address entitled "If You Want It Straight," Robert Welch, the founder of the John Birch Society, referred to the "use of hatred as a tool of the [Communist] revolution," particularly the "building up and exploitation of the – potential bitterness and distrust between Christians and Jews."

"For more than a hundred years, the Communists have done everything possible to revive and increase this source of hatred which was actually dying out during the 19th century," continued Mr. Welch. Has this been the case with the Anti-Defamation League? It seems to have created its own "hate groups" where none were available. Consider the career of "Jim Anderson," the alleged leader of a paramilitary group called the "Christian Patriot's Defense League." Anderson was featured in a 1981 television documentary called "Armies of the Right." As researcher Laird Wilcox reports in his recent study *The Watchdogs*, "Jim Anderson' was no less than James Mitchel Rosenberg, an agent for the ADL...." Along with another ADL plant, Rosenberg was arrested in New York City in October 1981 for carrying an unregistered rifle in public view. The two ADL agents, Wilcox observes, had

been “posing as paramilitary extremists for a photographic fabrication exaggerating the threat from the far right.”

We should also remember the case of Roy Bullock, an ADL operative in San Francisco who had illegally compiled an extensive ADL “enemies list” with the help of a police intelligence officer named Tom Gerard. An investigation into Bullock’s spy activities revealed, in the words of the San Francisco Examiner, that the ADL has a network of “undercover operatives throughout the nation....” Foxman responded to these revelations in characteristic fashion, denouncing critics of the organization as “anti-Semitic, undemocratic, and anti-American b****ds.” Abusive arrogance of this type, of course, will help feed antagonism between Jewish and non-Jewish Americans — which, in turn, means more business for the ADL. Tragically, it also helps keep Americans divided and thereby advances the long-term designs of the enemies of liberty.

Urging that the \$10.5 million defamation judgment against the ADL be set aside, Barry Curtiss-Lusher, the group’s Mountain States chairman, sanctimoniously insisted: “It’s quite important that the Anti-Defamation League continue to pursue its mission and fight racism, bigotry, hatred, including anti-Semitism.” Curtiss-Lusher’s description of the ADL’s “mission” is selective: The ADL “fights” bigotry in the same sense that a fireman who moonlights as an arsonist “fights” fires.

Source: [AlterNet.org](#) | August 28, 2000

FBI Calling the Kettle Black

by Tim Wise, AlterNet

That I'm no Biblical scholar is an understatement of monumental proportions. And yet, recently I found myself — for reasons I'll explain shortly — thinking of the following verse from the book of Matthew, if memory serves:

Why behold the mote in thy brother's eye, but consider not the beam in thine own eye?

Arcane language aside, let it suffice to say this verse has something to do with what we'd now refer to as the "pot calling the kettle black."

Upon reading the headline of my local paper a few weeks ago, I couldn't help but think of these pots, and kettles, and motes, and beams. For there, in black and white was the following:

"Police role in Holocaust added to FBI Agent's training."

According to the article, FBI Director Louis Freeh has implemented new training for Bureau recruits, to "teach of the failure of law enforcement to protect citizen's rights," in Nazi Germany. According to Freeh, the course will demonstrate the evil of law enforcement when it "abandons its mission to protect people," and becomes "an engine of repression."

Applauded by the Anti-Defamation League, the new training takes recruits on a guided tour of the Holocaust Museum and then asks them to write essays on the relevance of the training to their work. One recruit who went through the process explained it had made clear his duty to "preserve human life and protect the civil rights of every man, woman and child."

How nice. Presumably if Hitler ever comes back, this recruit will make sure to stand tall against the impending threat of German fascism, since apparently, that's the only kind worth fretting over, and the only kind capable of teaching the lesson intended here. The pot calling the kettle black, indeed.

One hardly need travel thousands of miles away and a half-century back in time to demonstrate the complicity of law enforcement with repression. Frankly, new FBI recruits would do better to learn

about the nefarious history of their own employer, which provides more than enough examples of the same phenomena Freeh seeks to demonstrate.

The new training spends a great deal of time discussing the passivity of German law enforcement in the face of growing repression under the Third Reich. But we needn't look to Hitler's regime for that lesson.

After all, FBI agents were notorious for standing around, watching, and doing nothing while civil rights workers and freedom riders were beaten by racists throughout the South in the 1960's.

Just ask Howard Zinn: he'll tell you how FBI agents looked him in the eye and insisted they had no power to do anything, even as Selma, Alabama police below the Bureau's own window, dragged, beat, and shocked with stun guns those seeking to register black voters.

Or how, in 1964, J. Edgar Hoover waited 37 hours after the disappearance of three other civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi before finally beginning a pathetically weak investigation.

Or how FBI operative, Gary Rowe, rode along with the assassins of Viola Liuzzo, after the Selma to Montgomery march, knowing they planned to kill someone, and yet, did nothing.

And as for the new training's discussion of how law enforcement sometimes takes an active role in repression, here too it's hardly necessary to study German history.

As noted in Michael Linfield's book, *Freedom Under Fire*, by the late 1920's, the FBI had already compiled an "enemies list" of nearly half-a-million suspected "subversives," and in 1936, even as Hitler was consolidating his power, President Roosevelt authorized the Bureau to spy on organizations considered "dangerous." Four years later, FDR would authorize massive wiretapping by the Bureau, increasing the number of "anti-subversive" investigations to nearly 70,000 annually. From 1947-1952, the FBI conducted roughly 6.6 million "security investigations" of U.S. citizens: about 3000 such actions every day.

And for involvement with direct repression, you can't get much better than the 2,400 or so FBI COINTELPRO operations to "disrupt and neutralize" targeted groups and individuals from the mid-'50's to 1971. According to declassified documents and a Senate Committee investigation (about which I doubt FBI recruits are informed), the Bureau actively attempted to discredit and destroy the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and dozens of organizations dedicated to Black, Latino, and Indigenous liberation.

Martin Luther King Jr. may be a revered icon today, but from the early 1960's until his death, the Bureau marked him for political (if not literal) destruction by wiretapping his phones (with the approval of Attorney General and liberal hero Bobby Kennedy), as well as spreading rumors about marital infidelity and sending him letters encouraging him to commit suicide. A month before his assassination, Hoover wrote that there was a need to "pinpoint potential troublemakers" in the black movement, "and neutralize them." William Sullivan — the agent in charge of the anti-King operation — told the Senate, "No holds were barred. We've used similar techniques against Soviet agents. We did not differentiate. This is a rough business."

One suspects the new recruits are too busy learning about the suppression of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising to be told that the agency they've joined conspired with Chicago police in 1969 to assassinate Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, by providing them with detailed floor plans of Hampton's apartment prior to a raid they knew the police were planning to launch. Or that the Bureau collaborated with other police departments in killing nearly 30 Panthers in the late '60's and early '70's.

One imagines the new FBI recruits writing heartfelt essays about the horrors of Kristallnacht, while studiously ignoring their employer's admitted role in fomenting the factional dispute within the Nation of Islam that led to the assassination of Malcolm X, or their all-out war on the American Indian Movement that led to the murder of over seventy residents of Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

I can only guess that these FBI recruits will emerge from their Holocaust training with a newfound revulsion for the support given racism and Nazism by German police, but with no knowledge of their own agency's financial support of a group of white supremacists from California who attacked Chicano activists and tried to murder anti-war activist Peter Bohmer in 1972.

Figuring that most of the new recruits probably grew up in the Reagan '80's, they should perhaps know — but I'm sure won't be told — that even after COINTELPRO, the FBI continued spying on domestic organizations. Early in his administration, President Reagan — himself a former FBI informant against fellow actors — issued Executive Order 12333, allowing the FBI to wiretap without a warrant and engage in undercover operations against organizations opposed to his Central America policies.

One of the FBI's key infiltrators in this period, Frank Varelli, has said the FBI paid him to destroy the Dallas chapter of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) by burglarizing member homes, recruiting thugs to start fights at CISPES rallies, and even seducing an activist nun so as to procure blackmail photos for use against the group. The FBI encouraged him to

plant guns on CISPES members, and Varelli regularly passed information on U.S. and Central American-based activists to the Salvadoran National Guard: the entity in control of that nation's vicious death squads, responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Salvadorans.

And I would imagine Freeh's new foot soldiers will learn all about the diabolical experiments conducted on twins by Joseph Mengele, but nothing about the program operated by the FBI's sister agency — the CIA — called MK ULTRA, whereby unsuspecting residents of the San Francisco Bay area were intentionally exposed to a whooping cough virus, and unwitting hospital patients were subjected to chemical experiments using hallucinogenic drugs.

And while we're on the subject of Nazis, one can only wonder if the Holocaust Museum will mention that after World War Two, U.S. intelligence agencies helped over 5,000 Nazi scientists and doctors find refuge in the states, including many who had been directly involved in mass atrocities. Somehow, I doubt it.

That the Anti-Defamation League is giddy about the new training ought to be enough evidence that there is something wrong with it: after all, it was this group's San Francisco area affiliates who were exposed in the early '90's as having spied on, and passed information to the FBI about, assorted Central American peace and justice activists, as well as anti-apartheid activists and those supporting Palestinian rights and liberation. Birds of a feather, are, in this instance, flocking very closely together.

Let this serve as yet another exhibit item, to be filed away under "passing the buck," 101: yet further proof that we are more than comfortable discussing the crimes of others, but still unwilling to peek under the hood of our own engines of repression. The one thing the FBI's new attempt at "tolerance training" apparently can't tolerate, is the truth that hits a bit too close to home.

Tim Wise is a Nashville-based writer, activist, and lecturer.

Source: The Jerusalem Post | September 11, 2000

Israel Now for Journalists of the Future

By Chani Cohen

(September 11) – As editor of The Rice Thresher, the student newspaper of Rice University in Texas, Mariel Tam doesn't often have the opportunity to cover foreign affairs.

So, not surprisingly, she found her trip to Poland, Bulgaria, and Israel – as part of the Anti-Defamation League's seminar for editors-in-chief of American college and university newspapers – an eye-opening experience.

"The trip gave me a whole new worldview," said Tam last week in Jerusalem.

"I visited an impoverished Gypsy camp in Bulgaria, walked through Auschwitz, and chilled with Beduin in the desert. I now see how people view America from the outside, and how Americans are all too often self-centered."

For the past eight years the ADL has sponsored the all-expenses-paid seminar, in the hope that the program will serve to heighten awareness among future journalists of the impact of the Holocaust and the historic events that led to the creation of the State of Israel.

"We want to give the students an increased understanding of the incredible complexities facing Israel today and the hope for peace shared by all," said Jeffrey Ross, director of campus affairs for the ADL, to assist them in becoming "factual journalists with guaranteed integrity."

"They are the gatekeepers of ideas in their universities... trendsetters who, for example, stand on the front lines of Holocaust denial on campus.

"Many will also go on to achieve top positions at leading American newspapers."

Through firsthand exposure, and by discussing the inaccuracies and distortions found in media coverage of Israeli and Jewish affairs, "we want to show the students that many of the simplistic images conveyed by the American media are devoid of essential context.

"Our aim is to dispel the myths that surround the reporting on Israel and increase awareness of antisemitism in the media."

Ross, who helps organize the trip and accompanies the group every year, strives to achieve this goal by exposing the students to various sides of the political spectrum. They meet with a diversified network of decision-makers, government and military officials, peace negotiators, journalists, and locals in all three countries.

"If the students were exposed to only one side the program would not be a success; the diversity of the program is what gives it credibility" he continued. "This is a very sophisticated group of students who can handle exposure to all ranges of thought."

'ENCOUNTERING and actually listening to these different viewpoints will help me as a journalist,' said Letitia Stein, editor-in-chief of the Yale Daily News. "I will not be as likely to simplify a situation.

"Talking to representatives of different viewpoints, who are so passionate about their cause, has allowed me to see that the situation is more complex. We are dealing with real people and real feelings, not just 'news.' "

The program's itinerary is constructed to convey an ideological message.

The first country visited is Poland, the ground zero of Jewish annihilation during the Holocaust. Then the group moves on to Bulgaria, a country that united to save its Jewish populace. The trip culminates in Israel, the symbol of Jewish resurrection and self-empowerment.

"Visiting Bulgaria right after Poland provides an immediate historical balance to the destruction witnessed in Poland," said Ross. "The students see how Poland and Bulgaria have been ravaged by 50 years of communist rule, while Israel has been built into a dynamic and attractive society during the same time period.

"Through witnessing the situation firsthand they will be able to look at media reports in a different way and be better journalists because of this experience."

The students agreed.

Nathan Ashby-Kuhlman, co-editor of The Phoenix, the student newspaper of Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, said the seminar had helped him realize the importance of detail while reporting.

"Too much journalism is done on a hasty basis, where the reporter is desensitized to what is taking place and does not acquire the necessary detailed background to offer an accurate perspective," he said.

"Being here and actually walking where the news and history occurs, has made me realize that it is essential to have all the necessary background and a real understanding of the place and people you are reporting on."

"I will utilize this skill with all reporting," he declared.

Brian Fiske, editor-in-chief of the Cornell Review, credited his experiences here with helping him realize that he had been influenced by media hype.

"Israel and the Middle East are so heavily reported, a lot of it is misconceptions... In truth, we [in America] don't know much at all about what goes on here."

DESPITE THE ADL's sponsorship the program does not target Jewish students, and only about a quarter of the 21 participants were actually Jewish. Some said they came away from the seminar with a renewed sense of Jewish identity.

"Before the program, I backed away from really accepting Israel," said Yale's Stein. "Now, I feel more comfortable with embracing Israel as part of my Jewish identity."

Arthur Harris, city news editor of the Columbia Daily Spectator, experienced a similar epiphany which even has him thinking about a possible move to Israel after he graduates from college.

"I was walking in Jerusalem on Shabbat and met with scores of Jews on their way to synagogue wearing kippot and carrying prayer books," said Harris.

"It was incredible to see. In America this is accompanied by a degree of self-consciousness. I felt a level of comfort that is difficult to explain.

"My feeling of identifying with the Jews in Israel was much stronger than I had expected, and I found that my foremost concern was the survival of Israel."

As a journalist Harris credited the seminar with having "deepened my sense of obligation to give all sides a fair chance. It will compel me to understand all the forces that create a situation.

"There are always factors much deeper than the rhetoric, and this is a challenge I look forward to."

Source: New York Times, September 12, 2000

Close the Book on Hate

NEW YORK, NY September 12, 2000 Barnes & Noble, Inc., the nations largest bookseller, and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the premier organization in the fight against racism, anti-Semitism and bigotry, will announce this morning an unprecedented and highly ambitious joint campaign entitled, Close the Book on Hate. The purpose of this nationwide effort is to provide children and their parents, caregivers, teachers and civic leaders with the tools, resources and programs they need to better understand and help eliminate prejudice and discrimination in their communities. While the goal of Close the Book on Hate. is to gain respect for all types of differences, the campaign emphasizes fighting racism, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

Former Senator Bill Bradley, a longtime advocate of racial unity, is serving as the honorary chairman for Close the Book on Hate. . He will make appearances on behalf of the campaign today in New York, beginning at 10 a.m. at the Union Square Barnes & Noble (33 East 17th Street). On Thursday, September 14, Senator Bradley will be in Atlanta at the Cumberland Barnes & Noble (2952 Cobb Parkway).

"Despite the growth of the U.S. economy, advances in technology and our leadership of the free world, hate, racism and bigotry still invade our schools, homes and places of business," commented Senator Bill Bradley. "Now is the time for us to re-commit ourselves to embracing diversity and celebrating our differences. I applaud the work of Barnes & Noble and the Anti-Defamation League to give children and adults the tools they need to make this happen in their own ommunities and schools."

At the heart of the campaign is ADLs innovative new book, Hate Hurts, co-authored by Caryl Stern-LaRosa and Ellen Hofheimer Bettmann, and published by Scholastic Inc., the leading publisher of childrens books. Hate Hurts explores how to answer difficult questions frequently asked by young people, helps caregivers comfort children who are the victims of hate, and offers assistance when working with those who are the perpetrators of intolerance. Hate Hurts will be available for sale at Barnes & Noble stores and on its Web site, <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/>, as well as other retail and online bookstores.

Another campaign element is a special brochure that Barnes & Noble and ADL have produced, which features a recommended reading list of all the books included in the Close the Book on Hate.

campaign. The brochure, entitled Close the Book on Hate: 101 Ways to Combat Prejudice, is available for free at all Barnes & Noble stores.

To help make a difference in communities and neighborhoods across the country, Barnes & Noble is teaming up with ADL's 30 local offices to hold special in-store educational programs and events with community leaders and local schools in September and October. During this time, each Barnes & Noble store will dedicate a special display table for works of fiction, non-fiction, photography and poetry that emphasize the importance of valuing diversity for both children and adults. As part of its continuing commitment to the program, all Barnes & Noble stores will have a permanent Close the Book on Hate shelf in the "Parenting" section, starting in November.

For its part, Barnes & Noble.com has launched a Close the Book on Hate boutique, which can be found in "Kids!" and the "Parenting" subject areas. The "Home" and "Bookstore" pages also link to the boutique. The site will feature an interview with Caryl Stern-LaRosa, co-author of Hate Hurts, in "Parenting & Family," which will run from September 12 through 18. In addition, a Barnes & Noble University course, "Hate Hurts: How Children Learn and Unlearn Prejudice," developed by the ADL, will start enrolling online students on September 15. The site will also have links to ADLs and Scholastic's [Web sites](http://www.scholastic.com/home/).

"Prejudice is a vicious poison that affects all of us, particularly our children," said Leonard Riggio, chairman and chief executive officer of Barnes & Noble, Inc., and Abraham H. Foxman, ADL national director. "The only cure is to replace ignorance with knowledge. If bigots can teach people to hate, Barnes & Noble and the Anti-Defamation League can teach them not to hate. That is what this campaign is all about."

Mr. Riggio and Mr. Foxman added that, "through exposure to good books and discussion, children and their parents will better understand the richness and beauty of our multicultural society. Close the Book on Hate will raise awareness of the profoundly personal and social consequences of prejudice, while promoting respect at home, in schools, and in our communities."

In addition to events at all Barnes & Noble stores nationwide, the campaign will concentrate on the following ten key markets in which both Barnes & Noble and ADL have a strong community presence: Atlanta, Georgia Los Angeles, California Boston, Massachusetts Miami, Florida Chicago, Illinois New York, New York Denver, Colorado Washington, D. C. Houston, Texas Westport, Connecticut About Barnes & Noble, Inc.

Barnes & Noble, Inc. (NYSE: BKS) operates 551 Barnes & Noble and 379 B. Dalton bookstores, and, with its acquisition of Babbages Etc. and Funco, Inc., is the nation's largest operator of video

game and entertainment software stores. Barnes & Noble stores stock an authoritative selection of book titles and provide access to more than one million titles. They offer books from more than 50,000 publisher imprints with an emphasis on small, independent publishers and university presses. Barnes & Noble is one of the worlds largest booksellers on the World Wide Web (<http://www.barnesandnoble.com/>), and the <http://www.bn.com> exclusive bookseller on America Online (Keyword: bn). Barnes & Noble.com has the largest standing inventory of any online bookseller. Barnes & Noble also publishes books under its own imprint for exclusive sale through its retail stores and Web site.

Source: European/American Issues Forum, CW Kuhn, Secretary—CW Johns,
Treasurer—FP Williams, Sgt. at Arms
Louis Calabro, President —David Winzer, Vice President

'Hate Hurts- How Children Learn and Unlearn Prejudice- A Guide for Adults and Children'

**By The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,
September 2000-Publisher-Scholastic Inc. New York.**

Book Review, by Louis Calabro

September 27, 2000

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) recently joined forces with Barnes and Noble to launch a campaign called 'Close the Book on Hate'. Their recently published book 'Hate Hurts...' being reviewed herein, is considered a first step in that direction.

Unfortunately the book is a continuation of what appears to be their policy of stigmatizing and stereotyping European Americans as the primary purveyors of racial animus and the primary perpetrators of hate crimes. In fact, the ADL and Barnes and Noble, acting as the teachers of minimizing bigotry, racism and stereotyping are eagerly practicing and promoting those exact undesirable traits. For example, the first page of the book starts out:

"Dear Readers, Mention Laramie, Wyoming, Jasper, Texas, or Littleton, Colorado, and our collective conscience is assaulted by the brutal hate crimes committed in those places. We store in our mind's eye the image of five year old children clutching one another's hands as they run from a Jewish Community day care center under attack by an anti-semit."

What that opening paragraph tells the readers of this book is that all of the perpetrators of bigotry, racism and stereotyping are European Americans and our collective

conscience is assaulted by the brutal hate crimes committed [by European Americans}....

Yes, the book begins by teaching that all of the “bad” people in those three cases are European Americans and follows that pattern throughout the book. That isn’t reality.

That pattern is consistent throughout the book. A review of Chapter 13, titled “Crimes of Hate: Physical and Emotional Violence”, solidifies by using concrete examples the notion of emphasizing European American involvement in racial animus cases and as the perpetrators of hate crimes. All other racial/ethnic groups are their victims. The Chapter has victims like “spic”, black, Jewish, Asian and gay victims, but no European American victims. The Chapter also mentions Nazi Germany and KKK members burning black churches, but no other racial/ethnic groups or members are cited as concrete examples of being the purveyors of racial animus or the perpetrators of hate crimes.

The ADL and Barnes and Noble could easily have included the Racine, Wisconsin and Jacksonville, FL. as concrete examples of hate crime cases where European Americans were victims of significant and brutal racially motivated hate crimes.

The significance of the Racine, Wisconsin case is that it was used by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Wisconsin vs. Mitchell*, (1993) to confirm the constitutionality of hate crime penalty enhancement statutes.

In *Wisconsin vs. Mitchell* a group of non-European American men and boys discussed the picture *Mississippi Burning* which had a scene where a white man beat a young black boy who was praying. They wanted to move on some white people and while they were out walking they passed a white boy and Mitchell said, “You all want to fuck somebody up” There goes a *white* boy, go get him.” They did get him and they beat the boy so severely he remained in a coma for four days.

Similarly, and in an almost exact mirrored case, in August 1999, and after seeing a picture called *A Time to Kill*, 5-6 non-European American young men decided to beat up the first white man that came along. The picture was about two white men who raped a

young African American girl and her father sought revenge by shooting both of them. Unfortunately, European American mentally retarded 50 year old Gregory Griffith was the first “white” man to come along and they proceeded to brutally beat and stomp him to death. Two have been convicted. Others await trial.

The ADL knows, and Barnes and Noble should know that the 1998 FBI Hate Crime Statistical report reflects that there were nine (9) racially motivated murders in 1998 and five (5) of the nine victims were European Americans. But, it appears these facts are of no importance to the ADL and Barnes and Noble.

The ADL knows that the San Francisco Police Department Hate Crime Statistical reports 1995-1999, document that European Americans were victims of racially motivated multiple assailant street attacks more often than any other racial/ethnic group.

Knowing that they are cognizant of the above censored facts that are not presented in their book is deeply troubling and frightening to European Americans. It is incomprehensible that the ADL would write a book that will be read by parents, teachers, administrators, students and some citizens that fails to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth. That is an unacceptable form of bigotry.

This book ‘Hate-Hurts-How Children Learn and Unlearn Prejudice’ debases, denigrates, dehumanizes and discriminates against European American students and the at-large European American community and is not appropriate as material that can be used for instructional material in San Mateo county. We respectfully request that the San Mateo County Board of Education declare this book as inappropriate for use in our county and remove it from the county Resource Center.

Sincerely,

Louis Calabro, President.
European/American Issues Forum

Where 'Caught in the Crossfire' Can Leave No Room for Doubt

By Robert Fisk, 2 October 2000

When I read the word "crossfire", I reach for my pen. In the Middle East, it almost always means that the Israelis have killed an innocent person. When the Israelis fired shells into the United Nations compound at Qana in southern Lebanon in 1996, Time magazine printed a photograph of a dead baby with a caption saying it had been killed in "crossfire". This was untrue. The baby had been killed in the Israeli bombardment along with 105 other civilians - which started after Hezbollah guerrillas opened fire on an Israeli army unit that was laying booby-trap mines inside the UN zone. So when 12-year-old Mohammed al-Durah was killed in Gaza on Saturday and I read on the Associated Press wire that the child was "caught in the crossfire", I knew at once who had killed him. Sure enough, reporters investigating the killing said the boy was shot by Israeli troops. So was his father - who survived - and so was the ambulance driver who was killed trying to rescue the boy. Yet BBC World Service Television was still saying yesterday morning that Mohammed al-Durah was "caught in the crossfire of a battle that has left hundreds wounded and killed many others". I knew what this meant.

True, the Israeli soldiers who killed the boy may not have known whom they hit. They were apparently firing through a wall. But why the reluctance on the part of journalists to tell the truth? Why was it that in its report from Jerusalem on Saturday, the AP only mentioned - in paragraph 17, for heaven's sake - that Israeli troops, on the word of their own officer, fired anti-tank missiles during the confrontation? What was the Israeli army doing using missiles against rioters?

By yesterday afternoon, the story had been transformed into a "blame" conflict. The Israelis blamed the Palestinian authority for organising riots. BBC World Service radio ran a tape of an Israeli official stating that rioters were "shooting [sic] Molotov cocktails and stones" which "kill people". A listener might have been forgiven for thinking that 22 Israelis had been killed – rather than 22 Palestinians – in the previous 72 hours. The BBC then ran a tape of Nabil Shaath, the Palestinian spokesman, saying that the Israelis, not the Palestinians, had been shooting.

Truth is a hard bullet to bite. Palestinian policemen had also opened fire on the Israelis. Ironically, the Arab press in Beirut had no hesitation in saying this. The press in Lebanon showed photographs of Palestinian policemen firing Kalashnikov rifles at Israeli troops. But, given the fact that they did not

kill Israelis – one of them was hit while firing – was it not worth mentioning that the Palestinians were the victims, not the Israelis?

When BBC Television got round to mentioning Ariel Sharon's flagrantly provocative visit to the Haram as-Sharif/Temple Mount on Thursday, they yesterday called him an "Israeli leader" when – for Palestinians – he was the man who bore indirect responsibility (according to Israel's own inquiry) for the massacre of up to 2,000 Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in Beirut 18 years ago. The BBC correspondent, Paul Adams, was one of the very few who bravely drew attention to Sharon's appalling record, pointing out Sharon had "an extraordinary capacity to leave... destruction in his wake."

And so, by last night, the story had changed. No longer did Israeli soldiers and policemen kill at least 22 Palestinians in three days; now the question was whether the Palestinian Authority organised the riots that "led" [sic] to their deaths. The Israeli soldiers, who disobeyed every human rights commitment by firing on rioters with live rounds, were respectfully called the "Israeli security forces", disregarding the fact that "security" was the one thing Israeli soldiers were clearly unable to provide.

On CNN and the BBC and other satellite chains, reporters were asked if the killings would upset the "peace process", with no willingness to explain that it was the collapse of the peace process which lay at the heart of the riots. The Muslim holy areas of Jerusalem were "disputed" – although UN Security Council resolution 242, upon which the "peace process" is supposedly based, demands the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories captured during the 1967 war, including east Jerusalem.

What lies behind this – apart from the sheep-like inability of many journalists to call a spade a spade – was the continuing belief that Palestinians are, by nature, violent and riotous.

The United States called for an end to the "violence" – this courtesy of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright – without making any reference to Sharon's grotesque visit to the mosque grounds of east Jerusalem. By yesterday afternoon, the BBC were at it again, reporting that "Israeli authorities were bracing themselves for what may lie ahead". Weren't the Palestinians also doing that?

Source: <http://www.codoh.org> | October 5, 2000

Hate Hurts, But Bullets Kill by George Brewer

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, an organization devoted to combating Anti-Semitism and bigotry, has started up a new campaign to promote tolerance among children. It's called the "Close the Book on Hate Campaign" and is keyed to the marketing of a new ADL sponsored book, entitled, *Hate Hurts*.

According to the promotional literature, the "innovative" new book "explores how to answer difficult questions" that children might ask, presumably about prejudice, and about how and why people are different. All in all this is a good idea. Children should not be taught to hate, or to draw snap judgments about other people.

We haven't received our copy yet but we can guess what kinds of things are in the book, based on the kinds of things that are on the ADL website. Judging by what we read there, the ADL is committed to making sure that kids aren't exposed to anything that might give them a tummy ache or maybe hurt their tender little feelings.

So, for example, we see that in the past few days the ADL has laid into the Nextel Corporation, a Filipino outfit that markets cellular equipment, for an ad campaign that touts the "Final Communication Solution" and which features Adolf Hitler jaw-jacking on his own cell phone.

Another recent ADL press release describes how the ADL succeeded in getting another apology from the people who brought you Pokemon, but, no, this apology had nothing to do with inflicting Pikachu, the yellow rat with an electrified tail, onto the American public.

No, this has to do with a prize competition being touted on cereal boxes, featuring a six-pointed star that for some reason came out on some of the boxes as "Jude Star" instead of the intended "Jade Star." Of course, this was a goof, and we would expect the cereal company to correct it, what we don't expect, and don't need, is to be informed that the ADL is on the supermarket cereal trenches ensuring that no child inadvertently consumes prejudice that stays crunchy in milk.

Of course, both of these recent press releases are indicative of the ADL's hyper-sensitivity and inability to deal with the fact that the three billion or so people who live in Asia do not really think

much about the Holocaust or its sacred symbols, as was discussed in a *Revisionist* article earlier this year “[Asians Just Don’t Get It](#)”. But the ADL did at least make a tiny concession in the latest Pokemon release about how the swastika is a sacred symbol to “some” Asians.

In addition to the latest press releases that are geared to protecting kids, in recent years the ADL has also extracted apologies from Superman Comics, for a story line about the Holocaust that was “insensitive” because it didn’t specify that any of the victims were Jews, and a TV show for its portrayal of a lovable Yiddishzeyde (grandfather). We can imagine that *Hate Hurts*, with or without an exclamation point, will cover similar ground.

Yet, after receiving some recent correspondence, we wonder if one of the “difficult questions” being “explored” in *Hate Hurts* might be one like this: “What happens when a 12 year old kid is shot while cowering behind his father in Israeli occupied territory?” For some reason, we don’t think that question is going to be addressed, and if it were, the answer, based on what we have seen, would be “Nothing.”

It seems that a few days ago a 37 year old Palestinian living in the occupied Gaza Strip went out with his 12 year old son to look at a used car. They found themselves in the middle of a street battle between Palestinian demonstrators and Israeli soldiers. They tried to hide behind a small cinder block abutment to a building, and that’s when they were caught by the French cameramen.

You can see the father start waving, in a panic, for the soldiers not to shoot. And you can see the boy, clearly terrified, trying to hide behind his slender father’s frame. And then there’s a fusillade of bullets and the boy is dead, with the father severely injured.

You can tell it’s a big story because immediately there were denials from the Israeli Defense Forces, claiming that they hadn’t fired the shots. Of course, the alternative, that some Palestinians shot the two for propaganda purposes, is kind of hard to believe, but furthermore most of the eyewitnesses, including the father, insist that the killers were Israeli soldiers, and from the camera shot it appears that it occurred at close range.

We guess the Israeli authorities felt they had a credibility problem, because a day later Israel’s deputy chief of staff, Moshe Yaalon, announced that the Israelis were convinced that the boy intended to throw rocks. Well, I guess that settles that. Read people’s minds, and then blow their heads off.

Now, we would expect something to be done about this. Sometimes a photograph can really have an impact. We all remember how the American people turned against the Vietnam war, we forget the

critical photos that turned the tide of public opinion: the naked girl running in terror from a napalm raid, the South Vietnamese general casually shooting a blindfolded hostage.

So we would expect this photo of this little boy being shot in cold blood to change some minds, or at least to create enough pressure to generate some decency. Maybe a court martial or two, at the very least. Unfortunately, it appears the flagrant shooting of this boy is being forgotten. Naturally, thinking about how hate hurts our kids, and thinking about how the ADL is always on the front line in protecting them, we turned to their Website to see how they would handle this affair.

Mind you, we don't believe that every Jew or even any American Jew is responsible for the reckless shootings by the Israeli Defense Forces. But on the other hand, if an organization sells itself as defending Jewish interests, constantly delivers sermons about Jewish and Israeli interests, and furthermore is always carrying on about protecting children, we have a certain expectation that they will have something to say about this case, too.

Imagine our surprise when we found that the ADL's only pronouncement on the recent violence, which has taken the lives of 46 Arabs and two Jews, is that the current violence was "clearly incited and stoked by the Palestinian leadership" and that Arafat should do something to stop it. That's all.

Nothing about our 12 year old kid at all. Nothing about a measure of individual justice for an inexcusable individual killing of a child, nothing about an apology, or a desire to make amends, or pay compensation, or punishing the boy's killers. Nothing.

Moral leadership is a difficult thing. But if you can't stand up on your hindlegs and condemn the brutal and careless killing of a child, you don't deserve to be listened to. The ADL's silence in the case of the shooting of a 12 year old Palestinian boy on TV reminds us of the extent to which the ADL is willing to close the book on its own moral authority by its timidity, and it further reminds us of the extent to which the "Close the Book on Hate" campaign is a stupid joke.

Zealously monitoring comic books, trading cards, TV shows, and cereal boxes: that's the caliber of ADL moral leadership. But when it comes to dead kids, the ADL is, to quote a title, Eyeless in Gaza.

Hate Hurts? Yeah, sure. But Bullets Kill.

George Brewer is editor of The Revisionist www.codoh.org, Email: brewer@codoh.org

Source: Page A01 of the Boston Globe on 10/12/2000

B'nai B'rith Award Now Under Review

A veteran's story of WWII exploits raises questions

By Thomas Farragher and Walter V. Robinson, Globe Staff

B'nai B'rith International is questioning a prestigious award slated to be given to former Massachusetts education secretary Paul Parks for his role in liberating the Dachau concentration camp in 1945 after other veterans asserted that Parks was not there. Moreover, a retired Army lieutenant colonel who has studied records of Parks's military unit has said that Parks's account of his harrowing experiences on a Normandy beach on D-Day is also false.

Parks, who at 77 has been a major civil rights figure in Massachusetts for four decades, insisted last night that he was indeed at Dachau, and said he intends to collect the Raoul Wallenberg award from the B'nai B'rith chapter in Berlin later this month. But Eric Rozenman, a spokesman for B'nai B'rith International, said in the face of questions from veterans who contend that Parks was not at the Dachau concentration camp in the spring of 1945, Parks's selection is under review.

"We're trying to ascertain exactly what the facts are," Rozenman said. "We're trying to find out how this particular person came to [the Berlin chapter's] attention and what criteria they use for this award."

Since 1987, Parks's public claims about his presence at Dachau have made him a sought-after speaker by Jewish groups, including Holocaust survivors. For the same reason, he was also co-chairman of the Cornerstone Project of the New England Holocaust Memorial, the six glass towers honoring Holocaust victims that are located in a small park behind Boston City Hall.

In a letter to B'nai B'rith, a copy of which was sent to the Globe, retired Army lieutenant colonel Hugh F. Foster III said that Parks's longtime claim to have been a liberator of the Dachau death camp is contradicted by military records.

And in an interview yesterday, retired brigadier general Felix L. Sparks, who as a 27-year-old lieutenant colonel led the liberation of the main camp at Dachau, said flatly that Parks was not there when the camp fell to American forces in April 1945. To buttress his assertion, Sparks said there were no black soldiers at Dachau at all.

"He's been claiming that for years," Sparks said of Parks. "It did not happen."

Parks, a member of the 365th Engineer Regiment from 1943 to 1945, said his military records were lost in a 1973 fire. But he acknowledged that his regiment was not near Dachau for its liberation.

"My outfit was never at Dachau, but I was," Parks said. "I was there by sheer accident." Parks said he was trained and ordered to activate and deactivate land mines throughout France, a special detail that led him to the concentration camp.

"I don't have the slightest idea where I was. All I know is that we went to Dachau," said Parks. "... I was a foot soldier who did what I was told."

Veterans, including Sparks, Foster, and Cranston Rogers, a 75-year-old veteran from Medway, who were among the liberators of Dachau, said they have followed for years newspaper stories about Parks's military service.

"I don't have a vendetta against him," Rogers said. "I just don't like people claiming things that are not true."

Parks said yesterday that he has never exaggerated his military record. When asked to review the discrepancies his fellow veterans cite in published accounts of his service in Normandy and, later, at Dachau, Parks declined.

"This is crazy," he said. "I'm not going to deal with it anymore."

In the letter sent to B'nai B'rith, Foster calls Parks's accounts of battlefield derring-do "outrageously false."

Critics like Foster and records obtained by the Globe raise questions about Parks' oft-told vivid accounts of his frightening experience as a black GI on Omaha Beach on D-Day, 1944.

Records at the National Personnel Records Center, which survived the 1973 fire, show that Parks's engineering unit was still in England as the allies stormed the Normandy beaches on D-Day. Parks acknowledged that his unit was in England during the invasion – although in one published interview he said his unit was part of the invasion force and suffered 60 percent casualties. Last night, Parks said he was at Normandy on D-Day after volunteering for mine detection duty.

But Parks's critics say the detail he has provided over the years cannot survive close scrutiny.

For example, in June 1994, Parks told the Globe that when he ran ashore on June 6, 1944, he could feel the breeze as bullets zipped past his head. He said he and a buddy, Robert Orr, took cover behind a concrete barrier as a German machine gun peppered them with fire. Orr, Parks said, fell over dead, a bullet in his forehead. Another comrade also died in the gunfire.

"Like anybody else who made it off that beach that day, I ask why," Parks said then. "I mean, two guys, shoulder to shoulder with me. They die and I don't. I don't have an answer."

But Foster, the retired lieutenant colonel, said the master list of World War II deaths contains the names of seven men named Robert Orr who were killed or died overseas during the war.

The only Robert Orr assigned to the 365th Engineer Regiment died in England three months before D-Day and is buried in a US military cemetery there, according to Foster's letter to the B'nai B'rith.

Yesterday, Parks said the Globe's 1994 account of Orr's death was in error. "I didn't say he was killed on D-Day. Never did," Parks said. "I said he was killed in Normandy and he was killed in Normandy."

The Globe has been aware of questions about Parks's military record for some time. Foster wrote to the newspaper's editorial page in September 1998 questioning an opinion piece by William H. Smith that criticized the film "Saving Private Ryan" for ignoring the role that Smith said black veterans like Parks had played at Normandy. Foster said in the letter that according to military records, Parks's regiment was not on the beaches at Normandy.

William Ketter, then interim editor of the opposite-editorial page and now chairman of the Boston University Journalism Department, said yesterday that he and H.D.S. Greenway, then editor of the editorial page, questioned Parks about the allegations. But they deemed the evidence insufficient to publish in the face of his claims that he was detached from his unit. Greenway, now retired, could not be reached for comment.

Parks's military records show that he was on active service from April 2, 1943, until he was discharged on Jan. 5, 1946. He was assigned to Company E, 365th Engineer Regiment, from Sept. 30, 1943, until June 25, 1945.

His engineering unit arrived at Utah Beach, France, on June 30, 1944.

B'nai B'rith International said its inquiries into Parks's service record had just begun. It is not clear how, or whether, that review would affect the Wallenberg award that Parks is scheduled to receive later this month in Berlin, along with two British soldiers, two Russians and another American. Wallenberg was the Swedish diplomat who saved some 100,000 Hungarian Jews from the Nazi gas chambers.

"It's the B'nai B'rith Lodge in Berlin that's giving the award," said Rozenman, the B'nai B'rith International spokesman in Washington. "I'm not sure what criteria they used to select the nominee. Those are things that have to be checked."

Over the last four decades, Parks has been among the most prominent black leaders in Boston and Massachusetts. He was vice president of the Boston branch of the NAACP during the 1960s, Boston's first Model Cities director under Mayor Kevin H. White, state education secretary under former Governor Michael S. Dukakis, and one of the founders of the METCO program, which for 34 years has bused black children from Boston to schools in predominantly white suburbs.

Under mayors Raymond L. Flynn and Thomas M. Menino in the early 1990s, Parks was also the chairman of the appointed Boston School Committee.

Over time, Parks has sometimes told conflicting tales to reporters about his wartime experiences in Europe. In 1984, for instance, he claimed in a Globe interview that he had been wounded on D-Day, an assertion that was not reported in subsequent accounts of his service there. His military records include no Purple Heart. Parks has variously described himself as a private when he arrived at Dachau, but as a platoon sergeant when he was in England two years earlier.

Despite his twin claims about his presence at two of the war's most significant events – the D-Day landing and the liberation of a major concentration camp – a half dozen newspaper profiles of Parks during the 1960s and 1970s barely mentioned that he was a World War II veteran.

The first apparent public mention of his Dachau experience came when Parks, then state education secretary, spoke at a 1978 rally outside the German consulate demanding an extension on statutes of limitations for Nazi war criminals. At that rally, Parks recalled helping to liberate Dachau, and said he remembered being shocked at the mountains of gold teeth piled up inside Dachau, and the stacks of bodies of victims of the death camp.

In a 1996 Globe interview, Parks said when he helped liberate the camp, and saw the survivors, "It was unbelievable. ... Understanding slavery in my country, I related to these people."

Source: The Los Angeles Times, <http://www.latimes.com>, October 17th 2000

Now Here's a Chance to Raise the Hate Crimes Card

By PATT MORRISON

Coming soon to a police cruiser near you: the hate crimes card.

The Anti-Defamation League has drafted a nifty laminated card—bigger than the Miranda model, but just the right size to slip into a field notebook or clip to the visor of a patrol car—to help officers handle hate crimes.

Several hundred were given to the badge-and-uniform set at a hate crime conference in Sacramento recently, and by month's end, cards will be in the mail to law enforcement in all 50 states.

The card was field-tested in California by the Los Angeles school police and the San Diego County Sheriff's Department, which had something to say about everything from the card size to the typeface.

It bears 11 strategies ("Allow victim to use own words. Use interpreter, if necessary.") and seven factors to watch, like telltale signs of a hate crime, and whether the crime took place on an ethnic or political red-letter day—like Cinco de Mayo, or Hitler's birthday.

Source: page A01 of the Boston Globe on 10/19/2000. © Copyright 2000 Globe
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Despite Questions, Parks to Get Award

By Thomas Farragher, Globe Staff, 10/19/2000

B'nai B'rith leaders in Europe said yesterday that Boston civil rights leader Paul Parks will receive a prestigious award for taking part in liberating the Dachau concentration camp despite evidence that Parks was not there when the death camp was taken from the Nazis.

"They've made their inquiries and they're satisfied that there's no reason not to give [Parks] the award," said Seymour G. Saideman, president of B'nai B'rith Europe.

Parks, a former state education secretary and Boston School Committee chairman, has claimed that special volunteer mine-clearing duties put him on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day and at the concentration camp outside Munich in 1945.

But senior US military historians say no black soldiers were present when Dachau was liberated. And a Globe review of Parks's military record shows that his unit was hundreds of miles from Dachau the day the camp was freed on April 29, 1945.

There is no evidence in the detailed daily reports from Parks's Army company that he was detached for mine duty in the days before the camp's liberation.

Saideman said B'nai B'rith conducted no independent review of Parks's military record.

Andras Kain, president of the B'nai B'rith Raoul Wallenberg Lodge in Berlin, which is hosting Sunday's awards ceremony, said his chapter relied in part on the 1998 Steven Spielberg Holocaust documentary, "The Last Days," and its companion book as evidence that Parks was a Dachau liberator.

In the book, Parks says he was at Dachau "by sheer accident" and says he never considered himself a hero.

"Several people have called me already saying that Paul Parks was never in Dachau," Kain said in a telephone interview from Berlin yesterday. "So what can I do with these? He will get the prize because I don't think we have time enough to prove, to check."

Kain said if he receives conclusive proof that Parks was not a Dachau liberator, his chapter would consider revoking the award retroactively, drawing a parallel to a triumphant Olympian later disqualified for illegal drug use.

"That's what we would do if we have positive things to show he was never in Dachau," said Kain. "But we don't have anything."

Kain said Parks left Boston last night and was to arrive in Berlin today for the Sunday night ceremony, where some of the 400 guests will be Dachau survivors.

The other American who will receive the award, William P. Donahue of Racine, Wis., disputes Parks's claims to being at Dachau and said he is considering snubbing Parks at the ceremony.

"If this man wants to accept the award, it's his problem," said Donahue, who was a 19-year-old private when he was among the first US soldiers inside Dachau.

Indeed, yesterday's B'nai B'rith announcement that Parks will receive the award named for Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who worked to save an estimated 100,000 lives during the Holocaust, enraged some of the soldiers who were there when Dachau was liberated.

"He claims to have just wandered into the liberation of Dachau," said Russel R. Weiskircher, a retired brigadier general who was with the 157th Infantry when Dachau fell. "Those assertions demean those who were there and those who died there."

Weiskircher, a member of the Georgia Commission on the Holocaust, called Parks "an enterprising opportunist."

"I feel sorry for him," Weiskircher said. "Unfortunately, we have found a significant number of people like Paul Parks."

Cranston Rogers, 75, of Medway, who was patrolling outside the camp's east wall when it was liberated, called the B'nai B'rith decision "preposterous."

"It ignores the actual persons who were there and participated in the liberation," said Rogers. "He clearly was not even present, much less had anything to do with the liberation of the camp. It really is an insult to the veterans who were there."

But Nancy K. Kaufman, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council, said she does not disagree with the B'nai B'rith decision.

"I think he deserves [the award]," Kaufman said. "Paul Parks has been a friend of the Jewish community. He's been an outspoken, passionate witness to the events of World War II. I really think he has been someone who has stood up and spoken to the horrors."

Eric Rozenman, a spokesman for B'nai B'rith International in Washington, said yesterday's decision is not the end of the organization's review into how award nominees are selected.

"Serious issues were raised and they just can't be put aside because the local unit [in Berlin] goes ahead and carries out a program that was already planned," said Rozenman.

He said if Parks's claim to be a Dachau liberator is proven false, "we'll have to make sure that the process by which local units make these selections is upgraded."

Rabbi Lawrence Kushner, who presided for 25 years at Temple Beth El in Sudbury and is now rabbi-in-residence at Hebrew Union College in New York, said it is important to determine whether Parks has manufactured parts of his military record.

"If the allegations were to be proven true, it would be more than just a swindle," Kushner said. "It would be a defamation of the extraordinary and often life-risking courageous efforts of those who did put their lives on the line to save Jews during the war.

"That's what makes it so potentially disturbing."

Source: This story ran on page 1 of the Boston Globe's City Weekly on 12/10/2000.
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Helping Police Probe Hate Crimes: ADL to Give Officers How-to Cards

By Emily Shartin, Globe Correspondent

As more police officers are schooled in the complexities of investigating hate crimes, the Anti-Defamation League in Boston is helping to build a more unified police response to incidents of hate statewide.

At police roll calls across the state this Thursday, including Boston, Brookline, Cambridge, and Somerville, the ADL, a unit of B'nai B'rith, will distribute laminated cards that detail strategies for investigating crimes that appear motivated by hate or bias.

ADL officials say the 3-by-7-inch cards are meant to encourage the 16,000 officers in 170 participating departments – 90 percent of the state's police departments – to look more carefully at the motivations for a crime. They say officers will be reminded to consider whether the victims have been singled out because of their race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or gender – all indicators of hate crimes.

"It just gets them to be thinking a little more globally around the incident," said Christina Bouras, executive director of the Governor's Task Force on Hate Crimes, which has been working with the ADL on this project.

Given the fact that hate crime statutes are relatively new, police say they welcome just about any resource that helps them on the job. Although police departments now routinely offer hate crimes investigation training, that hasn't always been the case, said John Collins, general counsel for the Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association, also a partner in the campaign.

"Hate crimes [is] one of the areas where traditionally we didn't train people," said Collins, noting that such training only became standard for most police departments within the past decade.

Identifying what constitutes a hate crime can sometimes be an overwhelming task for an officer.

Frank Pasquarello, Cambridge police spokesman, says those who are first on the scene of a crime have very little time to assess the situation before determining whether to call it a hate crime.

"We have to make a decision in about 10 seconds," Pasquarello said. "That decision can largely determine how the investigation will proceed. The cards remind officers to look for tell-tale signs or symbols, to take into account the history of the neighborhood, to consider whether the incident occurred on a significant date, such as Hitler's birthday (April 20), and offer strategies for talking with victims."

The card will "give us kind of a standard to go by," said Pasquarello.

According to Andrew Tarsy, the ADL's civil rights director in Boston, the campaign is not a criticism of how police handled hate crime investigations. Instead, the campaign's goal is to foster trust and communication between victims and police.

Tarsy said the ADL is concerned that hate crime victims are often reluctant to report incidents to authorities.

The more that police officers demonstrate they understand the unique pain of a hate crime victim, Tarsy said, the more likely victims will be to come forward.

According to the state's 1998 crime statistics, the latest available, there were 497 reported bias crimes – 358 of them in Boston, 13 in Brookline, eight in Cambridge, and one in Somerville. The state figure was up 7 percent from 1997.

Under Massachusetts law, penalties for assaults or vandalism motivated by hate or bias are more serious than those for similar crimes not motivated by hate, according the Middlesex District Attorney's office. For example, an assault motivated by hate that injures someone can carry a fine of \$10,000 and a jail term of five years, whereas a "regular" assault can carry a \$5,000 fine and a 2 1/2-year jail term.

But just as important as prosecuting hate crimes, officials say, is bringing to light the antagonism that causes the incidents.

"It's an indication that there's an undercurrent that we all, as a community, should know about," said Charles McDonald, a spokesman for the Executive Office of Public Safety.

Like other officers in Massachusetts, Brookline police Captain Peter Scott says local bias-motivated crime has been limited to vandalism and assault, often also involving racial or other offensive epithets.

Scott believes Brookline's diversity has rendered the community more tolerant of its differences, but also says it is still the duty of police officers to remain prepared for whatever might happen.

Bouras, the Governor's Task Force director, added that it is crucial to treat what seem to be minor incidents seriously. "If left unchecked, the incidents always escalate" in severity, she said.

Over the past 10 years, police departments across the state have been moving toward a model of community policing, which includes more beat foot patrols, and away from what Collins refers to as "You call, we haul."

That is especially important, Tarsy says, because of the destabilizing effects a hate crime can have on an entire group of people.

Police and other agencies across the state already carry cards put together by the state public safety office on strategies for various emergencies, McDonald said, like gas leaks, school violence, or plane crashes.

Somerville police carry similar cards reminding them of how best to assess and handle instances of domestic violence.

Somerville Police Sergeant Dan Cotter believes the hate crime card will help promote awareness among his officers. "It's another tool," he said.

Boston police are also getting the hate crime cards on Thursday. But a spokeswoman last week said she could not comment because police officials are not scheduled to meet with the ADL until Tuesday.

In Cambridge, Pasquarello said there is nothing wrong with holding all police departments to the same standards of investigation, although he noted that the cards will not significantly change how his department will handle hate crimes.

Considering that police will likely be the first people a victim contacts, Pasquarello said it is important to ensure that all officers respond in a professional manner. "We want people to feel comfortable to call us," he said.

A more unified police response to such incidents will likely show the public that intolerance exists in their communities. "A lot of people believe it doesn't happen, but it does," he said.

Source: The Boston Globe, December 14, 2000,

Police Get Help Putting Hate in its Place

By Emily Shartin, Globe Correspondent

Now that more police officers are schooled in the complexities of investigating hate crimes, the Anti-Defamation League wants to help police departments build a more unified and thorough approach to those investigations.

At police roll calls across the state today – including those in Framingham, Holliston, Hudson, Lincoln, Sherborn, and Wayland – the ADL will distribute laminated cards detailing strategies for investigating crimes that appear to be motivated by hate or bias.

The ADL says the 3-by-7-inch cards, which will be distributed to 16,000 officers in 170 departments, are meant to encourage police to carefully examine the motivations for a crime. Officers are reminded to consider whether victims may have been singled out because of their race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or gender – all indicators of hate crimes.

"It just gets them to be thinking a little more globally around the incident," said Christina Bouras, executive director of the Governor's Task Force on Hate Crimes, a partner in the campaign.

John Collins, general counsel for the Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association, estimated that instruction on hate crimes has only become standard for most police departments within the last 10 years. "Hate crimes [are] one of the areas where traditionally we didn't train people," he said.

Although some hate-crime investigations are relatively cut and dried, police say the motivations for certain incidents cannot always be quickly identified.

"There's still that gray area that will always remain," said Medfield Police Chief Richard Hurley.

The cards remind officers to look for telltale signs or symbols, to take into account the history of the neighborhood, and to consider whether the incident occurred on a significant date, such as Hitler's birthday; and offers strategies for talking with victims.

Those kinds of reminders, says Framingham Police Lieutenant Lou Griffith, can help officers collect a more complete set of facts at the scene of a crime, which can ultimately lead to a more successful review of the incident, and possible prosecution.

"The more complete the initial investigation is, the better off we're going to be down the road," Griffith said.

According to Andy Tarsy, ADL civil rights director, the campaign is not intended to criticize the ways police have traditionally handled investigations into hate crimes; instead, it aims to foster trust and communication between victims and police. The ADL is concerned that victims of hate crimes are often reluctant to report incidents to authorities.

"The more that police officers demonstrate they understand the unique pain of a victim," Tarsy said, "the more likely victims will be to come forward."

Under Massachusetts law, penalties for assault or vandalism motivated by hate can be more serious than penalties for other crimes. For example, while an assault is punishable by a \$500 fine and a 2 1/2-year jail term, a hate-motivated assault that results in injury can carry a fine of \$10,000 and a jail term of five years, according to the Middlesex district attorney's office.

But just as important as prosecuting hate crimes, officials say, is bringing to light the antagonism causing those incidents.

"It's an indication that there's an undercurrent that we all as a community should know about," said Charles McDonald, director of communications for the state's Executive Office of Public Safety.

The most recent statistics compiled by state public safety officials show that 497 hate crimes were reported across Massachusetts in 1998, as compared with 29,708 aggravated assaults for the same year.

Police officers across the region served by Globe West say local incidents of bias-motivated crime are rare, and usually involve vandalism, assault, or spoken epithets. Newton, for example, has dealt several times with swastika graffiti around the city and in the schools, Newton Police Lieutenant Paul Anastasia said. Hurley recalled two cases over his 12-year tenure in Medfield, both involving what appeared to be anti-Semitic vandalism.

The infrequency of hate crimes in Massachusetts is one reason why police say the ADL project will be helpful. Many officers already carry cards reminding them of procedures for certain obscure motor vehicle violations, domestic violence, or arrests.

"When things don't happen on a regular basis, you lose your sharpness," said Needham Police Chief William Slowe. But when something does happen, the community counts on the police to respond thoroughly and appropriately. Westborough Police Chief Glenn Parker notes that ignoring the seemingly lesser hate-motivated incidents can lead to more serious problems in the future. "It can escalate into something you really don't want to happen," he said.

Police should adopt a zero-tolerance approach to hate crimes, Slowe says, because of the way those incidents attack the very core of a person's sense of identity. "They're treated very seriously because ... it's the ultimate personal affront," he said. "All your other defenses are gone. What's left?"

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Source: <http://www.codoh.org/revisionist/tr09adl.html>

A Revisionist Response to the Anti-Defamation League:

**Bradley Smith, His Publications, and the Charge of Extremism
By Paul Grubach**

Recently, the **Anti-Defamation League** (ADL) published a high profile, online study of alleged political extremism. Titled “**Extremism in America**,” it is “the fourth national survey and analysis of far-right extremism in America that ADL has published over the past two decades.”¹ First, let’s see how they define and identify “political extremism.”

ADL claims that American society has been characterized by an ever expanding “democratic consensus and inclusiveness,” and thus, has gradually grown to be a more tolerant, multicultural, integrated and inclusive society. In their own words, America is based upon the ideal that “anyone, regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, or other immutable characteristics, can participate in the search for a better social order.”²

Standing in opposition to this march toward an integrated, multicultural society are (according to the ADL) the extremists, those who oppose the “principles of inclusion and social acceptance.” These are “hate groups,” the alleged forces of intolerance: “nativists, haters and ideological extremists.” These groups “have posed threats to both public safety and civic unity because of their willingness to engage in violence and intimidation.” Extremists use “familiar tactics: violence, threats, and intimidation; conspiracy theories, usually involving Jews and big government; Holocaust denial and other falsifications of history; and the derision and scapegoating of minorities.”³

The ADL guide then goes on to list individuals and groups they consider to be the contemporary extremists. Only one such individual and group will concern us here—Bradley Smith and his enterprises, Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) and **The Revisionist**.⁴ Smith and his publications should have never been included on the ADL’s list. Smith has never, in his long career, “posed a threat to both public safety and civic unity because of his willingness to engage in violence and intimidation.” He has never used “violence, threats and intimidation against his opponents.” Bradley Smith is now, and has always been, a free speech advocate and libertarian who uses only peaceful means to attain his ends.

Smith has never been a member of any group that advocates violence against or the forcible deportation of minority groups. He has never campaigned on issues involving race or ethnicity, as the race issue has never been his beat. Just for the record, his present wife is of twenty-five years is Mexican and his ex was Jewish—hardly the “right stuff” for a neo-Nazi “extremist.”

So why was Smith classified as an “extremist?” The answer is quite simple. Smith and his publications advocate open and free debate on the Holocaust controversy, and this is both a sociopolitical and psychological threat to those Zionists who comprise the vast majority of the ADL.

How is he a sociopolitical threat? As the Jewish political scientist Norman Finkelstein has shown, the Holocaust has become an “ideology” in the Marxist sense of the term. It is a distorted—and to a significant extent fictitious—body of ideas which reflect and serve the sociopolitical interests of a power elite, organized Zionism. To be sure, Finkelstein does believe in the traditional view of the tragedy of the Jews during WWII, but he maintains its is distorted and misrepresented for sociopolitical purposes. Regarding the Holocaust ideology, he has written: “Its central dogmas sustain significant political and class interests. The Holocaust has proven to be an indispensable ideological weapon. Through its deployment, one of the world’s most formidable military powers [Israel], with a horrendous human rights record, has cast itself as a ‘victim’ state, and the most successful ethnic group in the United States [the Jews] has likewise acquired victim status. Considerable dividends accrue from this specious victimhood—in particular, immunity to criticism, however justified.”⁵

Smith and company are a sociopolitical threat because they are forcing society to question an ideology which “justifies,” bolsters and “legitimizes” Jewish-Zionist cultural and political influence in America and throughout the Western world today.

How is Smith a psychological threat? As the writer Natasha Walter observed in *The Independent* (Great Britain), “...the Holocaust seems to loom ever larger. For many non-observant Jews like myself...it has become the touchstone of our identity.”⁶ Presumably, this observation would apply to many of the activists who comprise the ADL. The Holocaust ideology is a central part to their identity as Jews, and thus, any questioning of it poses a serious psychological threat to that identity.

Smith’s ultimate “sin” in the eyes of the ADL is that he is questioning an ideological belief system that serves Jewish-Zionist sociopolitical and psychological needs. Consequently, he and his publications must be neutralized or done away with. Because of their intolerant dogmatism, ADL refuses to debate him; an open and fair debate would expose to the public how weak and questionable the ADL’s Holocaust ideology really is. (This was demonstrated when revisionist historian Mark Weber

publicly debated anti-revisionist historian Michael Shermer. Weber made Holocaust revisionism look too good and the ADL's version of the Holocaust severely deficient.⁷)

The only option left open to the ADL with regard to the “Smith threat” is to use its immense financial and political resources to marginalize and discredit him by labeling this free-speech activist an “extremist.” So many will now say: “Smith is an anti-Jewish political extremist. Whatever his publications say about the Holocaust must be false and should be rejected.”

It must be emphasized again and again what the policy of Smith’s publications is: open and straightforward debate on the Holocaust and other sociopolitical issues which are connected with it, such as Jewish-Gentile relations, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Zionist political influence. It is only by engaging in open and free dialogue—refusing to obey the taboos of our day—that we can begin to come to grips with the problems which surround the Holocaust issue, and then formulate peaceful and humane solutions.

In a word, Smith and his publications stand for freedom of dialogue and the peaceful resolution of problems. They adhere to the motto of a founder of revisionism, the late Professor Harry Elmer Barnes: “Revisionism—a key to peace.”

To be sure, *some* of those individuals and groups that are labeled by ADL as “extremist” do in fact advocate violence against their opponents, and they do act with a crass intolerance. But Smith and Company are not to be classified with them. He simply desires open and free debate on the Holocaust controversy, and the peaceful resolution of crises directly or indirectly associated with the Holocaust question.

Which brings us to my next point. Is the ADL claim of being “the world’s leading organization to fight anti-Semitism, prejudice, hatred and bigotry” really sincere?⁸ Or are they really just an organization of extremists who use talk of love, brotherhood, tolerance, anti-racism and anti-bigotry as an ideological cloak, under which they further Jewish-Zionist interests? The case of Bradley Smith and his publications are most instructive in this regard.

In 1991, Smith—then the media representative of the Institute for Historical Review and director of CODOH—placed advertisements in student newspapers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue. At about the same time, Rabbi Avhram Toledano, head of the Jewish-supremacist “Kach” movement founded by the late Meir Kahane, conducted a lecture tour of the US and Canada. Toledano advocates the forcible mass expulsion of Arabs from “greater Israel.”⁹ He told a Cleveland, Ohio Jewish institution meeting on November 14, 1991, that Arabs would be forced out of Israel. In response to the question, “What would the nations of the world say to Israel’s expulsion of Arabs?,” Toledano said: “I don’t know and I don’t care. We are proud to be Jews and have a Jewish State.”¹⁰

In spite of his intolerant views, Toledano was given a respectful public forum in prominent Jewish synagogues throughout North America. In Cleveland, for example, his lecture was announced beforehand in the city's main Jewish community paper.¹¹ This was nothing new. While he was still alive, this same paper also routinely announced the lecture appearances of the Jewish extremist, Rabbi Meir Kahane.

ADL, which is so alert to every public expression of real and imagined racism, intolerance and bigotry, never (to this writer's knowledge) publicly protested against the advertisements in *Cleveland Jewish News* announcing the appearances of Toledano and Kahane. Nor did the Zionist group publicly label Rabbi Toledano an "extremist" and attempt to deny him a public forum. At the same time though, the ADL was "urging college newspapers to reject ads by individuals or groups denying the reality of the Holocaust."¹² To show that it meant business, an ADL official was sent to the University of Texas to make sure that the student paper there did not publish Smith's ad.¹³

While the ADL insists the Holocaust issue is "not debatable,"¹⁴ and works to deny Holocaust revisionists a public forum, this same organization seemingly has no problem with advertisements in Jewish community papers by militant Zionists who demand the brutal forcible expulsion of Arabs from what only a few years ago was their homeland.

On July 2, 2001, the Associated Press reported that Israel's minister of tourism, Rehavam Zeevi, made these statements about certain Palestinians living in Israel: "They arrived here and are trying to become citizens because they want social security and welfare payments... We should get rid of the ones who are not Israeli citizens the same way you get rid of lice. We have to stop this cancer from spreading within us."¹⁵

Zeevi heads the far-right National Union party that advocates the expulsion of Arabs living under Israeli rule.¹⁶ According to the ADL's moral criteria, this is clearly an example of racist hate. I sent two email messages to the ADL suggesting they publicly condemn his comments and demand that he resign.¹⁷ After all, they advertise themselves as "the world leading organization fighting hate, prejudice and bigotry."

Here is the message I received in return to both e-mails. "We received your e-mail message and want to thank you for sharing your thoughts. Even though the volume of e-mail to us is high, every message is reviewed and forwarded to the appropriate ADL professional when a response is required. We try our best to be responsive quickly, but sometimes that isn't always possible, so we ask for your patience and understanding. Please check our web site, www.adl.org, for current ADL concerns, reports, news releases, educational materials and a wide variety of other useful

informational items. You can also search our online library. Thanks again for your comments. We welcome your interest.”¹⁸

They never did issue any public condemnation of this Zionist extremist, Rehavam Zeevi, who expressed intolerance and hate toward Arabs. Yet, they label Bradley Smith—a man who never referred to any ethnic group as “lice” and a “cancer” and has never advocated the forcible expulsion of any ethnic groups from anywhere—an “extremist.”

That ADL “moral judgments” vis-à-vis political extremism are riddled with a hypocritical double standard should be readily apparent. They believe that it is “evil and immoral” to contest the Holocaust ideology. Apparently, however, it is somehow “morally excusable” for Jewish-Zionists to spew forth intolerance and hate about non-Jews. <

Two experts on political extremism, John George and Laird Wilcox, have noted that one characteristic of an extremist is that he/she promotes double standards and feels no guilt for so doing.¹⁹ As we have shown here, the ADL applies a hypocritical double standard in regard to Jews and non-Jews when they employ the label of extremist. They appear to have no guilt for so doing. Thus, the charge of “extremism” hurls right back at them.

In a spirit of fair play, the ADL was given the opportunity to review this essay prior to publication. They were informed that any errors or false statements that they point out would be corrected.²⁰ They did not respond.

NOTES

1. See “Extremism in America: Introduction,” online:www.adl.org/learn/Ext_US/default.asp
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Norman G. Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (Verso, 2000), p.3.
6. See Richard J. Evans, *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*(Basic Books, 2001), p.262.

7. "The Holocaust Story in the Crossfire: The Weber-Shermer Holocaust Debate," quality VHS color video, \$21.95 postpaid (CA sales tax \$1.55), add \$1.00 for foreign shipping, available from **INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW**, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659.
8. This motto is on the ADL homepage. Online: <http://www.adl.org/>
9. See *Cleveland Jewish News*, November 22, 1991.
10. Ibid.

11. *Cleveland Jewish News*, November 8, 1991, p.12.
12. Religious News Service dispatch of November 27, 1991, published in *Christian News*, December 9, 1991, p.16.
13. *Houston Chronicle*, December 19, 1991.
14. *Christian News*, December 9, 1991, p.16.
15. "Israel Minister Makes Palestinian Slur," Associated Press report, July 2, 2001.
Online: http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/ap/20010702/wl/israel_slur_l.html
16. Ibid.

17. Two e-mails were sent to the ADL at webmaster@adl.org. Printouts in possession Paul Grubach.

18. E-mail from ADL. Printout in possession of Paul Grubach.

19. See Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (University of California Press, 2000), p.88.
20. E-mail from Paul Grubach to webmaster@adl.org. Printout in possession of Paul Grubach.

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Couple Tarred as Anti Semites

Judge Slams ADL for Hurting Couple Tarred As 'Anti-Semites'

**By MARC PERELMAN
FORWARD CORRESPONDENT**

UPHOLDING most of a \$10 million defamation suit against the Anti-Defamation League, a federal judge in Denver has lambasted the organization for labeling a nasty neighborhood feud as an anti-Semitic event.

In upholding the first-ever court defeat handed to the 87-year-old ADL, U.S. District Judge Edward Nottingham said the organization had endorsed and publicized the bigotry accusations of a Jewish couple against its neighbors without either investigating the case or weighing the consequences.

"Based on its position and history as a well-respected civil-rights institution, it is not unreasonable to infer that public charges of anti-Semitism leveled by the ADL will be taken seriously and assumed by many to be true without question," the judge wrote on March 31 in a 46-page order and memorandum of decision obtained by the Forward. "In that respect, the ADL is in a unique position of being able to cause substantial harm to individuals when it lends its backing to allegations of anti-Semitism."

The judge's opinion confirmed a verdict reached last April by a federal jury, which essentially accused the Denver chapter of the ADL and its regional representative, Saul Rosenthal, of falsely portraying William and Dorothy

Quigley as anti-Semites. Mr. Quigley, an executive of the United Artists theater chain, said his career in the "predominantly Jewish and close-knit" film business had stalled after the incident.

"The ADL seized an opportunity to aggrandize itself as the defender of the Jews by unjustly accusing a middle-class couple of being anti-Semitic crooks," said Jay Horowitz, the Quigleys' Denver-based lawyer. "And all along, they showed an unbelievable arrogance."

At the same time, the judge reduced last year's judgment by some \$675,000, cutting the punitive damages awarded to Mrs. Quigley under state law and reducing the Quigleys' compensatory damages to reflect money they received in an earlier settlement with opposing lawyers.

The ADL said it would appeal the decision to the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver later this spring. The ADL's law firm, Long and Jaudon, claimed in a statement issued by the ADL last week that "there were reversible errors made during both pretrial and trial proceedings." Both the ADL and attorney Joe Jaudon refused to comment further.

What is not in dispute is that the ADL, after springing to the defense of a Jewish couple essentially seeking to strengthen their hand in a private dispute, now finds itself entangled in an embarrassing and potentially costly legal stew. The league's annual budget hovers around \$50 million.

The judgment could harm its reputation as an aggressive but reliable monitor of anti-Semitism.

The ruling comes at a time when the ADL is also embroiled in the Marc Rich pardon scandal. The organization said it received some \$250,000 in the past 15 years from the fugitive financier who received a controversial 11th-hour pardon from President Clinton. The league's national director, Abraham Foxman, declared last month that he "probably" had made a mistake in writing a letter to Mr. Clinton supporting the Rich pardon.

All this was not lost on Mr. Horowitz, the Denver attorney. "Can you imagine an organization using money from Marc Rich, a guy who made millions dealing with anti-Semitic countries like Iran, attacking powerless people for some alleged anti-Semitic slurs?" he said.

The Denver dispute began in August 1994, when Mitchell and Candice Aronson moved to the affluent suburb of Evergreen, Colo. The couple was initially befriended by the Quigleys, their neighbors, but relations quickly began to sour, escalating from complaints about dogs and stolen plants to an allegation by Mrs. Aronson that Mr. Quigley tried to run her over with his car.

The Aronsos contacted the ADL on October 21, after concluding that the Quigleys were plotting to drive them out of the neighborhood because they were Jewish. The suspicions were based partly on a conversation on the Quigleys' cordless phone, which the Aronsos claimed they inadvertently overheard through their police scanner. They said they heard the Quigleys talking about sticking pictures of oven doors on their house, burning their children and wishing they had been blown up in a terrorist attack in Israel.

The ADL, after consulting with the district attorney, suggested that the Aronsos tape another six weeks' worth

of conversations. None of the parties reportedly knew that Congress had outlawed such wiretaps on October 25.

In December, the Aronsons filed a federal suit against the Quigleys, accusing them of ethnic intimidation and violation of their civil rights. The following day, at a press conference, Mr. Rosenthal of the ADL labeled the Quigleys anti-Semitic and said they were planning attacks against the Aronsons. The district attorney's office also filed felony criminal charges of ethnic intimidation.

At that point, the case began to unravel. The Quigleys accused the Aronsons of waging a smear campaign against them. In January 1996, they sued the Aronsons and the ADL for violating their rights under the Federal Wiretap Act.

In the meantime, the district attorney, who realized that the tapes were illegal, dropped the ethnic intimidation charge and agreed to pay compensation to the Quigleys. In February 1998, an out-of-court settlement was reached between the couples. But the settlement did not include Mr. Rosenthal and the ADL.

Mr. Horowitz said he tried to settle numerous times with the ADL, but was rebuffed.

The Quigleys accused the ADL of libel, false light invasion of privacy, invasion of privacy and violation of the Federal Wiretap Act. In April 2000, a jury accepted nearly all the charges and awarded them \$10.5 million in damages, one of the largest defamation awards ever in Colorado.

In reply, the ADL and Mr. Rosenthal called for a reduction of the judgment, or a new trial.

Judge Nottingham, ruling on the ADL's motion to overturn the verdict, accepted none of the league's arguments. He pointed to evidence that Mr. Rosenthal and the ADL had not bothered to listen to the tapes, read the transcripts or investigate in-depth before publicly leveling the charge of anti-Semitism. He criticized what he called the selection of isolated comments from thousands of pages of transcripts to build the anti-Semitism accusation "in what could otherwise be regarded as mere sarcastic, banal and tasteless remarks uttered in a garden-variety dispute among neighbors."

To support his argument, the judge cited an internal ADL memorandum written by Mr. Rosenthal in January 1995, in which the league official said he wanted "to be sure we are maximizing all opportunities that are available from the Aronson case and arrests.... In short, 'make hay while the sun shines' - graciously of course."

Mr. Quigley, a New York native, was a chief financial officer at Paramount pictures and president of Vestron Pictures. There he produced the movies "Dirty Dancing" and "The Dead." He moved to Denver in 1993 to head the United Artists' theater chain in the region.

As a result of the anti-Semitism charge, said his attorney of Mr. Horowitz, "He has become a pariah in the business."

The judge concurred, repeatedly underlining what he called the "catastrophic impact" of the accusations on Mr. Quigley's career. He said the issue was actually raised in discussions within the Denver ADL. "In that respect, Rosenthal's conduct could be perceived as even more egregious, given his awareness of the stigmatizing consequences attached to accusations of anti-Semitism."

Regarding the large damage award, the judge wrote that "it will, at a minimum, provide a deterrent effect against the ADL from engaging in future conduct involving the use of intercepted telephone conversations to pursue a civil lawsuit against persons perceived to be anti-Semitic."

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Safire: 'Abe Should Resign'

By RACHEL DONADIO, FORWARD STAFF

ANTI-DEFAMATION League director Abraham Foxman found himself at the center of a storm of criticism this week after his attempt to apologize for his role in the presidential pardon of Marc Rich led to new protests, including calls for his resignation.

Mr. Foxman, one of the most prominent of the figures who wrote to President Clinton on Mr. Rich's behalf last year, said last week in a statement and at a press conference that his pardon letter had "probably" been a mistake.

The pressure for Mr. Foxman to resign has come largely from minor figures outside the ADL orbit, especially from militant activists for the cause of convicted spy Jonathan Pollard, some of whom criticize Mr. Foxman for failing to act on Pollard's behalf.

More serious, though, was a call for his resignation made this week by New York Times columnist William Safire. Mr. Safire wrote that Mr. Foxman had been induced by a donation from Mr. Rich "to lobby President Bill Clinton for forgiveness and thereby bring glee to the hearts of anti-Semites." Mr. Foxman, he wrote, should resign "to demonstrate that ethical blindness has consequences."

Toward Tradition, a politically conservative Jewish group, on Wednesday gave Mr. Foxman its "Our Own Worst Enemy Award."

Sources close to the ADL say the protests' effect on Mr. Foxman would probably be minimal, and an ADL spokeswoman that he has no intention of stepping down.

Even so, board members acknowledged that Mr. Foxman had not consulted them before writing on behalf of Mr. Rich. He first discussed his role at a February ADL national commission meeting in Florida.

"There was some criticism expressed," said one commission member, New York attorney Seymour Reich. "He said it was probably a mistake, that he shouldn't

have sent it. But the net result was confidence in Abe and a feeling of 'let's move on.'"

Mr. Foxman's role in the Rich pardon offers a window as much into the modus operandi of Mr. Rich, a Belgian-born commodities trader who allegedly won Mr. Foxman's trust by telling him he hailed from the next shtetl over in Belarus, as it does on Mr. Foxman himself. It also illuminates the mindset of the pro-Pollard lobby, which long has protested the ADL's refusal to advocate for Pollard.

At the press conference, Mr. Foxman said that he had first proposed the pardon strategy to Mr. Rich's aides at a meeting in Paris in February 2000. This statement contradicted the Rich team's accounts of the pardon as a last-minute tactic adopted in November.

He also said that when he wrote his December 7 pardon letter he didn't know Mr. Rich had renounced his American citizenship. Nor did he know that the Justice Department had offered Mr. Rich the possibility of being released on bail without going to prison, despite being a fugitive, if he returned to the United States to visit his daughter before she died of cancer in 1996. "Had I known that, I wouldn't have written," he said.

Mr. Foxman said he was first introduced to Mr. Rich "15 or 16 years ago" by a European Jewish leader and "landsman" who hailed from Mr. Foxman's native region of Belarus. He said he thought that Mr. Rich "had been born in the same town, Lucowicz." "I was born in Baronowicz," he said.

At their first meeting, Mr. Rich said he thought that his prosecution had been motivated by anti-Semitism. Mr. Foxman said he told Mr. Rich that he didn't see any evidence of anti-Semitism.

Mr. Foxman said that backing the Roth pardon had been a mistake because it "wasn't directly on target with the ADL's mission."

Mr. Rich and Mr. Foxman struck up a friendship and dined together seven or eight times. "We speak Yiddish," Mr. Foxman said. "We talked about the world and about literature."

Mr. Foxman's spokeswoman, Myrna Shinbaum, said the ADL leader was "flabbergasted" to learn that Mr. Rich was actually born in Belgium and his father in Frankfurt. The family moved to America in the early 1940s. "Abe has always been under the impression that Rich was from Lucowicz," Ms. Shinbaum said. "He didn't ask for his birth certificate."

"I'm sure that Marc Rich is very astute at manipulating the system," said one Jewish leader speaking on condition of anonymity. "And while I think that Abe's very cautious, I think he just got taken in by Mr. Rich. I think they took advantage of his good nature."

Mr. Foxman said Mr. Rich began to donate to the ADL, but then stopped. In 1999 he was contacted by the director of Mr. Rich's Israeli foundation, Avner Azulay, who said he wanted to start contributing again. Shortly afterward he pledged \$100,000. The two met again in Paris in February 2000 and it was there that Mr. Foxman raised the pardon idea, he said, while "brainstorming" on Mr. Rich's legal troubles.

Speaking to reporters, Mr. Foxman rejected implications that Mr. Rich's donations, totaling \$250,000, had "bought" his support. "If I got nothing or \$10 million I would have made the same decision," adding that it was a decision "I now regret."

For some observers, more troubling than the money questions was, as Mr. Reich said, "that this whole effort was made on behalf of Rich and not Pollard. And money was the key for Rich."

Mr. Foxman said numerous board members had raised the Pollard issue with him. "Some people accused me of having sold out Pollard," he said.

The ADL has no formal position on Pollard, officially because it has found no evidence of anti-Semitism in the case. In 1993, however, Mr. Foxman wrote a personal letter to Mr. Clinton – not on ADL stationery – urging a pardon for Pollard.

In recent weeks, Mordechai Levy, the head of the Jewish Defense Organization, a tiny, right-wing group that has long blamed Mr. Foxman for Pollard's continued incarceration, has stepped up his campaign calling for Mr. Foxman's resignation. He said he had sent mailings to that effect, including symbolic bags of money, to several ADL national commission members.

Joel Sprayregan, a Chicago lawyer and honorary ADL national vice chairman, said he had received mail from Mr. Levy but found it "not credible. It was an undeserved smear."

Some observers said the onus for the scandal belonged not on Mr. Rich's advocates but on Mr. Clinton, who granted the pardon without going through official channels. "If I were asked to write a recommendation for a pardon, I'd assume that it would be vetted by the White House and the Department of Justice," said Kenneth Bialkin, an honorary chairman of the ADL and close friend of Mr. Foxman.

Still, Mr. Foxman said he wouldn't rule out asking Mr. Rich to use his connections to help the ADL fight anti-Semitism in future international hotspots, as he had done in Romania and other countries that he declined to name. "I'd ask who is there that could be helpful, and if there was no one but him, then yes, I'd go to him," Mr. Foxman said.

Asked if the ADL would accept money from Mr. Rich in the future, Mr. Foxman declined to comment. Indeed, even in explaining his apology he appeared to leave open the possibility that he stood by his original act. "I'm not 100% sure that it's so terrible as it's made out to be," Mr. Foxman said.

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Source: Arabia Online Ltd. | January 2001

ADL: Censoring the Internet on Behalf of Israel

The Internet showed that the pro-Israel Anti Defamation League, despite its resources and influence, is still vulnerable.

By Ramzy Baroud

SEATTLE – In a mid December conference in Jerusalem, computer experts, governmental officials, and academics gathered under the banner of , “Confronting On-Line Terrorism and Anti-Semitism.” Amongst the names of sponsors and co-sponsors, one organization stands as the most active by far in the field of censorship, mainly in the United States; the Anti Defamation League (ADL).

What compels dozens of professionals and activists to fly long distances from all corners of the globe to meet in a “disputed city”only miles away from a war zone? It’s the fear of losing a greater war, a war that has cost Israel an abundance, the Internet media war that is.

Perhaps since the establishment of the ADL in 1913 to “fight anti-Semitism and bigotry in the world”, the gigantic organization with hundreds of offices in the US, Europe and Israel has never felt as outnumbered as it feels today. The Internet revolution, among its many positive aspects has given a voice to those, who unlike the ADL, are unable to rely on a \$46 million budget to spread their message.

The ADL, has a powerful lobby which deeply impacts US domestic as well as foreign policy, and has come under repeated attacks over the years, and was heavily cited for failing to champion what its preaches. In fact, it is accused of being a promoter of hatred and bigotry itself.

In the 1970's, the group was caught distributing lists of persons deemed as enemies, according to SF Weekly in its February issue. Among those who were defamed for being “pro-Arab propagandists” was the highly renowned professor Noam Chomsky. In 1993, according to the same source, the ADL was caught illegally spying on nearly 10,000 people “including members of socialist, labor and anti-apartheid groups.”

But why would an organization whose “ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike, and to put an end forever to injustice and unfair discrimination against, and ridicule of any sect or body of citizens” carry out such suspicious tasks?

“The number one goal of the ADL is the protection of Israel,” a former Republican congressman from San Mateo Pete McCloskey told SF Weekly in a recent interview.

The organization however, who claims to fight for other issues beside its vibrant defense of Israel, has done very little in recent months to demonstrate those claims. The outbreak of the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation had caused the ADL to gear up for one fight, and one fight only, supporting Israel and censoring those who criticize the Jewish state for using excessive violence, for violating international law and for committing genocide in areas which are supposed to be protected under human rights laws.

The organization which often legitimizes its missions by fighting minor and highly despised groups in the US like white supremacists, has unmasked its real identify and has joined Israel’s propaganda war, employing all of its resources to justify the Israeli army’s ongoing genocide of unarmed civilians.

ADL’s Abraham Foxman

The ADL’s website is a perfect example of the organization’s full-fledged support of Israel. While the overwhelming majority of deaths, many of whom were children, were Palestinians, the ADL seemed only concerned with the Israeli army and settlers’ losses. “Anti-Israel violence” is a section that is updated daily. Nothing was said regarding the loss of life among Palestinians, nothing about the murder of children like Muhammad Al Durra, nothing to explain the illegal status of the Israeli settlers, and of course, nothing to site the international laws concerning the Arab Israeli conflict.

In fact, the United Nations was itself under attack. “The ADL says UN Human Rights Chief has accepted ‘hook, line and sinker’ Palestinian strategy, calls her report distorted and detrimental,” charged one of the site’s top reports. The US government was itself under attack. “The ADL says US criticism of Israel’s retaliatory action for an attack on school bus is counterproductive.” And of course, Arabs and Muslims were left with the largest share of attacks and threats; “the ADL says if Egypt doesn’t return its ambassador to Israel in a timely manner, America should reassess US aid to Egypt.”

But the Internet showed that the ADL, despite its resources and influence no matter how large and long armed, is still vulnerable. The rapidly growing Arab and Muslim presence on the Internet alarmed the ADL that its endless propaganda campaign may be doomed, if the

Internet is not censored, so that the ADL's voice is the only one heard. Hence, the introduction of the Hate Filter.

The ADL describes its Hate Filter as "a software product designed to act as a gatekeeper." Once more to legitimize its censorship efforts, the ADL succeeded in introducing its product as part of Mattel's Cyber Patrol, a software package set to block a large range of offensive web sites, including pornographic ones. Moreover, the organization is ceaselessly working to enforce its product on private and public libraries and educational institutions. President Clinton endorsed the software. In a statement made October of last year [2000] following a meeting with the ADL's national director, Abraham Foxman, Clinton said, "thank you for your pioneering work to filter out hate on the internet." The ADL's director of civil rights Elizabeth Coleman said in a seminar earlier this year that former Vice President Al Gore has also seen and has endorsed the product and in fact "loved it."

McCloskey on the other hand, protested the ADL's seemingly successful censorship attempts saying, "Any group whose sole purpose is to protect a foreign nation should not have anything to say about what's said or written here in America."

The Intifada, and the cyber war which was provoked by Israeli hacker attacks on pro-Palestinian web sites, was another reminder of the vulnerability of the ADL and other Israeli and pro-Israeli groups, when it comes to the World Wide Web. As a result, the recent Jerusalem conference was a badly needed chance for the re-making of a new media strategy that would withstand the upsurge of Arab and Muslim presence on the Internet.

The mounting worries of pro-Israeli groups were stressed in the speech delivered by the director of the ADL's Israel office, David Rosen. Rosen warned of what he called Islamic propaganda, which he described as one upholding Christian Anti-Semitic themes. "The lone wolf of the past is no longer such and can link up to become a pack," he said.

Source: The Jewish Telegraphic Agency | February 21st 2001

ADL Urges Bush to Blacklist Nation of Islam from Faith Plan

By Sharon Samber

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (JTA) – As religious groups prepare for the expanded role they will soon be able to play in providing social services, the Anti-Defamation League is trying to make sure that one group will not take part.

The ADL recently met with John Dilulio Jr., director of President Bush's White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives – which opened Tuesday – and urged that the Nation of Islam be excluded from the program.

Dilulio "showed great understanding and sensitivity," said Jess Hordes, director of the ADL's government and national affairs office. Representatives of the faith-based office could not be reached for comment. Bush's plan to provide government funding to faith-based organizations – to run programs such as homeless shelters or drug abuse programs – is raising questions about how to define "religious groups" eligible for federal money.

Stephen Goldsmith, an adviser to Bush on faith-based initiatives, said earlier this month on CBS' "Face the Nation" that religious groups would be evaluated just like other groups, and grants would be awarded based on their performance.

An organization that preaches hate or violence won't qualify, Goldsmith said.

Asked who determines whether a group preaches hate, Goldsmith admitted, "These are not easy questions."

The ADL has registered several complaints to Bush's faith-based plan, saying that ways must be found to ensure that there is no religious discrimination in hiring and that secular alternatives are available to religious programs. The ADL's counsel, Michael Lieberman, who attended the meeting with Dilulio, said the government should not be in the business of deciding who is a hate group and who is not, and therefore the phrasing of legislation to implement the initiative will be crucial.

The ADL plans to work with members of Congress to craft legislation establishing safeguards that protect the integrity of religious organizations and ensure that beneficiaries of social services are not subjected to proselytizing. In a letter to Bush last month, the ADL said one of the safeguards should be “ensuring that extremist, terrorist or hatemongering groups are not able to receive government money.”

Bush ignited a furor last year when he said that the Nation of Islam is based on universal principles, and therefore should be allowed to compete for government funding

He later retracted his statement, saying he confused the Nation of Islam with the larger Muslim faith.

In a letter to the ADL last March, Bush explained his confusion and said he was familiar with Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam’s leader, and his “history of hateful and anti-Semitic comments.”

“I do not believe that any government funding should go to organizations like the Nation of Islam that spread hatred,” Bush said in his letter.

The Nation of Islam could not be reached for comment. Farrakhan long has been criticized for his inflammatory rhetoric, which includes calling Judaism a “gutter religion” and praising Hitler as a great man. He also has referred to Jewish businessmen in black communities as “bloodsuckers.”??

The ADL and other Jewish organizations periodically issue reports on racist and anti-Semitic statements from Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. The ADL has tracked Farrakhan since 1984, when he made anti-Semitic and racist remarks while working on Jesse Jackson’s presidential campaign.

The Nation of Islam was on the ADL’s radar screen even decades before that because of the group’s anti-Semitic views and hate-filled teachings, according to Gail Gans, director of the ADL’s Civil Rights Information Center.

Under Farrakhan’s leadership, however, the group’s membership and bigotry has grown, Gans said.

Source: Reuters, February 26, 2001

David Duke Exploiting Anti-Semitism in Russia –ADL

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) – White supremacist David Duke has launched a campaign to exploit anti-Semitism in Russia, a nation he considers ripe to accept his racist theories, a Jewish organization said on Monday.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) said in a report on anti-Semitism in present-day Russia that Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi leader, considered the country key to “white survival.” “There is an underbelly of anti-Semitism in Russia which David Duke is hoping to add to and exploit,” said Abraham Foxman, ADL national director.

“Anti-Semitism, with deep roots in Russia is being stirred up by nationalist leaders and extremists,” he said. “David Duke has detected an opportunity to spread his hatred of Jews and other minority groups to like-minded bigots.”

Duke was in Russia on Monday and unavailable for comment, his personal assistant, Roy Armstrong, said. But Armstrong described the ADL report as “bulls—” and “pure defamation” and said Duke was in Russia to expose the activities of “Zionist Jewish figures involved in Mafia activities, organized crime and prostitution.”

An article on his web site, (<http://www.davidduke.com>), is headlined: “Is Russia the Key to White Survival?” and calls the former Soviet Union a “white nation” that is threatened by the “overwhelmingly Jewish” Russian Mafia.

The ADL said in its report that Duke has made several visits to Russia to meet with nationalist leaders and promote a Russian translation of a Duke book titled called “The Jewish Question Through the Eyes of an American.”

The ADL said that while Duke was notorious as a white supremacist in the United States, he has introduced himself to an unsuspecting Russia as a respected author and politician. It said Duke has met with well-known anti-Semitic leaders in Russia and expressed a desire to move there and work with extremists.

The ADL said 18 major attacks on Jews and Jewish property were reported in Russia in 2000 and that likely many more went unreported. The group said that Russian ultra-nationalists were working to increase their presence.

March 26, 2001

Working Its Will

By WILLIAM SAFIRE

WASHINGTON - The story is told of the corrupt Albany judge who called opposing trial lawyers into his chambers.

"You offered me a \$5,000 campaign contribution to throw this case to the plaintiff," said the fair-minded judge, "and defendant's lawyer here just offered me \$10,000 to find for his client. Now how about plaintiff giving me \$5,000 more, evening things up - and we try the case on the merits?"

Whether the bidding war that is now American politics will continue in this fashion is to be decided in the Senate this week. Every senator knows the subject cold and need not rely on staff expertise or party discipline for guidance. Rarely do voters see such a revealing free-for-all.

Money talks, but money is not speech. That, in essence, is the offense and defense of campaign finance reformers.

That heavy political contributions influence officeholders is beyond dispute. Money for "access" rarely qualifies as prosecutable bribery, but the biggest givers are usually the biggest receivers. The pros know that a quo has a way of following a quid and the public is not stupid.

The purchase of a pardon by Marc Rich haunts the Senate this week. The stain spreads; now we learn that the fugitive billionaire, with \$250,000 to the Anti-Defamation League, induced its national director to lobby President Bill Clinton for forgiveness and thereby bring glee to the hearts of anti-Semites. (Abe Foxman should resign to demonstrate that ethical blindness has consequences.)

But the hurdle that Senators John McCain and Russell Feingold must jump is this: does the restriction of money in campaigns deny anyone freedom of speech?

Of course it does. But we abridge free speech all the time, in protecting copyright, in ensuring defendants' rights to fair trials, in guarding privacy, in forbidding malicious defamation and incitement to riot. Because no single one of our rights is absolute, we restrain one when it treads too heavily on another.

That's why our courts have held repeatedly in the past century that the Constitution permits restrictions on political contributions. Just as antitrust laws encouraged competition in business, anti-contribution laws have enhanced competition in politics. Freedom of speech is diminished when one voice who can afford to buy the time and space is allowed to drown out the other side.

Washington opponents of campaign finance reform offer less lofty arguments, too.

1. "Holding down the number of paid political spots will increase the power of the media at the expense of the political parties." And what do my ideological soulmates find so terrible about that? The wheezing liberal voices of the Bosnywash corridor are as often as not clobbered by the intellectual firepower of conservative columnists, Wall Street Journal editorialists and good-looking talking heads. Wake up and smell the right-wing cappuccino, fellas.
2. "If we close the soft-money loophole, money will soon find another way to reach politicians." Fine; that will provide a campaign platform for the next generation's great white hat. The tree of liberty must constantly be refreshed by the figurative blood of tyrannous fund-raisers, as Jefferson almost said.
3. "If this goo-goo abomination passes with all its amendments, and any one item is struck down by the courts, then the whole thing must go up in smoke." Do Republicans really want to hold that unseverability gun to the head of the Rehnquist court? Why, if you're so hot for freedom of speech, tempt the high court to weaken the First Amendment by letting a questionable part of an all-or-nothing law through?

Tomorrow the senators seeking to keep in place the Clinton-McAuliffe fund-raising abuses that so polluted the 90's will offer the Hagel substitute for the McCain-Feingold bill. It's sabotage, plain and simple, "limiting" soft-money gifts to a half-million dollars per fat-cat family per election cycle.

Senators, fresh from offending billionaire candidates and from thumbing the eye of the powerful broadcasters' lobby, should cherry-pick a few items from the Hagel substitute, up the hard-money limit to \$2,500 and take their chances on a sore-loser filibuster by voting down the all-or- nothing trick.

If that's the will the Senate works, I think President Bush would tut-tut and sign McCain-Feingold. That's because I'm an optimist and believe in the two-party system.

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Wednesday, 28 March 2001 18:54 (ET)

Rabbi Calls ADL Leader Jews' 'Worst Enemy'

By LOU MARANO

WASHINGTON, Mar. 28 (UPI) — Calling secular Judaism's preoccupation with victimhood "liberalism with a circumcision," an Orthodox rabbi has given the "Our Own Worst Enemy Award" to the head of the Anti-Defamation League.

An ADL official has dismissed the characterization.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin is president of Toward Tradition, a group based in Mercer Island, Wa., that describes itself as "a coalition of Jews and Christians dedicated to fighting secular institutions that foster anti-Semitism, harm families, and jeopardize the future of America." The group bestowed the "award" upon ADL National Director Abraham Foxman on Wednesday.

"The award is given to a Jewish American who exemplifies those cultural forces that most endanger Jewish continuity, substituting unhealthy values for Judaism itself," Toward Tradition said. "Children thus grow up to dismiss Jewish identity as, for example, merely with an obsession with death and persecution, or as liberalism with a circumcision."

"I think Abe Foxman means well," Lapin said. "But he's deluded by liberalism, a worldview preoccupied by victimhood."

The rabbi called attention to Foxman's letter that appeared in the March 23 editions of the New York Times. In it, the ADL leader compared the newspaper ads by conservative activist David Horowitz — who opposes monetary reparations to American blacks for being the descendants of slaves — with Holocaust deniers.

"Put that together with Foxman's statement last week about the 'big eruption' of anti-Semitism in New York, and so on, and you get the picture of a guy who's not in close touch with reality," Lapin said.

The rabbi was referring to a March 21 New York Times story in which Foxman was quoted as saying: "Anti-Semitism is a disease, and we have seen a big eruption of that disease in New York." **Foxman based his remark on an ADL survey that says anti-Semitic incidents rose by about 49 percent in New York City last year.**

David Klinghofer, Toward Tradition's editorial director, questions the survey's validity. Many of the incidents recorded are not crimes, he said, but rather "anything anybody perceived as anti-Semitic." The ADL "gets paid (by contributors) according to how much anti-Semitism it finds," Klinghofer told United Press International Wednesday.

Toward Tradition said that Foxman's "tireless efforts" to convince American Jews that they are beset by "a phantom anti-Semitism," when their own experience suggests otherwise, "have helped to confirm many in the belief that being a Jew has to do mainly with being oppressed and hated."

The American Jewish Committee's annual study for 1999 reported that anti-Semitism is the main concern of 62 percent of American Jews, up 5 points from 1998. This belief pertains "notwithstanding the strength of democratic institutions and legal protections in the United States," AJC President Bruce M. Ramer said at the time.

The study, which was summarized in a June 9, 1999, story in the Washington Times, also revealed that American Jews give a low priority to religious observance and believe **recalling the Holocaust is the key to being a Jew.**

In its story, the Times quoted Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, humanities professor at New York University, who believes Jews are "absolutely free and equal" in America.

"I deplore the survey results," Hertzberg said. "When you say: 'Remember, we have enemies,' it simply feeds a neurosis. I maintain that Jewish life is not fear, but affirmation."

Toward Tradition's National Director Yarden Weidenfeld also said that traditional Judaism, as taught by Lapin, celebrates life. **Foxman's approach constitutes the real threat to American Jewry, Weidenfeld told UPI in a Wednesday phone interview, because young American Jews who associate their religion with death and misery are more likely to marry Gentile partners. The real danger is assimilation, Weidenfeld said.**

ADL Assistant National Director Ken Jacobson dismissed Toward Tradition and its positions. "At some level, I might not want to dignify the comments," he said in a phone interview on Wednesday.

"I don't really think that Rabbi Lapin and his organization represent anything significant in the Jewish community."

But Jacobson quickly overcame his reluctance. He denied that Foxman's letter likened Horowitz to Holocaust-deniers because Foxman did not assert that Horowitz denied the existence of slavery.

"We were concerned about the denigration of blacks and the slave experience that was implicit in the Horowitz message" opposing reparations, Jacobson told UPI. "It's only like ... the Holocaust denial theme in the sense that, in both issues, there are things that were offensive, and a newspaper isn't obligated under the First Amendment to print every ad."

Jacobson was referring to student editors of campus newspapers. Of course, the First Amendment constrains only government, not newspapers or advertisers. In response, Weidenfeld said the students' ignorance of the Constitution "is their problem" and has nothing to do with Holocaust denial.

Toward Tradition said **it picked Foxman "from among other representatives of the Anti-Semitism Industry"** because of his role in former president Clinton's pardon of fugitive tax evader Marc Rich.

Citing Friday's Newsweek report, the group said: "**After the ADL received a \$100,000 check from the Rich Foundation, Foxman wrote to Bill Clinton urging the pardon.**" In doing so, Foxman "joined other leading Jewish liberals who had benefited from the billionaire's largesse. The ensuing scandal was a comfort to true anti-Semites who say that Jews buy and sell justice," Toward Tradition said.

On Saturday, the New York Times reported that Foxman said the previous day that he was wrong to have lobbied for Rich.

Source: The New York Times | March 29, 2001

The A.D.L. and Rich

Essay By WILLIAM SAFIRE

WASHINGTON. "You never made a mistake in your life?" an angry Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti- Defamation League, shouted over the phone. "What about when you worked for that anti-Semite Nixon?"

This good man, with a record of 36 years fighting for civil rights and against bigotry, was understandably distressed at a judgment parenthetically expressed in my previous column about the need to control the influence of money in politics.

It had just been revealed that **Foxman – whose organization had received \$250,000 over the years from Marc Rich – had not only written to President Bill Clinton urging forgiveness for the fugitive billionaire but was present at the creation of the pardon plot.**

Thirteen months ago, according to Foxman, he met in Paris with a former Mossad agent now on the Rich Foundation payroll who had the month before pledged \$100,000 to A.D.L. Foxman came up with the idea of asking Denise Rich, the divorced wife of the man on the lam for 17 years, to intercede with Clinton for a pardon.

He knew her only from "reading the columns," Foxman told reporters last weekend. However, he sat across the aisle from Mrs. Rich on Air Force Two when Clinton invited both of them to accompany the presidential party to Yitzhak Rabin's funeral. It was logical for him to presume that Rich's former wife was on the government plane because she had some connection to the president.

That bright idea of Foxman's led to e-mail from Rich's top man in Israel to Rich lawyers in the U.S. Ultimately, a former Clinton White House counsel, Jack Quinn, used Denise Rich to circumvent expected Justice Department resistance to pardoning a defiant fugitive accused of the biggest tax rip-off in U.S. history.

Let me stipulate here that it is no sin to recommend mercy or point out good deeds done by unpopular targets of prosecutors. I regularly signed parole petitions for Nixon colleagues jailed after Watergate. And when prosecutor Charles Hynes led a New York Bar Association campaign to disbar a near-comatose Roy M. Cohn just before he died of AIDS, I denounced the vengeful lawyers as a pack of ghouls. I don't knock loyalty.

But at issue here is the ease with which an unpatriotic wheeler-dealer can manipulate fine organizations and hungry politicians here and abroad into expunging all unanswered charges from his record.

Would we have known about the A.D.L. advice to Rich and intercession on his behalf if Congress had not begun an investigation? Unlikely; though he reported fully to some 40 members of the A.D.L. national executive committee on Feb. 3, for six weeks after the pardon firestorm Foxman said nothing publicly.

Not until March 9, when the Burton committee contacted him, did A.D.L. release its official letter to Clinton whining about "Marc Rich's suffering." Only after cooperating with House investigators did Foxman admit publicly that it was his suggestion in Paris that led to the well-heeled Denise's exploitation of her access to "Number One."

In a March 19 letter to national commission members, he explained that his pardon request was partly "predicated on the fifteen years I knew of Marc Rich's generous philanthropy and good deeds," but lately "I began to question whether a person's good deeds should overshadow other aspects of his behavior. In hindsight this case probably should not have had my involvement as it was not directly in ADL's clear-cut mission. . . ."

That mission is to fight bigotry. The last time Foxman muddled it was to write Clinton asking for Jonathan Pollard's release; commission members privately slapped him down because that prosecution had nothing to do with anti-Semitism, either.

The time is ripe for the A.D.L. – and other do-good and advocacy groups, too – to take a hard look at the ulterior motives of their money sources. It's time to set out written

policies to resist manipulation by rich sleazebags and to reprimand or fire staff members who do not get with the ethical program.

Abe dropped by my office a few minutes ago to take back that unfair telephone crack and answer questions about who sucked him into this mess, which takes some zip out of my conclusion. We wished each other a happy Passover.

Source: Associated Press | April 4, 2001

Anti-Defamation League Case Upheld

DENVER (AP National) — A federal judge upheld a jury's findings that the Anti-Defamation League defamed a couple by publicly accusing them of being anti-Semitic, but reduced punitive damages against the organization.

U.S. District Court Judge Edward Nottingham said Tuesday that evidence was sufficient to support the jury's conclusion that the ADL "acted recklessly in its efforts to publicize what it perceived to be anti-Semitic conduct."

In April 2000, a jury awarded William and Dorothy Quigley \$10.5 million in damages, saying the organization had gone too far in accusing the couple of anti-Semitism stemming from a dispute with their Jewish neighbors.

Nottingham reduced the amount the ADL must pay the Quigleys to \$9.75 million. But Dorothy Quigley will receive interest that Nottingham estimated could add \$545,000 to the total payment.

A statement from Long & Jaudon, the law firm representing the ADL's Mountain States chapter, promised an appeal, citing "reversible errors made during both pretrial and trial proceedings."

The Quigleys and Mitchell and Candace Aronson had been neighbors and friends in the upscale mountain community of Evergreen, 15 miles west of Denver. The Aronsos' large dog allegedly attacked the Quigleys' smaller dog, and a feud followed.

The Aronsos claimed the Quigleys made anti-Semitic remarks in telephone conversations on their cordless phone. The Aronsos overheard and taped the conversations, violating federal anti-wiretap laws.

At a news conference in support of the Aronsos, ADL leaders claimed the Quigleys were anti-Semites.

Nottingham reduced the jury award because the Quigleys had already received compensation from another lawsuit involving the wiretaps.

Source: The Massachusetts News | June 2001

'Jewish' Group Touts Homosexuality in Hingham Schools

A religious group is working in Hingham schools and across the state with selectmen, police, legislators and others to promote an outdated, discredited view about the gay gene. Anyone who disagrees with their antiquated theories is called a "hater."

It is reminiscent of the Lexington schools working with the Unitarian Church last year. Hundreds of parents protested at that time and that superintendent was fired this year without explanation, a few months after the protests.

The religious organization that is operating in Hingham is a "Jewish" organization known as the Anti-Defamation League.

It has a program called, "No Place for Hate." The only problem with their program is in deciding who is going to define the word "hate." It's a wonderful concept. But almost no one thinks beyond the catchy title.

On their website under "No Place for Hate," they list "sexual orientation" as one of the protected classes for whom they are working.

Many Jews disagree with this group of liberals. But any person who dares to dissent with their belief in the "gay gene," quickly becomes a "hater."

How can this religious group be working in our schools? Are other religious organizations also invited?

Rabbi Daniel Lapin of Toward Tradition says that the head of the ADL, Abe Foxman, is the Jews' "Own Worst Enemy." He told UPI that Foxman's "tireless efforts" to convince American Jews that they are beset by "a phantom of anti-Semitism," when their own experience suggests otherwise, "have helped to confirm many in the belief that being a Jew has to do mainly with being oppressed and hated."

He points out that the ADL “gets paid [by contributors] according to how much anti-Semitism it finds.” It’s also obvious that if ADL can add homosexuals to the list of people they “protect,” they can get even more money flowing in for Mr. Foxman.

The Jewish columnist for the New York Times, William Safire, called for Foxman’s resignation after it was disclosed that he had lobbied Bill Clinton for the pardon of Marc Rich who donated lavishly to the group.

Although everyone agrees with Foxman that we must end anti-Semitism, most are not convinced – if they stop to think about it – that homosexuality is in the same category and should be bundled with anti-Semitism.

A story in the Hingham Journal about the ADL program had the headline, “Teenagers take message of tolerance to community.” The story talked about “advocating harmony and goodwill.” No one could or will argue with that message.

A student and a teacher spoke to 350 school administrators, guidance counselors and district attorneys at a meeting of the state’s Attorney General. They talked “about Hingham’s ADL program” according to the Journal. The teacher told the paper, “Caitlin [Marshall] was the only student in the whole place.” He added, “This was a big step for Hingham, because the town was referred to as a model community.”

The paper said that Caitlin stresses the importance of extending the “ADL philosophy” beyond the school and into the community.

The students have addressed many other groups, including a convention of police officers in New Hampshire and a meeting of over 300 people in their own town and a group of more than 30 students met with their state legislator, Rep. Garrett Bradley.

Everyone will agree that political/religious proselytizing should not be permitted in our public schools. Why is this an exception?

Source: EWTN News Brief | 20-Jun-2001

Jewish Anti-Defamation League to Monitor Pro-Life Web Sites

NEW YORK, Jun 20, 01 (CWNews.com/LSN.ca) – The US Jewish Anti-Defamation League (ADL) launched into a left-wing activist project on Monday when it announced a web site to monitor “extremist” and “hate” groups, a category in which they include pro-life groups. The site would serve as a database for law enforcement officials.

While the group claims it is only seeking to identify “anti-abortion groups that advocate violence,” the group’s pro-abortion advocacy and attempts to associate the shooting of abortionists with peaceful pro-life groups such as Human Life International contradicts their reassurances. An ADL press release from October 30, 1998 identified Human Life International among “anti-abortion extremists” and derided any pro-life group comparing the slaughter of the unborn to the Nazi Holocaust.

The ADL often even attacks conservative Jews such as Dr. Laura Schlessinger for their conservative views. In fact, Carl Pearlston, a member of the ADL for 25 years wrote recently in the Jewish World Review that he was booted off the ADL’s Executive Committee and Regional Board for not towing the ADL’s leftist agenda. Pearlston laments that the ADL was “turning Judaism on its head.” He said that for the ADL “fighting ‘hate’ became a euphemism for an attack on sexual morality, the traditional family, and the Jewish view that children deserve a loving father and mother, not two fathers or two mothers.”

The ADL’s aggressive pro-abortion stand was confirmed when in a June 28, 2000 press release they cheered the Supreme Court decision barring a partial-birth abortion ban in Nebraska and admitted that the ADL had “filed an amicus curiae or ‘friend of the court’ brief which said the Nebraska law unconstitutionally interfered in matters of individual choice.”

Source: Canadian Jewish News | July 19, 2001

Polish Magazine Under Fire for Wartime Memoir

By Paul Lungen

TORONTO - The editor of a Polish magazine will meet this month with representatives of Canadian Jewish Congress to discuss an article that Congress believes repeats anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews.

The article, which appeared in the February edition of Miedzy Nami magazine, is presented as part of the memoirs of author Chris Gladun's late mother, Janina Sulkowska-Gladun.

The memoir repeatedly refers to Jews in a way that "tars the entire Jewish community," said Len Rudner, Congress' director of community relations.

In a letter to Jolanta Bugajski, editor and publisher of Miedzy Nami, Rudner points out the article, which reflects Sulkowska-Gladun's memories of the Soviet occupation of Poland from 1939-41, describes members of the local Communist party as **almost exclusively Jewish**.

The memoir repeatedly refers to Jews as supporters of the Communist regime and it alleges the NKVD (the Soviet secret police), aided by Jews, decided the fate of its victims. It also states innocent people were in fear of arrest because of a Jewish militia.

"Your readers are presented with a litany of horrors either perpetrated by Jews, 'a young Jew,' 'two local Jews,' 'a young Jewish female doctor,' 'Jewish assistants,' 'armed and bullying Jews,' 'teenaged Jewish thugs,' 'a local Jewish militiaman' and 'a rather dim-witted Jewish girl.'...On only two occasions does Mr. Gladun provide us with the actual names of these supposed Jewish perpetrators. For the rest, he is content to let

the words ‘the Jews’, without proof, stand as condemnation of an entire community,” Rudner’s letter states. Bugajski said she was not troubled by the references to Jews in the memoir, although she said “it’s not my point of view or that of anybody else working for us.

“You have to show readers what other people think. It doesn’t matter if you agree with it or not. You have to let her (the author) express views the way she sees things. It’s her memoir. It’s her words, not my words,” Bugajski said.

“I certainly stand by what my mother wrote and her experiences,” Gladun said. “I take umbrage at any accusations [the article] is anti-Semitic.”

Gladun, a writer, researcher and poet, said the memoir is “just a representation of what was happening in Eastern Poland. It’s not a reflection on all Jews...Certainly a sizable minority of Jews did collaborate with Soviets in imposing Soviet power in Eastern Poland.”

Gladun, a past member of the Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, said a community can’t be judged by the actions of a few individuals. Referring to the current controversy over the Polish village of Jedwabne, in which a recent book revealed that Jews were massacred by Polish villagers early in the Holocaust, he said that just as all Poles were not responsible for the murder of Jews, not all Jews were like those who collaborated with the Communists.

Rudner said the cumulative effect of the repeated references to Jews “is to present Jews in a highly unflattering and extremely negative way. It would be difficult for a reader to go through this portion of the memoirs and not conclude all Jews are like this.”

Rudner said Congress will ask Bugajski to run a letter in the magazine expressing the concerns of the Jewish community.

“If [Bugajski] fails to understand the damage this kind of unsubstantiated claims make to the Jewish community, we will have to see what legal remedies are available to us,” he added.

Miedzy Nami is a mostly Polish-language publication with 10,000 copies printed monthly.

Source: FrontPageMagazine.com | August 2001

Abe Foxman: Disgrace to My Religion

By Monty Warner

AS AN EARLY TEEN, I was playing in a YMCA basketball league in Sumter, South Carolina, a leafy, sleepy southern town of about 35,000 where I was born and raised. Being of Jewish descent, I had to play for a Methodist team because the Jewish population in the county – indeed, in the state, at that time – was limited enough to preclude its own league. The YMCA was agreeable to this, and a few other Jewish kids from surrounding areas played as well.

After one of the games, I remember standing by the scoreboard. Ahead of me was one of the Jewish parents, shouting at one of the coaches. The woman wasn't demanding more playing time for her son, nor was she a diehard seeking an explanation for why we were so bad that year. The woman, in full view of and to the distraction and discomfort of many, was demanding an apology from the coach for hurting her son's feelings. The coach's sin? Taking her boy out of the game for poor play and making him cry. I thought the whole episode somewhat amusing until two well-respected men in the community passed by, and I overheard one of them say to the other: "That is exactly why our kind has trouble with their kind." Upon hearing this, I didn't find myself offended; at thirteen years old, I found myself agreeing with them.

Today we have our very own national Jewish basketball mom. Just as shrill, just as petulant, just as obnoxious, and useless to boot. Our advocate, armed with a \$50 million annual budget to ensure the meanies never get us, is Abraham Foxman. Foxman heads the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a once proud, worthy and worthwhile protector of Jews and their faith. Under Foxman's brand of leadership, the ADL has devolved into an opportunistic, intolerant, grief-grubbing stench – a "rights" group for any and all who wish to feel offended – one which, in bottomless efforts to remain PC-safe, unconditionally aligns itself with groups like the Black Caucus and NAACP, both of which strongly support the pending anti-Semitic U.N. Conference on Racism. Think about that. You hate me, so by all means I support you. Why? Because I'm pathetic.

This past June, Carl Pearlston, a Board Member of the ADL and longtime loyalist to its early causes, resigned from the organization after 25 years of service. Pearlston began to receive increasingly hostile responses from other Board Members for his more conservative views, and was informed by Foxman that "he would have to realize that over 95% of those involved in the ADL were liberal and would be unsympathetic to his views." Notwithstanding the adage that for every five Jews in the room there are 10 opinions on everything, the notion that 95 percent (or even 55 percent) of all Jews

support bilingual education, gun control, feminism, affirmative action, abortion and the homosexual agenda across the board is not only unfathomable, but further evidence that Foxman has absolutely no legitimate claim to representing the interests of the Jewish masses.

For years now, despite numerous unflattering (and under-the-radar) news stories about his complicity in various scandals too numerous and squalid to confine to this space, Abraham Foxman has held himself and been held forth by others as one of the chief national political voices of Jewish people. His misuse of and/or recklessness with ADL funds (see Henry Lyons), his whorish behavior in the Marc Rich pardon, and his general odor in defending such cosmopolitan thuggery; to say nothing of self-righteous condemnations of what he arbitrarily decides to be someone else's "intolerance," is brought to the public's attention almost weekly. Last year, during the presidential election, Foxman, using extreme examples, pulled incendiary comments off the Web to imply that anyone that didn't want Joe Lieberman on the national ticket was probably anti-Semitic. Well, in some cases that's entirely possible. It's also possible that they simply thought Joe Lieberman was a putz. Or more significantly, they just might not have agreed with him on the issues. But the substance of disagreement is not important to Mr. Foxman. Regrettably, whatever legitimacy may have accompanied such charges has been diluted by the frequency with which Foxman lodges them, largely in an effort to secure more media attention to raise more money to continue the never-ending battle to tell everyone else how not to offend Abraham Foxman. To his credit, it's a pretty good gig.

In April, Foxman was quoted in the New York Times assaulting David Horowitz's campus ad campaign as "just another means of fomenting racism and hate." The quip was so lacking in resonance it was almost as if he was walking out to lunch and asked what to do about the Horowitz situation, and in reply he said "put something together, use some of the old text, and throw in uh....racism and hate." Instead of joining Horowitz in showing the guts to condemn the racist, anti-American black Left, Foxman threw his own to the wolves for a short-term political pop. Foxman: the man, the myth – the self-loathing maggot.

And so it is that, as an observer of all these "anti-hate, don't hurt my feelings" campaigns, a logical, rational Jew can't help but logically ask himself: "Exactly what is it that this man has ever actually accomplished?" Surely he can take credit for the fact that there might be one less KKK group in the world (which would bring the grand total to four), or the fact that more Jews are now allowed in certain country clubs (lawsuits have a way of greasing such processes)... but concretely, what is it that Abraham Foxman has done besides bend the ADL over for the Leftist agenda of the Democratic Party, and give much of America an image of most Jews as whiny, petulant, hate-thought shylocks? Sure, he sticks his nose in just about everything that gets him headlines (i.e. the future and futile U.N. Conference on Racism), but the real answer is pretty simple: not much.

To be sure, I am very proud of my heritage. I believe Jewish people are some of the most brilliant and determined people on the planet. From Walter Annenberg to Max Fisher to much of the work of Steven Spielberg, Jews have consistently risen from humble, even punishing beginnings to not only enjoy great power and success, but pave the way for others of all stripes to enjoy the same. And yet somewhere along the way – in oft-embarrassing displays of uninformed hyperemotion a la Foxman – many children and grandchildren of those who suffered so horribly in the Holocaust have awarded themselves the right to gripe about this country as if it were not the one that gave their ancestors their liberty. As if they themselves were in the Holocaust. As if we are all just one conservative Attorney General or High Court appointment away from being stripped of our “rights,” which have basically expanded to include what any sniveling Manhattan/LA liberal feels like doing at any given moment. The ignorance of how embarrassing, foolish and distasteful this is to the rest of the country is glaringly front and center, and a textbook example of how some Jews contribute heartily to their own alienation. This in turn allows hucksters such as Abraham Foxman to emerge – the kid nobody liked but who is determined to make others like you – and raise millions to salve the wounds of the very people he helps afflict with a crippling sense of victimhood.

Self-aggrandizing hustles such as this have in recent years become an indisputable national pastime. Angst-ridden souls with massive inferiority complexes now frequently cloak themselves in the mantras of groups such as “The National Organization for Women,” and then use the broad title to imply that they in fact represent everyone who might fall into such categories. This is a cynical, manipulative, outright lie, and in this regard there are few bigger demagogues than Abraham Foxman. **Under his leadership, the mission statement of the ADL, the organization created solely to safeguard Jewish interests, now reads: “dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time.” One translation would be aligning itself with Americans like the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, which in its school workshops has taken the liberty of edifying our teens on the finer points of “fisting.” Another translation is more simple: Whatever raises us money to continue projecting our misery onto you.**

It is an old axiom in politics that the longer an assertion goes unchallenged, the quicker it becomes an article of faith. This axiom has lent significant legitimacy to people like Jesse Jackson and Abraham Foxman. No one questions them. No one looks at the sinister, highly unproductive leadership they have attempted to peddle to millions and stops for a moment to say: “Who anointed this person?

What makes Abraham Foxman the ultimate arbiter of who is anti-Semitic and who isn’t? Is there a school for this? Why do I have to listen to him or Jesse Jackson as an authority on anything?” Of course, anyone who tenders such a challenge would immediately be branded a racist (or, in my case, a self-hating Jew) for not lining up to pull the collective pimp wagon, but at this point even that

seems worthwhile. It is worthwhile because these men are not leaders. These men are liars – the corrupt, failed and demagogic sort – who have proven repeatedly that they will, to the clear detriment of their own people, pursue or create any cause that generates them media or money.

To wit, one of Abe Foxman's recent public forays on behalf of Jews was to loudly condemn the naming of the Hurricane Israel as discriminatory against Jews. If this is what has the Jewish community atwitter, then surely a lot of people have missed something. Moreover, that Mr. Foxman could even consider this to be a matter worth ten seconds of his life indicates that perhaps it's time for him to begin to come to terms with the fact that he hasn't accomplished much in it. In a Washington Post op-ed recently, Mr. Foxman almost gleefully talked up the pending U.N. Conference on Racism (which President Bush has wisely pulled the U.S. out of) as an excellent antidote to combat racism around the world. What he failed to foresee (or acknowledge in his zeal to support the Mutual Admiration Society event) was the potential for the U.S. to withdraw from the event, a move largely predicated on the insistence of Palestinians that language condemning Jews in very harsh tones be adopted for the Conference. Again, this is the leader of my people? I don't think so. This is a snot-nosed man-child who represents everything neither I nor many other Jews want anything to do with. Leaders provide leadership, not handkerchiefs and crutches.

Monty Warner is Senior Director for the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. Readers may e-mail him at montywarner@yahoo.com.

Source: U.S. Newswire | October 22, 2001

The Corruption of America's Children by the ADL

NEW YORK — At this time of national tragedy, children want answers as much as adults do. With that in mind, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Sesame Workshop, creators of the acclaimed series Sesame Street, announce a new and unique anti-bias education project for parents and educators of preschool-age children, The Miller Early Childhood Initiative of A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE(r) Institute.

"While there is no vaccine against hate, we know the only antidote is education, and this project is a great way to begin the fight," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "We cannot think of a better way to relate to children than through the characters of Sesame Street, one of the most beloved and documented resources for teaching children how to accept others."

"A child responds far better to lessons about tolerance and diversity from someone speaking in their voice who is recognizable to them from the start," said Gary E. Knell, President & CEO, Sesame Workshop. "Today's generation of parents, who grew up on Sesame Street themselves, are now watching the show with their own children, who are learning the same lessons."

Two kickoffs launched the program, one on October 18th at the Carole Robertson Center for Learning in Chicago, and one on October 22nd at the Bright Horizons Family Solutions Center in Manhattan.

A Unique COLLABORATION

Seeing a need for a comprehensive anti-bias training program for early childhood educators, ADL and Sesame Workshop teamed up to collaborate on The Miller Early Childhood Initiative of A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE(r) Institute. The goal of the Initiative is to assist educators, families and caregivers in creating and sustaining bias-free early childhood programs and homes that encourage children to appreciate diversity at an age when the seeds of prejudice can begin to take root. To achieve this, ADL's trained facilitators will deliver workshops to early childhood educators, families and caregivers while supporting them with three print resources to use in their programs and homes. Research and experience have shown that by preschool age, many children have begun to acquire negative feelings about themselves as well as others. This program will help to address these

feelings so children can develop a healthy appreciation of themselves, along with an appreciation of people who are physically and culturally different.

Materials and Resources

All of the resources of The Miller Early Childhood Initiative feature characters created by Sesame Workshop, including Elmo, Cookie Monster, Bert and Ernie and Big Bird. In addition to a poster that supports the discussions and goals that the program highlights, three bias-free foundations workbooks provide further resources to challenge stereotypes and show how diverse people solve a conflict together.

The Early Childhood Activities for Families offers guidance for parents on how to talk to your child, expose your child to diversity, choose toys and books that reflect the world around your child and how to be aware of your own biases when choosing the language you use in front of your children.

The Early Childhood Guidebook for Educators is designed with four goals of anti-bias education in mind. They are:

- Nurturing a child's construction of knowledge, positive self-identity and group identity
- Promoting a child's comfortable, empathetic interaction with people from a diverse background
- Foster a child's critical thinking about bias
- Cultivate a child's ability to stand up for themselves and for others in the face of bias

Additionally, the guidebook explains to the educator how to review his or her surroundings to ensure the environment in which the program is to take place is prepared to be inclusive to all children and sensitive to cultural differences. Educators and parents will also receive a copy of the Early Childhood Resources manual which contains reading lists, suggested music for children, Internet resources and the references from the two guidebooks for families and educators.

PARTICIPANTS

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was founded in 1913 to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike." ADL fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all. A leader in the

development of materials, programs and services, ADL builds bridges of communication, understanding and respect among diverse groups through a network of 30 regional offices in the United States and abroad.

ADL's A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE(r) Institute, created in 1985, is an international anti-bias and diversity education program used by schools, universities, corporations and community and law enforcement agencies throughout the United States and abroad. A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE(r) Institute programs provide practical, experiential, hands-on training with skills to challenge prejudice and discrimination, to foster intergroup understanding and to equip participants to live and work successfully and civilly in a diverse world.

Sesame Workshop is a not-for-profit educational organization that stands alone in its ability to creatively help solve major educational and developmental needs that affect children around the world. For over 30 years, the Workshop has created innovative and engaging media to help all children reach their highest potential. The organization grounds its work in research to understand how multi-media platforms help children learn, develop and grow. Best known as the creators of Sesame Street, Dragon Tales and Sagwa, the Chinese Siamese Cat airing on PBS, the Workshop continues to break new ground with Noggin, the only 24-hour kids' thinking channel. Find the Workshop online at www.sesameworkshop.org

The Miller Early Childhood Initiative of A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute was made possibly through generous sponsorship of the Harvey L. Miller Family Foundation, based in Chicago.

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

Rightist Rally Hears Speech From Giuliani

FORWARD STAFF

OCTOBER 26, 2001

JERUSALEM — NEW YORK'S MAYOR Giuliani spoke by telephone this week to a right-wing rally here at which speakers called for the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and several speakers urged the mass expulsion of Palestinians from Israel's occupied territories.

The rally, staged by the Council of Settlers of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, was billed as a memorial for slain Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze'evi.

Drawing a boisterous crowd of 80,000 mainly Orthodox Jews to Jerusalem's Zion Square, its themes included stepping up the war against terrorism and banishing Yasser Arafat from the territories. At least four speakers, including a leader of Ze'evi's Moledet Party, Knesset Member Benny Elon, called for the "transfer" of the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to the 22 other Arab nations as demonstrators brandished signs that described Mr. Arafat and Osama bin Laden as "twins."

Mr. Giuliani spoke to the crowd by live telephone hookup from New York, reportedly at the invitation of Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert.

"New York and Jerusalem are closer than ever before," Mr. Giuliani told the crowd, adding that the two cities have "the same values." "Both the United States and Israel are seeking to defend and perpetuate the same values of democracy, freedom, respect for the law and human life," he said.

According to a close adviser and former aide to Mr. Giuliani, Bruce Teitelbaum, the mayor had no knowledge of the contents of the speeches or the tenor of the rally. He "simply wanted to express his solidarity with the people of Israel at this very difficult time and to explain to the Israeli people that the United States is fighting terrorism and that it is important to eradicate terrorism forever, wherever it exists."

"I'm certain the mayor would reject the notion of the forced expulsion of anyone from Israel," Mr. Teitelbaum added.

Last year, while Mr. Giuliani was running for the U.S. Senate against then-first lady Hillary Clinton, Mrs. Clinton was repeatedly criticized by Mr. Giuliani's supporters for appearing at events where sponsors or fellow-speakers took extreme anti-Israel positions. In each case Mrs. Clinton had denied being familiar with the background of the people in question.

This week, however, most observers appeared to accept Mr. Giuliani's ignorance as sufficient explanation for his participation alongside advocates of a view most Americans consider repugnant. "If one mayor asks another to address a gathering, there is no reason to have any doubts," said the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham Foxman. He added that ADL views the notion of "transfer" as "undemocratic, contrary to Jewish tradition and Jewish history."

"You try to find out to the best of your ability what will be said, but there is nothing to stop someone to get up at the microphone and deciding to go beyond the script," said the assistant executive director of Americans for Peace Now, Lewis Roth. "However, it is also incumbent on individuals speaking at political events in Israel to make sure that the tone and content of the events are consistent with mainstream thinking about various issues."

The speech was the second time in recent weeks that Mr. Giuliani has injected himself into the Middle East conflict. Two weeks ago, he rejected a Saudi prince's \$10-million donation toward relief for the World Trade Center attack after the prince suggested the attack stemmed from American support for Israel. The mayor's move at the time was applauded by many American Jewish organizations.

"Transfer," or mass relocation of Palestinians from the territories, is a controversial doctrine that kept Ze'evi on the margins of Israeli politics for years, despite his reputation as a military hero. The doctrine continues to win little support in the general public, though it is said to enjoy significant backing in the settler community, which is nearly unanimous in opposing any peace

plan that would give Palestinians sovereignty in the territories currently under Israeli control.

This week's rally was intended by the settler movement as a combination show of strength, memorial to Ze'evi and protest against what settlers view as government inaction in the face of Palestinian terror.

One rally participant, Heather Samuels, a native of Memphis, Tenn., said she attended the rally to mourn Ze'evi's death, to oppose the dialogue with the Palestinian Authority and to encourage Israel's government to use military means to resolve the year-old intifada, "just as President Bush is" in his war against terrorism.

Others, however, used the rally as an opportunity to spread messages of their own. One Moledet volunteer was seen distributing stickers calling for the arrest of the "Oslo criminals," as rightists often refer to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and his allies. The volunteer, who declined to give his name but said he was from the West Bank settlement of Karnei Shomron, wondered aloud how the United States would react if the "black population of America was to rise up against the whites and fire mortars at New York. That would be the end of them. Now we have to do the same."

A deputy mayor of Jerusalem, Larrisa Gerstein, a political ally of Mr. Ze'evi, told the Forward she saw the rally as evidence of a "resurgence of the right, that was always strong. But more than the strengthening of the right, I see the building of national unity, unconnected with politics, that addresses our survival. The only way to ensure [Israel's survival] and to commemorate the deaths of the 657 people killed since the signing of the Oslo agreement is to see Oslo to the grave."

Many on the left, however, downplayed the importance of the rally. "I am surprised that they had less than 100,000," said Peace Now spokesman Didi Remez. "As an absolute show of strength it was pretty small." He predicted that the return of the Israeli government to pre-Oslo policies of confrontation with the Palestinians would galvanize Israel's floundering left. "Most people see us

sliding down a slippery path to another Lebanon, and that is what we must prevent," he said.

Morton Klein, national president of the Zionist Organization of America, placed Mr. Giuliani's speech in line with his support for Israel and dismissed any connection between the mayor and the issue of population transfer.

"The issue of transfer is an issue for the government of Israel and the people of Israel to discuss, not for the mayor of New York City," Mr. Klein said.

Mr. Foxman, while agreeing that "our responsibility is not to respond to demonstrations and people in the street," said that American Jewish groups need to respond if the issue of population transfer is addressed.

The rally showed the anger many Israelis feel in the wake of the Ze'evi assassination. As demonstrators held a sign declaring "Muslims are Nazis," Mr. Elon criticized Prime Minister Sharon for sending a message to Washington that Mr. Arafat is Israel's partner, while declaring in Israel that he is the enemy.

Mr. Olmert, for his part, devoted his speech to expressions of unreserved support for the settler movement. He called the settlers the "commandos of Israel, the very foundation of Israel's strength," who act as Israel's defensive outpost against those who oppose its right to exist "both within and without." He ended his speech by declaring that Israel will "never leave any part of Jerusalem."

Source: Press Release | B'nai Brith Canada | December 27, 2001

<http://www.bnaibrith.ca/press4/pr-011227-82.htm>

B'nai Brith Canada Offers Consultation, Training, in Wake of Hate Incident

Guelph Residents *Incensed* as Antisemitic Flyer from Realtor Blankets Area

For Immediate Release

B'nai Brith Canada has communicated with the Real Estate Council of Ontario (RECO) and the Ontario-Atlantic Head office of Re/Max in the aftermath of what has been called by one Real Estate specialist "The first incident of its kind in Canada." Mr. Peter Ysselstein, a Re/Max agent in Guelph, distributed a flyer containing a blatant antisemitic comment to numerous homes in a Guelph neighborhood.

Intended to garner more business, the flyer instead *shocked* many residents. After receiving complaints, B'nai Brith has requested an immediate and full investigation of the incident, followed by disciplinary proceedings if RECO and Re/Max deem the incident to be actionable.

Toni Silberman, Senior Vice President of B'nai Brith Canada, and Ontario Chair of its League for Human Rights, commented, "Our action is a clear indication that it is not enough to complain about prejudice, but rather that it is incumbent upon us all to combat it. B'nai Brith Canada has offered the services of its League for Human Rights to both RECO and Re/Max in the hope that its recognized expertise in anti-racism, combating antisemitism, and promoting tolerance will be used by these organizations."

Frank Dimant, Executive Vice President of B'nai Brith Canada, wrote to the management of RECO "In these trying times, it is more important than ever that we

promote tolerance and eliminate prejudice in our homes, our institutions, and our workplaces."

For further information, please contact Arieh Rosenblum, Ontario Regional Director, at 416-529-4699

B'nai Brith has been active in Canada since 1875 as the community's senior human rights organization.

CounterPunch's Booktalk

February 25, 2002

The ADL Spying Case Is Over, But The Struggle Continues

By Jeffrey Blankfort, Anne Poirier
and Steve Zeltzer

Plaintiffs in the of ADL Spying Case

In 1993, the District of Attorney of San Francisco Arlo Smith released 700 pages of documents implicating the Anti-Defamation League, an organization that claims to be a defender of civil rights, in a vast spying operation directed against American citizens who were opposed to Israel's policies in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza and to the apartheid policies of the government of South Africa and passing on information to both governments.

Under great political pressure, Arlo Smith later dropped the charges. One wonders what would have happened had an Arab-American or Muslim organization been caught spying with the names of 10,000 people and 600 organizations in their files.

Not only were critics of Israel under ADL's surveillance, including thousands of Arab-Americans, but labor organizations such as the San Francisco Labor Council, ILWU Local 10, and the Oakland Educational Association, and civil rights groups such as the NAACP, Irish Northern Aid, International Indian Treaty Council and the Asian Law Caucus were also found in the "pinko" files of ADL's undercover operative, Roy Bullock.

Moreover, Bullock, who had worked, off the books, for the ADL for more than 25 years, admitted that he had been reporting on the activities of black South African exiles and American anti-apartheid activists for South African intelligence.

Bullock, pretending to be sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, came to the founding meeting of the Labor Committee of the Middle in 1987 at the home of plaintiff Steve Zeltzer, having met Zeltzer at meetings of the Free Moses Mayekiso Defense Committee, a South African labor solidarity committee in which he also infiltrated under false pretenses.

Having been responsible for exposing Bullock as an ADL agent to the media, we joined together with other Bay Area activists in filing a suit against the ADL for violation of our privacy rights as provided in California law.

Almost a decade later the suit has been settled with a significant cash payment by the ADL and, we wish to emphasize, without our signing any agreement for confidentiality which the ADL had previously demanded. Our efforts to expose the organization's work in defending the policies of the Israeli government and stifling its opponents will continue, using new information gained in the pursuance of the suit.

The ADL spent millions of dollars preventing this case from coming to trial through costly appeals and exploiting the judicial process but, at the end, it had to give up.

During the course of the suit we learned that:

Bullock, the ADL's top "fact finder" had sold confidential information to a South African intelligence agent in San Francisco for \$15,000.

Ten days before he was assassinated in South Africa, Chris Hani, the man who would have succeeded Nelson Mandela as the country's president, was trailed by Bullock on a trip through California who reported on it to the South African government.

ADL agent Roy Bullock was discovered to have a floor plan of murdered Los Angeles Arab American leader Alex Odeh and a key to his office.

The ADL supplied confidential information to foreign governments that it obtained from police and federal agencies in the US,

Having infiltrated the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the ADL's "fact finder" performed a COINTEL-type operation at the convention of the Holocaust-denying Journal of Historical Review when he put ADC's literature on convention tables as a way of smearing the committee for "working with anti- Semites."

The ADL has organized to silence and eliminate all critical voices of Israel from academia and the media and has targeted professors, particularly those who are African American, and who are critical of Israel.

That at least 51% of the activities of its San Francisco office were devoted to defending Israel.

The ADL provided secret files to police agencies when these police agencies were prevented by law from collecting the files themselves,

Many questions must still be answered about the activities of the ADL and it's non-profit status as an "education organization". The settlement offered by the ADL is recognition on its part that it could not afford to go to a trial in front of a jury and face the likelihood that more of its dirty secrets would be revealed.

We call on all people to make sure that these practices on the part of the ADL are not allowed to continue and that the double standard that presently dominates this country on issues dealing with Israel be eliminated.

Finally, we wish to thank our attorney, former congressman Pete McCloskey, himself a victim of the ADL and the Israel Lobby, for his years of work on our behalf and his steadfast commitment to the pursuit of justice.

Jeffrey Blankfort can be reached at: jab@tucradio.org

For more information on this case read CounterPunch's story, **ADL Snoops: Were the Spies "Journalists"? <<http://www.counterpunch.org/1999/06/15/the-adl-snoops/>>**

Source: The San Francisco Examiner | April 1, 2002

Adversaries Go Inside ADL's Spying Operation

The hidden workings of the Anti-Defamation League and how three Bay Area activists were able to uncover a spy operation that reached into the San Francisco Police Department.

**By Dan Evans Of The Examiner Staff
Paper trail of deceit.**

Locked in a nondescript computer database, a shadowy operative named Roy Bullock kept file upon file on liberal San Francisco Jews who disagreed with Israeli policies.

The files included Social Security numbers, driver's license numbers, addresses, phone numbers and group memberships. Some of the information was sold to foreign governments, including Israeli and South African intelligence groups.

Shockingly, Bullock was in the employ of a civil rights group whose motto is "fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry and extremism": the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Numerous targets of the ADL — who drew parallels to COINTELPRO, the FBI's tainted domestic surveillance program — say the profiling and covert activities continue to this day.

"They are continuing to gather facts," said Abdeen Jabara, a Manhattan attorney and former president of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "That, of course, is a euphemism for what we say is private spying."

Not only were liberal Jews a target, but information also was kept on labor unions, pro-Palestinian organizations, anti-apartheid groups, American Arabs and anti-Semites. After the Federal Bureau of Investigation broke the case in 1993, a number of these targets filed suit against the ADL. The last lawsuit was recently settled.

The settlement in February marked the first time any of the organization's victims were allowed to speak out. Usually, the ADL demands plaintiffs keep quiet as a condition of any settlement.

Without those constraints, victims Jeffrey Blankfort, Steve Zeltzer and Anne Poirier are revealing the underbelly of an organization that previously had successfully shielded itself from condemnation. They are using the ADL's own spy as a fulcrum.

Bullock's relationship with Blankfort and Zeltzer began when he infiltrated a pro-Palestinian group started by the two, both of whom are Jewish. Once inside, Bullock collected and sold information about the two men to the ADL and, possibly the Mossad, the foreign arm of Israeli intelligence.

Although Bullock never met Poirier, he may have sold information on her organization to the South African government. The woman, who lives in Berkeley, ran a scholarship program for South African exiles in the early 1990s. During the course of her lawsuit against the ADL, she discovered the ADL's operative had sold confidential information to a South African agent in San Francisco for \$15,000.

Poirier had never done any work relating to the Middle East, and she was astounded when she found out that the ADL had kept tabs on her. During her nine-year court fight with the group, she found out more than she needed to know about its operation, and now nothing much surprises her.

"They gathered information on anti-apartheid activities," she said, "anyone the organization felt, by definition, would be against Israel because they were too left-wing."

A few files, so what?

The fact the ADL has a file on a group doesn't imply clandestine activities, said San Francisco regional director Jonathan Bernstein. He resents the implication of the word spying, saying it implies people were being followed around and trailed. That simply wasn't the case, he said, though he acknowledged he never met Bullock.

"We have files on the NAACP because we've done collaborative projects with them," he said. "They probably have files on the ADL, too."

In Bernstein's eyes, the group's fact-finding operations are one of its most important missions.

Much of the time, the "missions" are nothing more than gleaning information from media reports, he said. People employed by the ADL do attend public meetings to keep an eye on people, just as other journalists do.

The area's top boss, however, repeatedly sidestepped questions on whether fact-finders employed subterfuge to get information. The fact that some of the people being watched by the ADL were Jewish was immaterial, Bernstein said.

Other civil rights groups, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, do similar things on a limited scale, he said.

A representative of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which is headquartered in Birmingham, could not be reached for comment.

Because the ADL has 30 regional offices, the organization is much better equipped to ferret out anti-Semitism and other racist behavior.

"It can help us to respond to hate activity before someone gets hurt," Bernstein said. "That's the ultimate objective."

But are there times when fact-finding becomes a civil rights violation?

The San Francisco office of the American Civil Liberties Union, a group one might expect to have a dim view on the tactics employed by the ADL, refused to comment on the group's fact-finding activities. Nor would spokeswoman Rachel Swain give a reason for the silence.

Ongoing complaints

Groups have been saying for years that the ADL isn't the civil rights organization it claims to be, but no one has been listening. Mostly, it's because those groups have been thinly-veiled anti-Semites, such as the Liberty Lobby, or hate groups such as White Aryan Resistance and the KKK. But, as vile as some of these groups are, there is a significant amount of evidence that their vitriol is not unfounded. For at least four decades, the ADL continuously has tracked and spied on groups it considers not only a threat to the Jewish community, but to the state of Israel.

Hussein Ibish certainly thinks so. Ibish is the spokesman for the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee — an organization that is, in many ways, the Arab counterpart to the ADL. Though certainly at odds with many Israeli policies, the ADC is not anti-Semitic, and plays a rather moderate role.

"Was the ADL spying on people?" asked Ibish, quickly answering his own question. "Certainly in San Francisco they were. We know they were engaging in illegal activities to gain information. They, and their operatives, were working hand-in-glove with South African intelligence and Israeli intelligence."

Meet Mr. Spy

By his own admission, Bullock had been working off the books as a fact-finder for the ADL since the mid-1960s. He would infiltrate not only openly anti-Semitic groups, but also pro-Palestinian and anti-apartheid organizations, usually under false pretenses. Bullock, who is not Jewish, would then pass that information along to the ADL.

He received information about his targets from former San Francisco Police Inspector Tom Gerard, who fled to the Philippines after being indicted in 1994 for illegal use of a police computer. Gerard's current whereabouts are unknown.

Bullock, who no longer does undercover work for the organization, declined to be interviewed for this article.

Nobody could have known about the extent of Bullock's surveillance, if police had not seized his computer database in April 1993. It contained thousands of files on liberal Jewish San Franciscans, Arab-Americans, anti-apartheid activists, anti-Semitic groups, and plain ol' white racists.

On April 8, 1993, armed with this information, police in San Francisco and Los Angeles searched the ADL offices in those two cities. In San Francisco, roughly 10 banker's boxes of information—75 percent of which officers said was illegally obtained — were seized.

A majority of data in those boxes confirmed police suspicions that it had come from Bullock's computer. On that computer was information on 9,876 people, including 1,394 driver's licenses. The files were divided into five categories: "Pinko," "Right," Arabs," "Skins," and "ANC," the last standing for African National Congress.

Bullock also told the FBI that he had information on various labor groups. These groups included: the San Francisco Labor Council, the Oakland Educators Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Irish Northern Aid, the International Indian Treaty Council and the Asian Law Caucus.

Lawsuits galore

After the SFPD raid on the ADL offices, then-District Attorney Arlo Smith filed a lawsuit against the organization to stop the spying. The suit was settled that November. Though the ADL acknowledged no wrongdoing, the group agreed to stop using police to get confidential information. The league also agreed to pay \$75,000 to a fund used to help stop hate crimes.

On April 18, 1993, 19 people who Bullock kept files on sued the ADL in San Francisco Superior Court. Pete McCloskey, a former Republican congressman from San Mateo County, was the group's attorney. His wife, Helen, was one of the original plaintiffs.

A few months later, in October, the ADC slapped its Jewish counterpart with a similar lawsuit in Los Angeles federal court. The ADC claimed the ADL passed along information on the group to the Israeli government. The ADC's suit was settled in October 1996.

The ADL agreed to pay \$175,000 toward the Arab group's legal costs. The ADL also agreed to contribute \$25,000 to a foundation, administered by the ADL and the ADC, dedicated to improving relations between Jews and Arabs. The ADL was able to deny all wrongdoing.

Journalistic enterprise?

The McCloskey case, however, would drag on. The main point of contention in that case was whether the ADL could be considered a journalistic enterprise, a point won in court by the ADL. The ADL publishes hundreds of newsletters, papers and books on a wide range of subjects, attorney David Goldstein said. As with any other journalistic enterprise, it contended it was not required to release its confidential information or sources.

After a 1998 ruling by the 1st District Court of Appeal, giving the ADL journalistic protection, 14 of the remaining 17 plaintiffs — two had died in the interim — dropped their cases against the ADL. On Feb. 22, 2002, the ADL settled with Blankfort, Zeltzer and Poirier.

What held up the process, said McCloskey, was his clients' refusal to sign a confidentially agreement. The three felt they had been viciously wronged, he said, and wanted to publicize that fact.

With the settlement, each of the three plaintiffs received about \$50,000. None of the three, or McCloskey, believes the ADL will stop their spying ways.

"It was settled partially out of fatigue," said the attorney. "Everyone figured it might be best if we all just moved on."

Even if the case had continued, said Goldstein, there is a debate over how much the three plaintiffs could prove they had been injured. Most of the contested information consisted of Social Security and driver's license numbers, which are hardly difficult items to find.

Nine years later, McCloskey is still angry about the case and wants the federal government to revoke the group's tax-exempt status.

Since they obviously are working in conjunction with the Israeli government, he said, they should register as such. Referring to themselves as an education group, said the attorney, is simply a sham.

Acerbic battle leaves sour taste.

After nearly a decade of fighting the Anti-Defamation League in court, attorney Pete McCloskey is as bitter as a man who consumed a gallon of vinegar.

The former Republican congressman from San Mateo, who recently won a settlement from the civil rights group for three Bay Area residents, is still tending to emotional wounds he endured from the ADL simply for defending his clients' rights.

"They come after anyone that disagrees with them," he said of the organization's tactics to paint him as an anti-Semite.

The decorated retired Marine, who represented his San Mateo County district in the House of Representatives from 1967 to 1983, is anything but an ideologue. He was one of the few Republicans who opposed the Vietnam War and fought with President Nixon on numerous occasions.

While he vehemently denies any ties to anti-Semitic or neo-Nazis groups, some of the avenues he chose to express his views have not helped his case.

Anti-Semitic newspaper

While in Congress, McCloskey granted an interview in 1982 with the anti-Semitic newspaper Spotlight. And in May 2000, he gave a speech at a conference of the Institute of Historical Review, a Holocaust revisionist group.

McCloskey spoke to the Spotlight because, he believes, one should speak to people they disagree with as much as people they agree with. The newspaper was the publication of the now-defunct Liberty Lobby.

Though he acknowledged the newspaper's subscribers were primarily right-wingers and racists, ascribing him similar views are ridiculous, he said.

"Not a year didn't go by during the years I was in Congress that the Spotlight didn't blast me as being a liberal Republican," he said.

In the Oct. 11, 1982 edition of the paper, McCloskey said Republicans were far better politically positioned than Democrats to push for a Palestinian state because GOP candidates were not as beholden to Jewish money to get elected.

"The battle will be for public opinion in the United States, whether the Congress will be willing to back Reagan and stand up to the Jewish lobby in this country," he said.

However, he also stated in the interview that he disagreed with 90 percent of the group's views, and suggested that peace in the Middle East would only be realized when the United States gave equal merit to both Arab and Israeli viewpoints.

Disagreement

As for his connection to the Institute of Historical Review, McCloskey said he respected the group's determination to question historical records. He said he strongly disagreed with the group's view on the Holocaust, but supported its right to say it.

In a letter last year to the group's president, Mark Weber, McCloskey spoke of his visits to death camps and his conviction that "there was a deliberate policy of extermination of Jews, Poles, gypsies and homosexuals by the Nazi leadership."

McCloskey also suggested Weber's group give up its views about the Holocaust, and instead focus on what he called the ADL's distortions of truth, one of them being its claim McCloskey was a Holocaust denier.

"It was like when Bush went down to Bob Jones University, and his political opponents tried to identify him with Bob Jones," he said, referring to the conservative South Carolina school that, until recently, prohibited interracial dating. "It's ridiculous."

"The primary view of the ADL is that Jews should not be stereotyped or guilty by association," he continued. "Yet you see them trying to discredit people by virtue of their association."

One of his clients, Steve Zeltzer, acknowledged he wasn't entirely comfortable with McCloskey going to the Institute of Historical Review convention. Still, he said, he supports the right of free speech, even if he strongly disagrees with the content.

"I wouldn't have done it, and I was opposed to him going," Zeltzer said. "I wouldn't attend one of their conferences. They have a right to say what they want to say, but I don't support their positions."

Another client, Anne Poirier, said she had not heard about her attorney's attendance at the conference and so couldn't comment on it.

"One thing I know for sure, though, is he's not an anti-Semite," said the Berkeley resident. "I'll go mano-a-mano with anybody that says so."

E-mail Dan Evans at devans@sfexaminer.com

ADL Infiltrates the FBI and Subverts Its Agenda

Source: [ADL Website](#) | June 6, 2002

ADL Press Release

Law Enforcement From Across The U.S. Participate In Joint ADL-FBI Conference On Terrorism

New York, NY ... More than 500 representatives of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies were briefed on extremist and terrorist threats during a daylong conference co-sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The May 31 program, held at the FBI Academy in Quantico, VA, was an outgrowth of **ADL's** longtime involvement in providing information and **training** to **law enforcement** on threats posed by extremists. The conference, "Extremist and Terrorist Threats: Protecting America After 9/11" included presentations from ADL, FBI and other nationally recognized experts on extremist groups, investigative techniques, counterterrorism strategies, domestic security and threat assessment.

"Now more than ever, law enforcement must have the resources and know-how to prevent future acts of terrorism," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "In order to assess threats against the United States, law enforcement must have credible information about **domestic** and foreign **extremists** whose **rhetoric** promotes violence. Through our network of regional offices and our experts in the field, ADL is uniquely suited to aid in the war against terrorism. This conference was an opportunity for law enforcement and extremism watchdogs to compare notes and forge alliances." The conference brought together representatives of federal, state and local law enforcement from every region of the U.S., and included participants in the FBI National Academy, ADL regional directors, area counsels and investigative researchers.

The program featured opening remarks from Mr. Foxman and Dr. Kathleen L. McChesney, the FBI's Executive Assistant Director for Law Enforcement Services. The plenary session, "Right and Left, Domestic and Foreign: An Overview of Extremist and Terrorist Movements and Groups," featured presentations from Dr. Bruce Hoffman, Director of the Washington office of The Rand Corporation; Greg Comcowich, Intelligence Research Specialist in the FBI's Counterterrorism Division; and Mark Pitcavage, ADL Director of Fact Finding.

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David Friedman, Director of ADL's Washington, D.C. Regional Office, and Louis Quijas, Assistant Director for the FBI's Office of Law Enforcement Coordination, delivered closing remarks.

EDITORS NOTE: Additional information on extremist groups and ideologies, and the League's partnerships with law enforcement agencies across the country, is available at ADL's online Law Enforcement Agency Resource Network, at www.adl.org/LEARN.

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

ADL Backs Ashcroft Bush Surveillance

<http://www.jweekly.com/archives/week/2002-06-14>

Jewish groups debate FBI surveillance guide

SHARON SAMBER
Jewish Telegraphic Agency

WASHINGTON -- NEW FBI guidelines that give the agency greater leeway in monitoring Americans' everyday lives have Jewish groups debating how far personal freedoms can be pushed in the war on terrorism.

The FBI announced new surveillance guidelines last week that the Bush administration says will help prevent terrorism. The Jewish community generally supports the need to change law enforcement and intelligence methods following the Sept. 11 terror attacks, but is concerned over how civil liberties will be protected.

The guidelines will allow the FBI greater flexibility to monitor Internet sites, libraries, houses of worship and political organizations and will lower the evidentiary threshold needed to initiate investigations.

In recent years, the Anti-Defamation League has called for giving law enforcement additional tools. The ADL and most other Jewish groups gave strong support to anti-terrorism laws in 1996 and last year's USA Patriot Act, which gave new powers to domestic law enforcement and intelligence agencies after Sept. 11.

"The movement from simply enforcing the law to preventing terrorism is necessary," said Michael Lieberman, Washington counsel for the ADL.

For some people, however, talk of increased domestic surveillance conjures up disturbing memories of the McCarthy era and the alleged abuses of power when J. Edgar Hoover led the FBI.

Law enforcement excesses in the 1950s and 1960s led to revised guidelines in the 1970s. Jewish and civil liberties groups embraced the reforms, as well as subsequent adaptations over the years.

Attorney General John Ashcroft said that new powers are needed now to combat terrorism effectively, adding that these guidelines would not allow for the kind of abuses seen in the past.

Many groups have faulted the FBI for taking an overly cautious approach in recent years.

ADL's national director, Abraham Foxman, wrote in 1999 that the Justice Department and the FBI could not act aggressively because they were "hamstrung" by the Hoover legacy, fears of lawsuits and concerns from conservative lawmakers after the 1993 Waco debacle.

The current guidelines, however, are "way too broad," argues Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism.

Saperstein recalled that the Reform movement was watched by the FBI several decades ago and that his organization has worked to stop such abuses against other civil liberties groups.

The Religious Action Center, which also argued that the USA Patriot Act was rushed through Congress, is

calling for public hearings on Capitol Hill to ensure that the new FBI guidelines are finely focused on preventing terrorism and are implemented in a way that ensures the least amount of infringement on civil rights.

Some lawmakers are already sounding off about the new guidelines.

"I believe that the Justice Department has gone too far," Rep. James Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.) said last week. There is no need "to throw respect for civil liberties into the trash heap" in order to improve the FBI's ability to fight terrorism.

Some civil rights groups are up in arms over the FBI's expanded powers. Jewish rights groups, however, are often especially sensitive to terrorism issues, and occasionally part company with their regular allies on this issue.

The American Civil Liberties Union said that Ashcroft's decision to rewrite longstanding restrictions on domestic spying "threatens core civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights."

While the Religious Action Center raises some similar concerns, it is reserving judgment on the guidelines. The ADL is willing to take a firmer stance in favor of the new guidelines, though Foxman notes that any new enforcement power has to be subject to governmental accountability.

The guidelines themselves are not really the issue, according to Steven Pomerantz, a former assistant director of the FBI who now is a senior adviser on counterterrorism and security for the American Jewish Committee.

The guidelines need to be tweaked, Pomerantz said, but the political climate is also important in determining the FBI's behavior. While certain investigations might have been allowed even under the old guidelines, the threshold for proceeding with an investigation depends on other factors.

"It's not black and white, it's subject to interpretation."

ADL Targeted Black Congresswoman Critical of Israel

In Georgia, a Race Too Close to Call

By PHILIP SHENON, NY Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 18 -- No one would confuse the leafy suburban streets of Georgia's Fourth Congressional District with a seaside boulevard in Tel Aviv or with the dusty roads that crisscross the West Bank.

But the issues of war and peace in the Middle East may be what decide the primary on Tuesday between two African-American women battling for the Democratic nomination for this district's seat in the House. Recent polls suggest that the race between Representative Cynthia A. McKinney, a five-term incumbent who has received substantial financial backing from Arab-Americans, and Denise Majette, a former state judge supported by pro-Israel groups, is too close to call.

"This is turning into a small proxy war -- a little, Middle East proxy war," said Khalil E. Jahshan, executive vice president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington.

The group's political action committee is urging its members to support Ms. McKinney, who is being opposed by pro-Israel groups because of her support for Arab causes. "One can raise all sorts of legitimate questions about McKinney's position on this or that issue, but she has been articulate on our concerns," Mr. Jahshan said.

Ms. McKinney has received campaign contributions from Arab-Americans around the country, including several who have come under scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for possible terrorist links. Some of her contributors turned up as defendants in a \$1 trillion lawsuit filed last week in Washington by families of Sept. 11 victims; the suit accuses them of being "enablers of terrorism."

Ms. Majette has received donations from Jews from outside Georgia, raising almost twice as much over all as Ms. McKinney, more than \$1.1 million versus about \$640,000 for the incumbent. The challenger has accused Ms. McKinney of taking money from "people who have been named as Arab terrorists."

Ms. McKinney and her spokesmen, who did not return phone calls for comment, have defended the contributions as legal, and have suggested there is no need to return the money.

If Ms. McKinney loses, she will be the second House Democrat to be defeated this year in a race in which Middle East politics, and the influence of campaign contributions from both Arab-Americans and Jewish Americans, have played a significant role. Representative Earl F. Hilliard, an Alabama Democrat who has also supported Arab and Muslim concerns, was ousted in a primary vote in June by Artur Davis, a candidate backed by pro-Israel groups.

The races in Alabama and Georgia are seen as evidence of new strains between African-Americans and Jewish Americans, who for decades were seen as unshakable political allies, given their shared history of discrimination. "Unfortunately, this is symptomatic of the

tensions between the black and Jewish communities," said Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League in New York, which is traditionally aligned with Jewish and pro-Israel groups.

But, Mr. Foxman said, it made sense that Jewish Americans would want to contribute to efforts to replace Ms. McKinney and Mr. Hilliard because of the lawmakers' records on matters of interest to the Jewish community.

Ms. McKinney, a 47-year-old educator-turned-politician with a liberal voting record and a confrontational style, is known in Congress for statements that border on the outrageous.

After Sept. 11, she suggested that President Bush ignored warnings of the attacks because a war on terrorism would be good for businesses allied with the Bush family. Senator Zell Miller, a fellow Georgia Democrat, described her accusations as "looney." Last fall, she apologized to a Saudi prince whose \$10 million donation of relief aid to New York City was rejected by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani because of the prince's assertion that American foreign policy was partly to blame for the attacks.

Although her suburban Atlanta district is mostly black, Ms. McKinney has a sizable Jewish constituency, and Jewish voters here are alarmed by her support for Arab and Muslim causes. Their anxiety almost certainly grew with the announcement that Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who has been accused of anti-Semitism, intended to campaign for Ms. McKinney in Atlanta in the final days of the race.

In a recent appearance before the Islamic Foundation in Chicago, Ms. McKinney pleaded for support. "It's just

not about a Congressional district," she said. "It's about the members of Congress who have the courage to come to the Muslim community."

She and Mr. Hilliard were among 21 members of the House who opposed a resolution in support of Israel's military response to Palestinian suicide bombings.

Her list of contributors reflects her support for Arab causes. A sizable number of the names on the contribution lists she has provided to the Federal Election Commission are those of Arab-Americans from outside Georgia, many of them respected lawyers, physicians and merchants.

Her opponents say they are concerned with the donations to Ms. McKinney from several people who have come under investigation for financial ties to terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda. Among her donors is Abdurahman Alamoudi, the leader of a Muslim organization who has expressed support for Hezbollah, the Lebanese-based terrorist group, and Hamas, the violent Palestinian group; he has contributed the maximum \$2,000 to Ms. McKinney's campaign. Mr. Alamoudi was among the McKinney donors who were named in the suit last week by the Sept. 11 families. Some other McKinney donors are connected to Muslim charities that have been accused of raising money for terrorist groups.

In recent weeks, campaign officials have been quoted as saying that the donations in question would not be returned. "We don't racially profile our contributors," Ms. McKinney said in a debate this month. "All of our contributions are legal."

Ms. Majette, 47, a Brooklyn-born, Yale-educated lawyer, has tried to distance herself from the perception that she is the candidate solely of pro-Israel groups. Her campaign manager, Roland Washington, said in an interview that issues involving the Middle East would not be Ms. Majette's focus in Congress.

"Denise is pro-peace as it relates to the Middle East," Mr. Washington said. "But she is much more concerned with the local issues that are driving voters to look for an alternative to the current leadership. The campaign's focus is on economic development, infrastructure, child care, trying to reduce the cost of health care."

Her campaign has drawn financial support from other prominent Democrats, including Senator Miller, and from other local celebrities, including Henry Aaron, the former Atlanta Braves star.

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[Note - Congresswoman McKinney was defeated in the Democratic primary]

Source: U.S. Newswire | November 18, 2002

ADL Offers Guidance for Negotiating 'December Dilemma'

ADL Offers Schools, Public Institutions "Guidance" For Negotiating the 'December Dilemma'

NEW YORK – With the 2002 holiday season set to begin, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has reached out to public schools and public institutions nationwide with materials and information to help foster constitutionally permissible recognitions of the December holidays.

"We want to work together with schools, parents and community leaders to ensure that classrooms as well as the content of special events, assemblies, concerts and programs held this time of year are welcoming to all, regardless of faith or beliefs," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "By providing information that **minimizes any sense of discomfort** during the December holiday season, we can help America's schools and public institutions approach the holidays in a constitutionally sound and educationally **ideal manner**."

As a guardian of the constitutional guarantee of the separation of church and state, ADL routinely offers advice and guidelines to help successfully negotiate court limitations and common questions and concerns in regard to the "December Dilemma." At this time of year, the League fields more requests for guidance on church-state issues than at any other period.

A letter is being disseminated through ADL's 30 regional offices nationwide to school districts, emphasizing the need to be cautious in how they employ religious symbols and teach about the holidays. "By choosing to celebrate certain religious **holidays**," the letter states, "schools run the risk of sending the message that they favor certain faiths over others."

Some of matters highlighted and explained in detail by ADL include:

- The difference between practicing religion and teaching about religion
- Guidelines for holiday assemblies, concerts and other public school activities where religious themes or music may be performed
- Choosing **appropriate holiday symbols** to decorate school grounds
- Choosing appropriate holiday activities
- Understanding what can — and cannot — be displayed on city property

The League will also place special emphasis on classroom and educational issues surrounding the “December Dilemma” at <http://www.adl.org/education>. Among the many resources are non-religious materials and activities for the classroom, a detailed question-and-answer page and a printable graphic of acceptable public displays during the holidays.

Contact: Myrna Shinbaum, 212-885-7747

Sara Ladenheim, 212-885-7715

both of the Anti-Defamation League

Anti Defamation League and The FBI

More on FOIA; The Anti-Defamation League and the FBI

Dec 29, 2002

IN THIS MESSAGE

- * More on FOIA
 - * The Anti-Defamation League and the FBI
-

Freedom of Information: attempts, procedures etc

"The Freedom of Information Act process is obviously under heavy attack [administrative, foot-dragging, statutory thrusts] from the Bush/Ashcroft et al. forces -- and certainly doesn't seem to be getting any substantive defense from the Democrats. Much of the "mechanism", however, is still intact" The mechanism may be technically intact in that all the steps are still there. But Asscroft ordered the agencies, in the wake of 911, to routinely not disclose. The effect is to add another step to the mechanism--going to court to get disclosure. I don't know how closely the agencies have followed Asscroft's advice.

And some cautionary notes: The request goes into the file of the requester and probably the subject's file, to. So that should be in the mind of the person drafting it.

Second, no reason for wanting the material need be given; it's entirely irrelevant. Giving the kinds of reasons that exist here, it seems to me, just waves red flags (double meaning intended) that might move the request from the regular track to the high resistance track. A countervailing consideration is when the requester thinks there might be information not indexed or filed under the subject's name but in the file maintained on an organization. So the requester should consider whether to ask that the search include the files on named organizations.

FBI field offices sometimes have information they didn't send to Washington, so consider querying selected offices in addition to headquarters.

- Reber Boult

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The Anti-Defamation League and the FBI

Note by Hunterbear:

There's been something of a discussion today on a couple of Left lists -- including that of Socialists Unmoderated [SPUSA] -- about the Anti-Defamation League. The consensus certainly is -- and quite accurately -- that ADL is a reactionary outfit indeed. Here is a post on that -- which includes a little personal experience on my part -- which I sent out early last June to several lists. Now on our large website, I'm reposting it on several lists -- including a few that never saw it. Following my comment is a very revealing ADL news release about its cooperation with FBI.

ADL AND FBI [HUNTER GRAY 6/8/02]

Note by Hunterbear:

The fact that the Anti-Defamation League is working very conspicuously with the FBI -- and at a point where FBI is functioning in a more openly [I say openly] repressive fashion than it has in decades [FBI, of course, has always been repressive as hell], should come as absolutely no surprise to anyone even generally familiar with the civil liberties turf in the United States. ADL has been doing this as long as I, at least, can remember - and one of its traditional areas of concern has always been everything from militant liberalism into and across the Left spectrum [with the exception of right-wing "social democrats."]

About ten years or so ago, the now very well established and broad-based and always quite circumspect American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, then spearheaded by former US Senator James Abourezk from South Dakota [married to a Rosebud Sioux and a major figure in Indian rights], released documents that had been secretly issued by ADL: its so-called list of "subversive organizations" which numbered into the hundreds -- and included, among others, not only the various racist and anti-Semitic hate groups -- BUT also American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, all sorts of Native American and Chicano and Black and Asian rights organizations, virtually everything on the Left, labor unions, liberal outfits, Islamic groups, social justice-oriented Christian church organizations -- and on and on and on.

All of this was in the context of ADL working covertly with various police organizations and operations.

My own experiences with ADL were many, many years ago and relatively minimal -- but not friendly. In the Southern Movement days, ADL was working with the right-wing Jay Lovestone elements in AFL-CIO [mostly on the AFL end of it] to "track" and hunt alleged "subversives" in the Civil Rights Movement -- with an especial focus on SNCC and SCEF [I was the SCEF Field Organizer.] On the other hand, its influence in the hard-core South was essentially nil and its sabotaging thrusts occurred mostly in the North, East, and West Coast regions.

In the late Fall, 1963, veteran activist Miss Ella J. Baker [Advisor to SNCC, Consultant to SCEF -- and an old and dear friend always] and I [as SCEF Organizer] spent a few hard-traveling and very demanding weeks on a speaking tour in the North and West, building support for the Civil Rights Bill [to become the 1964 CR Act] and for the Movement generally. This trip -- focused on church and labor and academic groups -- went extremely well.

A year later -- late in 1964 -- I did a shorter solo run which was mostly in the Western Mountain states. By this time, the old national solidarity behind the Southern Movement was beginning to crack: many

northern liberals were "tired" and wanted to feel that the passage of the '64 CR Act was the apex, various ideological divisions within the Movement were becoming more and more publicly apparent, war clouds in Southeast Asia were very visible, there had been several Northern ghetto upheavals, the integrationist / separatist debates were obviously incipient, a plethora of New Left outfits had emerged -- many healthy, and some not so. In addition, FBI COINTELPRO was in full swing.

That late 1964 speaking trip of mine in the West, focused mostly on labor and academic sectors, was quite successful -- very large turnouts - but there were occasionally turbulent dimensions. John Birchers and Young Americans for Freedom et al were traditional, frequent and noisy nuisances. Now and then, there were very ultra-Left thrusts which may well have been in actuality COINTELPRO.

But, in at least one setting, ADL was definitely involved as a would-be sabotaging force.

That was at Colorado State, Greeley, where my host was an internationally known educator and where most of the people who came to hear me were faculty, labor officials, and Chicano and Black civil rights activists. No visible problems -- but I was told that one faculty person at Greeley, who did not come to the meeting, had advised everyone in advance that I and SCEF were very "suspect" and "probably Communists" and he cited information he'd gotten from the ADL regional office at Denver. No one listened to him and the meeting at Greeley and environs was an excellent one.

My next engagement was at Denver and, as soon as I got there, I went to the ADL Regional Office and raised High Hell with its director [while grinning junior staff, out of his sight, and in my general age range, enthusiastically signaled me to lay it on him.] For his part, he beat a very hasty retreat indeed, blamed the Greeley prof for everything, and apologized profusely. I had brought with me on this trip a great deal of United Klans and other Klan-type White

supremacist material from the Deep Dixie setting in which I was deeply involved -- and I left some of that with them. Although I invited him, he did not come to my large Denver meeting which had many officials from the Mine-Mill and OCAW international offices, other labor people, Native Americans, many academics and students, and a large number of Black and Chicano activists. There, a very weird and ostensibly far, far Left threesome tried to disrupt things -- but got nowhere.

So my own experiences with ADL have been neither extensive nor friendly. Still, the Colorado thing was certainly revealing -- and the ADL connections with the Lovestone finks in AFL-CIO were also becoming more and more apparent to many of us working in the Southern battlefields. Decades later, when I saw, via American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the massive ADL "subversive list," I was certainly not surprised at all.

Nor am I at all surprised now to see ADL cooperating so openly and congenially with FBI -- in the blank-check name, of course, of "national security."

Hunter Gray [Hunterbear]

Law Enforcement From Across The U.S. Participate In Joint ADL-FBI Conference On Terrorism

Anti-Defamation League

6/6/02 staff

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Extremism and Terrorism; The Changing Role of Law Enforcement: Policy, People and Technology; Inside the Minds of Terrorists and Extremists; and New Partnerships: Law Enforcement, the Military and Non-Governmental Organizations. Among the presenters were police chiefs from Arlington, VA, Irvine, CA, and Spokane, WA; and officials from the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command; the U.S. Army War College, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and ADL and FBI professionals.

David Friedman, Director of ADL's Washington, D.C. Regional Office, and Louis Quijas, Assistant Director for the FBI's Office of Law Enforcement Coordination, delivered closing remarks.

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Hunter Gray [Hunterbear]
www.hunterbear.org (strawberry socialism)
Protected by Na'shdo'i'ba'i'

Playing Ethnic Politics At Ground Zero

Sam Smith

MARCH 2003 "Progressive Review" — One of the reasons Rep. Jim Moran thinks Jewish leaders are powerful is because the ones he sees are. Jews outside of Washington – like gun-owners, doctors, and Chamber of Commerce members outside of Washington – don't have a strong sense of just how precisely their "community" is being defined daily by their capital lobbyists.

There is no doubt – if one considers the 'Jewish community' as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and various large Jewish campaign contributors – that Rep. Moran was quite correct in saying that they could have had a significant effect on the course of our policy in the Middle East. For example, it took only three days for them to have a significant effect on the course of Rep. Moran's career, getting his cowardly colleagues to force him out of his House leadership position. Earlier, they helped to have a similar effect on Rep Cynthia McKinney, who went down to defeat thanks in part to an influx of pro-Israel money. AIPAC, after all, is a lobby powerful enough that at its most recent conference, one half of the Senate and one-third of the House showed up.

The fact that the Washington leadership may not accurately reflect the diversity of its national constituency is not uniquely a Jewish problem; it is part of the displacement of democracy from the consensus of the many to the will of a select few that is speeding the decline of the Republic. And never have the selected been fewer than under the present Bush.

In talking about the Jewish manifestation of this, politicians and the media use two different approaches. One is the sanitized patois of ethnic sensitivity as when the perpetually clichéd Eleanor Clift wrote: "Moran apologized, but the historical echoes that

he awakened are so antithetical to what Democrats claim to stand for that he might as well bid goodbye to his political career."

But in the same article in which he quotes Clift, Greg Pierce of the Washington Times also writes, "One political analyst said he counseled two Democratic presidential campaigns to call for Moran's resignation. 'It would be a cheap way to reassure Jewish voters,' he said. 'I don't understand why they haven't done it yet.'"

In other words, what is considered anti-Semitic when stated at a town meeting, becomes in another context just your standard keen political analysis.

When you look at the facts rather than the Washington rhetoric, you find that Moran was even more right than it appeared at first. A study by Belief Net found that only the Southern Baptist Convention and some Jewish groups supported the military approach and every other listed major denomination opposed it. True, the Southern Baptists were unequivocally in favor of war while the Jewish groups – Orthodox Union, Union Of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), and United Synagogue Of Conservative Judaism – wanted to exhaust other alternatives first, but every other religion Belief Net checked opposed the war including the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, Episcopal Church, Greek Orthodox Church in America, Mormons – Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Presbyterian Church (USA), Quakers – American Friends Service Committee, United Church of Christ, United Methodist Church, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Unitarian Universalist Association. The Catholics weren't included but the Pope took a clear stand against the war.

So why go to such efforts to deliberately conceal and prevaricate concerning the role of key Jewish organizations in supporting the Iraq invasion?

Part of the answer can be found in none other than the hypocritically outraged Washington Post, in an article written by its White House correspondent, Dana Milbank, last November:

A group of U.S. political consultants has sent pro-Israel leaders a memo urging them to keep quiet while the Bush administration pursues a possible war with Iraq. The six-page memo was sent by the Israel Project, a group funded by American Jewish organizations and individual donors. Its authors said the main audience was American Jewish leaders, but much of the memo's language is directed toward Israelis. The memo reflects a concern that involvement by Israel in a U.S.-Iraq confrontation could hurt Israel's standing in American public opinion and undermine international support for a hard line against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. . .

The Iraq memo was issued in the past few weeks and labeled 'confidential property of the Israel Project,' which is led by Democratic consultant Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi with help from Democratic pollster Stan Greenberg and Republican pollsters Neil Newhouse and Frank Luntz. Several of the consultants have advised Israeli politicians, and the group aired a pro-Israel ad earlier this year. 'If your goal is regime change, you must be much more careful with your language because of the potential backlash,' said the memo, titled 'Talking About Iraq.'

"It added: 'You do not want Americans to believe that the war on Iraq is being waged to protect Israel rather than to protect America.' In particular, the memo urged Israelis to pipe down about the possibility of Israel responding to an Iraqi attack. 'Such certainty may be Israeli policy, but asserting it publicly and so overtly will not sit well with a majority of Americans because it suggests a pre-determined outcome rather than a measured approach,' it said."

This is not the first time this strategy has been tried. For example, in January 1991, David Rogers of the Wall Street Journal wrote:

When Congress debated going to war with Iraq, the pro-Israel lobby stayed in the background – but not out of the fight. Leaders of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee now acknowledge it worked in tandem with the Bush administration to win passage of a resolution authorizing the president to commit U.S. troops to combat. The behind-the-scenes campaign avoided AIPAC's customary high profile in the Capitol and relied instead on activists calling sometimes from Israel itself to contact lawmakers and build on public endorsements by major Jewish organizations. "Yes, we were active."

says AIPAC director Thomas Dine. “These are the great issues of our time, If you sit on the sidelines, you have no voice. . . ”

The debate revealed a deep ambivalence among Jewish lawmakers over what course to follow, pitting their generally liberal instincts against their support of Israel. Friends and families were divided. And even as some pro-Israel advocates urged a more aggressive stance, there was concern that the lobby risked damaging Israel’s longer term interests if the issue became too identified with Jewish or pro-Israel polities.

. . . AIPAC took pains to disguise its role, and there was quiet relief that the vote showed no solid Jewish bloc in favor of a war so relevant to Israel. “It isn’t such a bad idea that we were split,” says one Jewish lawmaker. . .

Pro-Israel PACs have poured money into campaigns for Southern Democrats not immediately identified with their cause. For example, the Alabama delegation voted in a bloc with Mr. Bush in both the House and Senate. At first glance, this can be ascribed to the conservative, pro military character of the state. But pro-Israel PACs have also cultivated Democrats there in recent years.”

It is hard to imagine such a frank description of ethnic politics today. Thus it is not surprising that few know that the aforementioned Thomas Dines – then executive director of AIPAC and now head of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty – is a member of the advisory committee of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq.

The Post, which didn’t mention Dines’ involvement in plotting the seizure of Iraq, described the new organization as “modeled on a successful lobbying campaign to expand the NATO alliance.”

In fact, the last time prior to the war itself that the Post even mentioned AIPAC was back in August before the Iraq invasion plot took full shape. So you had to look elsewhere to find out what the Jewish leadership was up to. For example, the Jerusalem Post reported last October:

After weeks of debate and consideration, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which represents 52 Jewish national groups, announced its support for US military action against Iraq “as a last resort.” In a statement released Saturday, the Conference of Presidents announced that all of its member groups “support President [George W.] Bush and the Congress in their efforts to gain unequivocal Iraqi compliance with the obligation to divest itself of weapons of mass destruction and the means to develop such weapons.” The statement also endorsed the Bush administration’s “efforts to enlist the United Nations and international cooperation to secure Iraqi compliance, including the use of force as a last resort.

The chairman of the group, Mortimer Zuckerman went a bit further, declaring that the failure to attack Iraq would “ruin American credibility in the Muslim world.”

Now let us imagine that the 52 Jewish organizations had instead reached a consensus that invading Iraq was illegal, unwise, unconstitutional, and an act of reckless endangerment against the whole world. Would that have influenced American policy? Of course it would.

Here's what happened instead, as described by Nathan Guttman of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz:

An unusual visitor was invited to address the annual conference held last week in Washington by AIPAC, the pro-Israeli lobby in the United States: the head of the Washington office of the Iraqi National Congress, Intifad Qanbar. The INC is one of the main opposition groups outside Iraq, and its leaders consider themselves natural candidates for leadership positions in the post-Saddam Hussein era. Qanbar's invitation to the conference reflects a first attempt to disclose the links between the American Jewish community and the Iraqi opposition, after years in which the two sides have taken pains to conceal them.

The considerations against openly disclosing the extent of cooperation are obvious – revelation of overly close links with Jews will not serve the interests of the organizations aspiring to lead the Iraqi people. Currently, at the height of rivalry over future leadership of the country among opposition groups abroad, the domestic opposition and Iraqi

citizens, it is most certainly undesirable for the Jewish lobby to forge – or flaunt – especially close links with any one of the groups, in a way that would cause its alienation from the others.

“At the current stage, we don’t want to be involved in this argument,” says a major activist in one of the larger Jewish organizations. In the end, Intifad Qanbar did not attend the AIPAC conference. . .

The Jewish groups maintain quiet contacts with nearly every Iraqi opposition group, and in the past have even met with the most prominent opposition leader, Ahmed Chalabi. The main objective was an exchange of information, but there was also an attempt to persuade the Iraqis of the need for good relations with Israel and with world Jewry. . . .

Aside from the annual AIPAC conference, two other major events in the United States last week underscored the gamut of opinions and perspectives in the American Jewish community on the war. The positioning of the AIPAC people behind the coalition forces and behind those who sent them is not surprising. AIPAC is wont to support whatever is good for Israel, and so long as Israel supports the war, so too do the thousands of the AIPAC lobbyists who convened in the American capital.

There is no such uniformity among the various religious Jewish movements, and indecisiveness is still very much the case. In Los Angeles, members of the Conservative movement’s Rabbinical Assembly gathered and tried to clarify their position on the . . . In the end, the issue was submitted to an executive council, which issued a draft resolution that offered support for the war, albeit with reservations. . .

The dilemma is more pronounced among Reform Jews. They also convened last week to formulate a joint position, and they too were careful not to launch any strident criticism of the war itself. . . The only decision relevant to the war was agreement on a prayer for the welfare of the soldiers at the front, and recognition of the fact that there are a variety of opinions on the war. The resolution that was adopted is very far from constituting an expression of support of any kind for the war, but is also far from constituting criticism of it.

The situation is simpler among the Orthodox. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war, the Orthodox Union, the umbrella organization of the community, released a statement that expressed unequivocal support for President Bush and his decision to launch the war on Iraq, which was described as having “noble aims.”

Despite the ambivalence within the various religious segments of Judaism, not to mention the split among Jews themselves, AIPAC carried on its aggressive pro-war activity with impunity.

Of course they had some help, as Michael Lind pointed out in the *New Statesman*:

Most neo-conservative defense intellectuals have their roots on the left, not the right. They are products of the largely Jewish-American Trotskyist movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which morphed into anti-communist liberalism between the 1950s and 1970s and finally into a kind of militaristic and imperial right with no precedents in American culture or political history. Their admiration for the Israeli Likud party’s tactics, including preventive warfare such Israel’s 1981 raid on Iraq’s Osirak nuclear reactor, is mixed with odd bursts of ideological enthusiasm for “democracy.” They call their revolutionary ideology “Wilsonianism” (after President Woodrow Wilson), but it is really Trotsky’s theory of the permanent revolution mingled with the far-right Likud strain of Zionism. Genuine American Wilsonians believe in self-determination for people such as the Palestinians.

The neo-con defense intellectuals, as well as being in or around the actual Pentagon, are at the center of a metaphorical “pentagon” of the Israel lobby and the religious right, plus conservative think-tanks, foundations and media empires. . .

The major link between the conservative think-tanks and the Israel lobby is the Washington-based and Likud-supporting Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, which co-opts many non-Jewish defense experts by sending them on trips to Israel. It flew out the retired General Jay Garner, now slated by Bush to be proconsul of occupied Iraq. In October 2000, he co-signed a JINSA letter that began: “We . . . believe that during the current upheavals in Israel, the Israel Defense Forces have exercised

remarkable restraint in the face of lethal violence orchestrated by the leadership of [the] Palestinian Authority."

The Israel lobby itself is divided into Jewish and Christian wings. [Pentagon officials Paul] Wolfowitz and [Douglas] Feith have close ties to the Jewish-American Israel lobby. Wolfowitz, who has relatives in Israel, has served as the Bush administration's liaison to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Feith was given an award by the Zionist Organisation of America, citing him as a "pro-Israel activist". While out of power in the Clinton years, Feith collaborating with Perle, co-authored for Likud a policy paper that advised the Israeli government to end the Oslo peace process, reoccupy the territories and crush Yasser Arafat's government.

Such experts are not typical of Jewish-Americans, who mostly voted for Gore in 2000. The most fervent supporters of Likud in the Republican electorate are southern Protestant fundamentalists. The religious right believes that God gave all of Palestine to the Jews, and fundamentalist congregations spend millions to subsidize Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

Then, of course, there is Israel itself which has been a huge beneficiary of American aid only to have repeatedly thwarted the better efforts of American presidents and other leaders – including those in Israel – seeking a bit of rationality in the Middle East. Much of this subversion of sanity has been masochistic; de facto, right wing Israelis have been among the world's most effective anti-Semites.

In a recent Counterpunch article, Kathleen and Bill Christison offer an explication of this phenomenon;

[Jeff Halper] is an Israeli anthropologist, until his retirement a year ago a professor at Ben Gurion University, a transplant 30 years ago from Minnesota, a harsh critic of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and, as founder of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, one of the leading peace and anti-occupation activists in Israel. . .

Zionism, he says, “is a very compelling narrative, but it is totally self-contained, a bubble in which Israelis separate themselves from all others.” Israelis regard everyone else as irrelevant. When it is suggested that fear motivates this self-absorption, Halper disagrees. “It’s not so much fear,” he says; Israelis “just don’t give a damn. They make everyone else a non-issue. They see themselves as the victim, and if you’re the victim, you’re not responsible for anything you do.”

Anything goes if you are the victim, he explains: you don’t care about the consequences of your actions for other people, you need not take any responsibility for the effect of your policies on others, you don’t care about how others feel. Israelis always think they’re right, he says. They believe everything they do is right because the Jewish nation is “right,” because they are only responding to what others do to them, only retaliating. “If you combine three elements: the idea that we are right, with the notion that we’re the victim, and with our great military power,” he says, you have a lethal combination. . . . Israel can act with brutality, but the responsibility, the fault, lies elsewhere.

To define good Jewishness – or conversely, anti-Semitism – by one’s reaction to the Sharon government makes no more sense than to define good Americanism by one’s reaction to Bush. Sharon not only blasphemously mocks the lessons supposedly learned from the Holocaust, his policies represent a huge departure from the humanistic and progressive politics that long characterized American Judaism. This tradition, born in European socialism and blended with American populism, helped mightily to form the social democracy our country increasingly enjoyed during the 20th century.

I, in fact, grew up almost believing that there were three branches of Judaism: Orthodox, Reform, and Liberal Democratic. And it often seemed that the last was the most powerful. In fact, you couldn’t be an urban progressive of my age without becoming part Jewish.

But history doesn’t stop, and just as greater America moved sharply right after 1980s, so did this country’s Jewish politics. It wasn’t alone. Feminism forgot lower class women, labor forgot its own members, the biggest thing the Congressional Black Caucus did anymore was an annual dinner, the environmental movement became

embedded in the Washington bureaucracy, and white liberals in general looked the other way as our civil liberties disintegrated.

To sweep this problem under the bed, to fail to discuss the disaster that pro-Israeli politics have become for fear of being called anti-Semitic is both cowardly and dangerous. At a time when the Washington Post is urging its readers to stock up on several days' food and buy gas masks because of the possible consequences of the internationally criminal policies it so vigorously supports, we no longer have time or tolerance for such cynical games. If you want to die for your own faith, fine, but you have no right to take the rest of the world with you.

The danger of the dishonest debate about the Middle East was well described by Joan Didion in a recent New York Review of Books:

[We need to] demystify the question of why we have become unable to discuss our relationship with the current government of Israel. Whether the actions taken by that government constitute self-defense or a particularly inclusive form of self-immolation remains an open question. The question of course has a history.

This open question, and its history, are discussed rationally and with considerable intellectual subtlety in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Where the question is not discussed rationally, where in fact the question is rarely discussed at all, since so few of us are willing to see our evenings turn toxic, is in New York and Washington and in those academic venues where the attitudes and apprehensions of New York and Washington have taken hold. The president of Harvard recently warned that criticisms of the current government of Israel could be construed as 'anti-Semitic in their effect if not their intent.'

The very question of the US relationship with Israel, in other words, has come to be seen as unraisable, potentially lethal, the conversational equivalent of an unclaimed bag on a bus. We take cover. We wait for the entire subject to be defused, safely insulated behind baffles of invective and counter-invective. Many opinions are expressed. Few are allowed to develop. Even fewer change."

We are entangled, in major part, in a religious war in which bin Laden, Bush and Sharon comprise a triptych of theological terror that is putting everyone at great risk. They are each involved in a vicious heresy, falsely defining their own myopic, immoral, and sadistic ambitions as their religion's moral faith. This is no time for politeness, politics, or silence. And while Jews are far from alone in needing to call their leadership back to sanity, neither are they exempt.

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AIPAC, ADL refuse to condemn inclusion of ethnic cleansers in new Israel government

By Ali Abunimah

**The Electronic Intifada
3 March 2003**

<http://electronicintifada.net/content/aipac-adl-refuse-condemn-inclusion-ethnic-cleansers-new-israel-government/4432>

LEADING PRO-ISRAELI ORGANIZATIONS in the United States have pointedly refused to condemn Ariel Sharon's inclusion in his new government of the National Union alliance parties whose members ran for election on a platform openly advocating the "transfer" - or ethnic cleansing -- of the Palestinians. The National Union is made up of three parties, Moledet, Tekuma and Israel Beitenu and won seven seats in the recent Israeli election.

The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), widely regarded as the most influential pro-Israeli group on Capitol Hill, did not issue any statement marking the formation of the new government. Rebecca Needler, AIPAC's press secretary explained to me that, "we don't comment on domestic Israeli issues." When I asked her if she thought that the inclusion in the Israeli government of a party that openly espouses ethnic cleansing would make AIPAC's advocacy work more difficult, Needler replied, "Israel's coalition government is representative of a true democracy."

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which boasts of "90 years fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry and extremism," also remained publicly silent. When I called for a comment, a woman named Sarah in the media relations office initially told me that, "we don't usually issue

statements on changes of government in democratic countries." I later received a call from ADL National Director Abraham Foxman. I asked Foxman if his organization planned to issue a statement commenting on the inclusion of the National Union parties in the Israeli government. Foxman's first reply was "Why would we?" I countered, "because they ran on a platform in favor of physically removing all the Palestinians from their homeland."

Foxman said that it is "an overstatement to say that the party ran on a platform of transfer." He claimed that this was just the personal view of a few individual members. On its website, however, one of the National Union parties says, "Moledet ("homeland" in Hebrew) is an ideological political party in Israel that embraces the idea of population transfer as an integral part of comprehensive plan to achieve real peace between the Jews and the Arabs Living in the Land of Israel. [sic] "The party further boasts that, "Moledet has successfully raised the idea of transfer in the public discourse and political arena in both Israel and abroad."

The National Union's combined platform states, "Within the framework of any agreement, it is necessary to solve the Palestinian refugee problem -- refugees who have spent the past 55 years in refugee camps. The proposed solution is transfer by agreement (population exchange) by which the refugees would be settled in Arab countries in place of Jews who emigrated to Israel from these countries." More than eighty percent of the population of Gaza and up to forty percent of the population of the West Bank are refugees.

Foxman explained that since "transfer" is not part of the coalition agreement, on which the new Israeli government is built, there was no reason to issue a public comment. "We disagree," he said, "with many parties on many things, and we don't make statements about everything." I asked if he didn't think the ADL had a special duty to respond to proposals that fit the international legal definition of genocide. Foxman assured me that he thought the idea of transfer was "unacceptable" and "undemocratic," but made no firm commitment to

condemn the new Israeli government for including parties with a clear pro-ethnic cleansing platform. Foxman said he had not read the relevant party platforms "in a while," a remarkable admission from a man whose organization apparently scrutinizes for evidence of 'anti-Semitism' every obscure pamphlet issued in the backstreets of Cairo. "I will go back and read them," Foxman assured, "and if transfer becomes part of the coalition agreement, then you can be sure you will hear from us."

The very high tolerance for racist and potentially genocidal ideas that Foxman evinces when they come from Israelis is not evident in other, lesser cases. For example, when the far-right Freedom Party made gains in Austria's elections in 2000 on an anti-immigrant platform, Foxman issued a statement saying, "It is astonishing that a significant portion of the [Austrian] population is ready to embrace a party and leadership that espouse xenophobic and nativist positions and statements." (ADL press release, 1 February 2000)

Foxman and ADL President Howard Berkowitz even flew off to Vienna to meddle directly in Austrian politics, and met with Austrian President Thomas Klestil, as well as the president of the Austrian parliament and other senior officials. According to a 28 February 2000 press release, "The Anti-Defamation League has watched the political situation in Austria with great concern. After meeting with elected officials, including President Thomas Klestil, we remain deeply concerned about the decision by Chancellor Wolfgang Schuessel to include Joerg Haider's Freedom Party as part of his coalition."

The idea of "solving" the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians is gaining increasing exposure in the United States as well as in Israel. In February 2002, the ubiquitous daily USA Today published an op-ed calling for "resettling" all the Palestinians in Jordan, and in May 2002, then US Republican Majority Leader, Congressman Dick Armey, explicitly backed transfer on national television. More recently, popular comedian Jackie Mason

wrote an article in The Jewish Press headlined, "Time To Threaten Arabs With Mass Eviction."

It is hardly surprising that such dangerous notions are becoming increasingly mainstream when the leading pro-Israeli organizations utterly fail to condemn them, and not a single American newspaper devotes an editorial to rejecting them. In such an unrestrained atmosphere it cannot be long before Sharon is indeed able to openly espouse "transfer" and still be lauded in Washington as a "man of peace."

This article was first published in The Daily Star on 3 March 2003

<http://dailystar.com.lb/default.aspx>

LIBEL AWARD AGAINST ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE UPHELD

DENVER Apr.23, 2003 - A \$9.75 million libel award against the Anti-Defamation League for publicly calling an Evergreen couple anti-Semitic was upheld Tuesday by a federal appeals court.

William and Dorothy Quigley won the judgment in April 2000 after the ADL's remarks at a news conference. The incident arose out of a dispute between the Quigleys and neighbors Mitchell and Candice Aronson, who are Jewish. The original judgment was \$10.5 million, but a judge reduced that to \$9.75 million in 2001 because the Quigleys had won a separate but related judgment against the Aronsongs over wiretapping violations.

The ADL appealed the libel judgment, but the 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the smaller award.

ADL regional director Bruce DeBoskey declined to comment.

The appeals court overturned the jury's finding that the ADL had invaded the Quigleys' privacy, saying the jury instructions were faulty. That decision had no effect on the libel award.

The dispute dates to 1994. The Aronsongs claimed the Quigleys made anti-Semitic remarks in phone conversations that the Aronsongs taped.

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The ADL in 1933 & Berlusconi now

by Lenni Brenner

9/19/2003

BrennerL21@aol.com

[If anyone asked informed Americans to name one Zionist organization, they would most likely cite the Anti-Defamation League. Its ads, and letters by Abe Foxman, its National Director, appear routinely in the New York Times and other publications.

It wasn't Zionist in the '30s. It was then just a desk in the office of the B'nai B'rith, (Sons of the Covenant), a fraternal order established in the 19th century by immigrants from Germany. The order represented the American Jewish upper class, which didn't come over to Zionism until its acceptance by Washington in 1948, after the Holocaust.

Today, the ADL is the public face of B'nai B'rith, but in the '30s, the order spoke for the ADL. Now the ADL pretends to be the shock troops in the fight against anti-Semitism, but readers of this 1933 editorial statement will see why it never dares to mention what it did against Hitler, and the surge of American Jew-hatred, in the wake of Hitler's 1933 triumph.

The document takes on special relevance now, as the ADL scandalizes the Jews of the world as it prepares to give an award to Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who has just announced that "Mussolini never killed anyone, Mussolini sent people away on vacation, in internment," when, in reality, he helped Hitler murder thousands of Italian Jews.

The text below can be found in *51 Documents: Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis*, Edited by Lenni Brenner and published by Barricade Books.]

"B'nai B'rith and the German-Jewish Tragedy," *B'nai B'rith Magazine*, May 1933.

Criticism is heard: B'nai B'rith did not join the public protests against the German-Jewish tragedy! The power of B'nai B'rith was not exploited sufficiently in the public press! What an opportunity B'nai B'rith had to keep its fame on the front pages in this crisis!

Such things have been said.

The members of this organization have cause to be proud of their affiliation with a Jewish body that obscured its own prestige in order to serve its German brethren the better. Not the glory of B'nai B'rith but the safety of German Jews was paramount at the moment and quietly B'nai B'rith moved to the defense of these brethren through the strong hand of the State Department.

What was the position of American Jewry in the tragic hour? It was as if a robber had entered one's house and seized one's child and held it for a shield... "You shoot at me and you kill your child!"

What does a man do in such a pass? Shoot? He puts aside his pistol. He considers other means of meeting the crisis.

With the Hitler government threatening reprisals against Jews, should B'nai B'rith have rushed forward with loud protests? In the eyes of the unthinking this might have enhanced the prestige of B'nai B'rith... "How courageous is B'nai B'rith!" they might have said.

B'nai B'rith puts aside the opportunity for valor (5,000 miles from the scene of danger!) and with what power is in its hand and in co-operation with other Jewish agencies, set in motion the diplomatic efforts that are already historic. Aye, B'nai B'rith might have thrown itself alone into the breach so that it could be said of it, "Singlehanded this organization battles for the rights of Jewry." But B'nai B'rith greatly desires unity in Israel and it marched with other organizations and still so marches.

If there has not been complete unity in Israel in this crisis, it is no fault of B'nai B'rith.

Weeks before the German-Jewish tragedy became the pain of all Jewry, B'nai B'rith, conscious of forebodings, took steps, met with the leaders of other organizations, considered what was best to do, having always in mind that nothing ought to be done that would endanger rather than mitigate the unhappy situation of the German Jews.

This policy directs and will continue to direct every move of B'nai B'rith acting in co-operation with the American Jewish Committee. We have no quarrel with other organizations that went their own way to make public protest. We believe, however, that time will show that the policy of B'nai B'rith is founded on better wisdom. We regret that in the momentous hour American Jewry is not united.

Even those who were at first hot for public protest have come to see that discretion is the better part of valor in an hour when lives are in the balance. They have announced that "In deference to the wishes of the State Department" they "refrain from making (further) comment on the tragic situation of the Jews in Germany."

For B'nai B'rith there was, besides, a poignant special cause to restrain it from action that might seem rash in the moment. It has fraternal ties with many Jews in Germany where the finest of Jewry is included in the membership of B'nai B'rith. Hostile public words or actions by B'nai B'rith in America might have reflected dangerously on the B'nai B'rith of Germany of whom it might have been said by their enemies, "They have instigated their fellow members in America against us."

The conscience of B'nai B'rith could never have acquitted itself had any ill-considered action by the Order in America caused injury to our brethren in Germany.

And what of the future? It may be answered that B'nai B'rith in co-operation with the American Jewish Committee is alert; that things are being carefully done; that perfect unity of speech and action exists between the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee.

If the Jews desire the unity of all Israel in America in the presence of this tragedy they can have it by demanding it of the organizations that represent them. As for B'nai B'rith, it feels that its action in this crisis will make a worthy chapter of its history.

Peninsula Professor Targeted by ADL for Criticism of Israel

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
San Francisco Bay Area Chapter
522 Valencia St San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 861-7444 adcsf@hotmail.com
www.adcsf.org

PLEASE ACT AND FORWARD!:

Professor Under Attack at Foothill College!

Take action to defend free speech!

Adjunct Political Science Professor Leighton Armitage of Foothill College is being targeted by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and other pro-Israel groups for comments he made in an interview in the student newspaper The Sentinel. According to the San Jose Mercury News article below, Armitage said the following:

"Armitage said, of Israeli treatment of Palestinians: 'And what are they doing with Palestinians, every day? They're killing them. They're walling them in, they're essentially doing the same thing that was one to them. . . . It's exactly what Hitler did to the Jews.'"

This valid critique of Israeli government policy is being labeled by the ADL as "anti-Semitic" and Armitage could be subject to disciplinary action, or possibly termination.

Foothill College and Professor Armitage have been receiving hundreds of phone calls and emails condemning Armitage and demanding Foothill to take action against him. They are under tremendous pressure and need to be urged to uphold the values of the freedom of speech and the

right of academics, and everyone else, to present criticism of any government's policies. This is just one instance in a string of attacks on college professors by groups such as the ADL and Daniel Pipes' CampusWatch.

Please contact the President and Vice President of Foothill College, supporting Armitage's right to freedom of speech and urging them not to cave in to those who wish to silence academic debate about the Israel/Palestine conflict.

President Bernadine Fong:
fongbernadine@foothill.edu
650-949-7425

Vice President of Technology and Instruction Penny Patz:
patzpenny@foothill.edu
650-949-7070

Please also send letters to the editor of the Mercury News regarding this issue:

Letters@mercurynews.com

<http://www.mercurynews.com/>

News

Posted on Tue, Feb. 10, 2004
Remarks spur college probe

ANTI-ISRAEL: FOOTHILL INVESTIGATES PUBLICATION OF PROFESSOR'S COMMENTS

By S.L. Wykes and Thaai Walker

Mercury News

Two weeks after a newspaper interview with a professor prompted a furor over what some on campus believed were anti-Semitic comments, Foothill College administrators are investigating how the story came to be published and are scheduling a meeting with the Anti-Defamation League.

In a letter about the situation, college President Bernadine Chuck Fong called the interview with adjunct political science Professor Leighton Armitage ``regrettable.'' Neither she nor other administration officials could be reached for comment beyond her letter, and it was unclear whether Armitage would be subject to disciplinary action.

In the question-and-answer style interview, published Jan. 28 in the student-funded paper The Sentinel, Armitage said, of Israeli treatment of Palestinians: ``And what are they doing with Palestinians, every day? They're killing them. They're walling them in, they're essentially doing the same thing that was done to them. . . . It's exactly what Hitler did to the Jews.''

Fong's letter apologized to those offended by the article and said it ``includes various allegations regarding the Israeli people and the state of Israel that are of serious concern to me and many members of the Foothill community.''

She continues, ``Our goal as a higher education institution is to ensure proper dialogue takes place.''

Faculty newspaper adviser Paul Starer could not be reached for comment.

Fong has agreed to meet with the Anti-Defamation League's Central Pacific regional director Jonathan Bernstein in about two weeks, something she would not do in October 2002 when the ADL wrote her a

letter with another complaint. A student had dropped out of a class after the teacher opened the semester with remarks that Israel was engaging in ethnic cleansing, adding, something it had probably learned from the Nazis.

After the first incident, Fong sent an e-mail to the ADL saying Foothill had ``policies in place that protect everyone, not just students, of their First Amendment rights.''

Bernstein said the ADL had recently conducted a workshop on hate speech for students and faculty members at De Anza College in Cupertino. ``We were asked to do that because there'd been a problem.'' he said. But, he added, ``these same issues exist at most schools, and what ends up happening is that generally administrators don't want to acknowledge the problems. . . . As a result the problem festers and you have this.''

Foothill student Tatyana Povolotsky, president of Foothill's Jewish Student Union, was very upset by the Sentinel piece. ``It wasn't just him attacking the political issue of the Israeli government. Instead he was attacking the Jewish people in general,'' she said. ``I think this is a hate thing.''

Armitage would not comment beyond saying, ``I'm so disgusted with the whole thing.'' He also said that none of the people ``giving me flack'' have been his students.

He teaches an introductory political science course at Foothill and also teaches at the College of San Mateo.

Bernstein said that the ADL was very concerned about the atmosphere Armitage might be creating in his classes. ``Every instructor has opinions, and we all have our own biases,'' he said. ``The key is to be open to differing viewpoints in the classroom so you don't shut people down.''

ADL Offers Damage Control For War Criminals

New York Times, 5/21/04

To the Editor: "The Gaza Quagmire" (editorial, May 20) oversteps when it accuses Israel of carrying out a deliberate plan "to unilaterally destroy the Palestinian territory."

Israel's operation in Gaza is trying to deal with an increasingly serious situation: the proliferation of tunnels through which Palestinian terrorists are smuggling weapons into the Gaza Strip to be used in attacks against Israeli soldiers and civilians. These tunnels are deliberately situated in high-density population areas.

The last few days in Gaza have witnessed tragic deaths on both sides. Israel has apologized for the deaths of demonstrators in Rafah, is investigating this tragic incident, and has repeated its commitment not to harm civilians.

KENNETH JACOBSON
Associate National Director
Anti-Defamation League
New York, May 20, 2004

Nader vs. the ADL

By Brian Faler

Thursday, August 12, 2004

RALPH NADER, THAT master of controversy, has a new bete noire: the Anti-Defamation League. The independent presidential candidate has become embroiled in an ugly exchange with the Jewish organization, after he suggested that President Bush and Congress were “puppets” of the Israeli government.” The days when the chief Israeli puppeteer comes to the United States and meets with the puppet in the White House and then proceeds to Capitol Hill, where he meets with hundreds of other puppets, should be replaced,” Nader said earlier this summer. That prompted an angry letter from the league, which complained that the “image of the Jewish state as a ‘puppeteer,’ controlling the powerful US Congress feeds into many age-old stereotypes which have no place in legitimate public discourse.” Nader is not backing down. In a letter to the group that will be released today, he reiterated his arguments, challenged the league to cite a recent example of when American leaders have pursued a policy opposed by the Israeli government and pointed to Israeli peace groups that he said share his criticism of that country’s leadership. “There is far more freedom in the media, in town squares and among citizens, soldiers, elected representatives and academicians in Israel to debate and discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than there is in the United States,” Nader wrote. The longtime consumer advocate’s willingness to criticize Israel may win him some votes, since both Bush and Democratic nominee John F. Kerry strongly support Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. But not if Abraham H. Foxman, the national director of the league has anything to say about it. “What he said smacks of bigotry,” Foxman said.

August 5, 2004

Abraham H. Foxman

National Director

Anti-Defamation League

823 United Nations Plaza

New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Foxman: How nice to hear your views. Years ago, fresh out of law school, I was reading your clear writings against bigotry and discrimination. Your charter has always been to advance civil liberties and free speech in our country by and for all ethnic and religious groups. These days all freedom-loving people have much work to do. As you know there is far more freedom in the media, in town squares and among citizens, soldiers, elected representatives and academicians in Israel to debate and discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than there is in the United States. Israelis of all backgrounds have made this point. Do you agree and if so, what is your explanation for such a difference? About half of the Israeli people over the years have disagreed with the present Israeli government’s policies toward the Palestinian people. Included in this number is the broad and deep Israeli peace movement which mobilized about 120,000 people in a Tel Aviv square recently. Do you

agree with their policies and strategy for a peaceful settlement between Israelis and Palestinians? Or do you agree with the House Resolution 460 in Congress signed by 407 members of the House to support the Prime Minister's proposal? See attachment re the omission of any reference to a viable Palestinian state – generally considered by both Israelis and Palestinians, including those who have worked out accords together, to be *asine qua non* for a settlement of this resolvable conflict – a point supported by over two-thirds of Americans of the Jewish faith. Would such a reasonable resolution ever pass the Congress? For more information on the growing pro-peace movements among the American Jewish Community see: Ester Kaplan, "The Jewish Divide on Israel," *The Nation*, June 24, 2004. Enclosed is the "Courage to Refuse – Combatant's Letter" signed by hundreds of reserve combat officials and soldiers of the Israeli Defense Forces. It is posted on their web at: www.seruv.org.il/defaulteng.asp. One highlight of their statement needs careful consideration: "We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people. We hereby declare that we shall continue serving in the Israel Defense Forces in any mission that serves Israel's defense. The missions of occupation and oppression do not serve this purpose – and we shall take no part in them" (Emphasis in original). Do you agree with these patriotic, front line soldiers' observation that Israel is dominating, expelling, starving and humiliating an entire people – the Palestinian people – and that in their words "the Territories are not Israel?" What is your view of Rabbi Lerner's Tikkun's call for peace, along with the proposals of Jewish Voice for Peace, the Progressive Jewish Alliance and Americans for Peace Now? As between the present Israeli government's position on this conflict and the position of these groups, which do you favor and why? Do you share the views in the open letter signed by 400 rabbis, including leaders of some of the largest congregations in our country, sent this March by Rabbis for Human Rights of North America to Ariel Sharon protesting Israel's house-demolition policy? Have you ever disagreed with the Israeli government's treatment of the Palestinian people in any way, shape or manner in the occupied territories? Do you think that these Semitic peoples have ever suffered from bigotry and devastation by their occupiers in the occupied West Bank, Gaza or inside Israel? If you want a reference here, check the website of the great Israeli human rights group B'Tselem. Since you are a man of many opinions, with a specialty focused on the Semitic peoples, explain the United States' support over the decades of authoritarian or dictatorial regimes, in the greater Middle East, over their own people which is fomenting resistance by fundamentalists. These questions have all occurred to you years ago, no doubt. So it would be helpful to receive your views. As for the metaphors – puppeteer and puppets – the Romans had a phrase for the obvious – *res ipsa loquitur*. The Israelis have a joke for the obvious -that the United States is the second state of Israel. How often, if ever, has the United States – either the Congress or the White House pursued a course of action, since 1956, that contradicted the Israeli government's position? You do read Ha'aretz, don't you? You know of the group Rabbis for Justice. To end the hostilities which have taken so many precious lives of innocent children, women and men – with far more such losses on the Palestinian side- the occupying military power with a massive preponderance of force has a responsibility to take the initiative. In a recent presentation in Chicago, former Israeli Prime Minister

Ehud Barak made the point explicitly – Israel should take the initiative itself unilaterally and start disengaging from the West Bank and Gaza and not keep looking for the right Palestinian Authority. Amram Mitzna, the Labor Party's candidate for Prime Minister in the 2003 election, went ever further in showing how peace can be pursued through unilateral withdrawal. Do you concur with these positions? Citizen groups are in awe of AIPAC's ditto machine on Capitol Hill as are many members of Congress who, against their private judgment, resign themselves to sign on the dotted line. AIPAC is such an effective demonstration of civic action – which is their right – that Muslim Americans are studying it in order to learn how to advance a more balanced Congressional deliberation in the interests of the American people. Finally, treat yourself to a recent column on February 5, 2004 in The New York Times, by Thomas Friedman, an author on Middle East affairs, who has been critical of both the Israeli and Palestinian leadership. Mr. Friedman writes: "Mr. Sharon has the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat under house arrest in his office in Ramallah, and he's had George Bush under house arrest in the Oval Office. Mr. Sharon has Mr. Arafat surrounded by tanks, and Mr. Bush surrounded by Jewish and Christian pro-Israel lobbyists, by a vice president, Dick Cheney, who's ready to do whatever Mr. Sharon dictates, and by political handlers telling the president not to put any pressure on Israel in an election year—all conspiring to make sure the president does nothing." These are the words of a double Pulitzer Prize winner. Do you agree with Mr. Friedman's characterization? Sounds like a puppeteer-puppet relationship, doesn't it? Others who are close to this phenomenon have made similar judgments in Israel and in the United States. Keep after bigotry and once in a while help out the Arab Semites when they are struggling against bigotry, discrimination, profiling and race-based hostility in their beloved adopted country – the U.S.A. This would be in accord with your organization's inclusive title.

Sincerely, Ralph Nader

Ralph Nader as David Duke? The ADL Wants You to Think So

By JOSH FRANK

Counterpunch, August 21 / 22, 2004

ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 20TH, THE Washington Post reported that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has branded Ralph Nader a "bigot", which is a furtive way of saying they think the independent candidate for president is a vile anti-Semite. Nader has come under attack from the ADL and their executive director Abe Foxman for suggesting that the US should proceed in a new direction regarding the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

"The days when the chief Israeli puppeteer comes to the United States and meets with the puppet in the White House and then proceeds to Capitol Hill, where he meets with hundreds of other puppets, should be replaced. The Washington Puppet Show should be replaced." Nader said in Washington DC forum titled "The Muslim Vote -- Election 2004".

Nader's crack at Ariel Sharon for being the "chief Israeli puppeteer", and his jab at George W. Bush for being Sharon's "puppet", didn't sit well with the pro-Zionist defense organization. Nader's comments provoked a rejoinder from the league which stated, "[Nader's] image of the Jewish state as a 'puppeteer,' controlling the powerful US Congress feeds into many age-old stereotypes which have no place in legitimate public discourse."

Of course Nader wasn't speaking of Israel's control over all US policies, but simply the US's special relationship with Sharon's occupying government. But as usual, the penalty for condemning the Israeli military establishment amounts to nothing less than being labeled a filthy Jew-hater -- for which it seems Ralph Nader is not even immune.

Standing fearlessly behind his claim, Nader told Amy Goodman of Democracy Now! that, "The truth here is that there is no balanced determination. The U.S. government never connects with the deep and broad Israeli peace movement. They put 120,000 people in the square in Tel Aviv recently. You would think that the U.S. government was not a puppet it would support the deep Israeli peace movement -- which has been in touch with the Palestinian peace advocates and has worked out more than one accord So, there should be a debate. The two candidates Kerry, and Bush, are both pro-Israeli military government."

Even if some progressives detest Ralph Nader's decision to run this year, pro-Palestinian advocates must admit that it is gratifying to finally hear such arguments made in the public arena -- for these criticisms have been political faux-paus for far too long. And certainly Nader is right to point out that little will change regarding the US and Israel if Kerry defeats Bush in November. As Kerry exclaimed to a Georgetown University crowd in January 2003, "Israel is our ally, the only true democracy in a troubled region. America has always been committed to Israel's independence and survival. We will never waiver."

Ralph Nader isn't notorious for backing down from a fight, and hard-line Zionists are always quick to throw the first sucker punch. So you can bet this will not be the last of the anti-Semitic accusations hurled at Nader by the ADL or other pro-Israel factions. It seems their only response to allegations of the US's critical support for the brutal Israeli government, or one's compassion for the Palestinian plight, is to label such individuals as malicious Jew-hating-bigots. It just shows how insignificant the ADL's charges have become. Ralph Nader is not David Duke. Even if they want you to think so.

How Bush's grandfather helped Hitler's rise to power

Rumours of a link between the US first family and the Nazi war machine have circulated for decades. Now the Guardian can reveal how repercussions of events that culminated in action under the Trading with the Enemy Act are still being felt by today's president

Ben Aris in Berlin and [Duncan Campbell](#) in Washington
[The Guardian](#), Saturday 25 September 2004 23.59 BST

George Bush's grandfather, the late US senator Prescott Bush, was a director and shareholder of companies that profited from their involvement with the financial backers of Nazi Germany. The Guardian has obtained confirmation from newly discovered files in the US National Archives that a firm of which Prescott Bush was a director was involved with the financial architects of Nazism.

His business dealings, which continued until his company's assets were seized in 1942 under the Trading with the Enemy Act, has led more than 60 years later to a civil action for damages being brought in Germany against the Bush family by two former slave labourers at Auschwitz and to a hum of pre-election controversy.

The evidence has also prompted one former US Nazi war crimes prosecutor to argue that the late senator's action should have been grounds for prosecution for giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

The debate over Prescott Bush's behaviour has been bubbling under the surface for some time. There has been a steady internet chatter about the "Bush/Nazi" connection, much of it inaccurate and unfair. But the new documents, many of which were only declassified last year, show that even after America had entered the war and when there was already significant information about the Nazis' plans and policies, he worked for and profited from companies closely involved with the very German businesses that financed Hitler's rise to power. It has also been suggested that the money he made from these dealings helped to establish the Bush family fortune and set up its political dynasty.

Remarkably, little of Bush's dealings with Germany has received public scrutiny, partly because of the secret status of the documentation involving him. But now the multibillion dollar legal action for damages by two Holocaust survivors against the Bush family, and the imminent publication of three books on the subject are threatening to make Prescott Bush's business history an uncomfortable issue for his grandson, George W, as he seeks re-election.

While there is no suggestion that Prescott Bush was sympathetic to the Nazi cause, the documents reveal that the firm he worked for, Brown Brothers Harriman (BBH), acted as a US base for the German industrialist, Fritz Thyssen, who helped finance Hitler in the 1930s before falling out with him at the end of the decade. The Guardian has seen evidence that shows Bush was the director of the New York-based Union Banking Corporation (UBC) that represented Thyssen's US interests and he continued to work for the bank after America entered the war.

Tantalising

Bush was also on the board of at least one of the companies that formed part of a multinational network of front companies to allow Thyssen to move assets around the world.

Thyssen owned the largest steel and coal company in Germany and grew rich from Hitler's efforts to re-arm between the two world wars. One of the pillars in Thyssen's international corporate web, UBC, worked exclusively for, and was owned by, a Thyssen-controlled bank in the Netherlands. More tantalising are Bush's links to the Consolidated Silesian Steel Company (CSSC), based in mineral rich Silesia on the German-Polish border. During the war, the company made use of Nazi slave labour from the concentration camps, including Auschwitz. The ownership of CSSC changed hands several times in the 1930s, but documents from the US National Archive declassified last year link Bush to CSSC, although it is not clear if he and UBC were still involved in the company when Thyssen's American assets were seized in 1942.

Three sets of archives spell out Prescott Bush's involvement. All three are readily available, thanks to the efficient US archive system and a helpful and dedicated staff at

both the Library of Congress in Washington and the National Archives at the University of Maryland.

The first set of files, the Harriman papers in the Library of Congress, show that Prescott Bush was a director and shareholder of a number of companies involved with Thyssen.

The second set of papers, which are in the National Archives, are contained in vesting order number 248 which records the seizure of the company assets. What these files show is that on October 20 1942 the alien property custodian seized the assets of the UBC, of which Prescott Bush was a director. Having gone through the books of the bank, further seizures were made against two affiliates, the Holland-American Trading Corporation and the Seamless Steel Equipment Corporation. By November, the Silesian-American Company, another of Prescott Bush's ventures, had also been seized.

The third set of documents, also at the National Archives, are contained in the files on IG Farben, who was prosecuted for war crimes.

A report issued by the Office of Alien Property Custodian in 1942 stated of the companies that "since 1939, these (steel and mining) properties have been in possession of and have been operated by the German government and have undoubtedly been of considerable assistance to that country's war effort".

Prescott Bush, a 6ft 4in charmer with a rich singing voice, was the founder of the Bush political dynasty and was once considered a potential presidential candidate himself. Like his son, George, and grandson, George W, he went to Yale where he was, again like his descendants, a member of the secretive and influential Skull and Bones student society. He was an artillery captain in the first world war and married Dorothy Walker, the daughter of George Herbert Walker, in 1921.

In 1924, his father-in-law, a well-known St Louis investment banker, helped set him up in business in New York with Averill Harriman, the wealthy son of railroad magnate E H Harriman in New York, who had gone into banking.

One of the first jobs Walker gave Bush was to manage UBC. Bush was a founding member of the bank and the incorporation documents, which list him as one of seven directors, show he owned one share in UBC worth \$125.

The bank was set up by Harriman and Bush's father-in-law to provide a US bank for the Thyssens, Germany's most powerful industrial family.

August Thyssen, the founder of the dynasty had been a major contributor to Germany's first world war effort and in the 1920s, he and his sons Fritz and Heinrich established a network of overseas banks and companies so their assets and money could be whisked offshore if threatened again.

By the time Fritz Thyssen inherited the business empire in 1926, Germany's economic recovery was faltering. After hearing Adolf Hitler speak, Thyssen became mesmerised by the young firebrand. He joined the Nazi party in December 1931 and admits backing Hitler in his autobiography, *I Paid Hitler*, when the National Socialists were still a radical fringe party. He stepped in several times to bail out the struggling party: in 1928 Thyssen had bought the Barlow Palace on Brienerstrasse, in Munich, which Hitler converted into the Brown House, the headquarters of the Nazi party. The money came from another Thyssen overseas institution, the Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart in Rotterdam.

By the late 1930s, Brown Brothers Harriman, which claimed to be the world's largest private investment bank, and UBC had bought and shipped millions of dollars of gold, fuel, steel, coal and US treasury bonds to Germany, both feeding and financing Hitler's build-up to war.

Between 1931 and 1933 UBC bought more than \$8m worth of gold, of which \$3m was shipped abroad. According to documents seen by the Guardian, after UBC was set up it transferred \$2m to BBH accounts and between 1924 and 1940 the assets of UBC hovered around \$3m, dropping to \$1m only on a few occasions.

In 1941, Thyssen fled Germany after falling out with Hitler but he was captured in France and detained for the remainder of the war.

There was nothing illegal in doing business with the Thyssens throughout the 1930s and many of America's best-known business names invested heavily in the German economic recovery. However, everything changed after Germany invaded Poland in 1939. Even then it could be argued that BBH was within its rights continuing business relations with the Thyssens until the end of 1941 as the US was still technically neutral until the attack on Pearl Harbor. The trouble started on July 30 1942 when the New York Herald-Tribune ran an article entitled "Hitler's Angel Has \$3m in US Bank". UBC's huge gold purchases had raised suspicions that the bank was in fact a "secret nest egg" hidden in New York for Thyssen and other Nazi bigwigs. The Alien Property Commission (APC) launched an investigation.

There is no dispute over the fact that the US government seized a string of assets controlled by BBH – including UBC and SAC – in the autumn of 1942 under the Trading with the Enemy act. What is in dispute is if Harriman, Walker and Bush did more than own these companies on paper.

Erwin May, a treasury attache and officer for the department of investigation in the APC, was assigned to look into UBC's business. The first fact to emerge was that Roland Harriman, Prescott Bush and the other directors didn't actually own their shares in UBC but merely held them on behalf of Bank voor Handel. Strangely, no one seemed to know who owned the Rotterdam-based bank, including UBC's president.

May wrote in his report of August 16 1941: "Union Banking Corporation, incorporated August 4 1924, is wholly owned by the Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart N.V of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. My investigation has produced no evidence as to the ownership of the Dutch bank. Mr Cornelis [sic] Lievense, president of UBC, claims no knowledge as to the ownership of the Bank voor Handel but believes it possible that Baron Heinrich Thyssen, brother of Fritz Thyssen, may own a substantial interest."

May cleared the bank of holding a golden nest egg for the Nazi leaders but went on to describe a network of companies spreading out from UBC across Europe, America and Canada, and how money from voor Handel travelled to these companies through UBC.

By September May had traced the origins of the non-American board members and found that Dutchman HJ Kouwenhoven – who met with Harriman in 1924 to set up UBC – had several other jobs: in addition to being the managing director of voor Handel he was also the director of the August Thyssen bank in Berlin and a director of Fritz Thyssen's Union Steel Works, the holding company that controlled Thyssen's steel and coal mine empire in Germany.

Within a few weeks, Homer Jones, the chief of the APC investigation and research division sent a memo to the executive committee of APC recommending the US government vest UBC and its assets. Jones named the directors of the bank in the memo, including Prescott Bush's name, and wrote: "Said stock is held by the above named individuals, however, solely as nominees for the Bank voor Handel, Rotterdam, Holland, which is owned by one or more of the Thyssen family, nationals of Germany and Hungary. The 4,000 shares hereinbefore set out are therefore beneficially owned and help for the interests of enemy nationals, and are vestible by the APC," according to the memo from the National Archives seen by the Guardian.

Red-handed

Jones recommended that the assets be liquidated for the benefit of the government, but instead UBC was maintained intact and eventually returned to the American shareholders after the war. Some claim that Bush sold his share in UBC after the war for \$1.5m – a huge amount of money at the time – but there is no documentary evidence to support this claim. No further action was ever taken nor was the investigation continued, despite the fact UBC was caught red-handed operating a American shell company for the Thyssen family eight months after America had entered the war and that this was the bank that had partly financed Hitler's rise to power.

The most tantalising part of the story remains shrouded in mystery: the connection, if any, between Prescott Bush, Thyssen, Consolidated Silesian Steel Company (CSSC) and Auschwitz.

Thyssen's partner in United Steel Works, which had coal mines and steel plants across the region, was Friedrich Flick, another steel magnate who also owned part of IG Farben, the powerful German chemical company.

Flick's plants in Poland made heavy use of slave labour from the concentration camps in Poland. According to a New York Times article published in March 18 1934 Flick owned two-thirds of CSSC while "American interests" held the rest.

The US National Archive documents show that BBH's involvement with CSSC was more than simply holding the shares in the mid-1930s. Bush's friend and fellow "bonesman" Knight Woolley, another partner at BBH, wrote to Averill Harriman in January 1933 warning of problems with CSSC after the Poles started their drive to nationalise the plant. "The Consolidated Silesian Steel Company situation has become increasingly complicated, and I have accordingly brought in Sullivan and Cromwell, in order to be sure that our interests are protected," wrote Knight. "After studying the situation Foster Dulles is insisting that their man in Berlin get into the picture and obtain the information which the directors here should have. You will recall that Foster is a director and he is particularly anxious to be certain that there is no liability attaching to the American directors."

But the ownership of the CSSC between 1939 when the Germans invaded Poland and 1942 when the US government vested UBC and SAC is not clear.

"SAC held coal mines and definitely owned CSSC between 1934 and 1935, but when SAC was vested there was no trace of CSSC. All concrete evidence of its ownership disappears after 1935 and there are only a few traces in 1938 and 1939," says Eva Schweitzer, the journalist and author whose book, *America and the Holocaust*, is published next month.

Silesia was quickly made part of the German Reich after the invasion, but while Polish factories were seized by the Nazis, those belonging to the still neutral Americans (and some other nationals) were treated more carefully as Hitler was still hoping to persuade the US to at least sit out the war as a neutral country. Schweitzer says American interests were dealt with on a case-by-case basis. The Nazis bought some out, but not others.

The two Holocaust survivors suing the US government and the Bush family for a total of \$40bn in compensation claim both materially benefited from Auschwitz slave labour during the second world war.

Kurt Julius Goldstein, 87, and Peter Gingold, 85, began a class action in America in 2001, but the case was thrown out by Judge Rosemary Collier on the grounds that the government cannot be held liable under the principle of “state sovereignty”.

Jan Lissmann, one of the lawyers for the survivors, said: “President Bush withdrew President Bill Clinton’s signature from the treaty [that founded the court] not only to protect Americans, but also to protect himself and his family.”

Lissmann argues that genocide-related cases are covered by international law, which does hold governments accountable for their actions. He claims the ruling was invalid as no hearing took place.

In their claims, Mr Goldstein and Mr Gingold, honorary chairman of the League of Anti-fascists, suggest the Americans were aware of what was happening at Auschwitz and should have bombed the camp.

The lawyers also filed a motion in The Hague asking for an opinion on whether state sovereignty is a valid reason for refusing to hear their case. A ruling is expected within a month.

The petition to The Hague states: “From April 1944 on, the American Air Force could have destroyed the camp with air raids, as well as the railway bridges and railway lines from Hungary to Auschwitz. The murder of about 400,000 Hungarian Holocaust victims could have been prevented.”

The case is built around a January 22 1944 executive order signed by President Franklin Roosevelt calling on the government to take all measures to rescue the European Jews. The lawyers claim the order was ignored because of pressure brought by a group of big American companies, including BBH, where Prescott Bush was a director.

Lissmann said: "If we have a positive ruling from the court it will cause [president] Bush huge problems and make him personally liable to pay compensation."

The US government and the Bush family deny all the claims against them.

In addition to Eva Schweitzer's book, two other books are about to be published that raise the subject of Prescott Bush's business history. The author of the second book, to be published next year, John Loftus, is a former US attorney who prosecuted Nazi war criminals in the 70s. Now living in St Petersburg, Florida and earning his living as a security commentator for Fox News and ABC radio, Loftus is working on a novel which uses some of the material he has uncovered on Bush. Loftus stressed that what Prescott Bush was involved in was just what many other American and British businessmen were doing at the time.

"You can't blame Bush for what his grandfather did any more than you can blame Jack Kennedy for what his father did – bought Nazi stocks – but what is important is the cover-up, how it could have gone on so successfully for half a century, and does that have implications for us today?" he said.

"This was the mechanism by which Hitler was funded to come to power, this was the mechanism by which the Third Reich's defence industry was re-armed, this was the mechanism by which Nazi profits were repatriated back to the American owners, this was the mechanism by which investigations into the financial laundering of the Third Reich were blunted," said Loftus, who is vice-chairman of the Holocaust Museum in St Petersburg.

"The Union Banking Corporation was a holding company for the Nazis, for Fritz Thyssen," said Loftus. "At various times, the Bush family has tried to spin it, saying they were owned by a Dutch bank and it wasn't until the Nazis took over Holland that they realised that now the Nazis controlled the apparent company and that is why the Bush supporters claim when the war was over they got their money back. Both the American treasury investigations and the intelligence investigations in Europe completely bely that, it's absolute horseshit. They always knew who the ultimate beneficiaries were."

"There is no one left alive who could be prosecuted but they did get away with it," said Loftus. "As a former federal prosecutor, I would make a case for Prescott Bush, his father-in-law (George Walker) and Averill Harriman [to be prosecuted] for giving aid and comfort to the enemy. They remained on the boards of these companies knowing that they were of financial benefit to the nation of Germany."

Loftus said Prescott Bush must have been aware of what was happening in Germany at the time. "My take on him was that he was a not terribly successful in-law who did what Herbert Walker told him to. Walker and Harriman were the two evil geniuses, they didn't care about the Nazis any more than they cared about their investments with the Bolsheviks."

What is also at issue is how much money Bush made from his involvement. His supporters suggest that he had one token share. Loftus disputes this, citing sources in "the banking and intelligence communities" and suggesting that the Bush family, through George Herbert Walker and Prescott, got \$1.5m out of the involvement. There is, however, no paper trail to this sum.

The third person going into print on the subject is John Buchanan, 54, a Miami-based magazine journalist who started examining the files while working on a screenplay. Last year, Buchanan published his findings in the venerable but small-circulation New Hampshire Gazette under the headline "Documents in National Archives Prove George Bush's Grandfather Traded With the Nazis – Even After Pearl Harbor". He expands on this in his book to be published next month – Fixing America: Breaking the Stranglehold of Corporate Rule, Big Media and the Religious Right.

In the article, Buchanan, who has worked mainly in the trade and music press with a spell as a muckraking reporter in Miami, claimed that "the essential facts have appeared on the internet and in relatively obscure books but were dismissed by the media and Bush family as undocumented diatribes".

Buchanan suffers from hypermania, a form of manic depression, and when he found himself rebuffed in his initial efforts to interest the media, he responded with a series of threats against the journalists and media outlets that had spurned him. The threats,

contained in e-mails, suggested that he would expose the journalists as “traitors to the truth”.

Unsurprisingly, he soon had difficulty getting his calls returned. Most seriously, he faced aggravated stalking charges in Miami, in connection with a man with whom he had fallen out over the best way to publicise his findings. The charges were dropped last month.

Biography

Buchanan said he regretted his behaviour had damaged his credibility but his main aim was to secure publicity for the story. Both Loftus and Schweitzer say Buchanan has come up with previously undisclosed documentation.

The Bush family have largely responded with no comment to any reference to Prescott Bush. Brown Brothers Harriman also declined to comment.

The Bush family recently approved a flattering biography of Prescott Bush entitled *Duty, Honour, Country* by Mickey Herskowitz. The publishers, Rutledge Hill Press, promised the book would “deal honestly with Prescott Bush’s alleged business relationships with Nazi industrialists and other accusations”.

In fact, the allegations are dealt with in less than two pages. The book refers to the Herald-Tribune story by saying that “a person of less established ethics would have panicked ... Bush and his partners at Brown Brothers Harriman informed the government regulators that the account, opened in the late 1930s, was ‘an unpaid courtesy for a client’ ... Prescott Bush acted quickly and openly on behalf of the firm, served well by a reputation that had never been compromised. He made available all records and all documents. Viewed six decades later in the era of serial corporate scandals and shattered careers, he received what can be viewed as the ultimate clean bill.”

The Prescott Bush story has been condemned by both conservatives and some liberals as having nothing to do with the current president. It has also been suggested that

Prescott Bush had little to do with Averill Harriman and that the two men opposed each other politically.

However, documents from the Harriman papers include a flattering wartime profile of Harriman in the New York Journal American and next to it in the files is a letter to the financial editor of that paper from Prescott Bush congratulating the paper for running the profile. He added that Harriman's "performance and his whole attitude has been a source of inspiration and pride to his partners and his friends".

The Anti-Defamation League in the US is supportive of Prescott Bush and the Bush family. In a statement last year they said that "rumours about the alleged Nazi 'ties' of the late Prescott Bush ... have circulated widely through the internet in recent years. These charges are untenable and politically motivated ... Prescott Bush was neither a Nazi nor a Nazi sympathiser."

However, one of the country's oldest Jewish publications, the Jewish Advocate, has aired the controversy in detail.

More than 60 years after Prescott Bush came briefly under scrutiny at the time of a faraway war, his grandson is facing a different kind of scrutiny but one underpinned by the same perception that, for some people, war can be a profitable business.

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Weekend Edition
October 16 / 17, 2004

A Letter to Abraham Foxman Criticizing Israel is Not Anti-Semitism

By RALPH NADER

Dear Mr. Foxman:

You started your last letter with the sentence: "We are not engaged in a dialogue about the issues you raised in your letter." That is precisely the point, is it not, Mr. Foxman. For many years you have eschewed engaging in a dialogue with those in Israel and the United States who disagree with your views. Your mode of operation for years has been to make charges of racism or insinuation of racism designed to slander and evade. Because your pattern of making such charges, carefully calibrated for the occasion but of the same stigmatizing intent, has served to deter critical freedom of speech, you have become sloppy with your characterizations when it comes to attempts to hold you accountable. Of course citizen groups make charges all the time but their critics and corporate adversaries do review and rebut which keeps both sides more alert to accuracy especially when they desire press coverage. Few groups get the free ride that has been the case of the ADL when it ventures beyond its historic mission into covering the Israeli militaristic regime and its brutalization and slaughter of far more innocent Palestinians it occupies, than the reverse casualties inflicted on innocent Israelis.

Your insensitivity here is legion. You fail to understand that your studied refusal to reflect the condemnations of Israeli military action and mayhem against civilians, by the great Israeli human rights organization B't selem and the major international human rights organizations, contributes to the stereotypic bigotry against Palestinian Arabs and the violent Gulag that imprisons them in the West Bank and Gaza. Yours is more than the "crime of silence" so deservedly condemned in other periods of modern history when despots reigned. You go out of your way to silence or chill others who are raising the same points that B'T selem and Rabbis for Justice and other U.S. and Israeli peace groups, such as Rabbi Lerner's Tikkun initiative, do.

You are not above twisting words of those you take to task in order to be able to deploy the usual semantic vituperatives. My comments related to the Israeli government with the fifth most powerful and second most modern military machine in the world through its prime minister possessing the role of puppeteer to puppets in the White House and Congress. You distorted the comment into “Jews controlling the U.S. government.” Shame on you. You know better. If you do not see the difference between those two designations, you yourself are treading on racist grounds. Indeed, you are too willing to justify any violence against innocent Palestinian children, women and men in the mounting thousands on the grounds of inadvertence and security when such casualties are either direct or foreseeable results of planned military operations. Your refusal to condemn bigoted language, cartoons, articles and statements in Israel up to the highest government levels, can be called serious insensitivity to “the other anti-Semitism.” Both Jews and Arabs belong to the ancient Semitic tribes of the Middle East either genealogically or metaphorically. There is, as you know so well, anti-Semitism against Jews in many places in the world. There is, as you always ignore, aggressive anti-Semitism against defenseless Arabs in many places in the world and in Israel whose military might and nuclear weapons could destroy the entire Middle East in a weekend.

Consider for example, one of many, many episodes of similar impact excerpted from an essay in CounterPunch by Jules Rabin, “[An Israeli Refusnik Visits Vermont, The Man Who Didn’t Walk By](#)”, August 3, 2004:

The man who “didn’t walk by” is Yonatan Shapira, until recently pilot of a Blackhawk helicopter and captain in the elite Israeli Air Force. I met Yonatan not many days ago when he came to speak in my town, Montpelier, Vermont, about a major turning point in his life.

Yonatan is a lover of his country, a composer, and a handler of extraordinary machines. He was dismissed from Israel’s air force in 2003 because he refused to take part in aerial attacks in areas of the Occupied Territories of Palestine where there exist large concentrations of civilians liable to become a “collateral damage.” In Yonatan’s view, such attacks are both illegal and immoral because of the near-inevitability of their killing innocent civilians. In support of his position, Yonatan cites the authority of the Israeli army’s own code of ethical behavior, and the fact that, (by a recent reckoning) of 2,289

Palestinians killed by the Israeli Defense Forces in the current Intifada, less than a quarter (550) were bearing arms or were fighters.

At the same time, Yonatan has declared himself absolutely ready to fight in the defense of Israel proper.

* * *

Yonatan was shocked into his refusal to obey orders by two occurrences, among others.

One was the action of a fellow Israeli pilot who fired a 1-ton bomb from his F16 fighter jet, as ordered, at a house in Al-Deredg, where a suspected Palestinian terrorist was staying. Yonatan identifies Al-Deredg as one of the most crowded districts of Gaza, and indeed of the world. Besides the targeted Palestinian, 13 local people were killed in that attack: 2 men, 2 women, and 9 children, one of whom was 2 years old. 160 other people were wounded in the explosion. A 1-ton bomb, Yonatan calculates, has approximately 100 times the explosive power of the type of lethal belts worn by Palestinian suicide bombers. In proportion to the US population and the fatalities of the original 9/11 disaster, now an icon and classic measure of terrorist devastation, the fatalities of that single attack on tiny Gaza (population 1,200,000) were greater by 10% than the fatalities in America's own 9/11.

Nor was the bombing of Al-Deredg unique in the scale of its impact on civilian life. Yonatan has cited the casualties resulting from 7 other targeted assassinations conducted in Palestine by the Israel Defense Forces, where, along with 7 other targeted individuals, 44 bystanders were killed. Taking Palestine's overall population at 3,500,000 and that of the US at 290 million, those 44 bystander deaths would represent, in proportion to the US population, another one and a-third 9/11's.

As a volunteer in Selah, a group that assists victims of Palestinian terror, Yonatan has first-hand knowledge of the appalling effects of the multiple 9/11-scale attacks that Israel has itself experienced, at the hands of Palestinian terrorists. He was nevertheless or consequently appalled by the action in Al-Deredg of his fellow pilot. He considered the means used in the attack, a 1-ton bomb, and its goal, the assassination of one man, to

be wildly disproportionate to the attack's predictable collateral effects, and a violation of the rules of engagement concerning which all Israeli soldiers are instructed. Those rules, as Yonatan has understood them, include the obligation to refuse to obey orders that are clearly illegal and immoral.

The other occurrence Yonatan cited, that pushed him to become a refuser, came out of a disturbing exchange he had with the commander of the Israeli Air Force, General Dan Halutz, concerning his refusal to serve on a mission in the Occupied Territories. In Yonatan's words:

In the discussion of my dismissal, I asked General Halutz if he would allow the firing of missiles from an Apache helicopter on a car carrying wanted men, if it were traveling in the streets of Tel Aviv, in the knowledge that that action would hurt innocent civilians who happened to be passing at the time. In answer, the general gave me his list of relative values of people, as he sees it, from the Jewish person who is superior down to the blood of an Arab which is inferior. As simple as that.

As simple as that.

Yonatan is convinced that actions like those of his fellow-pilot and attitudes like those of his commanding general are destroying Israel from within, whatever their effect on Palestine.

* * *Superficially, Yonatan conforms to a stereotype of a career military officer, air force style. He's tall and lithe, dresses trimly and wears his hair closely clipped. He departs from the military stereotype in other respects. There's nothing of the eagle in his bearing. He's unassuming, and in conversation and argument, he's almost humble in his appeal to his interlocutor's reason and understanding. He listens and speaks with the innate respect and the close attention of a scholar pursuing an investigation, or a navigator studying a chart.

If you do not condemn such behavior as anti-Semitism against Arabs, by your international stature, you are not restraining the present Israeli government's sense that

it can conduct such operations with impunity, with a free pass from moral condemnation by a man so accustomed to moral condemnations.

Attached is a copy of my letter to you of August 5, 2004 in which I urged you once again to address. In addition, would you use the same words in your previous letter regarding my characterization of the puppeteer-puppets relationship to the writings of Tom Friedman, Rabbi Michael Lerner and many other Americans and Israelis of the Jewish faith? If not, why not? Is there a thinly veiled bias working here or would you have to use another one of your semantic sallies portraying them as “self-hating Jews?”

In conclusion, Abraham Foxman has a problem. He is in a time warp and cannot adjust to the new age of total Israeli military domination of the Palestinian people. A majority of the Israeli and Palestinian people believe in a two state solution an independent, viable Palestinian state and a secure Israel. This is the way to settle this conflict and live in peace for future generations. The ADL should be working toward this objective and not trying to suppress realistic discourse on the subject with epithets and innuendos. As former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak stated in Chicago last June, Israel needs to begin disengaging from the occupied territories and not wait for the right Palestinian Authority. The overwhelming preponderance of military force permits this to happen.

If you have not met frequently with the broad and deep Israeli peace movement, you might wish to change your routine so that you can play a part in the historic effort to establish a broad and deep peace between the two Semitic peoples. The exchanges should be videotaped and widely distributed to further the cause of peace and to witness Abraham Foxman dialoguing without his customary lines that evade the issues.

Sincerely,

Ralph Nader

Censoring Thought and the ADL Effort to Deny Tenure to Joseph Massad

Statement to the Ad Hoc Committee 1

March 14, 2005

Joseph Massad

I have prepared a statement to read to you. I would be happy to answer your questions afterwards. Before I begin, however, I want to ascertain that as professor Katznelson has informed me, the only complaints that your committee has heard about me are the two complaints that the press reported from my students, namely the complaint by Noah Liben and the complaint by Deena Shanker. As for the complaint by Tomy Schoenfeld, who was not my student, I presume, his case is irrelevant to this body, as your mandate states that "as a result of the expression of concern by a number of students that they were being intimidated by faculty members and being excluded from participating fully in classroom discussions because of their views," you are expected "to identify cases where there appear to be violations of the obligation to create a civil and tolerant teaching environment."² If there are any other complaints against me, unless I am told what they are and who made them, and the date and place where they allegedly took place, I shall not respond to them.

I appear before you today because of a campaign of intimidation to which I have been subjected for over three years. While this campaign was started by certain members of the Columbia faculty, and by outside forces using some of my students as conduits, it soon expanded to include members of the Columbia administration, the rightwing tabloid press, the Israeli press, and more locally the Columbia Spectator. Much of this preceded the David Project film "Columbia Unbecoming," and the ensuing controversy. In the following statement, I will provide you with the history of this coordinated campaign, including the facts pertaining

to the intimidation to which I am being subjected by the Columbia University administration, most manifestly through the convening of your own committee before which I appear today out of a combined sense of intimidation and obligation and not because I recognize its legitimacy. You need to bear with the details of the following narrative, as the campaign of intimidation against me is most insidious in its details.

I started teaching at Columbia in the Fall of 1999. At the conclusion of my first academic year, during which I taught my class on Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies, I received a Certificate of Appreciation for teaching presented by “The Students of Columbia College, Class of 2000,” and was nominated and was one of the two finalists for the Van Doren teaching award which went that year to Professor Michael Stanislawski. In my second year, I began to be told of whispers about my class on Palestinian and Israeli politics and Societies. Jewish Students in my class in the Spring 2001 would tell me that I was the main topic of discussion at the Jewish Theological Seminary and at Hillel and that my class is making the Zionists on campus angry. I took such reports lightly, as the class had doubled in size from the first year. I did notice however that the class included some cantankerous students who insisted on scoring political points during the lectures. I would always defuse the situation by allowing all questions to be asked and by attempting to answer them informatively. I would do so in class and during office hours. I had strong positive evaluations from most of my students with some complaining that the class was biased. Although my course description explained that “The purpose of the course is to provide a thorough yet critical historical overview of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict to familiarize undergraduates with the background to the current situation,”³ I decided in the following year (Spring 2002) to emphasize that point more clearly. The course description read as follows:

The course examines critically the impact of Zionism on European Jews and on Asian and African Jews on the one hand, and on Palestinian

Arabs on the other –in Israel, in the Occupied Territories, and in the Diaspora. The course also examines critically the internal dynamics in Palestinian and Israeli societies, looking at the roles class, gender, and religion play in the politics of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The purpose of the course is not to provide a “balanced” coverage of the views of both sides, but rather to provide a thorough yet critical historical overview of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict to familiarize undergraduates with the background to the current situation from a critical perspective.⁴

The point of the class description is to make sure the students understood that no side was being presented, neither the Palestinian nor the Zionist side, but rather that this was a course that was critical of both Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. When I taught the class in 2004, after returning from my sabbatical, I decided to remove the sentence on “balance,” especially after CampusWatch began to attack me for including it, to which I will return below. I removed it.⁵

It was with this as background that I started my Spring 2002 semester. My Palestinian and Israeli course seemed to have a more cantankerous crowd that year than before. Even though this year, the class had two discussion sections to accommodate the number of students, a number of students insisted on having discussions during the lecture. Some would bring with them a pro-Israel lobby propaganda book from which they would insist on reading in class. I would let them.

One student in particular stood out. A smart older student in General Studies, who identified herself as having a South African Jewish background, would insist on asking many questions every lecture, most of which were about scoring political points. The class had over 80 students and therefore it was difficult to accommodate such a large number of questions from students. No matter, I decided to let her ask all her questions in every lecture in order to make her feel comfortable and that she feel that the class is a space where she could express

herself freely. She would E-mail me asking for exact sources for information that I would give in class. I would E-mail her back what she needed. For a while, it seemed that I was her research assistant, which I was happy to do, in order to teach her that there are indeed scholarly sources and scholarly answers to her political queries. I later found out from other students that she was circulating a petition in the class to have me fired from Columbia. I asked her after class one day if that was the case, and told her that if it were so, that she would be free to circulate it outside of class, not inside. She smiled back without comment. I saw her on college walk one day after Spring break. She came up to me and told me that she had just been to Israel and the Occupied Territories and expressed how bad she felt about the situation there. She apologized about the petition and told me that she had been approached “from the outside” to do it but she had dropped the matter. She spoke of people at the medical school and others from outside the university who were behind the idea, but did not provide details. I did not inquire.

Another student of mine (now at the School of International and Public Affairs), who self-identified as a “Likudnik,” also approached me on campus one day during the Spring 2002 semester, telling me that he and a few other students had been invited to see a female professor at the medical school. He described that the meeting was so “surreptitious” and “conspiratorial,” that it felt that they were planning on having me “murdered.” In fact, the plan was to strategize how to get me fired. The student told me that they discussed the option of meeting with a female administrator who worked at the time at the Middle East Institute, to coordinate the plan with her. He told me that he had informed the students and the medical school professor that even though he disagreed with me, that he thought I had the right to express my views.

The female student who initiated the petition against me was not alone in class who consistently posed hostile questions. Three or four other

students would do so intermittently. One of them insisted on reading out loud in class paragraphs from a propaganda book issued by a pro-Israel lobbying organization. The book is “Myths and Facts: A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict” written by one Mitchell Bard and published by the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, which states on its website that “We are committed to arming students with the information they need to respond to the very difficult issues raised on the campus” through the publication of Bard’s book.⁶ Many students complained that these few students were disruptive of class, especially as there are discussion sections for them to raise their concerns. I allayed their anxiety by explaining that there is something to learn from some of the students’ politically-motivated questions, namely that all students would learn the political arguments of proponents and opponents of certain scholarly analyses of the conflict, and that students who had political queries would also learn that there are indeed persuasive answers to the queries they raise from a critical and scholarly angle. For me, allowing these students to disrupt my lecture was of pedagogical benefit to them and to the rest of the class.

During the same semester, in April 2002, I was attacked and misquoted by the Spectator after attending an on-campus rally in support of Palestinians under Israeli military attack in the West Bank and Gaza, and an op-ed piece and letters were published in the Spectator accusing me of “anti-Semitism” for a lecture I had given at the Middle East Institute in February 2002.⁷ The op-ed piece by a junior at Barnard named Daphna Berman, who was not my student, drew parallels between a swastika found in a law school bathroom and my lecture and rebuked the university for allowing me to speak out:

“I was struck by the University’s willingness to publicly condemn blatant expressions of anti-Semitism [such as the swastika incident] while simultaneously condoning, and even sponsoring, more tacit and subtle forms of that same evil. Massad’s talk is lent a certain legitimacy by mere virtue of the fact that his views exist within an academic framework. The

rhetoric is polished, the multisyllabic words characteristic of academia are pleasing to the ear, and so Massad's message somehow becomes more acceptable, more palatable. Yet fundamentally, the difference between Massad's message and its more blatant and visually tangible manifestation are only subtle."⁸

As for the political rally, which took place on Wednesday April 17, 2002, I was one of countless speakers. I spoke out and asserted the following: "Like white South Africans who felt threatened under apartheid and who only felt safe when they gave up their commitment to white supremacy, Israeli Jews will continue to feel threatened if they persist in supporting Jewish supremacy. Israeli Jews will only feel safe in a democratic Israeli state where all Jews and Arabs are treated equally. No state has the right to be a racist state." The Spectator misquoted me as saying that Israel is "a Jewish supremacist and racist state," and that "every racist state should be threatened."⁹ When I protested the misquotation, the Spectator journalist who wrote the story, Xan Nowakowski, apologized and informed me via E-mail that she did not even attend the rally and got the quotes from another reporter. She assured me that the newspaper would run a correction. After a back and forth for almost a week on E-mail, the Spectator ran the correction on April 24, 2002.

However, two major pro-Israeli propagandists, namely Martin Kramer and Daniel Pipes, would insist on reproducing the misquote in articles that they wrote to newspapers and that they posted on their websites. On June 20, 2002, Martin Kramer, an Israeli academic who teaches at Tel Aviv university, posted an article on the Middle East Forum website titled "Arab Panic," in which he attacked a number of Columbia professors, myself included. He argued that "Massad's views are not all that unusual in Middle Eastern studies, and he has every right to express them on Columbia's Low Plaza, in public lectures, and in print. But should someone who is busy propagandizing against the existence of Israel be employed by Columbia to teach the introductory course on the Arab-Israeli conflict?... Suffice it to say that this column has received

a surfeit of student complaints about the course, suggesting that there is no difference between what Massad teaches and what he preaches.” In his article, Kramer reproduced the misquote from the Spectator. Prior to Kramer’s column, a website for an organization called “The Columbia Conservative Alumni Association” listed me among the six “worst faculty” at Columbia, a list that also included Edward Said who was identified as a “homosexual” who supports Hamas. Martin Kramer was only too happy to quote from that website in his article, as would other columnists writing for the New York Sun.

On June 25 2002, Daniel Pipes and one Jonathan Schanzer published an article in the New York Post titled “Extremists on Campus,” in which they listed me as one such extremist and complained that I use my class as a “soapbox for anti-Israeli polemics.” The Wall Street Journal published on September 18, 2002 an article about a pro-Israel website calling itself CampusWatch being launched by Daniel Pipes, stating that the website listed 8 professors (including me) with our own public dossiers as enemies of America and Israel and called on our students to monitor us in class. Following the launch of CampusWatch, my E-mail was spammed for months with over 4000 E-mails daily, which I had to sift through until finally Columbia was able to install an anti-spamming program. Moreover, I was subjected to identity theft when thousands of racist E-mails would be sent in my name to individuals and listservs, including a few to the White House and Congressmen threatening them with terrorist action. Moreover, thousands of other E-mails would be sent to people with requests of notes of receipt being sent back to my E-mail account which clogged it further with thousands of such E-mail receipts. I also received tens of racist E-mails and phone messages including death threats directed at me. In the meantime, Pipes’s website called on our own students to spy on us in the classroom and report to him, and Kramer called for my dismissal from Columbia University.¹⁰ In interviews that I gave to the press, I spoke about the misquotation which Pipes and Kramer continued to propagate, and about my experience in my Spring

2002 class, with regards to the petition to get me fired and the secret meeting at the Medical school which my student had told me about.¹¹ As I was on sabbatical in London that year, I was relatively shielded from the campaign, even though my E-mail account continued to be disrupted. I did come to Columbia to deliver a lecture on Palestinian cinema in January 2003. My lecture, titled “The Weapon of Culture,” discussed how Palestinian cinema was a weapon of resistance and an act of culture in reference to Amilcar Cabral’s famous essay “the Weapon of Theory.” Kramer immediately attacked my paper based on reports in the press.¹²

In late January 2003, I began to write a column to the Egyptian Weekly Al-Ahram which deals mostly with Palestinian-Israeli affairs and with the Arab World more generally. Every time I published an article, Kramer and Pipes would write about it, as would new student recruits that they had on campuses. One such ideological recruit was a first year student in General Studies whom I had never met called Ariel Beery. Beery would become one of the main people defending the claims of the David Project in whose film he appeared and called me “one of the most dangerous intellectuals... on campus.” Beery has never taken a class with me and never met me. Beery, who claims to have served in the Israeli army in Lebanon, had his own Spectator column and a personal blog. Beery arrived on the Columbia campus when I was on sabbatical, yet, surprisingly, he chose to write about me in his column. After criticizing my Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies course, which he never took, Beery asserted:

One would think that we need a teacher in the classroom, not a critic...The problem lies not in what Massad believes, but in his openly biased presentation in the classroom. The statements he issues are anywhere from questionable to fundamentally wrong.

Basing his arguments on one of my newspaper columns, Beery added the following:

"If anything, Massad's claim [in his column] that there is no anti-Semitism in the Arab world should disqualify him from setting foot in a Columbia University classroom as a professor of Modern Arab Politics. Just as you would not trust a surgeon with shaky knowledge of the human anatomy, Columbia should not trust the minds of its charges to a professor with a limited knowledge of the body politic of the region he supposedly is an expert in. [Massad also] says that the claim that Israel is democratic is no more than a 'propagandistic image.'... th[is]...charge on Israel should again disqualify Massad from teaching at Columbia."13

In a second column, Beery again railed against me and lamented that

"Our educations are bound in intellectual Egypt, enslaved by the post-colonialist slant that has permeated our social sciences, while our institution is trapped by its old-fashioned bylaws into protecting the employment of those who espouse hateful and violent rhetoric... Will President Bollinger and future Provost Alan Brinkley be our gate and our key to a new and better University? Only time will tell. Let's just hope that our time in the wilderness will be short and that next year we will enjoy a rebuilt Columbia."14

This is in addition to myriad log entries on me on his website.

In April 2003, I decided to respond to Kramer and Pipes in an article titled "Policing the Academy," in which I fleshed out their agenda and their plans. I concluded by stating that

"Kramer, Pipes, and co. are angry that the academy still allows democratic procedure in the expression of political views and has an institutionalised meritocratic system of judgment...to evaluate its members. Their goal is to destroy any semblance of either in favour of subjecting democracy and academic life to an incendiary jingoism and to the exigencies of the national security state with the express aim of imploding freedom. Their larger success, however, has been in discrediting themselves and in reminding all of us that we should never

take the freedoms that we have for granted, as the likes of Kramer and Pipes are working to take them away.”¹⁵

I attach the text of my article at the end of this statement.

Upon returning to Columbia in the Fall of 2003, I was scheduled to give a lecture on the 2nd of October at the Society of Fellows at the Heyman Center. The lecture was attended by a large number of people including many faculty members, Professor Nicholas Dirks, who had not yet become vice-president, was among them. After the lecture I was asked a number of hostile questions from young students and from one Rabbi Charles Sheer, about whom I had heard the previous year when he railed against MEALAC professors in the context of the pro-Palestinian rally that took place on campus in April 2002. I had never met him before. I answered all the questions put before me. Several professors came to me afterwards, including Brinkley Messick of the Department of Anthropology and my departmental colleague Janaki Bakhle, among others, wondering how I managed to remain calm in the face of rude and hostile questions of the caliber I had been asked. Rabbi Sheer’s secretary called me and left a message asking for the text of the lecture. I never responded. The lecture has been published in the scholarly journal Cultural Critique and has recently been the topic of a newspaper article in the New York Sun, and I believe also in the Daily News.¹⁶ On 6 January 2004, Rabbi Sheer posted a letter on the Hillel website addressed to Columbia and Barnard students, in which he discussed my lecture and made a startling announcement. In his letter, Sheer shared an article he had written called “The Treatment of the Middle East Studies at Columbia University.”¹⁷ Sheer declared that “the principal anti-Israel voices [on Columbia’s campus] are not pro-Palestinian student leaders and groups, but Columbia faculty and academic departments.” He added that “On the one hand, there are many fine courses taught by CU faculty on Hebrew language and literature, the history of Israel and Zionism, Arab culture, languages and nationalism, etc. These courses, offered in various departments, are

taught with the usual CU standard of careful scholarship and balance...On the other hand, some faculty members whose teaching style is called ‘advocacy education’ espouse a consistent anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian bias. Their personal politics pervade the classroom and academic forums. The record is public: search under ‘Columbia University’ at websites such as www.campus-watch.org and www.martinkramer.org. Be prepared; it is not a pleasant read.”¹⁸

Sheer proceeded to mention that he had attended my lecture at the Heyman Center and then summarized it by making outrageous claims that were never made in the lecture:

“Professor Massad has reversed the roles of all the players and redefined many of the historic events: the Zionists are the new Nazis; the Palestinians are oppressed victims and therefore the new Jews... From a distance, this diatribe may sound ludicrous. However, its impact on campus is serious. MEALAC should enable our students to explore issues vital to their understanding of the modern Middle East in a balanced way...”

We will see how the false claim attributed to me by Rabbi Sheer that I said that “the Zionists are the new Nazis,” a claim I never made, would find its way to Ariel Beery who would make the same claim in the video “Columbia Unbecoming,”¹⁹ as would Noah Liben in his description of my course –a false claim that would be repeated ad absurdum in the media. Sheer concluded with two interesting claims, one which effectively called on students not to take my class, and another announcing the filming of Columbia Unbecoming:

“Of course, academic freedom is a cornerstone of our University. However, students are understandably reluctant to take courses from faculty who impose their biases in their teaching. A student group is currently working on a video that records how intimidated students feel by advocacy teaching, and how some are discouraged from taking MEALAC courses or majoring in Middle East studies.”

Sheer further called on Columbia University to “share my passion for unbiased scholarship and the establishment of a proper learning environment so our students – Jews and non-Jews – can learn about complex issues with honesty and integrity.” 20

Suffice it to say that my class had over fifty students for the Spring 2004 and students did not heed the call made by Sheer. The class did however include a number of auditors (I found out they were unregistered during the last week of class) who would consistently harass me with hostile ideological questions that ignored all the readings. Students complained about the disruption this caused the class. I tried to emphasize to the auditors that their questions must be relevant to the subject at hand and that they must do the readings. They never did and I continued to answer their questions until the end of the semester to avoid creating a tense atmosphere in the classroom.

During this period, the New York Sun and Kramer and Pipes continued to attack me in their columns and on their websites. In an article on December 30, 2003, the Sun had again attacked one of my newspaper columns misquoting me. In my column, I stated that “While Israel has no legitimacy and is not recognized by any international body as a ‘representative’ of the Jewish people worldwide but rather as the state of the Israeli people who are citizens of it...,” the Sun quoted me as saying that “Israel has no legitimacy.” I asked for a correction from the reporter Jacob Gershman. He agreed and the newspaper ran it the next day.²¹ This however was just a brief lull. On May 4, 2004, the Sun ran another article about me by one Jonathan Calt Harris, identified as an associate of Daniel Pipes at Campus Watch, titled “Tenured Extremism.” After a litany of misquotes, half quotes, and outright fabrications, Calt Harris, who referred to my views as akin to those of “Nazis,” concluded by stating: “Mr. Massad is soon up for tenure review. Should this once distinguished university stoop to provide a permanent forum for his views, it would signify a truly stunning oversight...He knows no distinction between a classroom lecture and advocacy at a public demonstration.”²²

Based on this repeated call to deny me tenure at Columbia, which had already been expressed by Martin Kramer, I set up an appointment with Provost Brinkley and met with him. I sought his help and the help of the university's legal services to fight this defamation of character. The latest article in the New York Sun included such blatant and insidious misrepresentations that I seriously considered suing them for defamation. I provided copies of my written work for the Provost and told him of the campaigns to which I had been subjected in the previous years. While the provost seemed mildly supportive, he did not think that suing would be practical. I asked him if he could arrange for me to meet with legal services to which he reluctantly agreed. I had to remind him by E-mail to set up a meeting for me. After he put me in touch with legal services, my E-mails to them went unanswered. I asked the provost to intervene which he did. His intervention produced a response from their office asking me about my available times to set up an appointment. I sent it to them and never heard back. I dropped the matter after I left in mid summer for vacation abroad.

In the meantime however, I received a letter from Joel J. Levy, director of the New York chapter of the Anti-Defamation League, copies of which had been sent to President Bollinger and Provost Brinkley. The letter was significantly dated on May 6, 2004, two days after Calt Harris published his article in the Sun. The letter complained to me that, according to one report it received from one student who attended a lecture that I had given at the University of Pennsylvania on March 24, 2004 (which incidentally was the same lecture I gave at Columbia's Society of Fellows the previous October), ideas expressed in my lecture are "anti-Semitic." The letter made false claims about what my lecture said and asked that I retract them and issue an apology for my allegedly anti-Semitic remarks. I wrote Mr. Levy back and copied President Bollinger and Provost Brinkley. I stated in my letter that:

"My principled stance against anti-Semitism and all kinds of racism is a matter of public record and cannot be assailed by defamatory 'reports'

or by letters from the ADL that consider them credible sources. Indeed I have condemned anti-Semitism in my Arabic and English writings, regardless of whether the person expressing it was pro-Israel or anti-Israel, an Arab, an American Christian, or an Israeli Jew... I therefore expect a prompt correction of the errors contained in your letter and demand an immediate apology, a copy of which should be sent to President Bollinger.”²³

I never heard back from the ADL, or from the provost.

It was with this as background that news about the David Project film “Columbia Unbecoming,” surfaced on October 20, 2004 in a New York Sun article.²⁴

The Aftermath of Columbia Unbecoming

I was horrified by the media campaign against me and the calls for my dismissal from Columbia that were issued by Congressman Weiner and by the editors of the Daily News and the New York Sun, as well as calls by Jewish members of the New York City Council to investigate the matter. These calls were issued as declarations about the controversy by the national head of the ADL and Mayor Bloomberg were also made to the press and the film was suddenly being shown in Israel before a government minister at an anti-Semitism conference. I had requested a meeting with Provost Brinkley who did not contact me once during the early days of the controversy during which President Bollinger was making all kinds of statements to the press. My request to meet with the Provost was made through the chair of my department, Marc van de Mieroop, who attended our meeting in the Provost’s office on the 27th of October. I inquired of the provost as to why he would sit down secretly to watch a propaganda film produced by a lobbying group and why he would remain silent about it after he had seen it. The provost apologized and admitted that these were mistakes but that now we needed to contain the problem. He assured me that he had received countless

letters in my support and few against me. When I spoke with Vice-President Dirks later, he also informed me that he had received “hundreds” of letters in my support and “three or four” against me. I trust that the President, the Provost, and the Vice-President, have shared with you these letters. While the provost and I corresponded briefly on E-mail, mainly about my concerns regarding statements made by President Bollinger, which the Provost would challenge and represent as the media’s inaccurate rendering, soon there would be no further communication with him. President Bollinger to this day has not contacted me.

The Columbia Spectator ran an editorial asking me to respond to the allegations. They wrote me and called me asking that I issue a statement. I agreed with their editorial page editor, Rachael Scarborough King, on the number of words and sent it to them. They refused to publish it unless I cut it to 1600 words, 400 words below what they had agreed to. I cut down my statement and resent it. They still refused to publish it. The editorial page editor, Ms. King sent me an apology about her sense of shame that the editor in chief “overruled” her and refused to run it. I have kept our E-mail correspondence. I opted to post my response to the allegations on my Columbia Webpage on November 3, 2005, against the advice of the Provost, who counseled that my silence was of more benefit to me. The Spectator would later publish Charles Jacobs, the director of the David Project’s response to my statement.²⁵

Let me begin by responding to the claims put forward in “Columbia Unbecoming,” both based on press reports and on the recent transcript of the film made available on the web. I still have not seen the film. Let me reiterate what I said in my statement regarding the claims put by the students in the film:

I am now being targeted because of my public writings and statements through the charge that I am allegedly intolerant in the classroom, a

charge based on statements made by people who were never my students, except in one case, which I will address momentarily. Let me first state that I have intimidated no one. In fact, Tomy Schoenfeld, the Israeli soldier who appears in the film and is cited by the New York Sun, has never been my student and has never taken a class with me, as he himself informed The Jewish Week. I have never met him. As for Noah Liben, who appears in the film according to newspaper accounts (I have not seen the film), he was indeed a student in my Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies course in the spring of 2001. Noah seems to have forgotten the incident he cites. During a lecture about Israeli state racism against Asian and African Jews, Noah defended these practices on the basis that Asian and African Jews were underdeveloped and lacked Jewish culture, which the Ashkenazi State operatives were teaching them. When I explained to him that, as the assigned readings clarified, these were racist policies, he insisted that these Jews needed to be modernized and the Ashkenazim were helping them by civilizing them. Many students gasped. He asked me if I understood his point. I informed him that I did not. Noah seems not to have done his reading during the week on gender and Zionism. One of the assigned readings by Israeli scholar and feminist Simona Shiloni spoke of how in Hebrew the word “zayin” means both penis and weapon in a discussion of Israeli militarized masculinity. Noah, seemingly not having read the assigned material, mistook the pronunciation of “zayin” as “Zion,” pronounced in Hebrew “tziyon.” As for his spurious claim that I said that “Jews in Nazi Germany were not physically abused or harassed until Kristallnacht in November 1938,” Noah must not have been listening carefully. During the discussion of Nazi Germany, we addressed the racist ideology of Nazism, the Nuremberg Laws enacted in 1934, and the institutionalized racism and violence against all facets of Jewish life, all of which preceded the extermination of European Jews. This information was also available to Noah in his readings, had he chosen to consult them. Moreover, the lie that the film propagates claiming that I would equate Israel with Nazi Germany is abhorrent. I have never made such a reprehensible equation.

I remember having a friendly rapport with Noah (as I do with all my students). He would drop off newspaper articles in my mailbox, come to my office hours, and greet me on the street often. He never informed me or acted in a way that showed intimidation. Indeed, he would write me E-mails, even after he stopped being my student, to argue with me about Israel. I have kept our correspondence. On March 10, 2002, a year after he took a class with me, Noah wrote me an E-mail chastising me for having invited an Israeli speaker to class the year before when he was in attendance. It turned out that Noah's memory failed him again, as he mistook the speaker I had invited for another Israeli scholar. After a long diatribe, Noah excoriated me: "How can you bring such a phony to speak to your class??" I am not sure if his misplaced reproach was indicative of an intimidated student or one who felt comfortable enough to rebuke his professor!²⁶

As for the claim made by Ariel Beery, whom I have never met and who has never been my student, that my "favorite description is the Palestinian as the new Jew and the Jew as the new Nazi." Such a statement is an outright lie. Beery gets this quote not from anything I said or wrote, but from the fabrication made up by Rabbi Sheer on his Hillel web posting of January 4th 2004. As for the claims made by Deena Shanker, whose story suddenly appeared in a report in the New York Sun after my posted statement dismantled the false claims made by Liben and Schoenfeld, her claims are also outright lies.²⁷ In her New York Sun account, Ms. Shanker stated that she asked me "if it is true that Israel gives prior warning before launching strikes in Palestinian Arab territories"....That provoked him to start screaming, "If you're going to deny the atrocities being committed against the Palestinians then you could leave the class," Ms. Shanker said...She said she was "shocked" by his reaction, and that Mr. Massad "usually answered civilly along the lines of, "No, you're wrong." She said Mr. Massad compared Israelis to Nazis during lectures in class.

Shanker later told the New York Times a different story: "She said that Professor Massad sometimes ridiculed her questions and during one class exchange yelled at her to get out. (She stayed.) 'People in the class were like blown away,' she said."²⁸ Her account to the Jerusalem Post was also inconsistent with the other two accounts:

'If you're going to deny the atrocities being committed against the Palestinian people then you can get out of my classroom!' Massad shouted, according to Shanker's account...Shanker was shocked...

'Sometimes teachers and professors yell at students – it happens – but this was not like anything I've ever experienced. He was not treating me like a student,' she said... Shanker said she had grown accustomed to Massad's antagonism toward Israel, but the professor's rage at her for speaking up was frightening... 'I felt – I wouldn't say 'intimidated' was the right word – I would say: humiliated, violated, scared. This was very overt and explicit.'²⁹

Deena Shanker is lying in all three versions of her story. I have never asked her or any student to leave my class no matter what question they asked. In fact, I never asked any of my students to leave class for any reason. I have no visual memory of Deena Shanker who never came to office hours or spoke with me after class. The incident she describes has never taken place.

In the aftermath of the film, I have received, and still receive, a barrage of hate mail and racist E-Emails and voicemail messages. The first such E-mail message was from a medical school professor called Moshe Rubin. Professor Rubin wrote me on October 20th, the same day as the first report was published in the Sun. Under the subject heading "Anti-Semite" he wrote:

"Go back to Arab land where Jew hating is condoned
get the hell out of America
you are a disgrace

and a pathetic typical arab liar
Moshe Rubin”

Many more such E-mails would follow. The campaign would quickly expand and include medical school professor Judith Jacobson. Such threatening E-mails have also targeted others in my department. A recent E-mail was sent last week to all the Jewish students and faculty at MEALAC from an Israeli group calling itself “United Trial Group – Peoples Rights International,” informing them that:

“We advise you to immediately dismiss/kick ass of Joseph Goebbels, aa Joseph Massed based on the President Bush Bill against anti-Semitism and according with the US anti-terrorism law, proscribing Nazi propaganda and incitement to terror. If you and the administration won’t immediately dismiss that fascist bastard, you and the administration will be personally liable and accountable for aiding, abetting and harboring this Muslim criminal, and subject to criminal prosecution and multimillion compensations in damages... You have 30 days to comply and inform us.”

I should state that I have received immense support from across the world, through countless letters and thousands of signatures on an online petition. These include hundreds of individual letters from academics, students, and supporters, and tens of letters from my own students, especially my Jewish students. All these letters were sent to President Bollinger, Provost Brinkley, and Vice-President Dirks. Copies of many of these letters were sent to me. In addition, a colleague at the University of Texas at Austin, Professor Neville Hoad, circulated a letter within a few days of the controversy and obtained 828 signatures of major scholars and academics around the United States and the world, which he also submitted to the President, the Provost, and the Vice-President. Another academic colleague at the State University of California, As’ad AbuKhalil, set up an on-line petition, which obtained upwards of 3000 signatures, a copy of which was also sent to Bollinger.

Hooligans attempted to undermine the petition by signing names like “Adolf Hitler” and ‘Osama Ben Laden,’ but they were not able to shut the petition down. In addition, two letters were sent to the President, the Provost, and the Vice-President, one by 24 graduate students at MEALAC, and another by 52 graduate students from other departments at Columbia. The Middle East Studies Association’s Academic Freedom Committee also issued a letter defending my academic freedom, as did the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Thirty professors from the American University in Cairo also sent a letter defending me. President Bollinger has as of yet not responded to any of these individuals or organizations with the notable exception of the ACLU. A response was also sent by the Provost to the AAUP. In the meantime, my own senior colleague Dan Miron had joined the fray with claims to the New York Sun that students in the department had been complaining to him of class humiliation by professors every week for years.³⁰

President Bollinger’s Failure to Defend the Faculty

The response of the Columbia University administration to the David Project was swift. As I will show below, in statement and action, Columbia’s President Bollinger has prejudged the accused faculty, and failed to defend us or the MEALAC department, and he refused to defend Columbia’s own record of pluralism and tolerance, the variety of courses the university offers on the Middle East, or Columbia’s established commitment to promote Jewish and Israel Studies. Instead President Bollinger and his administration, as the evidence I will present will show, gave legitimacy to the film “Columbia Unbecoming,” referred to its claims as facts, and promised an “investigation.” His subsequent statements and actions have emboldened those engaged in the campaign to intimidate me and would confirm to the public that the allegations against me are in fact true, at least, as far as he was concerned. Let me illustrate how this transpired.

Columbia's first response to the allegations contained in the film, "Columbia Unbecoming," was a statement released by the President himself. This statement was released after Congressman Anthony Wiener called on Columbia to fire me in a letter to Bollinger, and after two newspapers (the New York Sun and the Daily News) added their voices to Wiener's and asked that I be fired, and after a medical school faculty member, Moshe Rubin, sent me a racist E-mail which I had immediately forwarded to Provost Brinkley. In his statement, Bollinger referred to the "disturbing and offensive nature of incidents described in the film" without using the word "alleged" before incidents. This was certainly not an oversight, especially coming from a lawyer. He further added that academic freedom "does not, for example, extend to protecting behavior in the classroom that threatens or intimidates students who express their viewpoints." Bollinger failed to make any reference as to whether academic freedom extends to protecting students engaged in intimidating professors by raising a media campaign against them. Nor did the statement address whether the intimidation of the faculty and the Columbia administration by outside pressure groups, the press, and government officials would be tolerated.

31 In his statement, instead, Bollinger announced that he had asked the Provost to "look into" the students' claims, which in subsequent press reports quoting him, he referred to as an "investigation." 32

The next day, on October 28, Bollinger met with national director of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham Foxman, an organization that had targeted me since May 6, 2004, when it sent a letter to me copied to Bollinger accusing me of anti-Semitism. According to press accounts, Bollinger sought to meet with Foxman and other leaders of Jewish organizations. On November 11, after delivering a lecture at the University Club on Fifth Avenue, Mr. Bollinger was asked about the student accusations against Columbia faculty members, "according to an audience member who did not wish to disclose his identity... Mr. Bollinger... said he was committed to academic freedom but wouldn't condone "stupid" behavior by faculty members." 33 Such a biased and

disrespectful choice of words would continue in Bollinger's press declarations. In response to allegations by students repeated to him by a reporter from New York Magazine that "On day one, students say, [Massad] tells his class they shouldn't expect "balance." There's even a disclaimer in his syllabus." Bollinger responded:

"I believe a disclaimer before starting your course is insufficient...It doesn't inoculate you from criticism for being one-sided or intolerant in the classroom...That's not to pre-judge any claims here. But if you're asking, in the abstract, 'Can a faculty member satisfy the ideal of good teaching by simply saying at the beginning, I'm going to teach one side of a controversy and I don't want to hear any other side and if you don't like this, please don't take my course,' my view is, that's irresponsible teaching."³⁴

Bollinger never contacted me to check whether this is true and has not seen copies of my syllabi. While he claimed that he was answering a hypothetical question to New York Magazine, he would soon be so emboldened by the very repetition of the claims against me that he would abandon the necessity he initially saw for the hypothetical caveat. This is how the reporter of the Jewish Week put it:

"Bollinger is careful not to name names, but he makes clear he is at odds with some professors in the [MEALAC] department, whether or not they are guilty of the allegations against them..."Just as I can't go in to my First Amendment class and say you know, I happen to think that censorship is a very good idea, and if you want to take a course on freedom of speech that emphasizes, you know, against censorship, God bless you, and go do that," he said."³⁵

Indeed, Bollinger now speaks of these allegations as outright facts. Witness what he told students over dinner a few days ago as reported by the Columbia Spectator: "I'm not going to talk about whether the

accusations are true or not. Let's just assume they're true,' Bollinger said." 36 The Spectator reporter adds the following:

"The second claim made by the film, according to Bollinger, was that some professors did not permit students to voice their own opinions about matters of discussion in the classroom. He identified this action as a clear violation of academic freedom...The third claim was that some MEALAC courses are blatantly biased, presenting only one side of the spectrum of opinions on contentious subjects. Bollinger said that the warnings professors gave ahead of time about the one-sidedness of their courses were 'unacceptable.'"37

Note that the situation was no longer hypothetical. I should emphasize here that not only did Bollinger or Provost Brinkley never contact me about my course, neither of them responded to my announcement that I had cancelled it, which I made in my publicized statement in response to the intimidation to which I was being subjected. I had indeed sent a copy of my statement to Provost Brinkley before posting it. He wrote me back counseling me not to release it. However neither he nor Bollinger, nor even Vice President Dirks, expressed any discomfort that I, a Columbia faculty member, was canceling one of my courses because of intimidation. None of them informed me that I would be protected by the university were I to teach it again and that the university would ensure my rights and protect me against intimidation. Indeed, what I was subjected to is not more protection by my own university but more intimidation. The most concrete manifestation of which was the formation of your committee.

On the issue of the formation of your ad-hoc committee, the first point I want to refer to is the establishment of the committee and then move to its mandate. The step taken by the administration to establish a committee to investigate professors based on student grievances that were not lodged with any university body but rather aired through an off-campus lobbying group sets a dangerous precedent of violating the

academic freedom of professors. The establishment of the committee coupled with the statements by Bollinger to the press have given the clear impression that the David Project had legitimate issues to raise with Columbia, and that even though Bollinger himself had assured everyone that there were no registered complaints against any of the accused professors through any Columbia channel, and that he had already convened a secret committee to investigate similar allegations the previous semester, the so-called Blasi committee, which found no evidence of bias, he still saw a need for a second special committee to become the address of such complaints.

The matter of the committee charge is of grave importance. I requested and had a meeting with Vice President Dirks in his office on December 9 to discuss this particular matter. I told him then that I would not consider the ad-hoc committee a legitimate body unless it included in its charge the investigation of claims of intimidation of faculty by students, by administrators, and by off campus pressure groups. He responded positively to my concerns by asking me for my telephone number in Amman, Jordan, as I was traveling the next day on December 10th. He said that I needed to be next to a phone and fax in the next day or two so that he could call me and fax me a draft of the charge to approve so that he could release it then to the public. I was satisfied with this arrangement. Vice President Dirks however never contacted me. I E-mailed him on December 14 to inquire about the charge. He wrote back on December 19th informing me that he had not "yet been able to come up with a statement about the committee. I'll send you something as soon as it is ready." I never heard back from him. Upon returning to Columbia in mid-January, my students forwarded to me a mass E-mail that Vice-President Dirks had sent out inviting students to appear before the committee. I was taken aback by such a step, as I still did not know what the committee's charge was. I wrote to the vice-president to inquire on January 20 as to what had transpired. He wrote me back clarifying that he had not promised to share with me the circular he had sent out to the students. As for the charge, he explained that he still had not

finalized it and would do so in a couple of days. I heard again from him a week later asking me to pick up a copy of the charge from his office. I did and was shocked to find that it did not include the investigation of faculty intimidation by students and administrators. I never heard back from Vice-President Dirks who never offered an explanation or an apology for his disrespectful conduct, having failed to inform me of the change of plans and then offering me the charge as a fait accompli. I am very concerned about the choice of Floyd Abrams as your advisor, a position whose mandate has not been made public. Mr. Abrams is publicly identified with pro-Israeli politics and activism. He has spoken at fund raisers for causes in Israel,³⁸ has worked and consulted with the Anti-Defamation League, one of the parties campaigning against me, and received a major award from it in 2003, the Hubert H. Humphrey Award, and has endorsed the book *The Case for Israel* by Alan Dershowitz who has been speaking publicly in lectures and to the media against me, in the context of the ongoing witch-hunt, alleging that I support terrorism. In his blurb endorsing Dershowitz's book, Abrams states:

"In a world in which Israel seems always to be the accused, regardless of the facts, Alan Dershowitz's defense offers an oasis of sanity and straight talk. It may be too much to hope that Israel's accusers will read this powerful and persuasive response to their charges. It is not at all too much to ask that fair-minded observers do so."³⁹

Given these statements by Abrams, the decision to appoint him as advisor to this committee conveys at the least the appearance of partiality.

On the question of my scholarship and my integrity as a teacher, Bollinger's statements sadly suggest that he has taken sides against the faculty and the university in this controversy. Compare his recent declarations with those of Martin Kramer, one of the main people behind this witch-hunt. Kramer wrote on November 5, 2002 in a web posting:

"The other issue of overriding concern here is the apparent absence of any effort by the Columbia administration to promote diversity. Here I don't mean the false diversity of academic mafias. They think it's crucial to assemble people of different ethnic, national, religious, racial, gender, and disciplinary backgrounds—provided they say the same thing. I'm talking about intellectual diversity, which used to be a value at Columbia. The only historian of the modern Middle East at Columbia [besides the possible employment of Rashid Khalidi] is another Palestinian, Joseph Massad, who is a militant follower of Edward Said. (He's now up for tenure.) Imagine that Khalidi were added, and Massad were tenured, both to teach history. They work in the same area, and their politics, while not identical, are very similar. The whole thing begins to look like a cozy club of like-minded pals, who peer at the Middle East through exactly the same telescope, from exactly the same vantage point."⁴⁰ Compare Kramer's statement with Bollinger's. After reviewing Kramer's views and those of others on the alleged lack of intellectual diversity at Columbia and in Middle East Studies more generally, and after citing Bollinger's own record on "racial diversity" at the University of Michigan, New York Magazine's reports that: "today, [Bollinger] says he's equally committed to intellectual diversity."⁴¹ This led the reporter to conclude that this "may not augur well for professor Massad's longevity at Columbia, no matter how favorably disposed the provost's committee may be to him."⁴² Bollinger would elaborate on that point later to the Jewish Week, where according to the newspaper, "Bollinger acknowledged, albeit elliptically, that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not being taught in a balanced way that reflects the complexity of the region. He believes that 'the historic, horrific treatment of Jews, especially in the 20th century, is not something to be taken as a matter of the past, and while I may not share all the policy judgments of the Israeli government, I believe the conflict cannot in any way be fairly regarded as lying at the feet of choices that Israel has made.'" ⁴³ Instead Bollinger recommends that MEALAC be "expanded" and that it continue to teach the Palestinian Israeli conflict but not as it has done so far:

"I happen to think that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of central importance in the modern world," he said, "and we want to be able to think about that in its full complexities. That's going to mean that there will be thoughts some people will find difficult, or even offensive, and yet we must be able to explore given our belief in academic freedom. However, it is our obligation to do that with full respect to the complexity, and if we don't do that, we have failed ourselves, we have failed our own principles."⁴⁴

The implication being that those of us, and the reference is clearly to me, who teach the Palestinian Israeli conflict at MEALAC do not teach it with its "full complexity" or that I do not "respect" such complexity. Perhaps I need to state to the committee that I derive my authority as a scholar of the Middle East from my doctoral training here at Columbia's Political Science Department which granted me my PhD with distinction, a rare honor that was further certified by the Middle East Studies Association which granted me its most prestigious award for a social science dissertation for 1998, the Malcolm Kerr Award. My book, which was based on my dissertation, was published by Columbia University Press, and has been endorsed and reviewed favorably by the most prominent Middle East scholars in the academy. The only unfavorable review, out of seventeen favorable reviews, it received was in Martin Kramer's unscholarly magazine, Middle East Quarterly. My book and my articles on the Palestinian Israeli conflict are used as standard texts for courses on nationalism and on Palestine and Israel across the United States and Europe. My recent work on sexuality and queer theory is also taught across the country, and a book length study on the subject is forthcoming from Harvard University Press. I currently have two standing offers from prestigious presses for a book based on my published essays on Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. An attack on my scholarship therefore is not only an attack on me and on MEALAC but on Columbia's political science department, on prestigious academic presses, including Columbia University Press, and on the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), an opinion expressed by Martin Kramer

who also condemns Middle East Studies at Columbia and MESA itself. I should affirm here that President Bollinger is under the impression that he can set the research agenda for Middle East scholarship at Columbia much better than Columbia's Middle East faculty. He told the Jewish Week that "we need to integrate better than we have other fields that have knowledge relevant to the work being done in MEALAC. What is the relationship, for example, between the environmental facts of life in the Middle East and Asia, or its diseases, and the culture there?"⁴⁵ This retreat to 19th century climatology and medical anthropology is disturbing. Would President Bollinger also think that there is a relationship between "environmental facts, its diseases and the culture" of African Americans or of American Jews?

I am concerned that Bollinger may well be making an academic judgment about me that is based not on my scholarship or pedagogy but on my politics and even my nationality. A case in point is Bollinger's recent response to a letter sent by one James Schreiber, a member of Columbia Law School's board of visitors and former federal prosecutor, who says that a lecture that I gave and which he attended at Columbia's Middle East Institute three years ago was comparable to a speech at a "neo-Nazi rally." Bollinger met with Schreiber privately at his home and reportedly told him that he found his letter to be "powerful" and that he seeks to "upgrade" the faculty in the Middle East studies department.⁴⁶ In addition, when a number of faculty members and I signed a petition in 2002 calling on Columbia to divest from companies that sell weapons to Israel, a country guilty of human rights abuses, Bollinger's response betrayed a strong emotional reaction and a stronger political bias: "The petition alleges human rights abuses and compares Israel to South Africa at the time of apartheid, an analogy I believe is both grotesque and offensive."⁴⁷

While the campaigners against me off this campus do not have the direct power to influence my future employment at Columbia, Bollinger clearly does, and therefore his failure to defend academic freedom is

detrimental to my career and my job. I am further chilled in this regard by reports that at the recent general meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Bollinger sought to change the fifty-year tradition regarding how tenure cases are decided at Columbia when he stated that he and the trustees, in accordance with the statutes but in contravention of a fifty-year tradition, would want to have the final say in tenure cases in the future.⁴⁸

In conclusion, the foregoing has given you the minimum of details and historical narrative regarding this coordinated campaign from inside and outside the university targeting me, my job, and my chances for tenure, based on my political views, my political writings, and my nationality. That the Columbia University administration acted as a collaborator with the witch-hunters instead of defending me and offering itself as a refuge from rightwing McCarthyism has been a cause of grave personal and professional disappointment to me. I am utterly disillusioned with a university administration that treats its faculty with such contempt and am hoping against hope that the faculty will rise to the task before them and force President Bollinger to reverse this perilous course on which he has taken Columbia's faculty and students. The major goal of the witch-hunters is to destroy the institution of the university in general. I am merely the entry point for their political project. As the university is the last bastion of free-thinking that has not yet fallen under the authority of extreme rightwing forces, it has become their main target. The challenge before us is therefore to be steadfast in fighting for academic freedom.

APPENDIX

“Policing the Academy”

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Joseph Massad* on the McCarthyism stalking American campuses

As I was reading one of the latest death threats I received via e-mail, I remembered the defamatory campaigns to which Edward Said has been subjected since the 1970s and which included the firebombing of his office in the 1980s. Since last summer, apologists for Israel's "right" to be a racist state (and to use whatever violence it can muster in defence of that "right") have begun a campaign of defamation against anyone in the US academy who dares to question any Israeli action or practice. This campaign is part of a larger effort to discredit US universities as arenas for independent scholarship and thought. It also aims to delegitimise universities who refuse to serve the interests of either the national security state or the Israeli government. The fact that those spearheading this campaign are almost exclusively part of a large conglomerate known as the pro-Israel lobby in the US is hardly surprising. Since 11 September, the campaign has expanded to include any academic who believes that Islam is not a terroristic evil religion bent on murdering the "civilised", and that Muslims and Arabs are humans who are entitled to civil, political, and human rights in their own countries as well as in the United States.

While academics live in a world where intellectual disagreements are registered through scholarly debates and discussions, and where methodological disputes are negotiated on the pages of academic journals and books and in the context of conferences, the new self-designated academic policemen refuse to acknowledge such modes of argumentation and fora as appropriate. In their fantasy world, the offending academics must be silenced, dismissed from their jobs, and their offending publications heaped and burned in an auto-da-fé. The strategy of the thought policemen consists of a refusal to address any of the offending contentions made by scholars and instead relies on the use of policing methods of discrediting, intimidation, and character assassination often used in societies run by the secret police. The overall purpose of this policing agenda is the destruction of academic freedom and the subversion of democratic procedure.

Take the examples of two of the better known academic policemen in recent years, the American Daniel Pipes and the Israeli Martin Kramer, neither of whom teaches in the US academy; as a result, some might say that they have an ax to grind with a system that refuses to recognise their talents, especially in the field of policing and propaganda. Pipes and Kramer are two of the most outspoken defenders of Israel's "right" to be a racist state. They are also keen to defend Israel's prerogative to kill and bomb anyone who stands in its way of protecting its right to discriminate on racial grounds. Their role in the debate is to extend Israeli violence to the US academic arena by bombarding all enemies of Israel with defamatory accusations. It is not Merkava tanks, Uzi submachine guns, or Apache helicopters that are used in this bombardment, but rather newspaper gossip columns and secret police-style dossiers to name the preferred methods; as for the e-mail spamming, identity theft, and the death threats to which the unrepentant have been subjected, one can be sure that Kramer and Pipes are unconnected to either of them. Admittedly, their campaigns, unlike the Israeli government's campaigns, have not yet eliminated anyone physically (although the death threats sent by others to many of us continue), but the main point is to eliminate us professionally, and, failing that, to terrorise us into silence. Like the Israeli strategy of indiscriminate violence and terror, these campaigns have failed to achieve their purpose, whether to stop the Palestinians from resisting Israel's illegal occupation and violence in the case of Israel, or to stop Israel's academic critics in the case of the academic policemen.

This campaign of intimidation against academics has been well planned and conceived with one major goal in mind: defamation. This is undertaken by following a number of steps involving refusal to engage any of the ideas or propositions put forth by the targeted professors, much less to refute them, consistent use of innuendo, fabrication of claims based on half-quotes pulled out of context, recruitment of young and impressionable defenders of Israel's aforementioned "rights" on college campuses, use of the right-wing press to whip up hysteria about anti- Israel sentiment being allegedly rampant on US campuses, and

calls for outright dismissal of professors found guilty of not upholding Israel's "right" to be a racist state. The less the US public believes in defending Israel's crimes, the more intense the campaign becomes. While the pro-Israel lobby's campaigns to discredit people who criticise Israel had decreased in relative terms after Oslo, they were revived after the failure of the Camp David talks and the eruption of the second Intifada. The lobby and its individual manifestations have become rabid in their campaigns of discrediting offenders to the point that they have become embarrassing to many Americans who support Israel.

The campaign against university professors and instructors began in earnest in the Spring of 2002 and has not abated since. Columbia University, where I teach, is a major focus of the campaign, as it is seen by Kramer and Pipes as a major battleground for their cause. In addition to the unceasing campaigns against Edward Said, the campaign is now focussing on new professors, namely University of Chicago Professor Rashid Khalidi who will be joining Columbia University next fall, Professor Hamid Dabashi, the chairperson of the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia, and myself. Other professors and academics targeted on other campuses include John Esposito, Juan Cole, Ali Mazrui, M Shahid Alam, and Snehal Shingavi, among others.

The effort was inaugurated by a newspaper article published by Pipes (who has no academic post whatsoever) under the title "Extremists on Campus", and a book published by Kramer who is "senior researcher" at Tel Aviv University's aptly named "Moshe Dayan Centre". Kramer, the cleverer of the two, assailed American Middle East academics for their "failure" to explain the Middle East to the US public. What Kramer means is that unlike many of their Israeli Jewish counterparts, American academics have failed to explain to Americans that Muslims and Arabs are violent uncivilised creatures and that Israel has a right to be a racist state (although in fact many of them do exactly that). As Kramer works at the Moshe Dayan Centre, named after that luminary of Israeli military conquerors, one hopes in vain that some of Dayan's wisdom would have

rubbed off on Kramer. Alas, if Dayan acknowledged in reference to Israel that “there is no single place in this country that did not have a former Arab population”, Kramer in turn chases down any academic who would remind the world of such forgotten facts and demands that such an academic repent his sins. Dayan, ever the pragmatist, was never upset with legitimate Palestinian rage at Israel which he was determined to crush. He insisted to the likes of Kramer: “Let us not today fling accusations at the [Palestinian] murderers [of Jewish colonial settlers]. Who are we that we should argue against their hatred? For eight years now they sit in their refugee camps in Gaza, and before their very eyes, we turn into our homestead the land and the villages in which they and their forefathers have lived.”

Pipes, on his part, set up McCarthyist public dossiers on the eight professors of choice on a Web site and called on our students to spy on us and report any anti-Israel statements that we might make in class. Tens of professors (among tens of thousands who work at US universities and colleges) rushed to defend the blacklisted professors by demanding that their names also be added to the blacklist. For Pipes and Kramer, this was indication enough of how anti-Israel US academic culture had become, never mind the tens of thousands of professors who fell silent and did not defend academic freedom or us. This skewed view is all the more telling in the case of the ebullient Kramer who dubbed Columbia University “Bir Zeit on the Hudson”.

Now, in the tradition of Zionist lobbyists, the issue is not to have an Israeli view balanced with a Palestinian view about the subject, but rather, failing the suppression of Palestinian views altogether, to insist on a second, a third, and a fourth Israeli view to “balance” the one Palestinian view. Take the campaign against a course that I teach at Columbia titled “Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies” as an example. This course has enraged Kramer and his ilk and is used as evidence that Columbia University is an anti-Israel university. The fact that there are many other courses at Columbia (in existence for years,

long before my course was even conceived) covering topics on contemporary Israeli society and politics, on Zionism, on conflict resolution in the Middle East, on Israeli literature, as well as on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict itself, all taught from an Israel-friendly angle (and not always by full-time professors) is immaterial; it is this orphan course taught with a critical view of Israel (and of Palestinian nationalism) that is the problem and which must be balanced. The fact that Columbia University features an important centre for Israel and Jewish studies but no centre on Palestine and Arab studies let alone a centre on Arab studies more generally, is not taken to mean that Columbia is a place friendly to Israel, rather the opposite: the existence of one course that criticises Israel is sufficient to conclude that rampant anti-Israelism (often dubbed “anti-Semitism”) has taken over the university.

If this was not enough, Columbia’s Bir Zeit status is augmented by the divestment campaign started last year by the Faculty Committee on Palestine (of which I am a member), which indicates further to Kramer that US academics are not upholding Israel’s right to be a racist state. The fact that Columbia has a counter-divestment petition whose signatures outnumber the pro-divestment petition by a factor of 33 to one (among faculty the rate is four to one against divestment) does not allay his fears or those of his followers, nor the fact that Columbia University’s new president has publicly denounced the divestment campaign as “grotesque”. Any questioning of the policemen’s cause unto itself is seen as a thought crime, even a mortal sin against the sacrosanct cause of Israel. If anyone were to use these facts to label Columbia “Hebrew University on the Hudson”, this would be seen legitimately as anti-Semitic. However, Kramer and his followers are never brought to task for their virulent anti-Arab racism.

What Kramer, Pipes, and their ilk want to achieve is a subversion of the democratic process as well as of the academic process. Their intent is to subvert the academy by deriding its independence and by attempting to

make it subject to the national security state and the thought police. As far as the democratic process is concerned, their goals are to suppress dissenting views by defaming them and calling for people to be dismissed from their jobs if they expressed them. Kramer has called for the dismissal of Dabashi, myself, and others and began an unsuccessful campaign to pressure Columbia University to withdraw its offer to Khalidi. Notice that the academic qualifications of the targeted professors based on our recognised publications and academic records are negated a priori by Kramer who questions the very legitimacy of the institutions that have granted them to us, whether Middle East Studies as a field, the Middle East Studies Association, the university presses that publish us, or the universities that employ us (he lamentingly calls me “the flower of Columbia University”). In Kramer’s and Pipes’ fantasy world, the only recognition that academics should seek in order to qualify to teach and publish on the Middle East is that of Israel’s academic police in the United States. As a gesture of good will, such academics should perhaps attempt to publish in Kramer’s and Pipes’ journal Middle East Quarterly, which is indeed impressive for the absence of scholarship in it. Maybe one day Kramer and Pipes would demand of the academy that publishing in Middle East Quarterly become a condition for any academic to obtain tenure or promotion!

Kramer and his young dupes have huffed and puffed lately about my recent article in Al-Ahram Weekly on “The Legacy of Jean-Paul Sartre”, claiming that “The Jews, not being a nation by (Massad’s) definition, cannot have nationalism. They have only racism...” I of course have not made such a claim. Israel is a racist state not because of Jewish nationalism but because of its legally institutionalised racism where only Jews (not Israelis) have rights and privileges based on their national belonging. I oppose any state that discriminates against its own citizens based on ethnic, religious, racial, national (or any other) grounds, and this especially includes those states that have discriminatory laws as Israel does. It is this and similar questions that Kramer and his followers do not want to draw attention to, as they have no convincing answers to

offer. The question is: do Kramer and Pipes actually believe that these methods will work in suppressing our views and freedom of thought and force us to worship at the altar of their favourite settler-colony?

Kramer, Pipes, and co are angry that the academy still allows democratic procedure in the expression of political views and has an institutionalised meritocratic system of judgment (admittedly with its own faults) to evaluate its members. Their goal is to destroy any semblance of either in favour of subjecting democracy and academic life to an incendiary jingoism and to the exigencies of the national security state with the express aim of imploding freedom. Their larger success, however, has been in discrediting themselves and in reminding all of us that we should never take the freedoms that we have for granted, as the likes of Kramer and Pipes are working to take them away.

* The writer is assistant professor of Modern Arab Politics and Intellectual History at Columbia University .

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Located at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/633/op2.htm>

FOOTNOTES

1 The only change I have made in this version of the statement is to remove the names of students, professors, and administrators that I had included in the original statement but who have not sought publicity on this issue. I did so to protect their privacy. I have kept the names of students who have spoken publicly.

2 Charge to Ad Hoc Committee from the Vice President for Arts and Sciences.

3 This is the full course description for Spring 2001:

"This course covers the history of Zionism in the wake of the Haskala in mid nineteenth century Europe and its development at the turn of the century through the current "peace process" between the state of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The course examines the impact of Zionism on European Jews and on Asian and African Jews on the one hand, and on Palestinian Arabs on the other –in Israel, in the Occupied Territories, and in the Diaspora. The course also examines the internal dynamics in Palestinian and Israeli societies, looking at the roles class, gender and religion play in the politics of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The purpose of the course is to provide a thorough yet critical historical overview of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict to familiarize undergraduates with the background to the current situation."

4 This is the full course description for Spring 2002:

"This course covers the history of Zionism in the wake of the Haskala in mid nineteenth century Europe and its development at the turn of the century through the current "peace process" between the state of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The course examines critically the impact of Zionism on European Jews and on Asian and African Jews on the one hand, and on Palestinian Arabs on the other –in Israel, in the Occupied Territories, and in the Diaspora. The course also examines critically the internal dynamics in Palestinian and Israeli societies, looking at the roles class, gender and religion play in the politics of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The purpose of the course is not to provide a "balanced" coverage of the views of both sides, but rather to provide a thorough yet critical historical overview of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict to familiarize undergraduates with the background to the current situation from a critical perspective."

5 This is the course description for Spring 2004:

"This course covers the history of Zionism in the wake of the Haskala in mid nineteenth century Europe and its development at the turn of the century through the current "peace process" between the state of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The course examines critically the impact of Zionism on European Jews and on Asian and African Jews on the one hand, and on Palestinian Arabs on the other –in Israel, in the Occupied Territories, and in the Diaspora. The course also examines critically the internal dynamics in Palestinian and Israeli societies, looking at the roles class, gender and religion play in the politics of Israel and the Palestinian national movement. The purpose of the course is to provide a thorough yet critical historical overview of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict to familiarize undergraduates with the background to the current situation."

6 <http://israelcc.org/> (site is slow)

7 See Daphna Berman, "Masks of Tolerance," February 26, 2002.

8 Ibid.

9 Xan Nowakowski, Students Organize Sit-In To Support Palestinians," Columbia Spectator, 18 April 2002.

10 In a column that he posted on his website titled "Bir Zeit-on-Hudson," on 5 Februray 2003, Kramer wrote this threatening statement: [Massad has] also failed to learn from Said that you lie low until you have tenure, but that's another matter." On February 20, 2004, he wrote an entry about me stating Massad "wants tenure at Columbia, and will seek it with a new book entitled The Persistence of the Palestinian Question. Will Columbia scrape bottom?" In an entry on June 14, 2004, Kramer wrote "Here's my idea: Massad should be de-Columbia-nized when he comes up for tenure." On October 22, after the David Project film was revealed to the public, Kramer wrote "I sincerely hope that Columbia will have the good sense not to tenure Massad, who is a pseudo-scholar..." and

followed that on November 6 with the question: "So is Columbia prepared to tenure a professor who teaches that Christian (and Jewish) supporters of Israel in America are the world's most powerful anti-Semites? That's the crux of the Massad question." On

December 10, 2004, he wrote "If Columbia has any sense at all, he'll eventually have to struggle with the meaning of this word: unemployed."

11 See for example my interview with Nigel Parry of Electronic Intifada, posted on <http://electronicintifada.net/cgi-bin/artman/exec/view.cgi/4/732> (link broken)

12 See Kramer's "Bir Zeit-on-Hudson," posted on 5 February 2003 (link broken)

13 Ariel Beery, "Middle East Certitude," Columbia Spectator, 10 March 2003.

14 Ariel Beery, "Between the Narrow Points," Columbia Spectator, 14 April 2003. See also his article "The Burning Flames," Columbia Spectator, 24 April 2003.

15 Joseph Massad, "Policing the Academy," Al-Ahram Weekly, 10-16 April 2003.

16 Jacob Gershman, "Massad's Theory: The Zionists are the Anti-Semites," New York Sun, 22 February 2005.

17 Rabbi Charles Sheer, "The Treatment of the Middle East Studies at Columbia University," 6 January 2004, posted on the Hillel website: <http://akko.hillel.columbia.edu/announcementDetail.hillel?id=91>

18 Ibid.

19 See the transcript of "Columbia Unbecoming," 10.

20 I Rabbi Charles Sheer, "The Treatment of the Middle East Studies at Columbia University," op.cit.

21 Jacob Gershman, "Israel Is Accused of Anti-Semitism," New York Sun, 30 December 2003. They ran the correction on December 31.

22 Jonathan Calt Harris, "Tenured Extremism," New York Sun, 4 May 2004.

23 This is the full text of my letter:

May 16, 2004

Mr. Joel J. Levy, Director
Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Director Levy,

I was deeply disturbed by the accusations that your letter of May 6, 2004 leveled against me. The “reports” that you have received from “a student who attended the lecture” are utterly inaccurate and bear little relationship to the text of my lecture. My principled stance against anti-Semitism and all kinds of racism is a matter of public record and cannot be assailed by defamatory “reports” or by letters from the ADL that consider them credible sources. Indeed I have condemned anti-Semitism in my Arabic and English writings, regardless of whether the person expressing it was pro-Israel or anti-Israel, an Arab, an American Christian, or an Israeli Jew (you may consult with my review of Israel Shahak’s and Norton Mezvinsky’s book Jewish Fundamentalism published by the Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies where I condemn the anti-Semitic approach used by anti-Zionist Israeli Jewish scholars to analyze Judaism and Jewish fundamentalism). I therefore expect a prompt correction of the errors contained in your letter and demand an immediate apology, a copy of which should be sent to President Bollinger.

Sincerely,

Joseph Massad
Assistant Professor
Cc: President Lee C. Bollinger
Provost Alan Brinkley
24 Jacob Gershman, “Columbia Abuzz Over Underground Film,” New York Sun, 20 October 2004.

25 Charles Jacobs and Avi Goldwasser, "In Defense of the David Project," *Columbia Spectator*, 16 November 2004.

26 See my "Response to the Intimidation of Columbia University," posted on my Columbia webpage on 3 November 2004: <http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/1350>

27 Shanker's claim was first reported by Jacob Gershman, "Columbia Prepared to Protect Students from anti-Israel bias," *New York Sun*, 17 November 2004.

28 N.R. Kleinfield, "Mideast Tensions Are Getting Personal on Campus at Columbia," *New York Times*, 14 January 2005.

29 Uriel Heilman, "Non-Academic Debate," *Jerusalem Post*, 23 December 2004.

30 Jacob Gershman, "Bias Festerd 'For Years,' Professor Says," *New York Sun*, 29 October 2004.

31 Statement from Lee C. Bollinger on the David Project Film, October 27, 2004.

32 See for example Sam Dillon, "Columbia to Check Reports of Anti-Jewish Harassment," *New York Times*, 29 October 2004.

33 Jacob Gershman, "Columbia Probe Eyed By Council," *New York Sun*, November 12, 2004.

34 Jennifer Senior, "Columbia's Own Middle East War," *New York Magazine*, January 10, 2005.

35 Liel Leibovitz, "The Winter of His Content," *Jewish Week*, 4 March 2005.

36 Lisa Hirshmann, "Over Dinner, Bollinger On Academic Freedom," *Columbia Spectator*, 10 March 2005

37 Ibid.

38 See "Israel Cancer research fund, Women of Achievement Lunch to Fight Cancer," in 15 Minutes, about his emceeing such an event.

39 The quote is posted on the book publisher's website:
<http://www.wiley.com/WileyCDA/Section/id-102314.html>

40 Martin Kramer, "The Columbia Club of Middle Eastern Studies," 5

November 2002, weblog can be found on: www.martinkramer.org

41 Jennifer Senior, "Columbia's Own Middle East War,", New York Magazine, January 10, 2005.

42 Ibid.

43 Liel Leibowitz, "The Winter Of His Content," Jewish Week, 4 March 2005.

44 Ibid.

45 Liel Leibowitz, 'Winter of his Content,' op.cit.

46 Jacob Gershman, "Ex-Prosecutor Likens Massad Speech to a 'Neo-Nazi Rally,'" New York Sun, 25 February 25.

47 "President Lee Bollinger's Statement on the Divestment Campaign" 7 November 2002

48 Minutes of the General Meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 16 February 2005

Frist Accused of Exploiting Religion Issue

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK and CARL HULSE

www.nytimes.com

April 16, 2005

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS ACCUSED Senator Bill Frist, the Republican majority leader, of exploiting religion for partisan ends by taking part in a telecast portraying them as “against people of faith” for blocking President Bush’s judicial nominations. “Our debate over the rules of the Senate and the use of the filibuster has nothing to do with whether one is religious or not,” Senator Richard J. Durbin, Democrat of Illinois, said at a news conference with Senator Harry Reid, the minority leader from Nevada. “I cannot imagine that God – with everything he has or she has to worry about – is going to take the time to debate the filibuster in heaven.”

The Family Research Council, a Christian conservative advocacy group, has organized an April 24 telecast, “Justice Sunday,” which includes prominent conservative Christians speaking by simulcast to churches, Web sites and Christian broadcast networks. Under the heading “The filibuster against people of faith,” a flier for the telecast reads, “The filibuster was once abused to protect racial bias, and it is now being used against people of faith.”

Dr. Frist will join the telecast through a four-minute videotape, his spokesman said yesterday. Its organizers hope to enlist the grass-roots support of conservative Christians for an imminent Senate battle over Republican proposals to change Senate rules that have enabled the Democratic minority to filibuster, blocking Senate votes on 10 of Mr. Bush’s appeals court nominees.

Both sides say the procedural fight over the Democrats’ power as the minority party could take place within the next two weeks and will shape the contests over nominees to the Supreme Court.

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said in a statement that he was “deeply troubled” by Dr. Frist’s participation. “Whatever one’s

views may be on this or any other issue,” Mr. Foxman said, “playing the religious card is as unacceptable as playing the race card.”

The event is scheduled for the second night of Passover, when many Jews will be attending seders.

Democrats seized on Dr. Frist’s participation in an effort to portray Republicans as intolerant extremists. “In America, we are in a democracy, not a theocracy,” Mr. Reid said, urging Dr. Frist to back out of the event. “God does not take part in partisan politics.”

In response, Bob Stevenson, a spokesman for Dr. Frist, accused the Democrats of a double standard, noting that Senator John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts, sometimes used biblical phrases and religious language to denounce President Bush from church pulpits during the presidential campaign.

“Senate Democrats said nothing in response,” Mr. Stevenson said. “Now, as they prepare to continue their unprecedented filibuster against the president’s judicial nominations, they criticize the leader for agreeing to deliver a similar address pressing for fair treatment of the president’s judicial nominees.”

Both sides are escalating their campaigns to win over public opinion.

On Wednesday, the Judicial Confirmation Network, a conservative group set up to organize grass-roots support for the judicial nominees, said it was making an initial purchase of \$250,000 in cable and local television advertisements with similar religious themes.

Displaying pictures of Senator Reid and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, an announcer declares: “They want God out of the Pledge of Allegiance. They say child pornography is protected by the Constitution. Who are these people? Arrogant judges.”

Yesterday, Ralph Neas, president of the liberal People for the American Way, which is already spending \$5 million on television advertisements defending Democratic filibusters, responded by noting that courts had never found a right to child pornography and that the Supreme Court had overturned an appeals court ruling that public schools could not require recitation of the phrase “under God” as part of the pledge.

After learning that the Judicial Confirmation Network had bought advertisements on the Sunday morning political news programs, Mr. Neas said his group had spent \$170,000 for advertising on the same ones, setting up “dueling ads.” Mr. Neas said the organization was now considering creating another advertisement designed for what he called the Republican “manipulation of religion for political purposes.”

Professors in Britain Vote to Boycott Two Israeli Schools

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

May 8, 2005

LONDON, May 7 - Acting in response to an appeal by 60 Palestinian organizations, Britain's leading higher education union has voted to boycott two Israeli universities.

The boycott, which has prompted outrage in Israel, the United States and Britain, would bar Israeli faculty members at Haifa University and Bar-Ilan University from taking part in academic conferences or joint research with their British colleagues.

The resolution on the boycott, passed by the Association of University Teachers in late April, would allow an exception only for those academics at the two schools who declare opposition to Israeli policies toward the Palestinians.

The move has so angered Jewish groups in the United States that one organization, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, is considering calling on American universities to carry out a counterboycott against British universities.

"This is unreal," said Abraham H. Foxman, its national director. "These are not ignorant peasants or extremist ideologues. They are intellectuals teaching future generations to respect, to dialogue and to cooperate, and they are saying boycott the Jews again."

"What about those who are suffering in Cuba and China and Rwanda?" he asked. "Where is the support to deal with Sudan?"

Critics of the boycott have denounced it in newspapers, on the Internet and

in government declarations as antithetical to academic freedom, ill-timed, misguided and, at worst, anti-Semitic. Both sides see it as part of a larger trend of increasing pressure on Israel to withdraw from occupied lands.

Last year, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) opted to begin divesting from companies that it believes benefit from the Israeli occupation. A similar call is being considered by the United Church of Christ.

But Britain and the rest of Europe tend to be considerably more outspoken in their support of Palestinians and in opposition to the Israeli occupation. A sponsor of the boycott proposal, Sue Blackwell, an English professor at the University of Birmingham, said the move was taken because the Palestinian organizations asked for it. Had a similar call been issued by groups in Cuba, China or Sudan, she said, it might also have been heeded.

"Delegates were moved by the pictures we showed of Palestinian families being evicted," she said. "They were moved by stories of attacks on a Jewish Israeli academic. They were moved by an account of the settlements and what they are doing in making a Palestinian state impossible. It was a response to the overall plight of the Palestinian people."

At the conference, delegates were told of the difficulty Palestinians face traveling from the occupied territories to Israeli universities; learned about a college in the West Bank settlement of Ariel, which bars Palestinians; and heard about the treatment of a professor, Dr. Ilan Pappe, an Israeli Jew who is an outspoken anti-Zionist. Parallels were drawn between Israel and South Africa, where education was racially segregated under apartheid.

Using language lifted from a Palestinian call to action, the British motions framed the boycott as a "contribution to the struggle to end Israel's occupation, colonization and system of apartheid."

Omar Barghouti, a founding member of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, which pushed for the union vote in Britain, said comparing Israeli occupation to South African apartheid was a fair parallel. While Palestinians are not officially barred from Israeli universities, they are effectively kept out, he said.

"Palestinian academics have been denied the right to move, to travel and often to teach due to occupation policies," Mr. Barghouti said.

"They have been effectively subject to a de facto boycott for decades," he said. "Aren't they part of the academic community that deserves academic freedom?"

But some academics in Britain said severing ties to Israeli universities was counterproductive because they provided opportunities to air differences and hold debate.

"We think to target Israeli universities is to target some of the places that have some of the most open spaces in Israel, spaces that are against the occupation and against anti-Arab racism, spaces where Jews and Palestinians learn together," said David Hirsh, a professor of sociology at Goldsmiths College, University of London, who opposes the Israeli occupation but is working to overturn the boycott.

"A lot of people who support this are motivated by an understandable want or wish to help Palestinians," he said. "What we have also said is that the union has adopted a position that is effectively anti-Semitic because it has chosen to hold the Israeli Jewish academics responsible for the actions of their state and university administrators, when the union doesn't hold any other academic in the world responsible in that way."

Neil Goldstein, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said the boycott evoked "the sorts of techniques that were used to try

to deny Jews the right to participate in academic life in prewar Germany."

British professors have declined to work with individual Israeli academics in the past, and a number of student unions have taken up the boycott cause.

In 2002, a professor at a university in Manchester fired two Israeli academics from journals that she owned, saying that although they were friends, they represented the state of Israel. In 2003, an Oxford professor denied a student at Tel Aviv University permission to work in his laboratory because the student had served in the Israeli Army.

In Britain, where some leading academics, including some Nobel Prize winners, have been highly critical of the boycott, 25 union members are trying to overturn it. They petitioned last week for an emergency council meeting, which now has been called for May 26 in order to hold another debate and a new vote.

The approval of the boycott appeared to surprise even its framers; it had failed in 2003 and was opposed by the academic union's executive board. This time, the authors of the motions narrowed the boycott to select universities and underscored its endorsements by Palestinian organizations, including the Palestinian higher education trade union.

Haifa University was singled out because Dr. Pappe, who teaches there, maintains that he has faced harsh treatment for his views, particularly for supporting a student's 1999 master's thesis charging that Israeli soldiers massacred Palestinians in the village of Tantura during the 1948 war. The explosive paper was examined both by a university panel and by Israeli courts; all concluded the charges were not substantiated in the thesis. The court also found that some quotations in the thesis had been altered.

Critics of the boycott say punishing Haifa University is a particularly inappropriate way to pressure Israel, because it is one

of the country's most integrated institutions, with Israeli Arabs making up about 20 percent of its student body.

Bar-Ilan University became a target of the boycott because it recognizes credits from the College of Judea and Samaria in the West Bank settlement of Ariel. Palestinians are barred from the settlement, and thus, the college. The British academic union judged that Bar-Ilan had made itself "directly involved with the occupation of Palestinian territories."

Just last week, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon elevated its status to university, a move that riled many Israeli academics and was widely viewed as a gambit to strengthen settlements in occupied territory.

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June 3, 2005

Witch Hunt at Columbia Targeting the University

By JOSEPH MASSAD

Targeting the university is the latest mission of right-wing forces who have hijacked not only political power and political discourse in the United States but also the very vocabulary that can be used against them. The campaign of the last three years or so to attack US universities as the last bastion where a measure of freedom of thought is still protected is engineered to cancel out such freedom and ensure that scholars will not subvert the received political wisdom of the day.

Some of the major tactics in this campaign have been the launching of witch hunts against specific professors, calling for their dismissal from their jobs, and, failing that, smear their reputation; target Middle East Studies as a scholarly field more generally and cut federal funding to it and place it under governmental supervision, and promote apologists for Israel in the guise of scholars as the only adequate scholarly alternative. While shutting down the educational process in favour of religious theories of creationism and the like has been around for a while, the recent attack on scholars who disagree with US foreign policy and the policies of the state of Israel are the main mobilisational issues of the current campaign.

What is at stake in this assault is not only academic freedom, but scholarship per se, and specifically scholarship on Palestine and Israel, which is the primary target of the witch-hunters.

What makes these anti-scholarship attacks possible and popular is the existence of a major discrepancy, even a radical disconnect, between popular knowledge and media coverage about the Palestine/Israel conundrum and established scholarly knowledge about the topic. It is this disconnect that the witch hunters mobilise against scholarship as proof that it is not media and popular knowledge, which defends Israeli policy and Zionism's axioms, that is ideological, but rather academic scholarship which has largely uncovered unsavory facts about both. Thus when young American students who come from ideologically charged homes, schools, and environments, attend university classes about the subject, they mistake established scholarship as pro-Palestinian propaganda, a conclusion that is propped up by the likes of Campus Watch, the David Project, and the Anti-Defamation League, all three organisations who make it part or all their business to attack scholarly criticisms of Israeli policy.

Let me provide a few examples of what I mean. All respected scholars in the field agree that most or all Palestinians who became refugees in 1948 were expelled directly or indirectly by Israel. The debate that exists is about whether all Palestinian refugees were physically expelled by the Israeli army or that the Israeli army expelled the majority while a minority of refugees fled, not as a direct result of physical force but as an indirect consequence of actions taken by the Israeli army and government which might, or might not, have been deliberately intended to expel them. In contrast, media and popular ideological knowledge in the US still insists that the Palestinians fled on their own, or worse, were called upon to do so by Arab leaders (despite Israeli false claims that Arab leaders called on Palestinians to flee, research has shown that they called upon them to remain steadfast in their homeland) while the Zionists begged them to stay!

Established scholarship enumerates all the racist laws and institutional racist practices in operation in Israel which discriminate between Jews and non-Jews, granting Jews differential rights and privileges over non-Jews, and rendering Israel a racist state by law. Popular and media knowledge, in contrast, depict Israel as a democratic liberal state that treats all its citizens equally. It is also established in scholarship that Israel discriminates against non-European Jews (the majority of the country's Jewish population) and also against recent Russian Jewish immigrants, and has engaged and continues to engage in a racist discourse about them and in unofficial institutional discrimination against them (witness the most recent case of discrimination against Ethiopian Jews in admissions to Israeli universities). In contrast, popular and media knowledge depicts Israel as a place where all Jews are equal. Scholarly knowledge addresses the question of Israel as a quasi-theological state, where religious law governs major aspects of Jewish life and that only Orthodox Judaism is allowed to have religious authority over Jewish citizens to the exclusion of Reform and Conservative Judaism, let alone other Jewish denominations. In contrast, media and popular knowledge depict Israel as a secular state. These are only a few examples of how scholarly knowledge is drastically different from and contradicts media and popular knowledge about key issues regarding Israeli society and history.

Israel's apologists and right-wing witch-hunters aim to establish this popular and media "knowledge", which echo the official positions of the State of Israel and its US lobby, as "scholarly" and dismiss academic scholarship as ideology. It is in this context that many of the organisations and individuals attacking me are under the false impression that what I teach in my classes is a "Palestinian" perspective or narrative. In fact, at the risk of engaging my fanatical critics, whose outrageous claims and inventions should not be given any legitimacy, I do no such thing. In my class on the topic, I teach academic scholarship on Palestine and Israel, which is precisely why the witch-hunters want Columbia to fire me.

As academic knowledge is of no interest to these ideologues, they have marshalled all their resources to transform the university into a mouthpiece for Israeli propaganda. They have recently been joined by The New York Times who, in an editorial on 7 April, called on Columbia University to monitor the classroom for “pro-Palestinian” bias. The Times’ editors asserted that the (illegitimate) investigative panel that Columbia University convened as part of its own intimidation of its own professors failed to examine the real allegations of pro-Israel students who are allied with pro-Israeli lobbying groups outside the university. These allegations speak of stridently pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli bias on the part of several professors. The panel had no mandate to examine the quality and fairness of teaching. That leaves the university to follow up on complaints about politicised courses and a lack of scholarly rigour as part of its effort to upgrade the department. One can only hope that Columbia will proceed with more determination and care than it has heretofore.

What the Times’ editors mean is that it is incumbent upon Columbia University to bring scholarly knowledge transmitted in its classrooms in line with Israeli propaganda, which the New York Times itself has never found too difficult to disseminate as objective truth anyway. Indeed, Ethan Bronner, the Times’ deputy foreign editor, was quoted in an article on 24 April asserting that as far as United Nations Security Council resolutions on the Palestinian/Israeli conflict are concerned, the newspaper editors “view ourselves as neutral and unbound by such judgements. We cite them, but we do not live by them.” If the Times can ignore so casually UN decisions as unbinding, why shouldn’t scholars do the same? Indeed why shouldn’t Columbia University do the same? The fact that for now at least, Columbia’s administration has not taken steps to monitor the politics of scholarship should not reassure us. Aside from his commitment to the pro-Israeli and anti-Palestinian line espoused by the New York Times and manifest in many of his own public statements, Columbia’s president, Lee Bollinger, has spoken about his concern of a lack of “balance” and the presence of “bias” in some classes on the Palestinian/Israeli conflict taught at Columbia, which he intends to rectify. He even expressed concern that Columbia scholars of the Middle East do not seem to explain “the relationship... between the environmental facts of life in the Middle East and Asia, or its diseases, and the culture there?” Columbia may soon hire Middle East scholars who will attempt to answer this important question!

The production of academic knowledge in American universities was never separable from the overall social, political, and economic requirements of the American state. Links between the university and state policy and the interests of the private sector have a long history and are structurally built into the research agenda of universities, most importantly through the mechanism of funding. I still remember how as an undergraduate in the US, I was always baffled by political scientists who would ridicule Soviet academic scholarship as lacking “independence” due to its being beholden to an agenda set and funded by the Soviet state, while being proud of their own scholarship and discipline, which was hardly “independent” of US government funding as well as

funding from the private sector which most often drove US state interests. Despite these structural limitations, however, there remained an important and crucial space in the university where serious scholarship could be produced and which scholars have utilised to produce their work.

This is not to say that scholarship is unbiased. On the contrary, all respectable scholarship about Nazi Germany and the holocaust, to take an important example, is indeed biased against the Nazis, but no one except anti-Semites would dare equate scholarly judgment of Nazi Germany and the holocaust as the “Jewish” perspective or narrative. The same applies to scholarship about South Africa under Apartheid, which is never described as the “Black” perspective or narrative. Feminist scholarship is equally biased against sexism, but is not labelled as “women’s” narrative or perspective. Scholarship on Stalin, on US slavery, on British colonialism, on American racism, on institutionalised sexism and discrimination against women, etc, is always biased, and no amount of lobbying from right-wing groups will force academics to teach the Nazi or slavery perspectives in the interest of “balance.” It is this scholarly space that the university enshrines which the neo-conservative culture commissars want to close off. To do so, what better place to create consensus than the Palestine/Israel conflict on which there is total US cultural agreement echoed by the mainstream and the right-wing and left-wing press. If Fox news and CNN and ABC news can agree on the “facts” surrounding Israel and its policies, as do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Daily News, and the New York Sun, then surely critical scholarship on this question will find little popular support. In this regard you can have a civil libertarian Zionist like the Village Voice ‘s Nat Hentoff, liberal Zionist apologists like the Nation magazine, and the New York Sun and the New York Post, join hands to discredit scholars on Palestine and Israel as “dogmatic”, “uncompromising,” “strident” and the like. Ostensible civil libertarian and Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz has not only joined the campaign in writing for the press, but also by lecturing at Columbia University against “pro- Palestinian” professors whom he accused of supporting terrorism. Luckily, Dershowitz did not advise Columbia on the types of legal torture that it could mete out to “guilty” professors.

This is not to say that there is no disagreement among the members of this unholy alliance. There is. Such disagreement revolves on the division between “good” Arabs and “bad” Arabs. This is not new but harks back to the emergence of Egyptian president Anwar El-Sadat as the first “good” Arab to be rescued from the lot in the American media. Since then, while the right-wing has had no truck with these divisions, as all Arabs are “bad,” as far as it is concerned, the mainstream and the “left” very much dabble in this division. Thus, Arabs who are seen as “moderate” and who are seen as speaking a language that does not challenge all the received wisdom on Israel are considered “good,” while those who are seen as exposing the hypocrisy of liberal apologists for Israel are “bad” and are described as “extremists.” This is an important strategy for liberal Zionists, as it achieves two important goals: it avoids and pre-empts the accusation of anti-Arab racism while encouraging “moderation” among Arab scholars by offering them much needed public and media praise. Thus, I

was recently faulted by the reporter of the left-liberal Nation magazine for daring to call Israel a racist state, even though I base my accurate description of the country on its myriad racist laws that discriminate between Jews and non-Jews, and that grant Jews rights and privileges that are denied to non-Jews. Such laws include the law of return (1950), the law of absentee property (1950), the law of the state's property (1951), the law of citizenship (1952), the status law (1952), the Israel lands administration law (1960), the construction and building law (1965), among others. What the Nation and Nat Hentoff find objectionable in my characterisation of Israel as racist is that it contradicts media and popular knowledge about Israel, which is the only acceptable measure of knowledge of the country in the US media. Herein lies their complicity with the rightwing on rejecting academic scholarship on Israel. The Nation and Hentoff, among others, made sure to contrast me with other "moderate" Arab scholars whom they praise and do not dismiss.

By using the popular and media consensus on Palestine/Israel as its entry point for the dismantling of the university and its cardinal principle of academic freedom, the pro-Israel lobbyists were able to find allies in the university administration, among the faculty, and certainly among students. Even though the main target of the witch-hunters is academic scholarship on Palestine and Israel, which they want to delegitimise fully as a scholarly endeavour, in favour of accepting the official Israeli government's representation of itself as academic truth, their efforts have mushroomed into an all out attack on the concept of academic freedom, and the very institution of the University. Their strategy, however, has backfired, as faculty quickly realised that the attack would indeed touch on the very nature of university pedagogy and the production of scholarly knowledge. In this regard, Columbia's faculty and other faculties around the country have begun to mobilise against these enemies of academic freedom. These enemies of academic freedom do not only threaten junior faculty but all classroom settings and all scholarship.

In light of the organised power and influence of the witch-hunters, the task before academics is not only to continue to insist on writing and producing scholarship about Palestine and Israel, which will continue to expose the true nature of the Israeli state and its oppressive policies, but to defend the scholarly endeavour itself, which can only be ensured if the institution of the university is maintained as a space where academic freedom is upheld. The university, with all its limitations, is one of the few remaining spaces, if not the only remaining one, where critical intellectuals can still live the life of the mind. What the witch-hunters want us to do is to live the life of servitude to state power, as technocrats and as ideologues. This we refuse to do.

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This article originally appeared in [Al-Ahram](#).

Who's the Dog Who's the Tail and the ADL

By Uri Avnery, Gush Shalom

April 22, 2006

I DON'T usually tell these stories, because they might give rise to the suspicion that I am paranoid.

For example: 27 years ago, I was invited to give a lecture-tour in 30 American universities, including all the most prestigious ones - Harvard, Yale, Princeton, MIT, Berkeley and so on. My host was the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a respected non-Jewish organization, but the lectures themselves were to be held under the auspices of the Jewish Bet-Hillel chaplains.

On arrival at the airport in New York I was met by one of the organizers. "There is a slight hitch," he told me, "29 of the Rabbis have cancelled your lecture."

In the end, all the lectures did take place, under the auspices of Christian chaplains. When we came to the lone Rabbi who had not cancelled my lecture, he told me the secret: the lectures had been forbidden in a confidential letter from the Anti-Defamation League, the thought-police of the Jewish establishment. The salient phrase has stuck to my memory: "While it cannot be said that Member of the Knesset Avnery is a traitor, yet..."

AND ANOTHER story from real life: a year later I went to Washington DC in order to "sell" the Two-State solution, which at the time was considered an outlandish, not to say crazy, idea. In the course of the visit, the Quakers were so kind as to arrange a press conference for me.

When I arrived, I was amazed. The hall was crammed full, practically all the important American media were represented. Many had come

straight from a press conference held by Golda Meir, who was also in town.

The event was to last an hour, as is usual, but the journalists did not let go. They bombarded me with questions for another two hours. Clearly, what I had to say was quite new to them and they were interested.

I was curious how this would be reported in the media. And indeed, the reaction was stunning: not a word appeared in any of the newspapers, on radio or TV. Not one single word.

By the way, three years ago I again held a press conference, this time on Capitol Hill in Washington. It was an exact replica of the last time: the crowd of reporters, their obvious interest, the continuation of the conference well beyond the appointed time - and not a single word in the media.

I COULD tell some more stories like these, but the point is made. I recount them only in connection with the scandal recently caused by two American professors, Stephen Walt of Harvard and John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago. They published a research paper on the influence of the Israel lobby in the United States. [for a pdf file of this paper, go to

<http://web.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/Index.aspx>

In 80 pages, 40 of them footnotes and sources, the two show how the pro-Israel lobby exercises unbridled power in the US capital, how it terrorizes the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, how the White House dances to its tune (if indeed a house can dance), how the important media obey its orders and how the universities, too, live in fear of it.

The paper caused a storm. And I don't mean the predictable wild attacks by the "friends of Israel" - which means almost all

politicians, journalists and professors. These pelted the authors with all the usual accusations: that they were anti-Semites, that they were resurrecting the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and so forth. There was something paradoxical in these attacks, since they only illustrated the authors' case.

But the debate that fascinates me is of a different nature. It broke out between senior intellectuals, from the legendary Noam Chomsky, the guru of the Left throughout the world (including Israel), to progressive websites everywhere. The bone of contention: the conclusion of the paper that the Jewish-Israeli lobby dominates US foreign policy and subjugates it to Israeli interests - in glaring contradiction to the national interest of the US itself. A case in point: the American assault on Iraq.

Chomsky and others rose up against this assertion. They do not deny the factual findings of the two professors, but object to their conclusions. In their view, it is not the Israel lobby that directs American policy, but the interests of the big corporations that dominate the American empire and exploit Israel for their own selfish aims.

Simply put: does the dog wag its tail, or does the tail wag its dog?

I AM NERVOUS about sticking my head into a debate between such illustrious intellectuals, but I feel obliged to express my view nevertheless.

I'll start with the Jew, who went to the Rabbi and complained about his neighbor. "You are right'" the Rabbi declared. Then came the neighbor and denounced the complainant. "You are right'" the Rabbi announced. "But how can that be," exclaimed the Rabbi's wife, "Only one of the two can be right!" "You are right, too," the Rabbi said.

I find myself in a similar situation. I think that both sides are right (and hope to be right, myself, too).

The findings of the two professors are right to the last detail. Every Senator and Congressman knows that criticizing the Israeli government is political suicide. Two of them, a Senator and a Congressman, tried - and were politically executed. The Jewish lobby was fully mobilized against them and hounded them out of office. This was done openly, to set a public example. If the Israeli government wanted a law tomorrow annulling the Ten Commandments, 95 Senators (at least) would sign the bill forthwith.

President Bush, for example, has withdrawn from all the established American positions regarding our conflict. He accepts automatically the positions of our government, be they as they may. Almost all the American media are closed to Palestinians and Israeli peace activists. As to professors - almost all of them know which side of their bread is peanut-buttered. If, in spite of that, somebody dares to open their mouth against the Israeli policy - as happens once every few years - they are smothered under a volley of denunciations: anti-Semite, Holocaust denier, neo-Nazi.

By the way, American guests in Israel, who know that at home it is forbidden to mention the influence of the Jewish-Israeli lobby, are dumbfounded to see that here the lobby does not hide its power in Washington but openly boasts of it.

The question, therefore, is not whether the two professors are right in their findings. The question is what conclusions can be drawn from them.

LET'S TAKE the Iraq affair. Who is the dog? Who the tail?

The Israeli government prayed for this attack, which has eliminated the strategic threat posed by Iraq. America was pushed into the war by a group of Neo- Conservatives, almost all of them Jews, who had a huge influence on the White House. In the past, some of them had acted as advisers to Binyamin Netanyahu.

On the face of it, a clear case. The pro-Israeli lobby pushed for the war, Israel is its main beneficiary. If the war ends in a disaster for America, Israel will undoubtedly be blamed.

Really? What about the American aim of getting their hands on the main oil reserves of the world, in order to dominate the world economy? What about the aim of placing an American garrison in the center of the main oil-producing area, on top of the Iraqi oil, between the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Caspian Sea? What about the immense influence of the big oil companies on the Bush family? What about the big multinational corporations, whose outstanding representative is Dick Cheney, that hoped to make hundreds of billions from the "reconstruction of Iraq"?

The lesson of the Iraq affair is that the American- Israeli connection is strongest when it seems that American interests and Israeli Interests are one (irrespective of whether that is really the case in the long run). The US uses Israel to dominate the Middle East, Israel uses the US to dominate Palestine.

But if something exceptional happens, such as the Jonathan Pollard espionage affair or the sale of an Israeli spy plane to China, and a gap opens between the interests of the two sides, America is quite capable of slapping Israel in the face.

AMERICAN-ISRAELI relations are indeed unique. It seems that they have no precedent in history. It is as if King Herod had given orders to Augustus Caesar and appointed the members of the Roman senate.

I don't think that this phenomenon can be wholly explained by economic interests. Even the most orthodox Marxist must recognize that it also has a spiritual dimension. It is no accident that American (as well as British) fundamentalist Christians invented the Zionist idea well before Theodor Herzl hit upon it. The evangelical lobby is no less important in today's Washington than the Zionist one. According to its ideology, the Jews must take possession of all the Holy Land in order

to make the Second Coming of Christ possible (and then - the part they don't shout about - some Jews will become Christians and the rest will be annihilated at Armageddon, today's Meggido in Northern Israel).

At the basis of the phenomenon lies the uncanny similarity between the two national-religious stories, the American myth and the Israeli. In both, pioneers persecuted for their religion reached the shores of the Promised Land. They were forced to defend themselves against the "savage" natives, who were out to destroy them. They redeemed the land, made the desert bloom, created, with God's help, a flourishing, democratic and moral society.

Both societies live in a state of denial and unconscious guilt feelings - over there because of the genocide committed against the Native Americans and the horrifying slavery of the blacks, here because of the uprooting of half the Palestinian people and the oppression of the other half. Both here and there, people believe in an eternal war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

ANYHOW, THE American-Israeli symbiosis is unique and far too complex a phenomenon to be described as a simple conspiracy. I am sure that the two professors did not mean to do so.

The dog wags the tail and the tail wags the dog. They wag each other.

GUSH SHALOM p.o.b. 3322 Tel Aviv 61033

ADL Deplores Ontario Unions Vote to Boycott Israel

Press Release

Israel / Middle-East

ADL Deplores Ontario Union's Vote to Boycott Israel

New York, NY, May 30, 2006 ... The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) today labeled as "deplorable and offensive" a call by the Ontario branch of Canada's largest labor unions for a full range of anti-Israel boycott activity. At its annual meeting on May 28, the Ontario chapter of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) unanimously passed a resolution to "support the international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions" against Israel. The vote almost directly coincided with the passage on May 29 of an anti-Israel boycott resolution by an academic union in Britain.

"Once again, a labor union has voted to take the deplorable and offensive step of attempting to isolate and vilify the State of Israel while taking a strongly one-sided view of the conflict," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "While full of propagandistic hyperbole, the union's resolution makes no effort to reflect current realities on the ground in the region. There is no mention of Israel's unilateral redeployment from Gaza and proposed action in the West Bank, nor is there any recognition of the challenges posed by the terrorist group Hamas' reign over the Palestinian Authority and its refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist or to renounce terror."

The CUPE resolution urged members to "support the international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions until Israel meets its obligations to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law including the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194." The resolution further called for solidarity with the Palestinians, the development of an "education campaign about the apartheid nature of the Israeli state," and for lobbying against Canadian support for Israel.

The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) represents 450,000 workers in health care, education, municipalities, libraries, universities, social services, public utilities, transportation, emergency services and airlines. The national union has not taken a position on Israeli-Palestinian relations.

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

Armenian Genocide Debate Exposes Rifts at ADL

By Jennifer Siegel

Published August 22, 2007

It has been a long, hot, difficult summer for Abraham Foxman. Faced with the fight of his professional life, the indefatigable director of the Anti-Defamation League was forced into a rare and reluctant retreat by the unlikeliest of adversaries: an ethnic minority charging one of the world's most famous Holocaust survivors with suppressing recognition of a genocide.

For weeks, Foxman, 67, faced mounting criticism for refusing to back Armenian Americans in their quest to pass a congressional resolution recognizing as genocide the World War I-era massacre of Armenians at the hands of their Ottoman rulers. But after insisting that the ADL and the United States should not risk inciting Turkey, Israel's most important Middle Eastern ally, by labeling the episode as genocide, he made a hasty — if less than contrite — retreat this week in the face of a potential mutiny from fellow Jews.

"I didn't make a mistake," Foxman said Tuesday in an interview with the Forward. He added: "No Armenian lives are under threat today or in danger. Israel is under threat and in danger, and a relationship between Israel and Turkey is vital and critical, so yeah, I have to weigh [that]."

The ADL worked to head off a full-blown public relations crisis with a carefully worded statement, released August 21, that did not endorse the congressional resolution but confirmed that the "consequences" of the actions of the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians were "tantamount to genocide." But several observers within the organization's leadership told the Forward that even if the effort proves successful, the saga would likely leave behind lingering questions about Foxman's maverick leadership style as well doubts about the group's fundamental mission.

“Are we an organization of principle? Are we an organization that will stand up for what’s right and wrong? Or are our principles put through some kind of filter that involves Israel’s self-interest?”, said a member of ADL’s national executive committee who requested anonymity. There is “that subtext here.”

Some saw the brouhaha as a matter of chickens coming home to roost for Foxman, who has served as the ADL’s director since 1987. Over the years, Foxman has charged an array of foes with misrepresenting Jewish history and fomenting antisemitism, including Mel Gibson, Jimmy Carter, Louis Farrakhan and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the president of Iran. “There’s a huge irony here,” said Jonathan Sarna, a professor of Jewish history at Brandeis University. “The Armenian community is using all the strategies we invented to deal with Holocaust denial.”

Although a dispute over the Armenian genocide has simmered within some Jewish circles for years, ADL’s recent controversy commenced last April, when Foxman told the Los Angeles Times that he opposed a resolution, proposed by Congressman Adam Schiff and co-sponsored by 29 out 43 Jewish members of Congress, to officially recognize the Armenian massacres of 1915-1923 as a genocide.

“The Turks and Armenians need to revisit their past,” Foxman told the newspaper. “The Jewish community shouldn’t be the arbiter of that history. And I don’t think the U.S. Congress should be the arbiter, either.”

Although officially the ADL did not take a position on the bill, along with B’nai B’rith International, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Institute of National Security Affairs, all four groups have said publicly that historians, not lawmakers, should settle the debate over the 1.5 million Armenian deaths. Earlier this year, the groups passed along to congressional leaders a letter from Turkish Jews opposing the resolution.

But ultimately, Foxman and the ADL, which was founded to combat antisemitism in 1913, confronted the bulk of public opposition. The issue erupted last week when the town council of Watertown, Mass.—home to one of the country’s oldest and largest Armenian communities — voted to withdraw from an ADL-run anti-discrimination

program. With other area towns poised to follow suit, ADL's New England regional board, one of the organization's most influential and moneyed, issued a statement backing the congressional resolution, and the board's professional head, regional director Andrew Tarsy, publicly disavowed Foxman's position.

Tarsy was summarily fired last Friday, resulting in the cascade of events — including the resignations of two regional board members, condemnation of the ADL by such prominent Jews as Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz and a public rift with the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Boston, which organized a petition campaign among the area's Jewish groups — that forced Foxman and the ADL's national leadership to change course.

As of press time, the ADL had not announced whether Tarsy would be reinstated. In speaking to the Forward, Foxman — who is slated to release a book, "The Most Dangerous Lies: The Israel Lobby and the Myth of Jewish Control," next month — remained almost defiantly unapologetic.

"We've never denied that there was a massacre, we [just] didn't engage in the g-word," Foxman said. "Now, they've insisted on the g-word. Fine." He added: "If my going public and saying this was a genocide can bring unity to the community, and can make the Armenian community feel that they're being heard, then I did it."

The national director said he personally had believed that the Armenian tragedy constituted genocide before saying so publicly, but that his reversal was motivated by a concern for Jewish welfare. "I'm saying it sincerely. I still don't think it's our issue, but so many people believe it is our issue... I said okay," Foxman said.

He added: "I saw what this was doing to the unity of the Jewish community at a time we need unity. Israel is under threat. European Jewry, Latin American Jewry are under attack. In America, we're being attacked as disloyal. This is not a time for Jews to be attacking each other over an issue that is really not central."

Armenian American leaders welcomed the ADL's updated position but deemed it far from a full victory.

"This is a current-day issue," said Anthony Barsamian, director of public affairs for the Armenian Assembly of America. "Speaking about genocide in Turkey will get you killed. Last fall, I traveled to Turkey and met with Hrant Dink, who was then the editor of the [Turkish-Armenian newspaper] Agos, and he was assuring me that this was an issue for Turks and Armenians within Turkey, and three months later, he was assassinated."

Within the ADL, Foxman's critics also seemed unlikely to be fully placated. Although Foxman is widely credited within the organization as a master tactician equally adept at handling world leaders and big-time donors, his detractors have long resented what they see as his propensity to unilaterally adopt positions, as when he lobbied for a pardon for financier Marc Rich in the final days of the Clinton administration. In 2001, Foxman angered leaders in Los Angeles when he unexpectedly fired the director of the ADL's Pacific Southwest region.

"This is *déjà vu*," said Joel Sprayregen, a longtime critic of Foxman who is a former national vice chair of the ADL and honorary chair of its Chicago region. "To many of us, it seems, here he does it again."

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Abe Foxman's Genocide Denial Roadshow, Part 2

ADL's Foxman's Forges Impossible Alliance of Armenians, Turks and Boston-Area Jews

By JOHN V. WALSH

Last week CounterPunch was the only national outlet, to the best of our knowledge, to report the disturbances caused in the Boston suburb of Watertown over [denial of the Armenian genocide](#) by the national Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and its director, Abe Foxman. The brouhaha was set off by an investigation into Watertown's participation in "No Place for Hate," an "anti-bigotry" program of uncertain origin. Mirabile dictu, the program turned out to be sponsored by the national ADL which denies that the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of the Turks from 1915 to 1923 amounted to a genocide. This was quite disconcerting to the town mothers and fathers since Watertown boasts an Armenian-American population in excess of 8000. The town council met to consider the program and the local director of ADL, one Andrew Tarsey, showed up to implore them not to withdraw from the program. Met with boos and hisses by the duly assembled Watertown citizenry, Tarsey beat a hasty retreat from the Council chambers. The Watertown mothers and fathers then unanimously voted to drop the ADL program.

The next day Tarsey, now in full rout, reversed his position, labeling the killing of 1.5 million Armenians a genocide after all. Problem is that this local ADL position contradicts the position of national ADL headed by Abe Foxman, which persists in denying the Armenian genocide. Foxman's solution fire local ADL leader Tarsey. And for good measure, he labeled the Watertown position as "bigoted," thus playing the "race card." Obviously the Watertownians must be anti-Semites, a charge Foxman cannot resist, if they will not sponsor an ADL program. However, in a challenge to Foxman, the local ADL and Jewish establishment, seeing their credibility slip sliding away here in the Athens of America, decided to affirm the Armenian genocide.

But the House of Reps. in US Congress has a resolution pending with 227 co-sponsors (a clear majority) recognizing the Armenian genocide, much to the consternation of Turkey, an ally of Israel's and also an avid buyer of Israeli arms and an ally of the U.S. So what was Foxman to do? Like Solomon, Foxman opted for a split decision, but unlike Solomon, Foxman has tried to execute it. He said in Boston that he has reversed his decision and the ADL now considers the Armenian massacre "tantamount to genocide." ("Tantamount"?) But in Washington national ADL will continue to oppose the Congressional resolution, recognizing the Armenian genocide. So in Boston the massacre of Armenians is genocide but in Washington it is not. What the status will be in NYC or Baltimore, Foxman has yet to decide.

The Armenians, both locally and nationally, will have none of this. They want the ADL to support the Congressional resolution recognizing the Armenian genocide or else stand accused as genocide deniers. So now both the Armenians and the local Boston ADL are at odds with Foxman and national ADL.

Enter the Turks. They too have denounced Foxman for admitting genocide in Boston even if he has not done so in Washington. And they are angry about it. Foxman laid his original genocide denial at the feet of the Turks, saying he feared for the safety of Jewish Turks if he crossed the Turks. Friday the Turkish Foreign Ministry responded, "The Jewish community in Turkey is part of our society, and its members do not have any reason to worry." Clearly the Turks do not like Foxman's accusations of anti-Semitism, any more than the Watertownians did. The Turks then one-upped Foxman, claiming that his Boston recognition of the Armenian genocide denies the special nature of the Holocaust. "We consider the statement of the ADL as an injustice to the unique character of the Holocaust, as well as to the memories of its victims," the Turkish Foreign Ministry in Washington said in a statement. "We expect it to be rectified." There you have it, Abe Foxman, Holocaust denier! So Foxman now has accomplished what has eluded diplomats for nearly a century, bringing Armenians and Turks together in this case in opposition to national ADL. And he has even brought down a Turkish charge against his own proper respect for the Holocaust!

Foxman of course is little more than an intellectual bully, sliming with charges of anti-Semitism whomever dares challenge the policies of Isreal. But his defamatory, anti-

defamation league is in trouble. Foxman's actions now put the fabled and hitherto invincible Isreali Lobby on the line. The Turks certainly must have thought that the Lobby could "deliver" Congress on genocide denial, and Foxman's ADL is a key component of that Lobby. The Turks have already complained to Israel about the ADL's Boston-Washington split decision. This is very important to them, having hired both Dick Gephardt, former House Majority Leader and Bob Livingston (Remember him?) former Speaker of the House at considerable cost to get Congress on their side. So the battle lines are drawn. CounterPunch will keep you posted.

Milton Viorst on ‘The Israel Lobby’

POSTED ON OCT 4, 2007

israellobbybook.com

The original article that inspired the book can be found on the London Review’s Web site. The letters it provoked along with Mearsheimer and Walt’s reply are well worth reading. The essay also prompted a response by, among others, Christopher Hitchens on Slate. Some months later, the London Review of Books sponsored a debate at Cooper Union in New York City, which can be viewed here. Also, be sure to read this interview with the authors.

By Milton Viorst

About 30 or so years ago, when I first began to write of my concern that Israel was embarked on a course that would lead only to recurring wars, or perhaps worse, I received a letter from Abraham H. Foxman, then as now the voice of the Anti-Defamation League, admonishing me as a Jew not to wash our people’s dirty linen in public. I still have it in my files. His point, of course, was not whether the washing should be public or private; he did not offer an alternative laundry. His objective was—and remains—to squelch anyone who is critical of Israel’s policies.

In the ensuing years, Foxman and a legion of like-minded leaders, most but not all of them Jewish, have been remarkably successful in suppressing an open and frank debate on Israel’s course. In view of Israel’s impact on America’s place in the world, it is astonishing how little discussion its role has generated. As a practical matter, the subject has been taboo. John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, professors of political science at the University of Chicago and Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, respectively, have challenged this taboo in their new book, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy.” Foxman, in an effort to discredit them, has written a rejoinder in his book “The Deadliest Lies: The Jewish Lobby and the Myth of Jewish Control.”

The controversy over Mearsheimer and Walt’s views has been going on since March of last year, when they first presented their argument in the London Review of Books. In their essay, they contended that support of the magnitude that the United States gives Israel might have been justified

during the Cold War but is not defensible, “on either strategic or moral grounds,” under the conditions that currently prevail in the Middle East. America’s unconditional backing, they argued, is harmful to its own interests and possibly even to Israel’s, and it is made possible only by the influence of the Israel lobby over U.S. foreign policy. The article touched a sensitive chord among many of Israel’s defenders, generating a furor. Now Mearsheimer and Walt have written a book which, while more comprehensive at nearly 500 pages, recapitulates the original themes. Foxman acknowledges basing his book-length reply on the article, so impatient was he to proclaim its authors guilty of “distortions, omissions and errors.”

The late social critic Irving Howe, deeply committed to Israel himself, used to argue that Jewish leaders like Foxman depend for their status on ceaselessly trumpeting the dangers faced by the Jewish people, and particularly by Israel, from a hostile world. These leaders, Howe insisted, exploit the scars which inquisitions, pogroms and the Holocaust have left on the collective Jewish psyche, scars which distort Jewish political judgment. Foxman is no doubt sincere in agonizing over the dangers that Jews have historically faced. But Howe argued that these dangers had become a vested interest for the leaders of Jewish organizations, making an open and honest debate all but impossible in American Jewish circles and in America’s political culture generally.

Foxman does not quite accuse Mearsheimer and Walt—though other disapproving critics do—of being anti-Semitic. But he uses intimidating language nonetheless, pointing to a “level of quiet, subtle bigotry—an attitude that may not run to the actual hatred of Jews but that assumes that Jews are somehow different, less respectable, less honorable, more treacherous, more devious than other people. ... [I]t’s only natural that people who exhibit this kind of bias against Jews should look a little askance at the special relationship that exists between American Jews and the nation of Israel.”

One can admit the legitimacy of Foxman’s warnings on anti-Semitism and still ask for the evidence of “subtle bigotry” in the Mearsheimer-Walt text. I found none, unless the reader accepts the premise that anti-Semitism is present in any scrutiny of relations between the U.S. government and American Jews, or the Israel lobby. Foxman says the authors’ objective is to make Israel into a “pariah” state, though nothing that they write reveals such a goal. On the contrary, Mearsheimer and Walt recognize lobbies—all lobbies—as a legitimate part of the American political system, existing to shape or shift policy in the interest of the various causes they serve. Foxman, backed by quotes from such dubious authorities as Dennis Ross, an ex-U.S. ambassador and a vigorous defender of official Israeli views, seeks to attribute something sinister to their motives.

Without question, Mearsheimer and Walt have written less a work of political science than a brief for their position. There is nothing wrong with that, as long as they maintain the standards of scholarship incumbent on their craft, which exhaustive footnotes of more than a hundred pages

suggest strongly that they do. Some of their critics, ill at ease with the charge of anti-Semitism or “subtle bigotry,” have accused them of being “unbalanced,” in omitting the sins of “the other side.” By their nature, briefs are not balanced, but in this case the accusation seems doubly contrived. Assuming that the Palestinians or radical Muslims are “the other side,” the critics can scarcely claim that the literature is not already overflowing with negative evaluations, readily at hand in any library or bookstore. The objective of Mearsheimer and Walt is to break new scholarly ground, which is what academics are supposed to do. Their findings will come as no surprise to those familiar with American political institutions, but, judging by the reverberations of the Foxman line, they have ignited panic by daring to put so much of the available material on the public record.

That is not to say that Mearsheimer and Walt do not leave a great deal of room for disagreement: for example, their contention, presented in a discussion of Israel’s role in instigating the invasion of Iraq, that “absent the lobby’s influence, there almost certainly would not have been a war.” Surely the American decision to invade Iraq, like most of history’s grand events, arose out of a confluence of causes, no single one of which would have sufficed to bring it about. Here are just a few of those causes: oil, the rebound to 9/11, President Bush’s relations with his father, concern over free navigation in the Persian Gulf, a sense of Christian mission, the Pentagon’s hunger for Middle East bases to provide “forward thrust” for American power. Moreover, many in decision-making circles swallowed Bush’s claim that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and a few may even have believed that we had a moral duty to liberate Iraqis from Saddam’s heartless tyranny. Though we know now there were no WMD, much less plans to improve the life of the Iraqis, each of these considerations played a part in generating the momentum to invade.

As for the Israel lobby, no doubt it weighed in during the deliberations. Israel’s fears of Iraq, though exaggerated, were surely real. But the lobby’s power was only marginal on President Bush and his entourage of neocons who long before had made up their minds. On this matter, the authors overstate their case. The Israel lobby was a player in the discussion on going to war, but there is little evidence to regard its role as decisive.

Indeed, it is not clear whether Mearsheimer and Walt fully understand what the Israel lobby is. At its apex, of course, is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Washington-based organization whose power strikes fear in the executive branch and, even more so, in Congress. AIPAC is complemented by a constellation of satellites, among them the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the American Jewish Committee and Foxman’s own Anti-Defamation League. Their agenda seeks not only to assure Israel’s survival but to pursue particular partisan policies. They function, in effect, as the U.S. arm of Likud, serving Israel’s right wing in rejecting the exchange of land for peace with the Arabs, in standing up for the Jewish settlements

that blanket the territories conquered in 1967, in condoning the mistreatment of the Palestinians of the occupied lands, whose life grows more onerous each day.

But Mearsheimer and Walt go on to add to their taxonomic mix such groups as Americans for Peace Now, the Israel Policy Forum and the Tikkun Community, on the grounds that they also support Israel. They do, of course, but their values are precisely the opposite of the AIPAC coalition's. They argue for peace with the Arabs, while casting doubt on the hard-line position—encouraged by the Bush administration—that only military superiority will guarantee Israel's security. Their point of departure, to be sure, is not so much America's strategic interests as Zionism in the old-fashioned sense, i.e. the survival of a humane, secular and democratic Jewish state. But their politics lead them to conclusions about relations with Israel's U.S. patron that are much like those of Mearsheimer and Walt.

These groups are much smaller than the AIPAC coalition, and have far more modest budgets, but most polls suggest their goals are consistent with the vision held by a majority of American Jews. Despite the ceaseless efforts of Foxman and his allies, many Jews who have thought hard about how best to assure Israel's survival have rejected the call to march in lock step with Israel's hard-liners. I would add that Mearsheimer and Walt, by calling the AIPAC alliance the "Israel lobby" or the "pro-Israel lobby," perpetuate a misnomer in all but ignoring the peace groups. It would be more accurate to call AIPAC's coalition the "right-wing Israel lobby," which might at least provoke Israel's friends, Jewish and non-Jewish, to examine whether AIPAC's effort might not actually be harmful to Israel's long-term well-being.

What is impossible to dispute is that the AIPAC coalition, by its own standards, has been hugely successful, starting with imposing a kind of political *omerta* in the consideration of Israeli policies. Its promotion of silence zeroes in heavily on Congress, whose members seem especially vulnerable to its muscle. A prominent senator once told me he long ago gave up arguing against AIPAC's orthodoxy and now signs on to anything it puts on his desk. Over the decades, AIPAC has used the money at its disposal to influence electoral campaigns that have defeated more than a few senators and congressmen who have had the temerity to break the taboo. Their loss has served as a lesson that intimidates the rest.

But money is not AIPAC's only weapon. Brilliantly organized, AIPAC counts on sympathizers nationwide to deluge Congress, as well as the media, with its messages. It is an adage of democratic politics that intensity of feeling trumps the sentiments of passive majorities, as revealed by polls. In this, AIPAC is not alone. The gun lobby is another example. The producer of an evening news program in which I made a critical remark about Israeli policy informed me that the

next morning the station had received a record number of denunciatory e-mails. He has since stopped inviting me on the show.

Today, a campaign is being waged against Rep. James Moran, an anti-war Democrat from Virginia, who has occasionally questioned Israel's course. Moran, said to hold a "safe" seat, dared in a recent interview on Iraq to say that "Jewish Americans as a voting bloc and as an influence on foreign policy are overwhelmingly opposed to the war. ... But AIPAC is the most powerful lobby and has pushed this war from the beginning. ... Their influence is dominant in the Congress." Then, in a zinger, he added that AIPAC's members were often "quite wealthy," a characterization that makes Jews wince. Moran's words elicited attacks by both Republicans and Democrats, demonstrating not that he had conveyed any falsehood but that neither political party, with an eye to the next election, is willing to provoke AIPAC's ire.

Yet, even taking money and organization into account, there remains something of a mystery about the influence that AIPAC and its allies wield. In contrast to AIPAC, the gun lobby is routinely called upon to defend itself. But AIPAC's task, it seems, is easier, because non-Jews, no less than Jews, unquestioningly accept its marching orders. Why, when it comes to AIPAC, do so many Americans abandon the skepticism they apply to other interests within the political spectrum? Europe is much less accommodating to Israel. AIPAC, naturally, blames the difference on Europe's anti-Semitism, though—apart from Europe's Muslims, who start with political grievances against Israel—there is little evidence to support its theory. Mearsheimer and Walt credit AIPAC's skillful manipulation of the system, but the search for an answer needs more.

Perhaps the answer has something to do with America's being the most religious, the most Christian, the most church-going society in the Western world. Once upon a time, deeply held Christian faith could be taken as a measure of hostility to Jews; that certainly is the case no longer. If anything, American Christianity—led by but not exclusive to evangelicals—seems to take the biblical promise of a homeland for the Jews as a test of its beliefs and a commitment of its own. This commitment goes beyond guaranteeing Israel's existence. It provides a body of sympathy for Israel's hard line, and for the economic aid and weaponry that the United States dispatches to support it.

Unfortunately, the pro-peace segment of the American Jewish community does not have a parallel lobby. It has a few organizations, with dedicated adherents. Its members try to persuade the American Jewish community that reaching out to the Arab world, and particularly to the Palestinians, is better for Israel than perpetual war. AIPAC does its best to de-legitimize them, but they hang in stubbornly, though they are barely a whisper in the debate over Israel's course. Despite the polls suggesting that many Jews agree with them, the influence of the peace groups is no threat to AIPAC's pre-eminence. It is ironic that without Foxman and the like-minded critics who echo him,

the Mearsheimer-Walt book might well have vanished with barely a ripple. Instead, their shrill voices have propelled it onto best-seller lists. Whether the book's success means, however, that the American people and the politicians who lead them are readier than before to seriously consider the issues that it raises is still far from clear.

Milton Viorst, a former correspondent for The New Yorker, has written six books on the Middle East. His most recent is "Storm from the East: The Struggle between the Arab World and the Christian West."

Jewish Labor Committee Attempts to Shut Down Boston Conference on Zionism

March 16, 2008

Zionists walked into a well-known center for left activists in Boston this week and managed, with a single complaint, to take away an already agreed-upon meeting space for an April conference on Palestine organized by the New England Committee to Defend Palestine. Around March 9, the local branch of a national group called the Jewish Labor Committee told the director of Encuentro 5 and the landlord of the building that houses Encuentro that the New England Committee to Defend Palestine is a “hate group” and demanded that it not be allowed to hold the conference in Encuentro’s meeting space. On March 14, the director of Encuentro informed the conference organizers that he would have to accede to pressure from the Jewish Labor Committee and UNITE-HERE (the Union of Needle trades, Industrial and Textile Employees and Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union). UNITE-HERE is connected to a trust that owns the multi-story brick industrial building in Boston’s Chinatown. Encuentro’s space is on the 5th floor of this building and is held without a lease, making it vulnerable to landlord threats.

Beneath the facts of the case lie a number of ironies:

* Attacks like this are exactly the subject of the disputed conference. The purpose of the conference, whose title is “Zionism and the Repression of Anti-Colonial Movements,” is to expose attacks on activists as they have been carried out historically by zionist forces. Activists scheduled to speak have been involved in the Native American struggle against European genocide on the North American continent, the Black liberation struggle in the US from slavery onward, the struggle against US imperialism in Central America, the movement against apartheid in South Africa, the struggle against US imperialism and genocide in Iraq, and the struggle against US-Israeli genocide in Palestine.

* Encuentro bills itself as “a space for progressive movement building” in Boston (<http://www.encuentro5.org>). Massachusetts Global Action — the organization that runs Encuentro—argued the need for a “tactical retreat” and offered us \$400 and help finding another venue if we would consent to leave. We told them that this would undermine the meaning of our conference, their own work, and the movement as a whole. Our suggestion to Encuentro was to take this matter to the activist community — to the people who use the space — to tell them what was taking place and invite them to help organize a struggle to defend the integrity of our collective work. Zionist organizations like the JLC have more material and political power than perhaps at any time in the past. But this power is increasingly hollow, since it must increasingly assert itself by shutting

down a discussion about that power—a discussion that is growing and moving into the mainstream. The JLC did not succeed by persuading Encuentro 5, but by threatening them through the building's owners. These are clearly threats that they have the power to carry out—a fact that proves what critics of zionism are saying.

But this also demonstrates that while they have more material power than ever before, they have less ideological support than ever before. The legitimacy of the zionist project—the passive consent given to US support for “Israel”—is collapsing. That collapse must come before the serious fight over material power—a fight that is coming.

We are disappointed that Encuentro 5 and Mass Global Action decided that it was not strategic for them to challenge this abuse of power now. We know that the repercussions might well have been severe, and recognize that this would affect a great deal of effort and work that has gone into building their organization. We offer the following as a challenge—not so much to them, but to the movement as a whole, since finally the question is not about any of our specific, struggling organizations:

Can we build a movement against imperialism, or against social injustice in the United States, if the limits of our discussion can be set by organizations like the JLC—organizations that are committed to ensuring that billions of dollars in US military and economic support are given yearly to one of the most militarized colonial states in the world?

There is widespread discontent with zionist power. This discontent will not turn itself into a meaningful response until it becomes organized around specific battles. This can only take place if at some point people are willing say “it stops here.”

* “Progressives” are not progressive. The “progressives” are the Jewish Labor Committee, which calls itself “the Jewish voice in the labor movement.” The JLC did not come in from the outside but actually has an office in Encuentro’s own space. The Jewish Labor Committee’s web site (<http://www.jewishlabor.org>) shows its president, Stuart Applebaum, standing proudly with war criminal Shimon Peres in February in Jerusalem. The JLC has put out a statement condemning the Palestinian call for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against “Israel.” The JLC statement asserts that Israelis, who have brutally occupied Palestine for 60 years, carrying out a program of genocide ever since, should not be seen as “victimizers.”

The progressives are UNITE-HERE, the brave union for oppressed garment and hotel workers, which acted in this fiasco as a landlord bully threatening to kick out tenants for political speech.

The progressives are leftists who support resistance in Palestine, but not resistance that uses

measures of a kind used by its enemy — namely, armed struggle. The leadership of the resistance in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq and Afghanistan today is Islamic. Progressives in the US support secular political movements, so they don't support the people who are actually carrying out the resistance in these countries which the US and "Israel" are busy devastating. Support for resistance by oppressed people should be given without qualification.

* The criminal has accused his victim of the crime. The real hate groups are those who support genocide in Palestine. The Boston Jewish Labor Committee's accusation that the conference organizers are a "hate group" comes right out of the manual of the Anti-Defamation League which has gone to great pains to define political speech and action as good or bad in terms favorable to the zionist project. The ADL is a "progressive" organization — it seems to be for the right thing, except when it comes to criticism of "Israel." Criticism of "Israel" is anti-Semitism — that's hate speech, that's against the law. The ADL was part of a recent attack on a mosque being built in Boston. It was exposed for lobbying Congress against a bill that condemns the Armenian genocide. During the late '70's and early '80's, it spied on organizations in the U.S. that supported the struggle against white supremacist apartheid in South Africa. This do-good "no place for hate" organization is actually a front group for a racist foreign power.

The limits of political speech on the left are now being defined by the very organizations who say they're working for the good. There is no open debate. The idea is to simply prevent political speech. Why is support for a nasty racist state in occupied Palestine driving so much of US and international politics? And the question goes beyond Palestine, since these same organizations have the power to set limits on the discussion of "social justice" and racism here inside the US. This includes a history of demonizing black nationalists like Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and the Black Panthers as "anti-Semites." In many cases people's careers have been ruined and their reputations smeared by forces who never came out in the open. Joseph Massad, Tony Martin, Ward Churchill, and most recently Catherine Wilkerson, are examples. Ward Churchill will be among the speakers at the conference.

The New England Committee to Defend Palestine assures all those who have been invited to and registered for the April 12 and 13 conference that we have secured another venue and will be announcing it soon. We couldn't have provided a better example of zionist interference in anti-imperialist activism than the one that just happened here. We have great speakers coming from many different movements. We hope that supporters of the struggle in Palestine, and all those who recognize the need to build a truly independent opposition to oppression inside the US, will join us for this event.

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Uncomfortable truths

The historian Tony Judt has changed our view of postwar Europe, challenged liberal America and provoked controversy with his criticism of Israel

Paul Laity

The Guardian, Saturday 17 May 2008

Tony Judt has never fought shy of questioning long-cherished ideas. Postwar, his panoramic study of Europe after 1945, was loudly acclaimed in part because it dealt so bracingly with the lies and cover-ups on which the rebuilding of the continent depended – the number of Nazis and collaborators who retained positions of power, for instance, and the myths surrounding wartime resistance. Detail after striking detail documented how nations are never honest about their pasts, and how quickly inconvenient truths are buried.

Judt, who teaches at New York University, is known as a combative writer and reviewer, and this reputation is confirmed by his new collection of pieces, *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*, which opens with the trouncing of a recent biographer of Koestler for being, among other things, priggishly obsessed with his subject's sex life. Over the years, Judt has been notable, in particular, for his acid dismissals of "romantic" communists and their fellow travellers. Many of his targets have been French intellectuals – he has ripped into Sartre numerous times – but in *Reappraisals* he also, from his own position on the left, accuses Eric Hobsbawm of being a "mandarin" and calls the much loved EP Thompson a "sanctimonious, priggish Little Englander".

Since September 2001, however, Judt's articulate polemicism has taken a new direction – one that has transformed his life. Uneasy about the political reaction to 9/11 in the US, he soon began to publish a series of condemnations of Bush's international policies. But whereas his anti-communism sat comfortably with mainstream liberal opinion in America, his early opposition to the Iraq war threw him out of alignment with his usual allies, who were still rallying around the president following the terrorist attacks. Judt, who was born and has spent most of his life in Britain, began to feel more aware of being European – and different.

He raised hackles by labelling liberal commentators in America – including New Yorker editor David Remnick, Michael Ignatieff and Paul Berman – Bush's "useful idiots". But by far the biggest tumults Judt has caused have followed an essay he published five years ago, entitled "Israel: The Alternative", which opened with the notion that "the president of the United States of America has been reduced to a ventriloquist's dummy, pitifully reciting the Israeli cabinet line", and went on to contend that the time had come to "think the unthinkable" – the bringing to an end of Israel as a Jewish state, and the establishment in its place of a binational state of Israelis and Palestinians.

The essay was written for the New York Review of Books, and within a week of its publication, Judt had received a thousand messages of protest. From that time, Judt, who lost close friends over the article, has been regarded as nefarious by a large section of American Jewry.*

Judt's political instincts can be traced, perhaps too easily, back to his upbringing. He was born 60 years ago into the Jewish community in London's East End. All his grandparents were Yiddish-speaking Jews from eastern Europe; his parents were "unapologetically Jewish, but secular, and not really Zionist. They were leftwing, even Marxist, but strongly against communism". On his 12th or 13th birthday, Judt remembers, he was given a copy of Isaac Deutscher's masterly biography of Trotsky: "Failed communists were acceptable – Deutscher, Trotsky – it was the successful ones who weren't liked."

The other books on his shelves at home (the Judt family moved around London, but settled in Putney) were Left Book Club monthly choices and Penguin Specials – hallmarks of "the autodidacticism of the left". There were memoirs of the Jewish East End, too, but Judt stresses that his parents' sense of being Jewish – even during the 1950s and 60s, when Zionism had much greater purchase than before the war – was "divorced from anything that people in New York now think of as Jewish identity".

His own relationship to Zionism is more complicated. "The thing that changed everything for me, at least for a while, was that my parents, despairing of my social life – thinking me too solitary – encouraged me to join Dror, the Zionist youth organisation. Which I did, at exactly the point in a teenager's life when it's possible to convince them that they have discovered the way the universe works. From the age of 15 until 19 or 20, I was a gung-ho, utterly committed, leftwing Zionist, which was plausible if you went straight from your bedroom to a kibbutz." From 1965 to 1967, he was Dror's national secretary.

Having taken his first set of exams at Cambridge, Judt left again for the kibbutz Machanaim with the six-day war pending and, in response to a call for volunteers from the Israeli army, became a driver and then a translator, joining the forces based on the Golan Heights: "I was 19 and romantic," he recalls.

But his views on Israel soon began to change. "I started to hear things, in the attitude of young officers above all, that I had never heard before, expressions of nationalism, anti-Arab xenophobia, land hunger – 'why didn't we go all the way to Damascus?', 'the only good Arab is a dead Arab' – that sort of thing." The "conquistador attitude in Israeli officers", Judt says, "gave the lie to the idea that there was something special about this war, this occupation, this army – myths that many Israelis still believe in ... By the time I went back to Cambridge at the end of the summer, I was

already pretty critical of Israel: it was clear in my mind that the huge acquisition of land and people as a result of the war wasn't going to work. What kind of Jewish state was this?"

Judt instead turned his attention to France, and began graduate research in Cambridge on the history of French Marxism. In 1970, he enrolled for a year at the École Normale Supérieure. "That was a gas ... a whole bunch of intellectuals coming down to breakfast in their dressing gowns, sipping coffee and eating croissants. They really were intensely smart in a way you don't find in England, where people tend to camouflage their smartness, for all the obvious cultural reasons. At the École, you had to come up to scratch in every conversation, and it was exhilarating."

In Paris, he dismissed at first hand the abstruse structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser ("listening to him, at a crowded and sycophantic seminar, I was utterly bemused") and was strongly influenced by Annie Kriegel, the charismatic resistance heroine and leading (former Stalinist) historian of French communism.

Judt taught at Cambridge, Berkeley – where he bought himself a Ford Mustang and drove up and down Highway One – and Oxford. "I remained an obscure academic well into early middle age," he says. The first step towards a fuller engagement in contemporary politics came in the early 80s: "I decided I had lived an insufficiently cosmopolitan life until then, so I taught myself Czech and became involved as a walk-on player in the organisation that was smuggling books in and manuscripts out of Czechoslovakia." Soon Judt was writing about Václav Havel and the underground. As recounted in Postwar, he was a witness to the velvet revolution, having set off for Prague at the first sign that the state system was crumbling.

"After 1989," he has written, "nothing – not the future, not the present and above all not the past – would ever be the same." Judt, who had moved to NYU in the mid-80s, worked hard to bring together eastern European and American intellectuals, and in 1995 founded the university's Remarque Institute – he is still its director – to promote the study and discussion of Europe in America. It was during a two-year stint in Vienna in the middle of the decade that Postwar began to take shape. In writing it, he was increasingly conscious that a chapter in the history of Europe – an era that a good proportion of its current population had lived through – had come to an end. "As soon as you realise how good it is, this book will frighten you," commented Neal Ascherson in one review: "This is not just a history. It is a highly intrusive biography ... 'postwar Europe' is us."

The "problem of memory" tackled in Postwar – of a past easily set aside – is also a theme of Reappraisals. Judt was alarmed on discovering that, for the first time, not a single student taking one of his classes had read Darkness at Noon (Koestler is one of his heroes). "This set me thinking that we have moved on very fast, not only from people who are seen to no longer matter, but from a set

of issues too." Since 1989, he proposes, public intellectuals have mattered less and less. What's more, it is still generally and complacently assumed that America "won" the cold war in that monumental year.

Postwar, which came out in 2005, suggested that "what binds Europeans together ... is what it has become conventional to call – in disjunctive contrast with 'the American way of life' – the 'European social model'." Judt is outspoken in his advocacy of north European-style social democracy, and stresses the need to remember why European welfare systems came about in the first place: "We are so busy remembering all the things that active states do badly, we have forgotten what they do well ... The Anglo-American model with its cult of privatisation is not only ethically dysfunctional, but will soon be seen to be economically dysfunctional."

He points out that it would never have occurred to him to write the 2003 essay on Israel had he been living in Europe. But he was frustrated "with the remarkably unbalanced coverage of the Middle East in the States" and was conscious of the cultural prohibition unique to America, whereby "all Jews are silenced by the requirement to be supportive of Israel, and all non-Jews are silenced by the fear of being thought antisemitic"; the result is that "there is no conversation on the subject". This is especially regrettable because any resolution of the Israel/Palestine question depends on a change of attitude on the part of the US. At the moment, Israel is like an "adolescent", he argues in Reappraisals: it "is convinced that it can do as it wishes ... that it is immortal".

Judt's views on the Middle East became headline news in the autumn of 2006 following the cancellation – an hour before it was due to start – of a public lecture he was to give, entitled "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy", at the Polish consulate in New York. The Polish consul, Krzysztof Kasprzyk, later acknowledged that he had been contacted by a number of Jewish groups – including the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, who were concerned about the subject of Judt's address. "The phone calls were very elegant but may be interpreted as exercising a delicate pressure," Kasprzyk said.

When news of the cancellation broke, and accusations began to fly, the incident developed into the "Judt affair". The New York Review published an open letter to Abraham Foxman, national director of the ADL, signed by 114 intellectuals who felt that Judt's right to free speech had been abrogated. Numerous articles on both sides appeared in the press and the matter of criticism of Israel in America was – for once – thoroughly ventilated. The implications of the cancellation, Judt believes, were "serious and frightening", though the affair had its absurd side: the organisers of a talk he was due to give at Manhattan College on October 17 2006 asked him not to mention Israel – not an easy task given that it was a Holocaust memorial lecture, and its agreed title was "The Holocaust in postwar Europe". (He withdrew.)

Judt says, resignedly, that the adjectives used to describe him in the media have now changed. He has become, in America, “the controversial Tony Judt” and “Tony Judt, well-known critic of Israel”. He finds this “a bore”, especially as his opinions “aren’t regarded as especially unconventional in the rest of the world”. So it made his day when a member of the audience at a lecture he gave recently came up to him afterwards and said, perhaps a little disappointedly: “You’re not controversial, you’re just complicated.”

*This paragraph was changed on Tuesday May 20. It originally said that just before the essay was published, Robert Silvers, the editor of the New York Review of Books, asked: “You are Jewish, aren’t you?” But Robert Silvers did not ask the question. An editor of the New York Times op-ed pages put the question to Judt, in 2006, in relation to a different essay published by that newspaper.

The Defamation League

Eric Alterman

January 28, 2009

Take, for example, Foxman's recent attack on Bill Moyers (a longstanding friend and occasional supporter of my work). When Moyers broadcast a less than laudatory commentary about Israel's Gaza invasion, Foxman accused the veteran journalist and liberal icon of—I kid you not—"moral equivalency, racism, historical revisionism, and indifference to terrorism." (You can read it [online](#), together with Moyers's response.) The incident says far more about Foxman than Moyers. As M.J. Rosenberg of the Israel Policy Forum observed, Moyers "is one of the most admired figures in America. This attack will harm not at all. It will, in fact, enhance his reputation just as Ed Murrow's was enhanced by the attacks on him during the McCarthy era." Still, it is demonstrative of the maximalist Manichaean mindset that characterizes so much of American Jewish officialdom. Among Moyers's myriad sins, says Foxman, was his "ignorance of the terrorist threat against Israel, claiming that checkpoints, the security fence, and the Gaza operation are tactics of humiliation rather than counter-terrorism." Now really: is it so hard to imagine that the checkpoints, security fence and Gaza operations are tactics of both humiliation *and* counter-terrorism? Where, exactly, would be the contradiction?

But for the likes of Foxman, any action Israel takes is de facto defensive and solely in the interests of peace, no matter how warlike. He goes so far as to attack Barack Obama's choice of former Senator George Mitchell as the US envoy to the region because—get this—Mitchell is "fair" and "meticulously even-handed," and Foxman says he is "not sure the situation requires that kind of approach." Foxman's moral compass has gotten so twisted, he has the ADL working to undermine Congressional resolutions condemning genocide—specifically, that committed by Turks against the Armenians. Foxman does not dispute that genocide took place; rather, he argues that it would be inconvenient for Turkish (and Israeli) Jews were Congress to take note of it. So we have reached a point where an organization founded by Jews in 1913 to "secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike" is now in the business of defaming those with whom its director disagrees and purposely turning a blind eye to genocide. In light of the desire of so many anti-Semites to treat the Holocaust in a similar fashion, Foxman's position strikes this Jew at least as one too many ironies to be tolerated.

What's more, the defamation of Moyers escalated further. Following Foxman's fusillade, *New York Times* neocon William Kristol inserted in a regular column—yet another devoted as usual to the majesty of George W. Bush's leadership—an attack on Moyers for allegedly "lambast[ing] Israel for what he called its 'state terrorism,' its 'waging war on an entire population' in Gaza." Like Foxman, Kristol also implied that Moyers was guilty of racism.

Again, read the text of Moyers's remarks. Neither Kristol nor Foxman notes his stated belief that "every nation has the right to defend its people. Israel is no exception, all the more so because Hamas would like to see every Jew in Israel dead," or his deep concern about the growth of "a radical stream of Islam [that] now seeks to eliminate Israel from the face of the earth." Yet despite the fact that Bill Moyers is, well, Bill Moyers, the *Times* editors not only allowed Kristol to deliberately distort and decontextualize his remarks; they would not allow Moyers to defend himself in his own words in response. After the PBS journalist submitted a letter to the editor, he was told, "We will not print that 'William Kristol distorts or misrepresents,' and the editors will not budge." They insisted that the letter be changed for publication to read, "I take strong exception to William Kristol's characterization," and they truncated much else.

This is pathetic and ridiculous. If one were to survey, say, 1,000 journalists or even 1,000 *New York Times* readers and ask them whether they were more likely to trust the judgment, honesty or bravery of Bill Moyers or of William Kristol, my guess is that the result would be a landslide victory in Moyers's favor that would dwarf that of Barack Obama's over John McCain. I'd even bet the same would be true in a private survey of *Times* editors. Yet publisher Arthur Sulzberger Jr. and editorial page editor Andrew Rosenthal—rather than admit their colossal mistake in giving so prestigious and influential a perch to Kristol, who was at long last ushered off the page with his next column just one week later—instead chose to empower his McCarthyite slanders against one of America's most distinguished patriots and practitioners of their profession.

Writing in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, the celebrated author and patriot David Grossman termed the Gaza operation "just one more way-station on a road paved with fire, violence and hatred," and added, "our conduct here in this region has, for a long time, been flawed, immoral and unwise." When Foxman and Kristol have the guts to go after Grossman—who, after all, lost his son two years ago in a war both men supported from the comfort of their armchairs—then perhaps we might take seriously their complaints about the relatively moderate sentiments expressed by Moyers. Until then, I fear, we must chalk up their ideological fanaticism and their moral and intellectual confusion as yet another casualty of this endlessly destructive conflict.

February 17, 2009

Abe Foxman's 'Anti-Semitic Pandemic'

by Ran HaCohen

If there were a Nobel Prize for Hypocrisy, Abraham Foxman would have been a great candidate. The director of the Anti-Defamation League, who once interpreted even International Holocaust Remembrance Day as an expression of the Gentiles' latent desire to see Jews dead, has published a new survey on anti-Semitism in Europe [.pdf]. One of the assertions respondents were asked to agree or disagree with was "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country"; an affirmative response was considered indicative of anti-Semitism.

Indeed, doubting the loyalty of a minority is not nice. And the fact that many Zionists *would* affirm that assertion, or at least expect a Jew to be more loyal to Israel than to his country of residence, is a weak excuse for agreeing with such a characterization of all Jews. But let's put things in perspective: even if about half of Europeans say it's "probably true" that Jews are more loyal to Israel, not a single European party is pledging to revoke Jews' citizenship unless they prove their loyalty. I haven't heard of such a demand toward any other native minority either, in Europe or elsewhere. Even the late Joerg Haider did not go that far.

There is one exception, of course. The foremost campaign slogan of Avigdor Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu Party has been "No Loyalty – No Citizenship," which is aimed at Israel's Arab minority. Thirteen percent of Israelis gave Lieberman their vote. What does Abe Foxman have to say about that? Well, Foxman actually defends Lieberman, describing him as harmless: "He's not saying expel them. He's not saying punish them." Not at all: he's just demonizing them and threatening to deprive them of their citizenship. No big deal.

So a private person who doubts the loyalty of Jews in a telephone interview is a dirty anti-Semite to Foxman. But a major political party that publicly defames Arab Israelis and pledges to revoke their citizenship gets a pass from the director of the Anti-Defamation(!) League, purportedly committed to "Fighting Anti-Semitism, Bigotry, and Extremism"!

A Biased Survey

The ADL survey as a whole deserves some critical analysis. Conducted for the second time in seven European countries, the survey consisted of a short list of assertions respondents were supposed to take a stand on.

Note that respondents were given only two choices: they had to refer to each assertion as either "probably true" or "probably false." All the assertions were phrased in a way that "probably true" was

the choice considered anti-Semitic. This suffers from the notorious “confirmatory bias,” which “inclines people toward accepting assertions, rather than thinking more extensively and seeing the flaws in those assertions” (see Jon Krosnick, “Maximizing Questionnaire Quality” [.pdf]). A serious survey would have phrased some of the assertions in the negative to overcome this natural bias. But the ADL followed its own bias: anti-Semitism should always be found, and the more the better. In fact, if some of this bias, as research indicates, is due to the desire of individuals of lower social status to defer to individuals of higher social status, this could explain why the ADL’s survey consistently found that levels of anti-Semitism were higher among people who did not continue education beyond the age of 17.

One also wonders whether the assertion “Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust” (note the suggestive adverb “still”!) has much to do with anti-Semitism (cf. Yehuda Elkana’s [.pdf] classical “The Need to Forget” [.pdf]). And what on earth made the ADL waste two of their six questions on almost identical assertions (“Jews have too much power in the business world” and “Jews have too much power in international financial markets”), which almost always yielded the same result (correlation coefficient 0.922). Was there a shortage of anti-Semitic assertions? Just a couple of weeks ago, Foxman – not a man of understatement – made it to the headlines by decrying “a pandemic of anti-Semitism” as a consequence of Operation Cast Lead: the crisis was “the worst, the most intense, the most global that it has been in most of our memories.”

Operation Cast Lead began on Dec. 27, 2008. Now the ADL survey was conducted Dec. 1, 2008-Jan. 13, 2009; that is, its last third was conducted during the devastation of Gaza. If there is an “anti-Semitic pandemic” due to the Gaza events, as Foxman claims, a serious survey should have made a clear distinction between data collected before and after the outbreak of that “pandemic.” Actually, the ADL should have simply read its own survey to see the necessity of making such a distinction: one of its findings is that “23 percent of those surveyed say that their opinion of Jews is influenced by the actions taken by the state of Israel.”

At any rate – careful scientific distinctions aside – if all this were true, a survey conducted partly after the outbreak of the Gaza atrocities would be influenced by the alleged “pandemic” and show a significant rise in anti-Semitism.

Was this the case? Not quite. Actually, as the ADL admits, “A comparison with the 2007 survey indicates that over the past two years levels of anti-Semitism have remained steady in six of the seven countries tested.” Who was the party-pooper? Great Britain, of course, home of some of the most effective initiatives to boycott Israel: “The United Kingdom was the only country in which there was a *marked decline*” in anti-Semitism. Steadiness in six continental countries, a marked decline in the UK – and this in a survey conducted partly during an alleged “pandemic” of anti-Semitism. Go

figure.

Don't Confuse Us With Facts

Obviously, the survey was reported widely in the Israeli media. In fact, much like anti-Communism in the U.S. during the 1980s, anti-anti-Semitism is (Jewish) Israel's national religion. Every non-Jew is an anti-Semite, potentially if not actually – be it a bad-tempered waiter in a French restaurant or even Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Anti-Semitism is our best excuse: We do not believe in peace because all Arabs are anti-Semites. We must attack Iran because all Muslims are anti-Semites and want to annihilate us, and the rest of the world is anti-Semitic and doesn't care if we are annihilated. And of course every criticism of Israel's occupation is purely anti-Semitic. Obviously, reports of steady or declining levels of anti-Semitism is not what Israelis want to hear: anti-Semitism should always be on the rise, to boost our national cohesion.

Therefore both *Ha'aretz* (Feb. 11, Hebrew) and YNet (Feb. 10, Hebrew) used the partial data of "31% of Europeans Blame the Jews for the Economic Crisis" as an ominous headline. Both focused on the absolute figures of 2009 and kept the inconvenient trend to a marginal penultimate paragraph. Even then, *Ha'aretz* journalist Natasha Mozgovaya went out of her way to translate the ADL's "marked decline" in British anti-Semitism as "a small decline" (not even bothering to mention what it was compared to), whereas YNet omitted the adjective and wrote just "a decline." And both followed the ADL summary and quickly "balanced" the overall positive trend by emphasizing the negative fraction of the findings.

Make no mistake: some level of racism, including anti-Semitism, does exist in any society; racist Israel is the last place to deny that. But just like real anti-Semitism undermines the Palestinian cause, so do biased surveys and manipulative declarations about anti-Semitism undermine the struggle against racism. And Foxman criticizing one form of racism while supporting another is despicable.

American Jews Support Direct Negotiations

Press Release

Israel / Middle-East

New ADL Poll: American Jews Support Direct Negotiations Between the Parties as Path to Two-State Solution

Strong Support for Israel and the U.S. to Act Against Iran If Needed

Washington, DC, April 20, 2009 ... The steadfast support of American Jews for Israel, for Israel's action in Gaza and for Israel's right, if all else fails, to use military force to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities, was reaffirmed by a survey commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). The [findings](#) show that, overwhelmingly, American Jews believe that Israel is committed to peace with the Palestinians and reject the notion that America should pressure Israel to make peace.

The national telephone survey of 1,200 American Jews was conducted by Marttila Communications between March 31 and April 8 and has a margin of error of +/-2.8% for questions answered by the 1,200. The survey also used the technique of "split sampling" a process in which questions were asked of two demographically representative national samples of 600 each, with a margin of error of +/-4%.

Survey Highlights

- By a margin of 73%-2%, American Jews believe that Israel is doing more to bring peace to the region than the Palestinians.
- 74% believe that Hamas is not interested in peace, while 52% believe Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas is.
- 61% of American Jews support the future creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.
- Asked about the US role in the peace process, a small plurality (47%) believe the parties need to solve their own problems with the US playing the role of facilitator; versus 44% who believe peace depends on continuing US leadership and involvement.
- There is eroding support for Israel's 2005 withdrawal from Gaza; as late as January 2009, 63% of American Jews still supported it. Now, it's down to 54%.
- Sympathy with Israel vis-à-vis the Palestinians is overwhelming – 80% for Israel, versus 6% for the Palestinians.
- 74% approve of Israel's military action in Gaza, and by a margin of 66%-28%, American Jews supported the notion that Israel's military response in Gaza was appropriate and not excessive.
- 73% support Israel's right to close the borders to Gaza to prevent resupply of arms even if it slows down humanitarian relief.
- Regarding Iran, a significant majority (58%-27%) believe that if diplomatic and economic steps fail to get Iran to halt its uranium enrichment program, they would support Israel's right to destroy the Iranian nuclear facilities. And, under similar circumstances, American Jews would similarly support US military action by 55%-27%.
- 50% of American Jews support US direct negotiations with Iran without preconditions, while 45% believe the US should not enter into negotiations until Iran agrees to suspend its uranium enrichment.

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director, said the survey demonstrates that, "contrary to certain reports that American Jewish support for Israel is waning and that American Jews would welcome pressure by the U.S. on Israel, American Jews continue to support Israel overwhelmingly and advocate direct negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians as the best path for peace."

Mr. Foxman said the findings show that, “American Jews continue to believe that Israel wants peace with its neighbors, and continue to understand the threats to Israel and its legitimate right to defend itself, whether against Hamas rockets or Iran nuclear capabilities. That support for Israel will be very significant as the Jewish state faces immense challenges in the months and years ahead.”

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world’s leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

BREAKING NEWS: Abraham Foxman pushed UC-Santa Barbara to investigate professor

Anti-Defamation League's national director personally pressured UCSB representatives to act against faculty member

Please Distribute Widely
Contact: cdaf.ucsbg@gmail.com.

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — Anti-Defamation League National Director Abraham Foxman held a confidential meeting in early March with University of California officials on campus to pressure them to investigate charges of “anti-Semitism” against sociology professor William I. Robinson.

The meeting included Dean of Students Michael Young, a second dean, and at least seven faculty members.

Some of the meeting participants told Robinson that Foxman, who was in Santa Barbara to meet with local funders, requested the meeting at UCSB for the sole purpose of demanding that university officials investigate Robinson for introducing materials critical of Israeli state policies in a course on globalization in January.

The materials included a photo essay that Robinson forwarded to students from the Internet and that had been circulating in the public realm. The photos compared images of Israeli abuse against Palestinians during the recent military invasion of Gaza with Nazi abuses during the holocaust. Two students took offense at the images and withdrew from the course, prompting the Anti-Defamation League to pressure the university to investigate Robinson for “anti-Semitism.”

Robinson said participants at the meeting with Foxman were unaware beforehand of the ADL’s intentions. He said the attendees assumed the meeting had been convened to discuss university efforts to hire a chair for a Jewish studies program. “But when the meeting started, Foxman made clear that the only agenda point was his demand that I be investigated,” Robinson said.

Robinson said such intimidation against critics of Israel is standard ADL policy, but Foxman’s personal intervention at UCSB constitutes a marked escalation of pressure tactics that sets a dangerous precedent for the future of academic freedom here and at other universities.

Foxman, 69, has been director of the Washington, D.C.-based ADL since 1987 and has worked with the organization since 1965. He is an international lobbyist who has met frequently with national and world leaders, including all U.S. presidents since Richard Nixon.

Members of the ADL's Santa Barbara/Tri-Counties Office — which serves Santa Barbara, Ventura and San Luis Obispo counties — accompanied Foxman to the meeting on campus.

It's unclear what effect Foxman's pressure had on university officials. However, the Academic Senate has opened a formal investigation of the charges against Robinson.

The decision to investigate the professor spurred an angry backlash on campus. Students formed a Committee to Defend Academic Freedom and have created an online blog to coordinate efforts to cease the investigation against Robinson.

For detailed information about the Robinson case, visit the committee's blog at www.sb4af.wordpress.com.

For media inquiries, email cdafe.ucsbg@gmail.com.

This entry was posted on Tuesday, April 28th, 2009 at 6:31 pm.

Letters

A Heated Argument About Israel

To the Editor:

"Fictions on the Ground," by Tony Judt (Op-Ed, June 22), is the real work of fiction, past, present and future.

Israelis settled in the West Bank because it was deemed part of the historic home of the Jewish people and because the Arabs and the Palestinians rejected opportunities for peace with Israel after the Six-Day War in 1967. The territory in legal terms was undecided because the Palestinians from 1947 rejected the United Nations resolution dividing the land into Arab and Jewish states.

Saying — as Mr. Judt does — that Israel will never give up the settlements ignores the fact that former Prime Minister Ehud Barak offered to dismantle 80 percent of the settlements at Camp David; that his successor, Ariel Sharon, dismantled all of the settlements in Gaza; and that Israeli leaders have repeatedly indicated that most of the settlements will go if there is peace, and those held will be part of a swap for Israeli territory.

Settlements are not an obstacle to peace if there is serious peacemaking, peace-teaching and compromise from the other side. As for fictions — as Mr. Judt has made clear in his writings, his problem is not with Israeli settlements, but with Israel's very existence as a Jewish state.

Abraham H. Foxman

National Director

Anti-Defamation League

New York, June 22, 2009

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To the Editor:

Tony Judt does a wonderful job of clarifying why all the "settlements" are illegal and stand in the way of peace in the Middle East, and of explaining how the small but significant political constituency in Israel prevents meaningful change from taking place.

He rightly calls on the United States to change its stance but neglects to point out how a small but significant constituency in this country plays a similar role. Some of us, presumed to be part of that very constituency, certainly hope that President Obama will disregard the wrongful wishes of that constituency and put the United States on the right side of this issue once and for all.

For the sake of Israel and the wider world, expansion of settlements must stop, and all of them must be dismantled.

Howard Rubinstein
Brooklyn, June 22, 2009

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To the Editor:

Tony Judt casts the road map for peace in the Middle East exclusively in terms of his lament for the disappearance of the idealistic kibbutzim of his youth and his fury with the policies of the right-wing prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Yet oddly, in the article, the outside world, including the Palestinians, doesn't seem to exist.

In these difficult times the United States will have enough difficulty brokering a peace between Israel and the Palestinians — it can't referee internal Israeli politics. That there are both idealistic and corrupt Israelis and Palestinians is a given. The real issue is how do we pragmatically get to a two-state solution.

Barbara Probst Solomon
New York, June 22, 2009

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To the Editor:

Tony Judt misleads in many ways, among them by implying that the West Bank was captured by Israel in 1967 from some Palestinian country and not Jordan (which does not seek its return), and contending that Yigal Amir was inspired to assassinate Yitzhak Rabin by "rabbinical" influence at Bar-Ilan University (Mr. Amir has stated clearly otherwise).

Most egregious, though, is Mr. Judt's amazing objection to demilitarizing any Palestinian state established in the West Bank, because it would "have no means of defending itself against aggression." Considering how the Palestinians in a militarized Gaza responded to Israel's withdrawal from that territory, raining thousands of rockets onto Israeli cities, for Israel to help establish a weaponized Arab country in its very heart, within range of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, would be to commit national suicide.

(Rabbi) Avi Shafran
Director of Public Affairs
Agudath Israel of America
New York, June 22, 2009

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To the Editor:

Tony Judt didn't answer my most basic question: Why does a future Palestinian state have to be free of Jews? If Arabs can live in Israel, why can't Jews live in Palestine?

By refusing to answer this question, he and all the proponents of a settlement freeze turn the settlement argument into a facade. Because if the settlements don't have to be removed, then why waste time arguing about what is a settlement, where are the boundaries, what is natural growth?

Making Jews, and only Jews, leave their homes is ethnic cleansing. Isn't this exactly what Israel's critics accuse it of?

Jonathan D. Reich
Lakeland, Fla., June 23, 2009

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To the Editor:

Tony Judt provides a realistic assessment of both the illegality of settlements in international law as well as the collusion of Israeli governments of all tendencies to support them.

As he points out, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu government's sudden support of a Palestinian state is meaningless because the settlements would remain, something no Palestinian leader could accept. This will enable Mr. Netanyahu and his supporters in this country to claim once again that there is no partner for peace.

While not all Palestinian factions openly accept Israel's existence, Fatah does.

But Mahmoud Abbas could never accept Mr. Netanyahu's supposedly sincere offer because the bypass roads for Jews only and the carefully placed settlements would ensure that no viable

Palestinian state could be created — precisely what Israeli rightists and their American lobbies intend.

After all, when Prime Minister Ariel Sharon assured President George W. Bush of his support for a Palestinian state in April 2004, he referred to Palestinians in the West Bank having what he called “transportation contiguity,” meaning tunnels beneath Israeli bypass roads to settlements that only Israelis could use. That constitutes a viable state?

Charles D. Smith

San Diego, June 22, 2009

The writer is a professor of Middle East history at the University of Arizona.

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To the Editor:

Among the many fictions in Tony Judt's article was his portrayal of Bar-Ilan University. In his remark about the university, Mr. Judt ignored the tremendous diversity of political opinion and religious observance at Bar-Ilan, Israel's fastest-growing and largest university, with an academic community of 33,000 students.

Bar-Ilan is a leading force in unifying Israel's religious and secular communities. More than 60 percent of its students identify as primarily secular. They are attracted by the university's commitment to a first-class education in the sciences, humanities, law, engineering, business and the arts — all within a learning environment that fosters Jewish values and promotes dialogue among Israelis from different backgrounds.

Bar-Ilan University stresses the Jewish people's ties to Israel for more than 3,000 years — a point that was emphasized in Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech. He wanted to speak at a university that is grounded in the Zionist enterprise.

It is the respect that Israelis have for Bar-Ilan University and its efforts to unify Israeli society that led to Prime Minister Netanyahu's decision to give his recent address at the university's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

Mark D. Medin

New York, June 22, 2009

The writer is executive vice president and chief executive, American Friends of Bar-Ilan University.

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To the Editor:

If the Israelis and the Palestinians are ever to come to an agreement — in three years or 30 years — becoming much clearer and more honest about what the issues really are will need to come first.

In this regard, the article by Tony Judt is a difficult but important step forward. The truth hurts. The “settlements” are indeed the key issue. If “settlements” can be solved, then “security” will come quite naturally. James Opie

Portland, Ore., June 22, 2009

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Talk Show Hosts May Be Accomplices Under Hate Bill

June 26, 3:49 PM

LA Nonpartisan Examiner

Robert Stark

The **Hate Crimes Prevention** Act which has passed the House of Representatives by an overwhelming margin is now facing hearings in the Senate. There are already similar hate crime laws in place, however, this bill imposes much stronger federal enforcement, which is a clear violation of the Tenth Amendment. It grants greater power to federal prosecutors to prosecute hate crime laws by prosecuting those who have been found innocent by local or state courts. The current bill will extend special privileges to gays and transgender individuals that are currently only granted to ethnic and religious minorities. The most dangerous part of the Bill which is a direct assault against the First Amendment is that it allows for the prosecution as accomplices in a hate crime for talk show pundits that the person who commits the alleged crime claims to influence their actions.

Here is the essential text:

Whoever transmits in interstate or foreign commerce [radio, TV, internet] any communication, with the intent to coerce, intimidate, harass, or cause substantial emotional distress to a person, using electronic means to support severe, repeated, and hostile behavior, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both. (HR 1966, SEC 3, Sec. 881a)

Reverend Ted Pike of the **National Prayer Network** says that “this means that if any pastor, talk show host or guest, or anyone communicating on radio or the internet is repeatedly “hostile” to the practice of homosexuality and “intends” to cause “substantial emotional distress” in homosexuals, leading to repentance, he is guilty. The speaker doesn’t even have to *succeed* in causing such conviction for sin, even though he will be

especially guilty if he does. In either case, the federal government is empowered under this bill to invade any state to prosecute the “bully” of the airwaves.”

This Bill is the first major step to stripping away our rights to freedom of speech in the 1st amendment. Recently the Plains State ADL Director denounced the 1st Amendment by saying that *“freedom of speech does not extend to racist groups, nor give their supporters the right to threaten and intimidate others or commit acts of violence.”* In many western nations, an individual can be prosecuted by the government for certain speech.

Though we still have the First Amendment we are headed in that direction of Europe and Canada where people can be prosecuted for thought crimes. Organizations such as the Southern Poverty Law Center and Anti-Defamation League have aggressively promoted hate crime legislation. These organizations have endorsed Europe and Canada’s policies on prosecuting what they deem as hate speech. The ADL openly advocates for their model anti-hate law. In 1988 the ADL gave out an award to law student Joseph Ribikoff for writing a proposed hate crime bill that would criminalize hate speech against gays and minorities.

In testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, ADL Washington counsel Michael Lieberman spoke in support of the Hate Crimes Bill. “We have no illusions about this legislation,” Lieberman testified. “We know that bigotry, racism, homophobia, and anti-Semitism cannot be legislated out of existence. A new federal law that finally addresses all victims of hate crimes will not eliminate them.”

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