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...That's what failed us
one is bruised and weary, but on the
other hand, everyone is still suited up
other battle is necessary, there will
be no timidity about fighting it."

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modity markets get a new watchdog?

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uckley ■ What to do with a gift

the Markets

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Power

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vidence.

f the National Press
today's luncheon pro-

gram, which was to have featured
Shere Hite, author of "Women and
Love," had been canceled because of
a lack of interest. Miss Hite is the au-
thor of two other studies, on female
and male sexuality, and her newest
effort touches, among other things, on
the sexual needs of women.

Buckley as Buckley

As the Republican Presidential
candidates prepare for their first de-
bate tonight, one of the five has been
using a not-so-secret weapon.

In rehearsals, Representative Jack
F. Kemp, Republican of upstate New
York, has had his press secretary,
John Buckley, play the part of Wil-
liam F. Buckley Jr., host of "Firing
Line," the television program on
which the debate will appear.

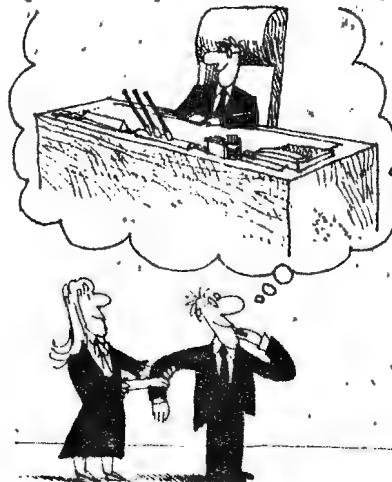
Mr. Buckley, the press secretary, is
the nephew of Mr. Buckley, the televi-
sion host. The former's imitation of
the latter — complete with rolling
eyes, fly-catcher tongue, acid wit and
Brobdnagian vocabulary — is said to
be uncanny.

Mr. Buckley, the press secretary,
said he was hoping to enlist an out-
sider to play the role of Vice Presi-
dent Bush.

"We've been trying to get Skippy,"
he said, a reference to a fictional, in-
visible brother of the Vice President
who appears (or rather disappears)
in the cartoon strip "Doonesbury" by
Gary Trudeau.

Gift Is His to Give

Senator Steve Symms, who re-
ceived \$1,000 from an openly anti-Se-



Redinger

mitic group in his re-election cam-
paign last year, thought the contro-
versy the contribution generated was
behind him in May, when he gave the
money to the Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith in Washington
and the Idaho Holocaust Council.

But Hans Schmidt, a former mem-
ber of Hitler Youth and Waffen SS,
who headed the German-American
Political Action Committee, the
group that contributed to Mr. Symms,
complained to the Federal Election
Commission that the Idaho Republi-
can had no right to give the money to
the pro-Jewish groups. It was "the
height of hypocrisy," he said, for Mr.
Symms to "turn over their hard-
earned monies to people that are dia-
metrically opposed to Germanic ethi-
cal or moral values."

The matter has finally been settled.
After an investigation, the election
commission recently ruled that there
was "no reason to believe" that Mr.
Symms violated any laws in making
the contribution.

32 ST CPW STUDIO
Full view down bldg. Fr. 59K. MI. 11/29/4
11/2/24. Other Bldg. 11/2/24. 11/2/24.
Owner 777-0426

61 ST E. RENOVATED, SUNNY 2BR
New BR. w/wood flrs, new bath, oak flrs &
rocking chairs. Fr. 59K. MI. 11/29/4
w/wood flrs. 11/2/24. 11/2/24. 11/2/24.
Owner 777-0426

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Lg 200's. Andrew 212-614-5577

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An ADL Special Report

**The Hate Movement Today:
A Chronicle of Violence and Disarray**



Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith/Civil Rights Division
1987

Introduction

Recent federal prosecutions of the organized hate movement constitute the most sweeping crackdown on the far-right in the United States since World War II. The government's actions, of course, were brought on by the hate movement's own criminal conduct. In fact, there has been more criminal violence by right-wing extremists during the past three years than there had been over the previous two decades. The crimes, ranging from armed robberies to synagogue bombings and murder were committed by members of various neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and other violent racist and anti-Jewish groups.¹

Not since the Roosevelt administration's wartime indictments of Axis sympathizers on charges of sedition have so many far-right extremists been placed on trial. While the record of racist violence against civil rights activists in the 1960's was greater than today's, there were fewer federal indictments and state prosecutions were spotty and often unsuccessful.

The recent arrests and other setbacks to the forces of racism and anti-Semitism recorded in this report cap a 10-year chapter in the ongoing history of organized bigotry.² What began in the mid-70's as a revival sparked by the KKK's exploitation of such controversial racial issues as busing and affirmative action peaked around 1981. During its first several years, the revival was fueled by a number of background factors: America's defeat in Vietnam, a rising rate of inflation, the energy crisis and a backlash against the then-flourishing counterculture. In President Jimmy Carter's words, the nation was experiencing a "malaise." During those years—the mid to late 70's—there arose several new hate groups: the Aryan Nations; the Christian Patriots Defense League; the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord; and some newer Klan and neo-Nazi organizations.

By 1981 the tide had begun to turn. For one thing, it had become perfectly evident that the KKK couldn't deliver on its promise to reverse the prevailing trend toward racial integration. For another, there was a new administration in Washington whose stated aim of reviving America's pride and strength—"standing tall"—and restoring conservative social and cultural values tended to undermine whatever base of popular support the far right had begun to acquire.

The last ADL survey on the KKK and neo-Nazis, released in November, 1984, indicated that the KKK had experienced a falling off, during the previous two years, of both hard-core members and sympathizers, and that it faced a crisis of leadership and growing fragmentation. These trends have continued to plague the hooded order. Similarly, the 1984 survey found the neo-Nazi movement a splintered one of very small isolated sects. This condition has not been reversed the past two and a half years.

ADL's current field survey indicates the Ku Klux Klan has been further reduced to some 4,500-5,500 members, a drop of 15-25 percent since our last report, and its lowest total in 14

¹ Not included in this report but significant nonetheless are the numerous current federal and state indictments of members of the Lyndon LaRouche network. The LaRouche organization, while anti-Semitic and extremist, has its own special characteristics, which necessitate separate analysis. [See ADL's Special Report, "The LaRouche Political Cult: Packaging Extremism," 1986.]

² For a detailed account of the entire period, see ADL's previous periodic surveys: "The Ku Klux Klans: 1978," "The Ku Klux Klan Tries for a Comeback," "Hate Groups in America" and "The KKK and the Neo-Nazis: A 1984 Status Report."

years. Neo-Nazis can claim no more than 400–450 members, reflecting a shrinkage of 10–20 percent during the past two and a half years. The present survey marks the first time ADL has completed a periodic examination of the Identity Movement.³ Our field research reveals that several of the more militant Identity organizations are in disarray following the federal indictment in April of ten leading figures, including Richard Butler, Robert Miles, and Louis Beam, on charges that they helped to hatch a plot in 1983 to overthrow the government of the United States.

One response to their beleaguered state has been for hate groups of various stripes to put aside doctrinal differences and try to coalesce around common themes. Thus, for example, various Klan and neo-Nazi groups staged a joint rally in Chicago in June of 1986 in a neighborhood which has been the scene of racial tensions. Similarly, the much-publicized “counterdemonstrations” in Forsyth County, Georgia which resulted, on one occasion, in violence against civil rights marchers, was the product of intergroup cooperation. Nevertheless these rallies have provided only brief periods of enthusiasm for activists rather than any lasting build-up in the ranks of the Klan and neo-Nazi groups involved.

There have been a few exceptions to the overall pattern of decline. In North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, the Klan experienced temporary spurts of growth. In the greater Chicago area, some small gains have been registered by KKK and neo-Nazi groups. For a time, the farm crisis threatened to become a potential source of growth for hate groups. But none of these events has proven lasting or significant. The overall pattern of decline has been steady and has brought the hate movement back down to where it was when it began its mid-70’s effort at resurgence.

Actually, it is worse-off today, because of the crimes undertaken by a number of its activists to “solve” the problem of its growing isolation. Their intent was to acquire the funds and weapons needed for a violent seizure of power. In short, it was the very weakness of the hate groups that led some of their most extreme adherents, out of desperation and impatience, to resort to the gun and the bomb. This led to the government’s crackdown, in consequence of which some of the erstwhile “revolutionaries” are presently serving long prison terms, others are under indictment and many more are fearful that their turn may be next. Perhaps more significantly, the pattern of lawlessness has further alienated the hate groups from the American mainstream and has left many of their leaders groping for new strategies to rebuild their movement.

The recent record of criminal prosecutions and privately initiated lawsuits includes:

- Convictions of key members of The Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord, The Order, and the Aryan Nations for crimes which included the fire-bombing of one synagogue, the bombing of another, the murder of individuals including a Jewish radio talk-show host, the attempted bombing of a natural gas pipeline, and numerous armed robberies

- Pending prosecutions of leaders of these groups for conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government

- Prosecutions—also pending—of members of two violence-prone Identity groups in Arizona (the Arizona Patriots) and Nevada (Committee of the States) for charges which include conspiracy to commit armed robbery and death threats against specific federal officials

³ A pseudo-theological collection of organizations united by common themes: namely, that Anglo-Saxons are the true “Israel,” that Jews are the “seed of Satan” and blacks are subhuman.

—Convictions of members of the Florida Realm of the United Klans of America for conducting illegal paramilitary training (the first under a statute based on ADL's Model)

—Convictions of leaders and other members of the White Patriot Party, a hybrid Klan and neo-Nazi group centered in North Carolina (which now calls itself the Southern National Front) for violating a federal court order not to conduct paramilitary training exercises in violation of state law and for conspiracy to acquire military weapons stolen from a U.S. Army arsenal

Significantly, one of the largest Klan factions, the United Klans of America, has been stunned by a \$7 million award in damages to the family of a black teenager murdered by members of the organization in Mobile, Alabama in 1981. The jury (all-white) held that the organization itself must share responsibility for the act, a ruling which will have a crippling effect on the UKA treasury and a deterring impact on hate group leaders faced with a new standard of accountability for the deeds of their followers.

The federal government has also called a halt to the use of military bases as recruiting areas for hate groups. In September, 1986, the Defense Department issued a directive to field commanders giving them the authority to prevent military personnel from engaging in activities sponsored by racist groups, including fund-raising, public demonstrations, recruiting and training members. The Department was responding to an appeal by ADL in the face of evidence that military personnel had participated in illegal paramilitary training exercises of the White Patriot Party.

Paramilitary training by hate groups has been reduced to virtually zero since the time of our last survey. At the time of this writing, eighteen states have enacted laws based upon model legislation devised and promoted by ADL which provides for criminal penalties for those convicted of weapons training to promote civil disorder.

What follows is a summary of the key players in the hate group movement and a chronicle of their current difficulties. A final section will analyze the reasons for the movement's continued slide and assess its prospects for the future.

I. The Ku Klux Klan

The three national Klan organizations are the United Klans of America, headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Shelton, Connecticut; and the Knights of the KKK, with its office in Tuscumbia, Alabama. Additionally, Don Black of Birmingham, Alabama, still has claims to a faction of the Knights of the KKK, which split in two while he was in prison from 1982 until the end of 1984 for violating the U.S. Neutrality Act.

Klan activity and membership continues to be centered in those states of the Old Confederacy where the Klan was born following the Civil War. The most active state in recent years has been North Carolina, scene of an impressive recruitment campaign by Klan leader Glenn Miller of Angier, who is now in prison facing a variety of state and federal charges (see below) and whose organization, now calling itself the Southern National Front, will try to recover from his absence. Another North Carolina Klan, the Christian Knights, has (like Miller's organization) sought recruits from outside the state with some limited success. Nevertheless, the Klan has declined throughout the region and there are only small remnants in such once-active states as Florida, Texas and Tennessee. The Texas Klan, with the departure of Knights Grand Dragon Louis Beam (now

wanted by the federal government on charges of seditious conspiracy), is down to its lowest level in a decade.

Klan membership currently totals 4,500-5,500, broken down as follows:

- United Klans of America—1,500
- Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—1,500-2,000
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Tuscumbia faction)—500-750
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Black faction)—250
- Southern National Front—250-300
- Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—200-250
- Unaffiliated Klan Organizations: Florida White Knights, Ohio Knights, Independent Order Knights (Maryland), Confederate Independent Order Knights (Maryland), New Order Knights (Missouri), Invisible Empire Knights (New Jersey), White Unity Party (Pennsylvania), American Knights (California), Camellia White Knights (Texas), Southern White Knights (Georgia)—300-450

Since the Klan's revival efforts in the mid-70's, its strength (as calculated in periodic ADL surveys) has been as follows:

- 1973—5,000
- 1975—6,500
- 1978—6,000-8,000
- 1979—9,000-10,500
- 1981—9,700-11,500
- 1982—8,000-10,000
- 1984—6,000-6,500
- 1987—4,500-5,500

For the United Klans of America (UKA), recruitment has ground to a halt following the \$7 million damages award in the civil suit against the organization. Included as defendants in that case were six past and present UKA members involved in the slaying of a black teenager, Michael Donald, whose body was left hanging on a tree. As a result of the verdict, the teenager's family, whose legal representation was provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center, has taken possession of the United Klans' 7,200-sq.ft. national headquarters on 6.5 acres in Tuscaloosa with an estimated market value of \$225,000. (Erected in 1978, the two-floor building was held in the name of the Anglo-Saxon Club, Inc., a UKA front, and included meeting space, dormitories, and the private office of Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton.)

James Knowles, a member of the UKA's Klavern (Chapter) 900 in Mobile and one of the two men convicted for the 1981 murder of Michael Donald, testified at his 1984 trial that he and Henry Hays, now awaiting execution for the act, had killed Donald "in order to show Klan strength in Alabama." At the more recent civil trial, Knowles testified that he was "carrying out the orders" of UKA "Titan" (regional leader) Bennie Jack Hays, Henry Hays' father and a longtime Shelton lieutenant. At a klavern meeting at the Hays home two days before the murder of Donald, Henry Hays, who served as the chapter's "Exalted Cyclops" (presiding officer), said that "a nigger ought to be hanged by the neck until dead to put them in their place." Robert Shelton, not himself a defendant, sat with the defendants at the trial.

In April, 1985, five members of the United Klans of America were arrested by the St. Peters-

burg, Florida Police Department and the Pinellas County Sheriff's office and charged with planning and training for terrorist acts against minorities. One year later, two pleaded guilty and two were convicted by a jury for violating Florida's paramilitary training statute. The goal of the group, according to a police informant, was to incite blacks to riot so that whites would turn to the Klan for leadership. In addition to training with guns intended to be used against minorities, members of the group were instructed in the making of incendiary devices.

Non-Southern Membership

The only national Klan with substantial membership outside of the South is the Invisible Empire, which in 1986 chose as its Imperial Wizard a non-Southerner and Roman Catholic, James W. Farrands of Shelton, Connecticut. The organization, which has some 1,500 to 2,000 members, has klaverns in the following states: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Farrands assumed the leadership of the Invisible Empire at a national gathering of the organization on the 1986 Labor Day weekend in Connecticut. The organization had been led from 1977 to 1984 by Bill Wilkinson, a charismatic and articulate spokesman from Louisiana, the revelation of whose brief role as an informant for the FBI had led to a substantial membership loss. (ADL also revealed in 1985 Wilkinson's ties to convicted Soviet spy John A. Walker, Jr., who was his chief Klan organizer in the Norfolk area during the time he was providing the Soviets with U.S. Naval secrets.)

Wilkinson's successor, James Blair of Alabama, had some success in rebuilding parts of the organization, particularly in Alabama, Georgia, Indiana and Pennsylvania. However, he was forced to resign due to poor health.

Farrands, 54, is a tool-and-die maker. He became the Invisible Empire's Connecticut Grand Dragon in 1981, during the period when the organization held several well-attended rallies in the state. The Klan he presides over in Connecticut has dropped from some 300 active members in 1981 to no more than 40 to 50 today.

Farrands' selection as Imperial Wizard was due largely to the support of other state leaders outside of the South, and there have been reports of discontent in those Southern states, particularly Alabama, where the Invisible Empire has had some recruitment success during the past few years. In Georgia, Ed Stephens, an electrician in his mid-30's from the Atlanta area, has resigned his position as the state's Grand Dragon in hopes of running for political office. His successor, Daniel Carver, was convicted in September, 1986 of making "terrorist threats" during an Invisible Empire foray into a black neighborhood in Gainesville, Georgia. He is appealing part of his sentence mandating a 4-year probation, during which he cannot wear Klan robes or participate in public demonstrations.

The future success of the Invisible Empire may depend upon whether the geographical and sociological gaps separating the Catholic "Connecticut Yankee" Farrands from most of his Klan's followers can be successfully bridged.

Two of the most visible and active factions of the Tuscumbia-based Knights of the KKK are also located outside the South. Led by K. A. Badynski and Ed Melkonian, the groups are located in the greater Chicago area and together have approximately 100 members. They have jointly organized a number of demonstrations, including a rally last summer in the Marquette Park section of the city, the scene of some ugly racial incidents. The rally attracted national news media as well as a crowd of over 500 sympathizers. One featured speaker was National Chaplain Thom

Robb of Harrison, Arkansas, who leads the national organization along with Stanley McCollum of Tuscumbia.

David Duke

The leader of the other Knights of the KKK faction, Don Black, has yet to demonstrate that he can rebuild the organization which split apart following his imprisonment in 1982. Black's long-time ally David Duke has continued to promote his National Association for the Advancement of White People, which is essentially a Klan without robes. Duke and Black used the occasion of a counter-demonstration organized by several Klan groups against a civil rights march in Forsyth County, Georgia last January to seek publicity for themselves by getting arrested for obstruction of traffic. Their trial is scheduled to take place later this month.

Duke also came to New York last February for several media appearances and a press conference in Howard Beach in an effort to exploit the tensions centering around the much publicized racial incident there. His efforts received little attention, but Duke is positioning himself for a return to the spotlight. His recent media appearances have—characteristically—seen him trying to clean up his image and deceptively portray himself as a political conservative. And on June 9, 1987, standing on the steps of the Georgia State Capitol in the shadow of the statue of Thomas E. Watson, Duke announced his bid for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

On January 17, 1987, a demonstration held to honor the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the all-white community of Cumming, Georgia, located in Forsyth County, turned violent. The 75 pro-King marchers were met by 400 Klansmen and Klan sympathizers who threw rocks and bottles and overwhelmed the 70 law enforcement officers charged with keeping peace. The following week 56 anti-civil rights demonstrators were arrested for trying to disrupt a brotherhood march which attracted 20,000 supporters.

A Forsyth County Defense League led by David Duke and Mississippi attorney Richard Barrett has tried to exploit the racial tensions created by these confrontations by staging several rallies in the area. There is little sign that Klan membership has grown substantially as a result, but the two Klan groups most heavily involved, the Invisible Empire and a Georgia independent group called the Southern White Knights, have continued to seek recruits in the wake of the bitterness created by the two confrontations. The Southern White Knights is led by David Holland of Lawrenceville and bills itself as "The Most Militant, White Racist Klan Organization in the South."

Glen Miller's Conviction

One of the most active Klan organizations in recent years, the White Patriot Party (formerly the Confederate Knights of the KKK), has changed its leadership following the 1986 conviction of its founder, Glenn Miller, on charges of engaging in illegal paramilitary training exercises contrary to a federal court order. His appeals exhausted, Miller went underground in early April of this year in violation of his probation and issued a "declaration of war" to his claimed mailing list of 5,000 followers in which he encouraged them to stage violent acts against minorities and federal officials. ("All 5,000 White Patriots are now honor bound and duty bound to pick up the sword and do battle against the forces of evil. . . Let the blood of our enemies flood the streets, rivers and fields of the nation in Holy Vengeance [sic] and justice.") Miller and three heavily armed White Patriot Party followers were arrested shortly thereafter by several dozen federal agents in Missouri's Ozark region. They face a variety of state and federal criminal charges.

Miller began his career in the hate movement as a neo-Nazi stormtroop commander in the National Socialist Party of America. He was involved in the shootout in Greensboro, North Carolina

in 1979 which left five Communist Workers Party members dead. He built his Confederate Knights of the KKK into a paramilitary force, trading in their robes and hoods for combat fatigues. At its peak in 1984, the organization could boast of a number of well attended jackboot-type marches held in various North Carolina cities with over 300 battle-garbed participants. It also ran a number of telephone call-in hate messages in cities and towns in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

A guest appearance by Miller in 1985 on a radio program in West Palm Beach, Florida inspired the formation of a chapter of the White Patriot Party in neighboring Belle Glade which promptly went out on a racist crime spree. Eight members of the group were found guilty and placed on probation for three acts of violence in which blacks were targeted, including the attempted running down of a black man with an automobile. Police say there was discussion of firebombs at one of the group's meetings, and the chief described the group as "the most potentially dangerous... I have seen in this community."

Miller's second-in-command Stephen Miller (no relation), who held the title of "chaplain," has been convicted of a plot to purchase weapons stolen from a military arsenal, reportedly to be used, among other purposes, against civil rights attorney Morris Dees. It is thought that the \$50,000 in cash an arms dealer testified he had been offered by members of the White Patriot Party for the weapons was part of the stash stolen by the underground terrorist group The Order (see below) with which Glenn and Stephen Miller were reportedly involved.

Miller's hand-picked successor is Cecil Cox, a Marine veteran and relative newcomer to North Carolina, who has renamed the organization the Southern National Front. The group has held several successful demonstrations without combat fatigues in an effort to rally Miller's supporters, albeit in less boisterous fashion. Cox lacks the charisma and flare of his mentor, and it remains to be seen whether the organization will regain its standing as one of the most active Klan organizations in the country.

Christian Knights

North Carolina has also been the base of operations for the Christian Knights of the KKK, whose Imperial Wizard is long-time Klan activist Virgil Griffin, a 41-year-old textile worker from Mt. Holly. Like Miller, Griffin has tried to recruit and to stage rallies outside of North Carolina, and he has met with limited success.

The Christian Knights frequently seek permits for marches throughout the South and plan to hold one this month in Greensboro, the first in that city since the 1979 shootout. Griffin was also a participant in that earlier bloody encounter.

Many of Griffin's rallies have taken place in South Carolina, where there has been a slight upturn in Klan activity after several years of dormancy. His Grand Dragon is Horace King, a 54-year-old carpet installer who lives in Lexington County. King's predecessor reportedly pleaded guilty in December, 1985 to a charge of hiding 750 sticks of dynamite stolen from a construction company. Although most of King's "marches" consist of 15-30 robed Klansmen handing out literature, he did attract a much larger robed contingent of 60 to a march in Orangeburg in February of this year. A march is planned this summer in Charleston, where King has built a local organization.

In Texas, Grand Dragon Charles Lee of the Camellia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan tried to boost Klan visibility in the state by conducting a write-in campaign for governor. Although he attracted only 531 votes of some 3½ million cast by the electorate, he managed to receive the desired press attention. His group, based in the Pasadena area, has 40-50 members.

A small independent group in California which calls itself the American Knights of the KKK is led by Bill Albers of Modesto. Albers, who gave several newspaper interviews at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1986, has been closely linked to that organization.

In addition, there are unaffiliated Klan organizations operating in Florida (Florida White Knights), Maryland (Independent Order Knights and Confederate Independent Order Knights), Missouri (New Order Knights), New Jersey (Invisible Empire Knights), Ohio (Ohio Knights), Pennsylvania (White Unity Party), and Georgia (Southern White Knights).

II. The "Christian Identity" Movement

The Identity movement in the U.S., as pointed out in ADL's 1983 publication "The Identity Churches: A Theology of Hate," is rooted in Anglo-Israelism, a movement which developed in Great Britain in the mid-19th century. Anglo-Israelism identifies Anglo-Saxons with the Ten Lost Tribes.

At its core, the Identity movement offers theological rationalization for racial and religious bigotry, and among the members of Identity groups are some of the most militant haters to be found in this country. Identity's best known advocate in the post-World War II period was the late Wesley Swift, a West Coast anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic preacher.

Swift's mantle was claimed by Richard Girnt Butler, who established the Aryan Nations and its affiliated "Church of Jesus Christ Christian" and moved them to an idyllic setting in northern Idaho in the 1970's. The Aryan Nations has since played host to professional bigots from around the country (and from other countries) each summer at its compound in Hayden Lake.

At the 1983 "Aryan Nations World Congress" the serenity of rural Idaho was pierced by the militantly extremist rhetoric of the featured speakers and other participants. Much of the talk centered around the Gordon Kahl affair.

Kahl had been an active member of the Posse Comitatus,⁴ an Identity group which advocates use of vigilante tactics, when he murdered two federal marshals in North Dakota early in 1983 and became a fugitive. (The marshals had come to arrest Kahl for parole violation in connection with an earlier conviction for non-payment of taxes.) Some two months prior to the Aryan Nations conference, Kahl died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officials in which a local sheriff was killed.

To those gathered in Hayden Lake, Kahl was the movement's new hero, and there was talk of avenging his death. As Jim Ellison, leader of the Identity group known as the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord (CSA), expressed it, "I'm here to tell you that the sword is out of the sheath, and it's ready to strike. For every one of our people they killed, we ought to kill 100 of theirs."

Louis Beam, former Texas Klan leader and now Butler's heir apparent to lead the Aryan Nations, rallied his audience with the warning that "The old period is over, and a new period is going to begin. . . I'm here to tell you that if *we* can't have this country, as far as I'm concerned, no one gets it."

⁴The name Posse Comitatus is Latin for "power of the county," and the Posse literally believes that all government power is rooted at the county level.

Criminal Violence

The stage was thus set for a course of action which ultimately led the radical right down a path of criminal violence. Much of it was attributable to an underground terrorist group which came to be known as "The Order" or "Silent Brotherhood" and which regarded its activities as part of a revolution against the U.S. Government, which it referred to as "ZOG," standing for "Zionist Occupation Government." In its 1984 "declaration of war," The Order's leadership proclaimed that "any agent of the Zionist Occupation Government of North America we consider to be our enemy and the enemy of the people for whom we fight."

The core membership of The Order came from the ranks of the Aryan Nations and the CSA and was organized and led by 31-year-old Robert Mathews. Start-up money for the fantasized revolution was raised from counterfeiting operations conducted at the Aryan Nations compound and through a series of bank and armored car robberies in late '83 and '84 led by Mathews. The ease with which the robberies were carried out emboldened the group, and it began to stockpile weapons and establish special paramilitary cells.

Mathews had been the Western recruiter for the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group headed by Dr. William Pierce. Pierce's 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries* chronicles a violent takeover of the U.S. Government by racial extremists who then proceed to purge the country of "non-Aryans." To Mathews and his small band of followers, the path to a successful revolution lay—as it did for Turner—in terrorist tactics, including assassinations, bombings, and urban sabotage. By the time law enforcement officials were able to track down most of the gang, The Order had carried out three murders (including that of a Missouri state trooper and Jewish radio personality Alan Berg), the bombing of a synagogue in Idaho, the heist of an armored car in California netting \$4 million—much of it reportedly distributed to various hate group leaders—and shootouts with authorities, one of which resulted in Mathews' death. Most of The Order's members are currently serving lengthy prison sentences for criminal racketeering.

Criminal violence by Identity activists and other far-right extremists during the past several years was not by any means limited to the activities of The Order. When officials of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms entered the secluded CSA camp on the Missouri-Arkansas border in April, 1985 following the surrender of several members of The Order who had sought refuge there, they found an arsenal of deadly weapons and explosives, a 30-gallon drum of poisonous cyanide, and a shop where automatic weapons, similar to the one used to murder Alan Berg, were manufactured.

Leaders of the CSA engaged in their own series of criminal activities in the wake of the 1983 Aryan Nations conference, including the firebombing of an Indiana synagogue, the arson of a Missouri church, and the attempted bombing in Missouri of a pipeline which supplies Chicago with natural gas. Former CSA leader Jim Ellison is among those serving prison sentences for criminal racketeering in connection with several of these acts, and he and former CSA spokesman Kerry Noble are said to have entered the federal witness protection program as a result of giving testimony to a federal grand jury in Fort Smith earlier this year.

A "Seditious Conspiracy"

On April 24 of this year, the Fort Smith grand jury returned an indictment charging Butler, Beam and eight others with participating in a "seditious conspiracy between July, 1983 and March, 1985 to overthrow the government," in the words of the U.S. Department of Justice. The same grand jury also indicted three CSA members and two Klansmen for conspiring to murder Judge H. Frank-

lin Waters and FBI special agent Jack D. Knox for their involvement in the trial of the Arkansas couple convicted of harboring Gordon Kahl.

On the same day these indictments were announced, a federal grand jury in Denver returned an indictment against four Order members who "willfully injured and interfered with Alan Berg. . . because he was Jewish, and because he was and had been enjoying employment, and the perquisites thereto, by a private employer, resulting in [his] death by gunfire."

One key figure in the hate movement facing sedition charges is Robert Miles, 62, of Cohoc-tah, Michigan. Miles is the former national "chaplain" of the United Klans of America who heads the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Savior and hosts bi-annual gatherings at his Michigan farm which attract up to 200 hate movement activists. Miles, whose "dualist" philosophy is somewhat distinct from "Identity" but who has worked closely with Identity leaders, particularly Butler, also conducts a "prison ministry." This comprises a special publication he sends to some 2,000 prisoners in correctional facilities around the country and the regular contacts he maintains with inmates he has personally recruited into the hate movement. The Aryan Nations has also actively recruited in the nation's prisons, often working with Miles.

In October, 1986, four bombs were set at various places in the town of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho in an effort to divert the attention of law enforcement officials in order to facilitate a bank robbery (which never took place). The alleged perpetrators, hoping to pick up where The Order left off, called themselves Bruder Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood) Strike Force II. Earlier, the group exploded a firebomb at the home of a priest who had been outspoken in his denunciations of the Aryan Nations. The two who are awaiting trial for the bombings, David Dorr and Ed Hawley, and another, Robert Pires, who has already pleaded guilty, were active members of the Aryan Nations, Dorr having served as Richard Butler's "chief of security."

The 1986 Congress of the Aryan Nations attracted some 200 participants, including Thomas G. Harrelson, who had joined the ranks of the organization through its outreach program to prisoners while serving time in California for a bank robbery. Two weeks after leaving Idaho he and a friend robbed an Illinois bank and later ambushed the police chief of a neighboring community. After being placed on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, Harrelson was arrested in March, 1987 following another bank robbery, this one in North Dakota.

The Pace Amendment

Another who showed up at the 1986 Congress was a Los Angeles attorney peddling a scheme to amend the U.S. Constitution to mandate the deportation of all non-white citizens. Not surprisingly, Daniel Johnson has since received little support for his so-called "Pace Amendment," which has been mailed to members of the U.S. Congress and various state legislatures.

Printed on the back cover of an expensively published, slick book promoting the "Pace Amendment" are laudatory quotes from Richard Butler and Dan Gayman. Gayman is the leader of an Identity encampment in the Ozark Mountains which he calls the "Church of Israel." Though not charged by the Fort Smith grand jury, the 49-year-old former high school principal was named in the indictment as the recipient of \$10,000 seized illegally by The Order.

Gayman's "church" consists of a half-dozen buildings which sit on 123 acres of land near Schell City, Missouri, and his followers number between 40 and 60. David Tate, currently serving a life sentence for the murder of a Missouri state trooper in 1985, was reportedly a member. (Tate was also a member of The Order and a fugitive at the time of the murder.) In October, 1986, Gayman's son-in-law, a church member, was charged with first-degree assault in the shooting of a man he says he mistook for someone involved in a land dispute with the Gayman group.

Another remote Identity encampment known as "Elohim City" is located on the western edge of a rugged tract of land along the Oklahoma-Arkansas border in Adair County, Oklahoma. There are 35 to 40 people living on the compound, including some armed with handguns. Rev. Robert Millar, who has had ties to the CSA, is the group's leader. Millar tried to raise money for CSA leader Jim Ellison's bond following his 1985 arrest. He has described Ellison as a "God-fearing man" with "a pastor's heart." He has also served as a character witness on behalf of Richard Wayne Snell, a CSA member serving a life sentence for the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper.

Oklahoma is the headquarters of Christian America Advocates, a smaller Identity group headed by Robert Kleuser, a follower of the late Identity leader Sheldon Emry. Kleuser conducts services at his home in rural Woodward County, and distributes his newsletter along with materials from other Identity groups to his mailing list of Oklahoma residents.

The militant Identity group called the Posse Comitatus has been maintaining a low profile since the 1984 imprisonment in Wisconsin of its leading national spokesman James Wickstrom on charges of impersonating a public official. Wickstrom was released in May, 1985 and has since been living on parole in Homer City, located in western Pennsylvania. With the recent lifting of his probation, it remains to be seen whether he will return to Wisconsin in order to rebuild his organization there. Meanwhile he has been conducting propaganda activity from his Pennsylvania residence.

The other leading figure of the Posse Comitatus, William Potter Gale, awaits trial in Nevada along with seven other members of a Posse-like group—the "Committee of the States"—for mailing threatening notices to officials of the IRS. Gale, 70, is a former Army colonel and, like Butler, a follower of Wesley Swift. The Committee of the States was established at his Mariposa, California home on July 4, 1984, when a group of "delegates" claiming to be acting legally under the Articles of Confederation (the document supplanted 200 years ago by the U.S. Constitution), issued a series of "indictments" against the U.S. Congress for various "unlawful" acts.

Posse Front Groups

A number of Posse chapters using various "front group" names have continued to operate in Midwestern states, notably Iowa and Nebraska, but they have been for the most part unsuccessful in their efforts to attract the support of large numbers of family farmers hit by economic disaster. One deterrent has been the gruesome revelations of a series of torture-murders carried out in the summer of 1985 in Rulo, Nebraska by the leaders of a cult-like Posse cell.

In Iowa City, Iowa, the "Iowa Society for Educated Citizens," a group similar to the Posse, meets monthly and attracts roughly 70 from around the state. In April, 1986, Nebraska State Senator Ernie Chambers delivered a speech to the group, in which he championed the cause of Arthur Kirk, a Nebraska farmer who died in an encounter with state patrol officers in 1984. The incident has been used by the Posse and other extremist groups to support their claims against government authority.

A Posse-style group in Oregon called the "Oregon Militia" continues to operate and maintain a small measure of support. In California and western Arizona, loose-knit groups of individuals have proclaimed themselves to be "Freemen." Their organ is a newsletter called *The Citizen's Claw*, published in Morongo Valley, California by someone calling himself "S.A. Freeman." The newsletter prints attacks on the U.S. Government ("ruled by a secret gang of international power brokers known only to a select few") and pays tribute to those who confront law enforcement authorities. "Freeman" calls his group "New Nation U.S.A." It is alleged by law enforcement authorities in southern California to have engaged in paramilitary training activity.

An Arizona Identity group with a Posse-like emphasis on stockpiling weapons and baiting public officials has been quiet in recent months in the wake of a crackdown by federal authorities. Last October eight members of the Arizona Patriots were arrested and charged with various crimes, including a plot to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car in Nevada. The group had also planned to bomb a synagogue in Phoenix and an IRS facility in Utah. At the time of their arrest, several "Patriots" had in their possession blueprints for the electrical systems of two United States dams and the piping system of a third.

The group has been led by former screen star Ty Hardin, who played primarily Western roles in television and film. Hardin, who reportedly took part in meetings at which illegal activities were discussed, has left Arizona for northern California, and the "Patriots," whose ranks were not large even at the height of its activity, has begun to retrench.

Fears of a law enforcement crackdown on extremists associated with the Identity movement has also helped diminish the size of the annual "Freedom Festival," held in Missouri by the survivalist-oriented Christian Patriots Defense League. Since Missouri's passage in 1984 of ADL anti-paramilitary training legislation, the festival has been forced to eliminate its weapons training feature. During Labor Day, 1986, the festival attracted some 500, as compared with over a thousand at previous gatherings, and the number of "classes" was reduced from 60 to 12. Retired Army Lt. Colonel Jack Mohr, who heads the CPDL's "Citizens Emergency Defense System," has continued to lecture to followers around the country on the need for armed citizen groups for the "defense of white Christian civilization." Mohr conducted workshops on sabotage tactics at the 1984 Aryan Nations Congress, although he has lately cautioned against violations of law.

Heritage Library

One of those once regarded as a potential future leader of the Identity movement has faded from the scene amidst financial difficulties. Larry Humphries, 34, founder in 1982 of the 265-acre, \$1.3 million Identity compound in Velma, Oklahoma known as the "Heritage Library," faces eviction following a sheriff's foreclosure sale of the property. Humphries, a former pool hustler, used part of a large family inheritance to establish this combination "retreat" and "research center" for those with similar beliefs.

Humphries gained national attention in November, 1985 when he led a band of heavily armed vigilantes to central Georgia to confront law enforcement authorities and forcibly prevented a farm foreclosure. Shortly thereafter, he toured the upper Midwest with Georgia "farm activist" Tom Kersey, who once had been aligned with the Posse Comitatus, playing up the event to gatherings of farmers. Humphries obtained the Republican nomination for a U.S. congressional seat in Oklahoma by default in 1986, and gained some 29,000 votes (of nearly 125,000 cast) in a losing cause last November. In a recent videotaped message sent to law enforcement authorities and the news media, Humphreys said that armed but "non-violent" insurgents will meet any law officers seeking to evict him from his compound.

Another setback to the Identity movement occurred in 1985 with the death of Sheldon Emry, the long-time Jew-baiting pastor of the Phoenix-based Lord's Covenant Church. Emry's radio ministry reached sizable audiences primarily in the South and Southwest, and at the time of his death it is estimated that his church's annual income was \$500,000.

Emry's "America's Promise" newsletter is still being distributed to a mailing list of around 1,400, and the "church" continues to broadcast on some 30 radio stations. The organization is now being run by "Pastor" Ron Poch. Poch succeeded longtime Emry associate "Pastor" Ben Williams, who has established his own tape and newsletter ministry in Medford, Oregon. Williams calls

his group "America's Covenant Church," and his "services" have begun to attract about 50 families.

A young Colorado Identity minister named Pete Peters has also styled his ministry, which he calls the "LaPorte Church of Christ," after Emrys. Peters' monthly publication, *Scriptures for America*, promotes his some halfdozen radio broadcasts and his audio cassettes, which he considers "our biggest outreach." Peters' local following in LaPorte, just north of Fort Collins, is estimated at 80-100 and he claims that his annual "Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat" attracted 400 in 1986.

Peters gained some notoriety when it was revealed that Robert Mathews, David Lane and Jean Craig, members of The Order implicated in the June, 1984 murder of Denver radio personality Alan Berg, had attended services at his church. Peters had made a brief appearance on one of Berg's broadcasts in February of that year along with Jack Mohr, who had come to Colorado to speak to Peters' followers. He has been the featured speaker at Identity retreats in other parts of the country.

ADL's survey indicates that there also are a number of localized Identity churches scattered around the country, many of them located in the states of the Pacific Northwest. These are generally organized around a single pastor who conducts weekly services and often publishes a newsletter. Occasionally, the pastor will manage to build up a sizable local following, as in the case of Dr. Robert McCurry of the Calvary Temple Bible Church in suburban Atlanta. According to a 1985 Atlanta *Journal* report, McCurry's church has about 300 members with 100 students at its school, where uncertified teachers spread the notion that the American government is the equivalent of the anti-Christ and that the Social Security system, the banking system and the courts are evil. Some members of the church are reportedly in a dispute with the IRS over back taxes.

III. Neo-Nazis

The American neo-Nazi movement was founded in 1958 by George Lincoln Rockwell, who established his American Nazi Party just outside the nation's capital in Arlington, Virginia. Rockwell himself was assassinated by one of his followers in 1967. Until 1984, Arlington continued to serve as the base of operations of neo-Nazi groups headed by two of Rockwell's "lieutenants," Matt Koehl and William Pierce. Having changed the names of their respective organizations, both have moved their headquarters during the past two years to more rural settings, Koehl's in Wisconsin, Pierce's in West Virginia.

Koehl's group is the most direct present-day successor to Rockwell's organization. Once known as the National Socialist White People's Party, it now goes by the name New Order. This unabashedly Nazi group has an active hard core cadre of about 25 and a membership of about 100 who pay dues and receive its publication, the *NS Bulletin*. In October, 1985, the group's Franklin Road headquarters building in Arlington was sold for \$99,500 (the grantor listed officially as "New World Order, Inc.") and in January of this year discontinued use of its traditional Arlington post office box mailing address.

The group has purchased property in New Berlin, Wisconsin, a suburb of Koehl's hometown of Milwaukee, in order to form a "National Socialist community called 'Nordland' " which it describes as "a base for the future growth and expansion of the movement." A recent circular announced that the New Order is seeking "qualified young couples" to join the community. Clearly the organization, which has a Milwaukee post office box for an address, is in retreat, having displayed minimal signs of life during the period covered by this survey.

A Blueprint for Revolution

Interestingly, Koehl's former American Nazi Party colleague William Pierce, one time physics professor at Oregon State University, is also in retreat, but not merely because his organization, the National Alliance, is in decline. Pierce was the mentor of Robert Mathews, a National Alliance activist who founded The Order and died in a shootout with law enforcement authorities in December, 1984. Mathews used Pierce's 1974 novel *The Turner Diaries* as the blueprint for his attempted revolution against the U.S. Government which resulted in a spree of criminal violence in 1983 and 1984, including armed robberies which netted more than \$4 million. A statement given to the FBI by one of The Order's leaders (later recanted) indicated that Pierce received \$50,000 of this money.

It was shortly after this alleged transfer of stolen funds in 1984 that Pierce, using the name of a "church" he had incorporated in 1978, established a 346-acre compound in Pocahontas County, West Virginia. Known as the "Cosmotheist Community Church," Pierce gained tax-exempt status for it from the IRS the same year (1978) that it was denied the National Alliance. Although Pierce has claimed that the Cosmotheist church and the National Alliance are separate entities, in speaking to a gathering of hate group activists last year Pierce described the establishment of the West Virginia compound as being among "the things we've been doing at the National Alliance." (In its 1983 decision upholding the IRS decision to withhold tax-exempt status for the National Alliance, a federal appeals court noted that the organization "repetitively appeals for action, including violence to injure persons who are members of named racial, religious or ethnic groups.")

Pierce described his West Virginia project in a February, 1986 issue of his publication *National Vanguard*, stating: "The aspect of our racial situation which has concerned me more than any other, from the beginning, is that of fitness—specifically, the fitness of our race for survival."

There are, additionally, small neo-Nazi sects operating in the following states: California (National Socialist American Workers Party), Illinois (American Nazi Party and America First Committee), Michigan (SS-Action Group), Ohio (American White Nationalist Party), Oklahoma (American Workers Party), Oregon (New Order Legion), Washington (National Socialist Vanguard), and Wisconsin (Euro-American Alliance). The groups function primarily as purveyors—often through their own publications—of propaganda which crudely slurs Jews and other minorities, lavishes praise upon Hitler's Third Reich and promotes the lie that the Holocaust against Jews during Nazi rule in Europe never occurred.

The largest distributor of neo-Nazi propaganda in West Germany, where it is a criminal offense, is an American, Gary Rex (Gerhard) Lauck, who calls his organization by the German name National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei—Auslands Organization (National Socialist German Workers Party-Overseas Organization). Although Lauck, 34, maintains a Lincoln, Nebraska post office box as his organization's headquarters, he has been living in Chicago, having moved there in the late 70's to work with the now defunct National Socialist Party of America. He works as a mailing specialist for a Chicago company.

Lauck said in 1985 that with the waning of the NSWPP (now New Order), his group is the "dominant" force of Nazi philosophy in America. He also boasts that his major activity is smuggling printed neo-Nazi literature and posters into West Germany where he once spent four and one half months in prison for doing so. Authorities there have threatened him with immediate imprisonment if he returns. In addition to his English language publication *New Order*, he publishes one in German called *NS Kampfzruf* ("Call to Battle").

Lauck's mailings are sent out from Nashville, Indiana by Opal Soltau, a 67-year-old Indiana native

of German descent. Soltau's pro-Nazi leanings date back to before World War II, when she was active in the German American Bund.

The other major neo-Nazi propaganda mill, Liberty Bell Publications of Reedy, West Virginia, is operated by George Dietz, a farm broker. Dietz, a one-time member of the Hitler Youth who emigrated to the U.S. from Germany in 1957, publishes a wide variety of anti-Jewish books and pamphlets. He was the first racial extremist to establish a computerized bulletin board, sending out hate propaganda across the country which can be accessed through use of a home computer and telephone hook-up.

Honoring Hitler's Birthday

Occasionally neo-Nazis will sponsor an activity to boost morale, such as the recent gathering in Chicago in April to honor Adolph Hitler's birthday. The celebration was sponsored by a small Chicago group called the American Nazi Party (ANP), and included a rag-tag collection of young adults from Detroit who call themselves the "SS-Action Group," known best for several street demonstrations during the past years in which they have clashed with leftist antagonists.

The ANP is headed by "Colonel" James Burford, owner of a Chicago-based military surplus mail-order business called "The Old Sarge PX", and publishes *The Public Voice* and *ANP Newsletter*. The "keynote address" at the April meeting was given by neo-Nazi activist Arthur Jones, who has run unsuccessfully for various political offices in the Chicago area, most recently for an Aldermanic seat in the 13th Ward where he received 3% of the total vote in a three-person race. Jones, who heads a tiny group called the "America First Committee," sent a fundraising appeal to his mailing list on behalf of North Carolina Klan leader Glenn Miller prior to Miller's 1986 trial for illegal paramilitary training.

Another neo-Nazi group in the Chicago area goes by the name "Romantic Violence." This menacing-looking youth group, which patterns itself after the "skinheads" involved in Britain's neo-Nazi National Front, took part in a June, 1985 march organized by the American Nazi Party to protest the annual Gay and Lesbian Pride Day. Led by Clark Martell, the group has attended several meetings of hate movement activists at the Michigan farm of Robert Miles. It has also promoted a "white power" rock group called "The Final Solution."

Two neo-Nazi sects not likely to survive the incarceration of their leaders are the New Orleans-based National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF) and the Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party of Post Falls, Idaho. Karl Hand, Jr., the NSLF's "Commanding Officer," is a hate movement veteran who once served a prison term in New Jersey for shooting a weapon into the home of a black family and later tried to commit suicide by drinking anti-freeze. He ran the NSLF with his wife Mary Sue, who married Hand in a 1985 ceremony presided over by Robert Miles and called herself the "first lady of the sword." Hand was convicted last December for attempted murder and sentenced to 10 years in the Louisiana State Prison.

The neo-Nazi group in Post Falls was led by Keith Gilbert, 46, who once served a prison term in California for planning to explode dynamite at a B'nai B'rith dinner honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Gilbert was convicted in 1985 on 35 counts of welfare fraud and one count of tax evasion and is serving a nine-year prison term.

IV. "Hybrid" Organizations

National Socialism has been regarded as a particularly alien form of extremism in America and thus, has had limited appeal here. Those with leadership abilities who have taken the neo-Nazi route into the hate movement—among them Don Black, David Duke, and Glenn Miller—have discovered that in order to appeal to a larger constituency they must shed their overtly Nazi image. (When confronted on a New York City talk-show last February with the fact that he had been pictured marching with a swastika armband as an undergraduate, Duke tried to explain it away as a youthful indiscretion.)

But this shedding of neo-Nazi symbols rarely represents more than a tactical calculation. A good example is William Pierce's National Alliance, which has espoused neo-Nazi philosophy while deemphasizing the more well known imagery of the movement.

Another hate group leader strongly influenced by National Socialism is Tom Metzger of Fallbrook, California, whose organization the "White Aryan Resistance" (WAR) emphasizes a pseudo-populist appeal to the "white working class." Although Metzger's organization is small, with chapters in several California cities, his influence has extended beyond that state's confines through the circulation of a tabloid publication (also known as *WAR*) and through television programs introduced by his local supporters into a number of cable markets in various U.S. cities. These programs, which have featured interviews by Metzger of a host of hate movement figures, have been shown on "public access" channels reserved as a form of "electronic soapbox" for expressions of local community viewpoints.

Metzger, who was named as a recipient of a quarter million dollars stolen by The Order in a (later recanted) statement to the FBI by one of its leaders, has also initiated the formation in high schools and on a few junior college campuses on the West Coast of "White Student Unions," consisting of a few dozen youths. One White Student Union "spokesman" from the Sacramento area, Gregg Withrow, proclaimed at the 1986 Aryan Nations conference: "Men, women and children, without exception, without appeal, who are of non-Aryan blood shall be terminated or expelled. The next line of leadership shall be a generation of ruthless predators that shall make past Aryan leadership and warriors seem pale by comparison."

The Georgia-based National States Rights Party, a more established "hybrid" organization which promotes Hitlerian philosophy absent Nazi symbols, has been reduced through internal bickering to little more than a vehicle for the publication of *The Thunderbolt*, a popular hate sheet among Klansmen and other racial extremists. The bickering has centered around the personal morals and purported financial scheming of one of the NSRP's guiding figures since its founding in 1958, Dr. Edward Fields, a non-practicing chiropractor who publishes *The Thunderbolt* from his home in Marietta. Fields worked closely with White Patriot Party leader Glenn Miller and contributed financially to his legal defense. Fields has also been involved in hate movement activities in recent months in nearby Forsyth County.

"Crusade Against Corruption"

The other NSRP leader, J.B. Stoner, was released from prison in December, 1986 after serving three and a half years of his sentence for the 1958 bombing of a black church in Birmingham. He and Fields are no longer working together, Stoner taking up a personal "crusade against corruption," in which he has written that "we are in this campaign to Free White America from jew [sic] tyranny."

Other hybrid organizations which exist primarily as vehicles for the promotion of their leaders' neo-Nazi philosophy are the National Democratic Front (NDF), headed by Montgomery County, Maryland attorney Gary Gallo, and the German American National Political Action Committee (GANPAC), headed by retired California businessman Hans Schmidt. The NDF publishes two newsletters, *The Nationalist* and *New America*, which have called for "white revolution" and separate states along racial lines. Like Tom Metzger's publication, they have expressed strong support for the criminal activities of The Order and published correspondence from several of its incarcerated members.

Schmidt claims that the purpose of GANPAC is the promotion of political unity between German-Americans and other Americans. In fact, his writings have reflected a strong anti-Jewish bias along with an apologist's view of Hitler and Nazi Germany. For example, the September, 1986 issue of his monthly newsletter, *GANPAC Brief*, accuses American Jews of dominating the U.S. today, just as "German Jews ruled Germany before 1933." Schmidt also has promoted the standard neo-Nazi lie that the Holocaust never occurred.

Although his political action committee has been in operation and collected contributions since 1983, it wasn't until 1986 that Schmidt's first distributions were made to candidates: \$1,000 to liberal Democrat Robert Edgar, whose opponent was incumbent Senator Arlen Specter (Pennsylvania), who is Jewish, and \$1,000 each to Senators James Abdnor (South Dakota) and Stephen Symms (Idaho). All have convincingly denied knowing Schmidt's views; Symms has donated the money to Idaho's Holocaust Council and to ADL.

V. Linkage

There has always been a certain amount of linkage among groups which promote bigotry, despite their differences of style and emphasis. With the hate movement reduced to a "hard core" of highly charged activists, the barriers separating Klan, neo-Nazi and Identity groups have been further removed during the past several years.

The best example of the coalescence of different forces was the formation of The Order, whose core membership came from two Identity groups (Aryan Nations and CSA) and a neo-Nazi group (National Alliance) and also included a number of Klansmen. What united the members of The Order was their extreme hatred of Jews and other minorities, their hostility toward the U.S. Government (reflected in their term for it: ZOG) and the fact that they were "tired of talk" — that is, impatient with the lack of progress of their propaganda efforts to convert the American people and therefore bent on violence.

Similarly, the individuals charged in April by the Fort Smith grand jury with seditious conspiracy represent all three "branches" of the hate movement. They are said to have hatched their conspiracy at the 1983 Aryan Nations World Congress, whose purpose has been to bring together those with different affiliations, including representatives of like-minded organizations from other countries, such as Canada and West Germany. Similarly, Robert Miles has held bi-annual gatherings at his Michigan farm where he has tried to promote unity among hate group activists. (At the October, 1985 meeting, there was serious talk of forging an alliance with Louis Farrakhan, leader of the black racist "Nation of Islam," who laces his preachings with attacks on Jews. Tom Metzger has made direct overtures to the Farrakhan organization in California.) In addition to Klan, neo-Nazi and Identity activists, Miles' gatherings have included racists from Canada, Mexico and Great Britain.

Sophisticated Communications

Another development facilitating linkages among hate groups is the spread and sophistication of modern communications, which the movement has begun to employ. From computerized bulletin boards established by a number of leaders including Louis Beam, Tom Metzger and George Dietz, to Metzger's public access television programs, hate groups have found a relatively easy opportunity to promote their own organizational and philosophical messages and those of other groups. Thus for example, there is a listing on the "Aryan Liberty Net" (the bulletin board set up by Beam for the Aryan Nations) of so-called "patriotic groups" which "fight for America." Those wishing to have their groups included are requested to send "pertinent information" to Aryan Nations headquarters and, for a nominal fee, can be included if deemed acceptable.

The phenomenon of "multiple memberships"—the practice of individuals who affiliate with several different hate groups—has also served to break down barriers among them. Thus, it is often difficult to characterize certain activists as Klansmen, neo-Nazis or adherents of "Identity" when in fact, even at the leadership level, many find no difficulty affiliating with all three. For example, Identity leader Richard Butler often voices his admiration for Adolph Hitler and Klan leader Thom Robb preaches to an Identity congregation. Glenn Miller, a neo-Nazi turned leader of a Klan organization, referred to Jews in his "declaration of war" as "the children of Satan," a standard Identity theme.

Nevertheless, it is important that the distinctions among the different organizations not be overlooked. It is also important to keep in mind that organizational rivalries and personality conflicts among leaders have tended to splinter the hate movement and prevent a truly cohesive force from emerging.

Conclusion

In consequence of the superb job done by the Department of Justice and law enforcement agencies in reacting to the criminal violence of the hate groups, and thanks to the good sense and decency of the great majority of Americans in rejecting their message of bigotry, the hate movement is weaker today than in many years.

It is difficult to imagine a near-term meaningful comeback for those organizations that have been subject to law enforcement action. Much depends on the outcome of the court trials they face in the coming months. If the indicted leaders are convicted and sentenced to lengthy prison terms, as were the defendants in the Seattle trial of The Order, some of these organizations will have trouble surviving. The burdens attendant on conducting a costly and time-consuming legal defense will drain their resources and energies. Also, some of the extremist chieftains are aging and ailing. Richard Butler, head of the Aryan Nations, who is 69, recently suffered a heart attack and required coronary bypass surgery. Robert Miles, 62, has had a number of heart attacks. William Potter Gale, leader of the Committee of the States, is 70 and suffers from a serious lung ailment. John Harrell, chief of the Christian Patriots Defense League, is in his late 60's.

But by no means are all the organizations listed in this report on the rocks. Some of the Klan groups, for example, while smaller in size than heretofore, remain viable operations. Other, less militant promoters of bigotry, such as Liberty Lobby, have been unaffected by the wave of government prosecutions and still carry on their decades-long propaganda campaigns. Liberty Lobby's anti-Jewish weekly tabloid, *The Spotlight*, while down considerably in circulation from its 1981 peak of 315,000, still reaches 112,800 subscribers. The Populist Party, formed in 1984 as a united

front of assorted bigots, right-wingers and mavericks, has split in two, but the more extreme faction, dominated by the nation's leading anti-Semitic propagandist, Willis Carto, convened in Pittsburgh recently to lay the groundwork for a 1988 presidential campaign. If the party manages to mount a campaign with adequate funding (not impossible, because of Willis Carto's substantial financial resources) and ballot position in enough states, it might revive some of the morale and enthusiasm of the far right's constituents, especially if they find the major party candidates unappealing. (Such a campaign, however, will almost certainly fall very far short of George Wallace's 1968 performance, in which he garnered some 10 million votes.)

Unforeseen winds of change, moreover, can always bring surprises. Serious economic disturbances, either toward inflation or depression, can create new opportunities for extremism. The potentially most explosive problem remains that of race relations, and it is in racial division and conflict that lie the perennial hopes of extremism for renewed growth and resurgence.

Naturally, then, the die-hards of today's hate movement have been stirred and energized by recent events in Forsyth County, Georgia, and Howard Beach, New York. Tom Metzger, former Grand Dragon of the KKK of California and current head of WAR (White Aryan Resistance) proclaimed, under the headline "White Uprising in Georgia," that "From Marquette Park in Chicago last June [a reference to a combined KKK and neo-Nazi demonstration joined by local white juveniles] to New York's Howard Beach in December and Forsyth County, Georgia in the last two weekends of January, the revolution of eternally skimmed has begun. . ." *The Thunderbolt*, a long-time voice of hate, declared "The White resistance movement in Forsyth has fired a shot heard around the world. . ." And David Duke, the former neo-Nazi youth leader and KKK Grand Wizard, headed straight for both Forsyth County and Howard Beach in an effort to place himself in position as chief tribune of the forces of white backlash.

The declining strength of the hate movement is, of course, a healthy development for the nation as a whole as well as its minority groups, but history teaches that the eradication of bigotry and extremism is an ongoing task that is never completely won. And while the underlying causes that account for the rise and decline of extremism lie in a multitude of trends in the society, there is still much that can be done by individuals and organizations to improve matters.

1. Continued rigorous law enforcement is necessary. There is no certainty that the mood of violent desperation which led to the recent spate of criminal acts has fully exhausted itself.

2. ADL's "model" bill outlawing paramilitary training in furtherance of civil disorder has had a healthy deterrent effect on such activities by extremist groups. For example, the Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL) since 1979 has held "freedom festivals" combining classes in weapons training with others promoting bigotry. The 1981 gathering offered instruction in "Guns and Reloading," "Demolition and Camouflage," "Anti-Aircraft and Anti-Tank" and "Knife Fighting." As a consequence of Missouri's passage in 1984 of its anti-paramilitary training statute, no subsequent CPDL festivals there have included weapons training. In his letter announcing the 1984 festival, CPDL director John Harrell warned invitees about the new law and told them not to bring their firearms to the camp.

At present, the 18 states in which the "model" bill or a variation of it have been enacted into law are Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and West Virginia.

In Florida, enforcement of the state's statute resulted in the first convictions under the act and prevented a dangerous situation from escalating into the kind of violence that could easily have led to loss of life.

Each of the remaining 32 state legislatures should be urged to adopt the "model" statute. Copies of it, along with useful supplementary information are available from ADL regional offices.

3. The Supreme Court's May, 1987 decision in *St. Francis College v. Al-Khazraji* and *Shaare Tefila Congregation v. Cobb* opens potentially significant new avenues of redress for victims of ethnically-motivated discrimination or crime. From now on, the same 1866 Civil Rights Act, which enabled an elderly black widow from Alabama to win \$7 million in damages from the United Klans of America (UKA) for the wrongful death of her son, can also be relied upon by Jews and other non-black ethnic minorities. The *Shaare Tefila* decision, for example, establishes a precedent for a vandalized or bombed synagogue to sue successfully those responsible for the acts. Subjecting such perpetrators—including members of extremist groups or, as in the UKA case, the group itself—to financial penalties will not only compensate victims for their suffering, but should also act effectively as a deterrent to further attacks or discrimination.

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s in Prisons

a "very important role" in a future race war.

Some prisoners are members of the Aryan Nations' "Church of Jesus Christ Christian," which espouses a system of beliefs in which "Aryans" are the "true Israel," Jews are the "seed of Satan" and "colored peoples" are subhuman. The beliefs are the doctrine of the anti-Semitic pseudo-religious movement known as "Identity."

In some areas, prisoners demanded the right to receive Identity literature, conduct its "services" and receive visits from its "pastors." Correction department authorities in several states have refused these demands, citing the danger of violence and disorder.

In court cases in Arkansas, Missouri, Idaho, Illinois and North Carolina, extremist inmates claimed violation of their First Amendment rights of free speech and religious practice. In four of these cases, the claims were overruled; in two others, there have been no final decisions.

On the far left, a variety of groups are attempting to influence and recruit prisoners.

The New York-based Committee to Fight Repression promotes a range of violent leftist organizations and publishes news of members who have been indicted for criminal acts or who are serving prison terms. Included among left-wing extremist groups active in prisons are the African People's Socialist Party, the New Afrikan People's Organization, the Black Guerrilla Family and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Leaders of the two most active "prison ministries" of the far right—Robert Miles of the "Mountain Church" in Michigan and Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations—look upon prisoners as "POWs" in a continuing "war" with the American government, which they label "ZOG" ("Zionist Occupation Government").

Miles, an ex-convict and former Klan Grand Dragon, claims to correspond with 1,800 prisoners in state and federal institutions.

Other far right organizations—including the Klan, the Euro-American Alliance and several neo-Nazi groups—publish letters from inmates in their publications and encourage readers to correspond with prisoners.

Gary Yarbrough, now serving a 60-year sentence for his involvement in crimes committed by The Order, was recruited into the hate movement during an earlier period of incarceration in Arizona. □

Annual Meeting *cont. from page 2*

ian Arabs, Jordan, Syria, Saudia Arabia nor Iraq accept Israel's right to exist."

He cited as another manifestation of tolerance of Arab rejectionism the refusal to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem.

"Until we send a clear message by our conduct," he asserted, "U.S. resumption of activity in the Jordanian peace process would be another false start."

Calling Egypt's failure to keep its part of the Camp David agreements, "deeply troubling," Mr. Bialkin said it nevertheless "remains the brightest prospect for peace in the region." America's economic and military support should provide a basis for "insisting" that Egypt fulfill its promises.

On domestic concerns, Mr. Bialkin rejected the charge made in some quarters that American Jews practice one-issue politics. "Nothing could be further from the truth," he declared, adding that concern for Israel does not dilute Jewish efforts on civil rights, help for the disadvantaged, separation of church and state and other traditional causes.

National Director

Nathan Perlmutter described some of the lessons learned by American Jews in the past year—and the issues that bear watching in the future—in his annual report. He included the following:

—The "future significance" of the Waldheim affair "is not really in his being, at the least, a revealed liar. . . Waldheim is one person, but millions of Austrians are saying to the liar, 'We're with you.'"

—In this country, polls reveal that a plurality of American high school graduates feel "Jews should stop complaining about what happened to them in Nazi Germany" and that the public in general, by a 49 to 41 percent margin, thinks Jews should stop seeking out Nazi war criminals. "Is there something that is possibly wanting in the way in which we manifest our remembrance of the Holocaust? Something that is inadequate to our purpose that it never happen again? We are studying this admittedly sensitive question."

—The extradition of Andrija Artukovic to Yugoslavia, John Demjanjuk to Israel and the arrest of Walter Kutschmann in Argen-

tina, which "affirm the immutability of their evil" and say that "time does not convert genocide into a misdemeanor."

—Pope John Paul II's visit to a Rome synagogue which "if not a stunning happening in our eyes, surely in Catholic eyes, an historic action." ADL will continue to urge Vatican recognition of Israel, "but if we fail to understand the distance traversed from the Catholic perspective, we make of ourselves scolds rather than agents of change."

—Jesse Jackson's "cooled" rhetoric on Jews. "Good, but let us see if his ardor for the P.L.O., for Syria's Assad, for the Sandinistas, for Castro, for all those snipers in whose sights is Israel, cools as well." Otherwise, "cleaning up his act on Jews is tactical and not reassuring."

—Polls showing that "we are not alone" in believing that racial quotas are racist—that while 77 percent of black leaders believe in racial preferences, an identical 77 percent of the black community "affirms that ability has to be the prime criteria."

Also cited were issues he placed under

the heading "why did we butt in?" and gave as his answer the high priority ADL gives to credibility. Among them:

—ADL's defense of the Mormons' right to construct a center on Mount Scopus because Jews throughout history have often seen construction of their synagogues prohibited or limited in size and "should not play turnabout."

—ADL's issuance of a "white paper" documenting Sandinista repression against Jews after others denied the existence of anti-Semitism in that country. The League "set the record straight," not because of any position on aid to the Contras but because it combats anti-Semitism "whether practiced by a right wing dictatorship, as it had been in Argentina, or by a left wing dictatorship in Nicaragua."

—When some questioned ADL farm belt investigations which revealed that reports of growing anti-Semitism were exaggerated, the agency called in pollster Louis Harris, who confirmed the League's findings. "As important as it is to bare anti-Semitism when it is masked, so important is it to say 'no' when it is imagined, or worse, when it is fabricated."



Above, l. to r., at a session on Soviet Jewry, Grigori Goldstein, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Richard Schifter, and Isai Goldstein. At left below, Commissioner David Strasser, l., with Senator Dennis De Concini. Below, r., Allan B. Margolis shows fellow Commissioners suggested plaque for the ADL Foundation's "Million-0" program—a new plan enabling an individual to establish a \$1 million endowment to provide for the League's needs through four annual gifts of \$50,000 each and zero coupon bonds.



All, Peter Albert/Whitestone



The Anti-Israel Lobby: Seeking a New Respectability

An ADL Fact Finding Report



**Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
New York, N.Y.**

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**FACT FINDING
REPORT**

is a periodic report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

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Introduction: New Sophistication:

Pro-Arab propaganda groups are displaying new sophistication in advancing their cause both in Washington and before the American public. In the past year or so, the major organizations have sharpened their political thrust by emphasizing American interests in arguing against aid to Israel. Moreover, the groups are relying more on a combination of lobbying, grassroots political activity, political action committees, and newspaper advertising to press their case. Street demonstrations and other forms of protest have been de-emphasized.

In a sense this is evidence of growing political maturity in the two major pro-Arab groups, the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). Both are based in Washington. Rather than attack Israel directly -- a strategy that might win little sympathy with the American public -- pro-Arab lobbyists are focusing today on how aid to Israel allegedly affects individual Americans and the nation. Does it serve U.S. interests? Does it enhance U.S. security? Does it direct aid away from needy Americans? How can U.S. tax dollars best be spent? Typical newspaper ads proclaim, "Israeli bank stock speculation will cost American taxpayers \$2.5 billion," and "Affluent Israelis Vacation Abroad While Americans are Told to Tighten Belts." One ad elaborated, "...American farmers, veterans, students, small businessmen and recipients of Medicare and Social Security are told to tighten their belts as plans are made to reduce the deficit. Congress will now decide how much more for Israel and how much less for Americans." These themes to some extent personalize the issue -- portraying U.S. taxpayers as extravagantly subsidizing each Israeli citizen -- and lend the campaign an air of patriotic respectability that a vituperatively anti-Israel message would not have.

Shift to Electoral Politics

In the political arena, the emphasis on electoral politics, in contrast to earlier "protest politics," is evident in the formation last year of a bi-partisan organization aimed at increasing Arab-American influence in electoral politics. The new group, the Arab-American Institute (AAI), is headed by James Zogby (a Democrat) and George Salem (a Republican), both veterans of other pro-Arab propaganda efforts. Zogby, former executive director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was vice chairman and deputy campaign manager in Jesse Jackson's presidential bid. Salem headed Ethnic Americans for Reagan-Bush in the 1984 campaign; he is chairman of the Council of Presidents

of Arab American Organizations, to which ADC and NAAA belong.

The rise of the new group could be significant. Traditionally, most Arab Americans have not been politically active, and there has been little political infrastructure for those interested in electoral politics to turn to. AAI's goal is to create such an infrastructure, building on the Arab American role in the 1984 election to increase its participation in mainstream American political life.

The Arab American Institute:

To this end, the AAI plans to: encourage voter registration in Arab American communities; provide logistical support (information, contacts, and services) to Arab American candidates for office; form Republican and Democratic federations to advance Arab American candidates; target geographic areas that could be bases of voter support; and secure political appointments for Arab Americans. The Arab American Republican Federation, with chapters in ten cities, has already been accepted as a member of the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council, an ethnic auxiliary of the Republican National Committee. While the Democratic side hasn't progressed this far, there are plans to create Arab American Democratic Clubs as "grassroots vehicles," presumably affiliated with the Democratic National Committee.

AAI's founding conference this past March brought together approximately 150 Arab American activists, including the leaders of six Arab-American organizations. In addition to James Zogby of AAI, the leaders included: George Salem, Chairman of the Council of Presidents of Arab American Organizations; Omar Kader, Executive Director of the ADC; David Sadd, Executive Director of the NAAA; Susan Ziadeh, Executive Director of the Association of Arab American University Graduates; Samir Totah, President of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, and radio personality Casy Kasem, representing the American Druze Society. During a meeting between the leaders and President Reagan at the White House, two of the delegation reportedly called on the President to open a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and two urged attention to the suffering of people in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon.

Competition Among Pro-Arab Groups:

All 150 activists attended a briefing on the Middle East by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy. The next day the factional nature of the groups -- which makes AAI's mission of political advancement more chancy -- surfaced. In a news release ADC professed itself "shocked" by an item of "Israeli-prepared

propaganda" in an old edition of the "White House Digest," that members found in the briefing room. The Digest described the PLO as "an active ally of communist revolutionaries throughout Central America." ADC head Omar Kader also faulted the White House meeting with Arab-American leaders as not having included a sufficiently substantive discussion of the Middle East. The outburst may have been a headline-grabbing attempt, or it may have aimed at underscoring ADC's independence of AAI. In any case, while the AAI fills a vacuum, it has not united the many organizations, which, although they appeal to slightly different constituencies, compete for members and funds, and may labor under personal animosities as well. (Zogby was executive director of ADC until he was fired by the chairman, former Senator James Abourezk; he brought ADC staff loyal to him to the AAI; meanwhile, ADC has had a new executive director, Omar Kader, who headed the United Palestinian Appeal for a year until assuming his post at ADC. In a surprise move, Kader himself resigned just before Thanksgiving.)

Since its new president took office, NAAA has also been plagued by high staff turnover and financial losses, according to a September article in Sada Alwatan, a Detroit paper.

Zogby and Abourezk agree on one thing: Arab American interest in electoral politics was galvanized by their participation in Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, perhaps stimulated by Jackson's pro-Arab stance on the Middle East. Zogby told the National Journal, a Washington insider's publication, "We never functioned before in an organized fashion electorally." Abourezk observed that Jackson "turned on the Arabs."

Abourezk acknowledged ADC's interest in politics during his wrap-up of the year's achievements, delivered at September's ADC convention. "We have been involved in political races, raising money from our membership, and raising the political consciousness of our members everywhere," he said.

PACs (Political Action Committees):

The creation of the AAI isn't the only sign of growing political development. During 1984 the National Association of Arab Americans created a political action committee to support the campaigns of candidates friendly to its point of view. The committee is called NAAA PAC. Its treasurer is David Sadd, executive director of the NAAA.

NAAA PAC reported receipts of nearly \$20,000 by election time 1984, only a quarter of which was itemized. NAAA PAC contributed primarily to members with strategic committee and subcommittee assignments. Among the recipients were the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations, which

drafts foreign aid authorization bills, and the chairman-to-be of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which handles foreign spending bills. Senators with similar assignments also received PAC money.

NAAA PAC isn't the first Arab American PAC. Middle East PAC, or M-PAC, was created in 1982 by James Abourezk and James Zogby of ADC. M-PAC never showed any activity - "no money in and no money out" - and was de-registered by the FEC in 1985.

Encouragement from the Arab World:

Encouragement to the PAC route has come from abroad. A January 1984 article in the official Saudi newspaper Al-Jazirah urged financial support for Jesse Jackson's candidacy. It was titled "In Order to Give Assurance to Those Who Sympathize With the Arabs, Jackson Must be Supported." The article noted, "U.S. laws are a hindrance to any material support from abroad." Five ways of aiding Jackson were cited: "1. Help American Arab organizations and persuade them to give the maximum contribution to Jackson. 2. Persuade those organizations to join the Political Action Committee network. ...they need to establish a PAC and join others in establishing them so as to give repeated aid to a single candidate. 3. Try to encourage a large number of American Arabs to make contributions and prepare a list of them.... 4. Persuade companies operating in the Arab countries to make maximum contributions through the PAC; 5. Persuade financiers, such as bankers, to give the necessary financial loans to candidate Jackson.

There are more subtle, entirely legal ways of encouraging contributions to candidates. The NAAA has a profit-making subsidiary called MEPARC (Middle East Policy and Research Corporation), which provides services to corporations doing business in the Middle East. Among its functions, MEPARC tabulates Congressional votes on mid-east issues. The resulting ratings are used by NAAA PAC in deciding to which candidates to contribute. There is another use for such data. According to PACs and Lobbies, a Washington newsletter, last year MEPARC scores were sent to executives of many corporations doing business in the Middle East, implicitly encouraging them to contribute to members of Congress who voted their interests.

Lobbying:

Another arena of political activity is lobbying. Although NAAA is the only Arab American organization with employees registered to lobby Congress, it is not the only group which testifies in hearings on a variety of bills -- indirect lobbying. Nor is NAAA

the only group that routinely mails its literature to Members of Congress. Copies of ADC Times, the American Educational Trust's Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, and the Palestine Research and Educational Center's Palestine Perspectives (previously published by the Palestine Information Office, the registered foreign agent for the PLO) are received by Congressional offices.

In the past year representatives of the NAAA, ADC and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) have testified before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East on the administration's foreign aid request; NAAA also testified on the aid request before the appropriate Senate committee. NAAA and ADC have testified against the bill to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (the PHRC also submitted a written statement by Palestine Research and Education Center director Muhammad Hallaj). NAAA has testified against the proposed free trade area agreement between the U.S. and Israel, before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee.

Testimony before these congressional committees also reflects the more sophisticated public relations approach. Israeli policies are criticized, but there is more of an attempt than there used to be to portray the pro-Arab groups' views as being in America's interest. For example, in his testimony on foreign aid before the House subcommittee, NAAA executive director David Sadd emphasized his view that foreign aid to Israel is inimical to the U.S. interest in good relations with Arab states. In the same vein was a statement by then-ADC director James Zogby during House hearings on moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. Zogby said failure to adhere to certain principles in foreign policy -- that international disputes must be resolved through negotiated settlements, and that peace and stability depend on human rights and respect for the rights of neighboring states -- "has... produced disastrous results, adversely affecting other nations and their peoples as well as our own people and national interest." Zogby and Sadd argued that moving the U.S. embassy would damage the U.S.' status as the only nation capable of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the mid-east conflict.

Lobbying by Constituents:

Regular lobbying, which is ultimately more important than testimony at hearings, also seems to be the beneficiary of the increased sophistication in both politics and public relations. Each year, as part of NAAA's annual convention, members spend a day on the Hill lobbying their representatives and senators. A briefing paper prepared by the NAAA on the Lavi jet aircraft

instructed this year's troops on how to make their points effectively:

Do not couch your concerns in the context of Arab v. Israeli, or "too much for Israel," because it will -- at this time -- fall on deaf ears and probably shut down the listener's receptivity to the good points you make. What you should speak about is the impact on the American economy, American jobs, and America's tax base of spending money over there instead of over here.

Similarly, an issue paper on foreign assistance stated that NAAA's arguments are largely a matter of "fairness." NAAA says it believes foreign assistance "would do more for the ...interests of the United States if it were more evenly distributed among all friendly countries" of the region. The question, the group asserts is "has the time come when even Israel's strong supporters should back off and say, 'enough is enough, I need to take care of Americans first'?"

Advertising Campaigns:

Another area of activity in which greater savvy is shown is a series of advertising campaigns. Here too, Israel-bashing is no longer the order of the day. The new prescription is a blend of patriotism and self-interest.

There have been at least three major ad campaigns in the past year. The two most recent -- one by NAAA, the other by ADC -- took place last spring. Appearing in the Christian Science Monitor and The New York Times, NAAA's ads attempted to link aid to Israel directly to economic deprivation at home. The ads blend a patriotic appeal, "Let's be fair to Americans," with an appeal to self-interest on the part of farmers, aerospace workers, students, the elderly, small businessmen, and others. Some ads concluded, "We think you have a right to know!" as though someone was keeping this devastating knowledge from the public.

The ads are professional, and effective. For example, an "Is it Fair to Americans" series of ads were captioned: "While retirees face cuts in Social Security benefits Israel seeks billions more;" "Single-parent families face aid cut as Israel seeks billions more;" "While America's small businessmen face financing curb, Israel seeks billions more in aid;" "While America's college students face aid cuts, Israel seeks billions more in grants;" "While American aerospace workers lose jobs, our taxes finance Israel's aircraft industry...;" "While elderly Americans face sharp Medicare cuts, Israel seeks billions more in aid;" "While America's farmers go bankrupt, Israel seeks billions more in U.S. aid;" and "While veterans face whopping benefits cuts, Israel seeks billions more in aid."

Another series headlined "Did You Know?" had captions such as: "Affluent Israelis Vacation Abroad While Americans Told to Tighten Belts;" "American taxpayers pay twice to support Israeli industry;" and "Israeli bank stock speculation will cost American taxpayers \$2.5 billion," which urged, "Tell your congressmen and senators, when it comes to allocating scarce American resources, our own citizens ought to come before Israeli banks and stock speculators."

The "We think you have a right to know" theme was also used in a series of radio ads in Washington, D.C.

NAAA's ad campaign is the work of a new advertising agency. Called Impact, the agency was created by NAAA in January. There are no incorporation papers for Impact or Impact, Inc. on file in the District of Columbia. Nor does NAAA's jacket in the corporate records division contain any such documents. Impact, may, therefore, be operating as an NAAA department.

The second ad campaign was the work of ADC. The organization took out full page ads in the Washington Post and smaller ads in other newspapers around the country. Full page ads in the Post cost an average of \$30,000 each.

ADC's Ad Campaign:

ADC's approach was slightly different than NAAA's. Rather than depicting taxpayers as subsidizing individual Israelis at the expense of politically sensitive domestic programs, ADC portrayed our taxes as subsidizing an Israeli military build-up. One ad asked, "Should Congress give away almost \$5 billion each year for one foreign country's military build-up while young Americans worry about their academic future?" What has this aid achieved? ADC asks, "Has it has moved Israel closer to peace negotiations?" No. This aid will overtax the U.S. treasury, and "increase tensions between the farmers, the jobless, the elderly, and the students of this country who, more and more, are finding their survival threatened and the dreams of a lifetime vanishing." The ad piously concludes, "A well-educated citizenry is the cornerstone of America's arsenal for peace."

Another ad asks "What Could America's Jobless Do with \$14 Million Dollars (sic) a Day?" Readers are urged to write to the President and the Congress and "tell them you want your money spent to support America's jobless, not Israel's war effort."

In the same vein, other ads urge readers to write to their elected representatives and "let them know you want your tax dollars spent

to send American kids to school, not Israeli soldiers to war." And again, "Tell them you want your tax money spent on America's Senior Citizens, not on Israel's expanding land program in the Middle East."

Charges that the U.S. is financing Israeli aggression and expansionism are by now routine. The slick presentation of that claim is something new.

Funds from Arab States ?

Over \$90,000 in ads for an organization such as ADC begs the question of where the money comes from. One possibility was suggested by an article in the May 25 Gulf Daily News, published in Bahrain. The article noted that ADC Chairman James Abourezk had visited Bahrain twice. Abourezk addressed the Chamber of Commerce on the subject of anti-Arab discrimination in the U.S. and the battle to change American public opinion. As a result, "many of the island's top businessmen are expected to come up with cash aimed at countering the powerful Zionist lobby in America." A Chamber spokesman said a special committee has been set up to work "closely" with Abourezk, described as "the driving force behind the 15,000 member" ADC.

ADC does not appear to be the only organization seeking funds from Arab sources. A September, 1985 article in a Detroit newspaper, Sada Alwatan raised questions about the financial dealings of NAAA's president, Samuel Phillips, before his death last month. The reporter, Magda Abu Fadil, noted that two public companies had fared badly under Phillips' management. Fadil cited assertions by "knowledgeable insiders" that Phillips sought the leadership of NAAA "in order to replenish his own coffers. His intention...was to have executive director David Saad (sic) introduce him to money sources in the Arab world." The article also alleged that "Phillips has been attempting to get Arab financiers from the Gulf to purchase...United Press International...." Because of restrictions on foreign ownership of American news media, "Phillips had sought to secure at least \$2 billion for 'acquisitions' to make NAAA itself financially stable."

Fadil also revealed that NAAA was scheduled for an Internal Revenue Service audit in September.

New Coalition Partners:

One additional political development is noteworthy. The focus of ADC's coalition-building has changed. Since its inception ADC has cultivated other organizations with which it shares a political agenda. Until a year ago, the focus was on "peace" and "disarmament" -type groups. While ADC continues to participate

in events such as the "Jobs, Peace, and Justice" demonstrations of this past April, greater attention is now given to one element of that coalition, the so-called "Free South Africa Movement." This affords an opportunity to piggyback on an effort already receiving extensive press coverage, in order to hit Israel for maintaining relations with South Africa and allegedly treating Palestinians like blacks are treated in South Africa.

ADC leaders were quick to join the "Free South Africa Movement" in getting arrested while demonstrating in front of the Embassy of South Africa. James Abourezk and Omar Kader were arrested on December 12, 1984, three weeks after picketing began.

The embassy protests were launched with the arrests of Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, and Mary Berry of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The campaign continued under the aegis of the Free South Africa Movement, which is composed of TransAfrica, the South African Support Project and other groups.

TransAfrica bills itself as a "black American lobby for Africa and the Caribbean." Public statements suggest that TransAfrica and ADC have much in common. TransAfrica's director has said, "Although the PLO has engaged in acts of terrorism, it is no more a terrorist organization than Israel, which has resorted to terrorism in the name of security."

Events at the ADC convention in September -- a planned march on both the Israeli and South African Embassies, cancelled at the last minute, a panel, and remarks by James Abourezk -- confirm the importance ADC places on working with the movement. The panel was on "South Africa and Israel." One speaker was Sylvia Hill, identified as co-chairman of the South Africa Support Project and a member of Free South Africa's steering committee. Hill thanked ADC on behalf of the movement, saying, "We applaud your assistance. You have been to the line any number of times as an organization. You have made the kinds of linkages between South Africa and Israel that are very important for us to continue to not only recognize but to struggle against. We see ourselves in the continuing struggle...."

There were two speakers affiliated with the African National Congress (ANC), which is strongly influenced by the Soviet-line South African Communist Party. One of those was Motlalepula Chabaku, an African National Congress member, who had been national secretary of the ANC Women's League and an executive board member of the ANC Youth League.* She announced that she is "not anti-Jew. I have never been. I am anti-injustice....," and

* Chabaku was a speaker at the Copenhagen mid-decade UN Decade of Women Conference; she is now a volunteer with the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church in North Carolina.

went on to make the usual comparison between apartheid and the lives of Palestinians in "the occupied part of Palestine that is now called Israel." Miss Chabaku concluded her remarks by shouting "Salaam Aleikum! Allah Akbar, Allah Akbar, Allah Akbar!"

Recent Developments:

There have been reports of high staff turnover in both major pro-Arab groups, the NAAA and ADC. Most recently, NAAA president Sam Phillips died, and ADC executive director Omar Kader resigned. There will likely be some maneuvering over replacements.

The offices of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee have been the target of bomb attacks in two cities, and may or may not have been the target of arson in a third. In one of the bombings, the director of ADC's Santa Ana, Ca. office, Alex Odeh, was killed. In the other, two Boston policemen were injured dismantling the device. The Anti-Defamation League has condemned these acts of "domestic terrorism which cannot be tolerated," and has urged law enforcement authorities vigorously to seek those responsible for "this senseless act so counter to American principles."

It remains to be seen whether these regrettable episodes will have any long term effect on ADC's activities.

Conclusion:

Pro-Arab propaganda groups are displaying new sophistication in advancing their cause both in the nation's capital and before the American public. In the past year the major organizations have sharpened their political tactics by emphasizing American interests in arguing against aid to Israel. Moreover, the groups are relying more on a combination of lobbying, grassroots political activity, political action committees, and newspaper and radio advertising to press their case.

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15 Hove Street, Suite 210, Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3H4Y8(416) 633-6227



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HERTA H. KAHN, Chicago, IL
KAYGEY KASH, Los Angeles, CA
IRVING KAUFMAN, Palm Beach, FL
PHILIP KRUPP, Boston, MA
BERDIE KUDLER, Los Angeles, CA
MOE KUDLER, Los Angeles, CA
ROBERT LATZ, Minneapolis, MN
RALPH LAZARUS, Cincinnati, OH
RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR., Scarsdale, NY
CY LESLIE, Woodmere, NY
RAY LEVENTHAL, Cleveland, OH
SIMMY LEVEY, South Orange, NJ
BERNARD M. LEVY, Rockville, MD
JOSEPH L. LICHTEN, Rome, Italy
FRIEDA LOWITZ, Beverly Hills, CA
LESTER MACKTEZ, Providence, RI
ALEXANDER MILLER, Southbury, CT
EDWARD MILLER, Denver, CO
BERNARD D. MINTZ, New Orleans, LA
EMIL MOGUL, New York, NY
ISRAEL MOWSHOWITZ, Jamaica, NY
ROBERT B. NATHAN, Highland Park, IL
MAYER U. NEWFIELD, Birmingham, AL
NORMAN N. NEWHOUSE, New Orleans, LA
RAQUEL NEWMAN, San Francisco, CA
BERTRAM R. PALEY, Milton Village, MA

ARTHUR PEARLMAN, Hialeah, FL
ANITA PERLMAN, Chicago, IL
JEFFERSON E. PEYSER, San Francisco, CA
BURNETT ROTH, Miami Beach, FL
MARVIN ROWEN, Los Angeles, CA
IRVING RUBINSTEIN, SR., Palm Beach, FL
J. HAROLD SAKS, Puyallup, WA
SAMUEL SCHEFF, New York, NY
NORMAN J. SCHLOSSMAN, Highland Park, IL
LEO SCHNEIDER, New York, NY
ARMUND J. SCHOEN, Chicago, IL
EVELYN FOX SCHREIBER, Beverly Hills, CA
HERBERT D. SETLOW, Orange, CT
BETTY SHAPIRO, Washington, DC
SAMUEL SHLEVIN, Pawtucket, RI
MARCIA SIEGELAUB, Westport, CT
JOSEPH SONNENREICH, New York, NY
WILLIAM STERN, Greensboro, NC
MELVIN M. SWIG, San Francisco, CA
GEORGE TALIANOFF, Miami, FL
A. RAYMOND TYE, West Roxbury, MA
LESTER J. WALDMAN, New York, NY
NORMAN WALL, Pottsville, PA
EVELYN WASSERSTROM, Kansas City, MO
LAWRENCE J. WEINBERG, Beverly Hills, CA
HARVEY L. WEISBERG, Southfield, MI
EDWARD WEISS, Cresskill, NJ
WILLIAM M. WOLFF, Palm Beach, FL
MORTON H. YULMAN, Palm Beach, FL
LOUIS ZARA, New York, NY

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ELI BOYER, Los Angeles, CA
MERLE D. COHN, Seattle, WA
RICHARD J. ESSEN, Miami, FL
CHARLES GOLDRING, Los Angeles, CA
JOHN L. GOLDWATER, New York, NY

NORMAN GRAY, Denver, CO
KAYGEY KASH, Los Angeles, CA
PHILIP KRUPP, Boston, MA
MOE KUDLER, Los Angeles, CA
THOMAS MANTEL, Indianapolis, IN

BERNARD D. MINTZ, New Orleans, LA
ROBERT B. NATHAN, Highland Park, IL
BURNETT ROTH, Miami Beach, FL
GEORGE TALIANOFF, Miami, FL
MARTIN Z. WEINER, Toledo, OH

STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Administration
MICHAEL E. SCHULTZ

Budget
MICHAEL A. BERENSON

Civil Rights
SEYMOUR D. REICH

Communications
NAT KAMENY

Community Service
ALVIN J. STEINBERG

Development
DAVID H. STRASSLER

Intergroup Relations
RONALD B. SOBEL

International Affairs
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ

Leadership
PETER M. ALTER

Planning
STEPHEN B. KAY

II. NATIONAL OVERVIEW

The World of ADL

Enter the world of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith:

A world shaped by historic commitment—the eradication of prejudice and bigotry—and the realization of this nation's democratic ideals of liberty, justice and equality;

A world inhabited by men and women of vision dedicated to the pursuit of those goals—volunteer leaders from the mainstreams of American life teamed with ADL's skilled staff of professionals who have made human relations service their career;

A caring world, concerned about large issues and individual victims—about international and intergroup relations, the security of the democratic State of Israel and lasting peace in the Middle East, Soviet repression of Jews, the spread of terror, discrimination and bigotry directed against any person or group;

A world of action and swift response, of patient planning and programming, of legal and educational efforts—of all the proven and innovative means available to associations of citizens to deepen their understanding of each other and protect their rights.

A Handful of Proud American Jews

The world of ADL began to revolve in 1913.

Angered by the crude anti-Semitism that debased Jews, Judaism and the American democratic tradition, a handful of proud American Jews set the League into motion.

Working out of two desks in a Chicago law office, they resolved to confront slanderous vaudeville stereotypes, newspaper caricatures and discrimination policies that barred Jews and other minorities from neighborhoods and resorts, from schools, professions and jobs.

Transforming their outrage into constructive action, they created the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, dedicated, as stated in its 1913 charter of incorporation:

- * To stop defamation of the Jewish people;
- * To secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike.

From An Inauspicious Start

The Chicago office today is part of ADL's international network of offices—30 in the United States, an Israel office in Jerusalem, a European office in Paris, affiliated offices in Latin America and Canada and a consultancy in Rome.

The handful of founders has grown into an equally dedicated constituency of hundreds of thousands of Jews, morally supported by fellow Americans of all creeds, colors and origins who share ADL's commitment to the fulfillment of America's democratic promise.

Recognized by friend and foe alike for the effectiveness of its efforts, ADL is admired for its guarding of the interests and concerns of the Jewish people and its ardent espousal of America's democratic ideals and values.

Unchanging Goals in Changing Times

ADL's goals have remained the same as the League has grown, adapting and shifting its emphases and tactics in response to new challenges, problems and needs in changing times.

Where the founders coped with the crude anti-Semitism of their era, ADL today confronts anti-Jewish prejudice far more sophisticated and broad in scope.

Specific challenges have changed—from exposing the Czarist forgery, “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” to the equally fraudulent United Nations concept, “Zionism equals racism”; from combatting yesterday’s professional hate mongers and groups to today’s international network of terror mounted by the Palestine Liberation Organization and its allies on the extremist left and right; from cracking the quota systems that kept Jews and other minorities out of professions and institutions of higher learning to dealing with the reemergence of quotas—this time in the guise of so-called “compensatory” preferential treatment for including specified minorities on the basis of their race, not merit. The Constitutional wall separating church and state in the United States, protected over the years by Supreme Court decision after decision, is threatened by Court approval of a nativity scene on public property and assaults from such new approaches as “equal access” to public schools for religion clubs and groups.

ADL’s Action Agenda

- Amid today’s problems and challenges, this is the League’s agenda for action:
- Combat anti-Semitism in all its manifestations here and abroad;
 - Counteract anti-Israel propaganda;
 - Monitor media objectivity in reporting on the Middle East;
 - Expose international alliances of terrorists and their roots in the Soviet P.L.O. alliance;
 - Alert Americans to the anti-Israel, anti-American bias of the United Nations;
 - Support the struggle of Soviet Jews for elementary human rights, including the right to emigrate;
 - Aid oppressed and persecuted Jews anywhere;
 - Help uncover and bring Nazi war criminals to justice;
 - Incorporate education about the Holocaust into our nation’s schools;
 - Eliminate all forms of discrimination—religious, racial, sexual;
 - Advance Christian-Jewish relations;
 - Restore ties of friendship and understanding with black Americans;
 - Project a positive image of the Jew;
 - Defend, bolster and advance democratic principles and democracy itself.

What ADL is:

Some people perceive ADL only through the media—in a headline, as the subject of a feature, a reference on the radio or television, the signature line on a brochure.

Such perceptions merely skim the surface of this multi-faceted organization deeply-rooted in the American Jewish community it serves as that community’s instrument in dealing with a broad gamut of its concerns, interests and sense of peoplehood.

At its core are dedicated Jewish lay leaders representative of every aspect of American life who, in conviction and deed, are the spiritual descendants of the League’s founders and the inheritors of their goals.

Allied with them are equally committed career professionals who are experts in such disciplines as human relations, political science, foreign affairs, law, education, fact finding, sociology, history, religion and communications.

A democratic organization, ADL is governed by a National Commission headed by the League’s national chairman and composed of Jewish lay leaders from all parts of the United States.

Assembling annually, the National Commissioners provide direction, guidance and short and long-range objectives by reviewing the past, analyzing current developments, evaluating established programs and services, setting out future policy and projecting the annual budget.

In the interval between annual Commission meetings, the League's National Executive Committee—ADL's officers, standing committee chairpersons and designated Commissioners—convenes semiannually and, as circumstances require, acts in the Commission's stead.

Regional advisory boards are counterparts of the National Commission in providing lay direction and guidance to the programs and services of ADL's 30 regional offices.

The League's staff, a carefully shaped and experienced team, is administered by ADL's national director in performing the intensive and comprehensive day-to-day work with efficiency and dispatch. It is divided into eight interdependent divisions, each headed by a director. The divisions have specific functional responsibilities that sometimes intermesh when the same issue can be approached from different directions. Six of these divisions are substantive: Civil Rights, International Affairs, Intergroup Relations, Communications, Community Service and Leadership. The other two are Administration and Development.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION is the vanguard of ADL action in coping with threats to the Jewish community and the democratic process. It is composed of three key departments—Fact Finding, Research and Legal Affairs—plus a Washington, DC, office which works closely with executive and legislative branches of government, and a special task force which seeks to locate and bring to justice Nazi war criminals in this country illegally. Its staff includes four area coordinators who work with the League's regional offices and a complement of skilled attorneys, investigators and researchers.

The Division develops programs of counteraction, including legal proceedings all the way to the Supreme Court; audits anti-Semitic vandalism and violence; monitors political extremism and terrorism and combats discrimination and all forms of bias.

THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS DIVISION strives to achieve change in social attitudes by developing greater understanding of Jews and Judaism. Its departments—Television, Radio and Film; Campus Affairs; Interfaith Affairs, Education, Publications, Research and Curriculum and the Center for Studies on the Holocaust—work to promote interracial and interreligious understanding and cooperation, reduce ingrained prejudice through schools and community organizations, and strengthen democracy. Its staff of social scientists, educators, rabbis, audio-visual specialists and editors employs a broad array of techniques to carry out a long-range program to integrate improved attitudes and behavior into the nation's political, communal and cultural institutions.

The Division maintains the world's largest library of human relations materials which are distributed widely.

THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIVISION works in behalf of the security of Jewish communities overseas and strives for a just and viable Middle East peace.

The Division monitors and analyzes events and developments affecting Jews around the world, mobilizes international public opinion in behalf of Jewish concerns and makes available to overseas Jewish communities ADL's vast resources and experience in developing human relations programs and counteraction procedures for combatting prejudice and bigotry.

The Division, composed of political scientists expert in foreign affairs, is comprised of three departments in the United States—Middle Eastern Affairs, European Affairs and Latin American

Affairs—a European office based in Paris and an Israel office in Jerusalem. It also oversees cooperative efforts with affiliated offices in Latin America and Canada.

THE COMMUNITY SERVICE DIVISION, through the 30 regional offices it oversees, is ADL's link with individual Jewish communities throughout the country, providing national resources and programs while at the same time furnishing the national decision-making process with grass roots considerations, priorities and overall input.

Through its national office and four area directors, the Division supervises and coordinates the activities and programs of ADL regional offices. The directors and office staffs of these offices operate with the support and guidance of the more than 7,000 local lay leaders who serve on regional boards. To a considerable degree, the regional offices are microcosms of the national office. They work with local government, law enforcement, education, religious, business, civic, ethnic and minority group leaders on issues of ADL—or common—concern. The regional office provides direct service to individuals who consider themselves victims of discrimination, anti-Semitism or other anti-democratic forces, monitors the activities of extremist groups in their respective areas and is the frontline for improving intergroup and interreligious relations.

THE COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION disseminates ADL's message to the Jewish community ADL serves, the general public, civic and government leaders and opinion molders in all segments of society.

Its staff of experienced specialists in journalism, public relations and graphic arts project ADL concerns and programs through the media—print, television and radio—and a broad array of publications and promotional materials.

In carrying out its responsibilities as the voice of ADL, the Division publicizes the programs and efforts of each of ADL's national divisions and departments, publishes the *ADL Bulletin*, the agency's national publication, and is responsible for the design and production of all ADL printed material.

ADL's Advertising Task Force, a volunteer corps of advertising executives, copywriters and art directors, works with the Division to create special ads on issues of Jewish urgency. These ads are placed by ADL in the nation's leading newspapers and are also supplied—with or without ADL attribution—to Jewish community groups for local use.

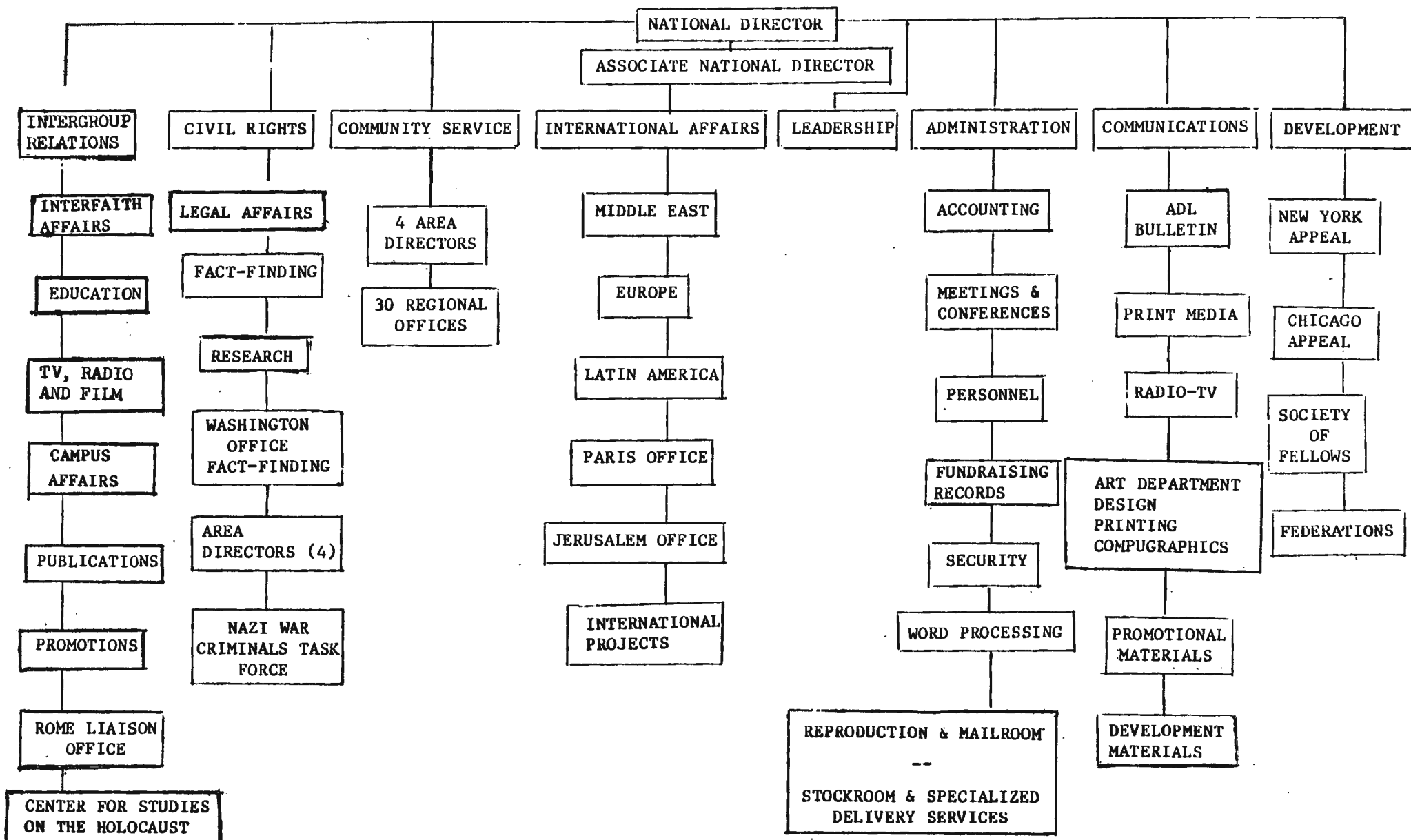
THE LEADERSHIP DIVISION, ADL's seedbed for continuity, supervises and coordinates the League's unceasing recruitment of talented, dedicated young men and women who in their careers or community service demonstrate leadership potential for the League. Working with ADL regional directors, the Division sponsors seminars, retreats and conferences on the League's purposes and programs. One program, an annual national leadership conference in Washington, DC, brings the young leaders into contact and discussion with senators and congressmen, members of the White House staff, State Department and Pentagon officials, foreign diplomats and molders of opinion of national and international prominence.

THE ADMINISTRATION DIVISION supervises the internal functioning of the agency. Blending the skills of experienced ADL specialists with modern computer technology, the Division assists in the development and control of the League's budget, financial management of ADL's assets, personnel practices and manages and maintains the League's headquarters building. It embraces the following departments: Accounting, Reproduction and Mail, Warehouse, Meetings and Conferences, Personnel Services, Contributor Records, Security, Word Processing and Purchasing.

THE DEVELOPMENT DIVISION mobilizes financial support for the League. Its nationwide campaign teams up hundreds of volunteers with experienced professional personnel in a comprehensive effort eliciting support from many thousands of Americans—Jewish and non-Jewish—who share ADL's ideals and goals. National in scope, the ADL Appeal is divided into four major components—a drive which covers the New York Metropolitan area, a membership approach through a national Society of Fellows, a countrywide Women's Division and a Chicago campaign. In addition, ADL programs and activities rely on the generosity of allocations from Federations and Welfare funds which demonstrate the support of the organized Jewish communities in the United States for League services in their behalf.

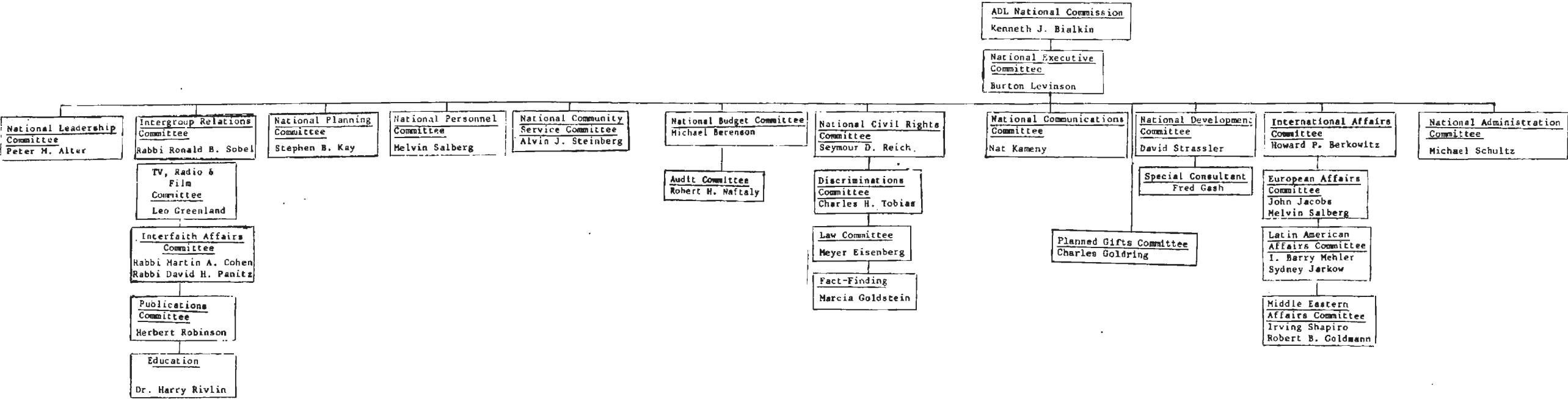
III. NATIONAL STRUCTURE

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART - ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH



January, 1986

ADL NATIONAL LAY LEADERSHIP



IV. NATIONAL BUDGET

ADL FINANCIAL DATA

Balance Sheet (Dollars in Thousands)

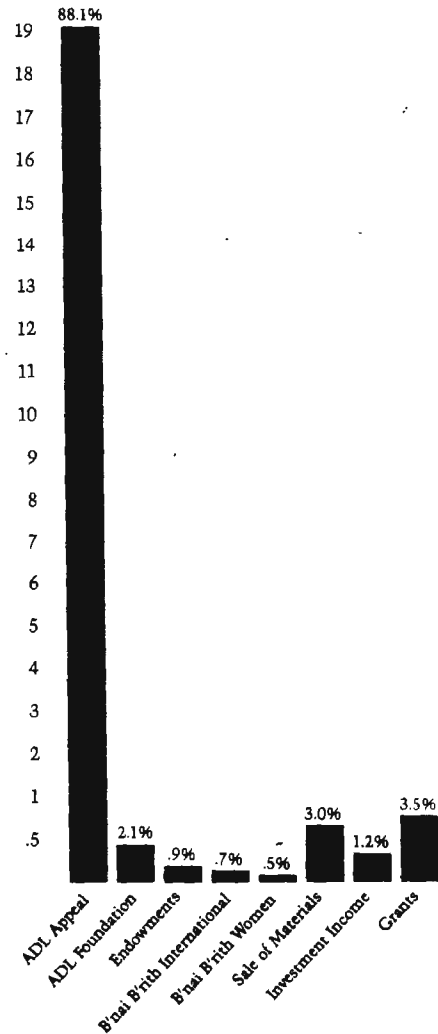
	Estimated June 30, 1985
Assets	
Cash assets	\$ 2 336
Receivables	1 320
Securities	200
Furniture and equipment	1 500
Other assets	165
Total assets	5 521
Liabilities	
Accounts payable	2 625
Deferred income	300
Total liabilities	2 925
Operating Fund	2 596
Total operating fund and liabilities	\$ 5 521

Revenues and Expenses (Dollars in Thousands)

	Estimated Fiscal 1985
Public support	\$ 20 297
Sales of materials and other services	475
Investment income	80
Grants	750
Total operating income	21 602
Operating expenses	21 094
Excess or deficiency of revenues over expenditures	508

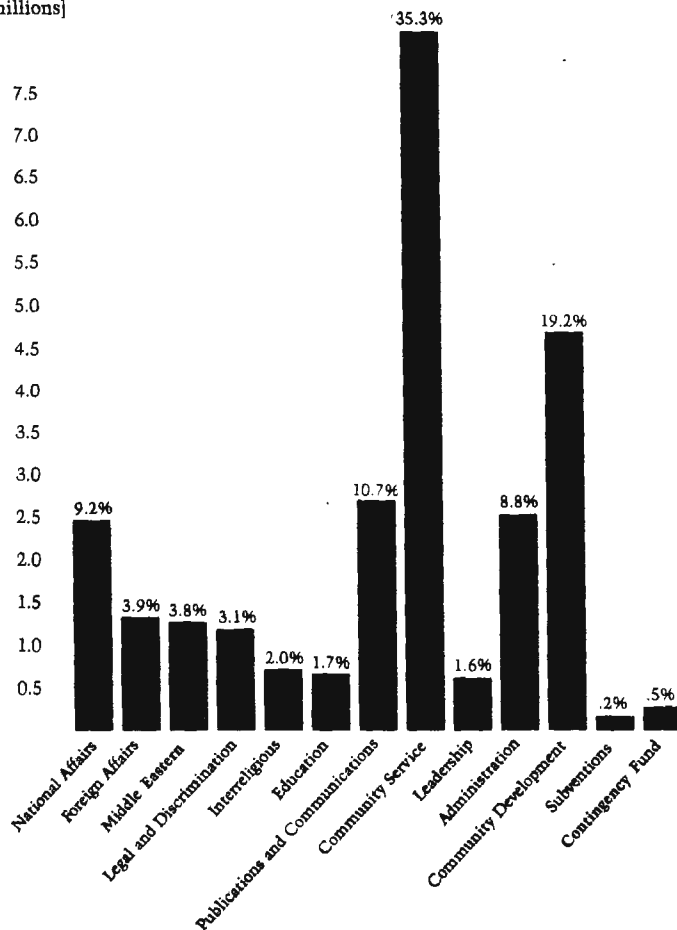
Income

[millions]



Expenses by Category

[millions]



V. MEETING SCHEDULE

HOLD THE DATE

. . . LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AT OUR UPCOMING NATIONAL MEETINGS. . .

PLEASE CLEAR YOUR CALENDAR FOR:

NATIONAL COMMISSION MEETING

JUNE 4-8, 1986

NEW YORK CITY

NATIONAL COMMISSION MISSION TO ISRAEL

JUNE 8-16, 1986

JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

OCTOBER 29-NOVEMBER 2, 1986

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

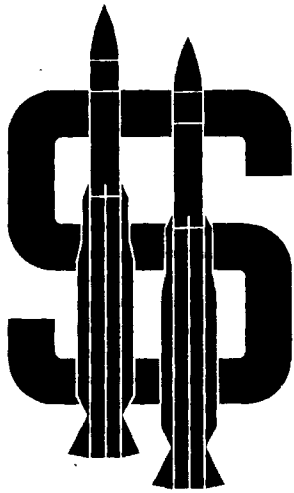
FEBRUARY 12-15, 1987

PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

KENNETH J. BIALKIN
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

VI. ADL PUBLICATIONS

CHANCELLOR KOHL:



WILL KILLING OF JEWS AGAIN BE GERMAN "BUSINESS?"

German Chancellor Kohl says the weapons are defensive. And the Saudis aren't interested in fighting Israel, anyway.

Wrong. The fact is, if Germany sells them \$5 billion worth of the most sophisticated weaponry—tanks, combat helicopters, anti-aircraft missiles—Saudi Arabia may be more than tempted to use them on Israel.

King Fahd has made it abundantly clear that the war between Israel and his country is a jihad, or holy war. In other words, a war against the Jews.

His country has been involved in every Arab-Israeli skirmish to date. His country bestows billions of dollars on

Syria, Jordan, and the PLO to buy weapons. Even if he's not attending the war, he's often financing it.

So Chancellor Kohl should appreciate fear that's in the hearts of so many Israelis. And when he asks them to believe that his country means no harm to them, he shouldn't be surprised if their memories of German weapons are still too fresh in mind for them to suddenly believe.

His countrymen should be aware of their moral obligation to the Jews of the world. And they should understand that there is no statute of limitations on genocide.

DON'T LET ARAB OIL MONEY BUY THE CONSCIENCE OF A NATION.



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH 823 United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017
Kenneth J. Bialkin, National Chairman Nathan Perlmutter, National Director
Burton S. Levinson, Chairman, National Executive Committee Abraham H. Foreman, Associate National Director



RAOUL WALLENBERG

Honorary Citizen
of the
United States

Righteous
Gentile

"LET MY PEOPLE GO!"

**"If You Forget Them
The World
Will Forget Them."**

6,000,000 6,000,000 6,000,000

CHANCELLOR KOHL: WILL YOU LET GERMAN GUNS TRY AGAIN?

St. Louis Jewish Light

ADL Strongly Protests West German-Saudi Arabia Arms Deal

NEW YORK — The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has strongly protested reported West German plans to sell advanced armaments to Saudi Arabia.

Describing the Saudis as "active participants and financiers of the Arab world's ongoing campaign to destroy Israel," Kenneth J. Bialkin, ADL's national chairman, said:

"In light of the tragic events of this century, it seems inconceivable that today the German government would be sending sophisticated weapons to a country that is

is continually plagued by war, subversion and instability." Bialkin said "there is probably no area of greater tension, or potential tension, on earth." He cited the four-year Iran-Iraq war and the fact that arms previously sold to the Saudis found their way to radical Arabs such as Syria, Iraq and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and were used to fuel inter-Arab wars as well as the war against Israel.

"The complete text of the telegram follows: 'The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is profoundly dismayed at reports that the German government has de-

realities. The Saudis are active participants and financiers of the Arab world's ongoing campaign to destroy Israel. This official state of holy war began the moment the Jewish state was established and continues to this very day.

"The record has shown that arms sent to Saudi Arabia have found their way to radical Arabs such as Syria, Iraq and the PLO, and are used to fuel inter-Arab wars as well as the war against Israel. When such arms movements between Arab countries exist, distinctions between areas of more or less tension become meaningless and the trigger is

billions of dollars of sophisticated weapons that would funnel into world terrorism. That's the way

arms would become weapons for Jews living in Israel. And among Hitler's "final solution,"

don't destroy the honor of a reborn responsibility and conscience, and the infamous Third Reich. The burden on today's nations.

is approaching that of pulling

**DON'T LET ARAB OIL MONEY BUY THE
CONSCIENCE OF A NATION.**



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH 823 United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017

Kenneth J. Bialkin, National Chairman
Burton S. Levinson, Chairman, National Executive Committee

Nathan Perlmutter, National Director
Abraham H. Foreman, Associate National Director

**SOVIET JEWISH
PRISONERS
OF
CONSCIENCE**

LATIN AMERICAN REPORT

PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH



Argentina

July 1984

Anti-Semitism remains a grave problem for Jews in Argentina even though the democratic government of President Raul Alfonsín is sympathetic to Jewish concerns. Shlomo Cohen Imach, President of the DAIA, the representative body of Argentine Jewry, said: "The centers of anti-Semitism remain intact but what has changed is the attitude of the government whose feelings with respect to the Jewish community are above suspicion." Cohen Imach was speaking at a luncheon attended by heads of principal Jewish organizations in the country. Virulent anti-Semitic propaganda continues to appear in publications such as "Alerta", "Cabildo" and "Masoneria." The notorious anti-Semitic book, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is even included in the syllabus for a lecture series on Argentine history at the Study Center of Our Lady of Mercy. Cohen Imach announced that DAIA representatives will meet soon with the Minister of Education to request that the Argentine school syllabus be expanded to include studies of the Holocaust and courses on the prevention of anti-Semitism and racial hatred.

Moises Camji, vice president of the DAIA, spoke to ADL's National Commission at its meeting at New York's Grand Hyatt Hotel (May 30-June 2). He also reported that anti-Semitism is a continuing threat in Argentina and that incidents of hatred against Jews still occur. "Let us not be fooled," Camji urged, "Jewish hatred continues. For this reason, we believe that the DAIA in Argentina and the ADL here must outline a strategy to fight our common enemies -- anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism linked to a campaign of defamation against the State of Israel, to destroy and deform its image."

The Jewish community of Salta, in northwest Argentina, has subjected to a series of anti-Semitic incidents recently. "Patria local anti-Semitic publication, printed an article filled with Nazi insinuations, including verbal attacks on Osvaldo Camisar, a community who was recently elected to local party ticket."

JEWISH JOURNAL

ADL Sees Dutch Anti-Semitism On Rise In Past Year

NEW YORK, (JTA)—Sixty anti-Semitic incidents were reported in Holland during 1983, according to a survey conducted by a Dutch Jewish organization. The audit grew out of concern over the growth of religious and racial bigotry that has resulted from the rise of right wing extremist movements there. Patterned after the annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents in the United States by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Dutch survey was carried out by the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI), an organization based in The Hague which monitors and combats anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activity in Holland.

According to Abraham Foxman, ADL's associate national director and head of its international affairs division, the anti-Semitic incidents in Holland "are particularly disturbing because the Dutch Jewish community has been targeted by the extremist movement in a nation which has traditionally been relatively free of discrimination against minorities."

The survey showed that the "Seven court cases arising out of that Jewish citizens of the country are the targets of boycotting practices. Nine court cases growing out of that Dutch Jews had been victims of violence or anti-Semitic slurs in 'Four acts of vandalism against 'Anti-Semitic material contained available in Holland during 1983. Five statements made by government officials were anti-Semitic in nature. Ten separate distributions of stickers, banners or badges—the content.

Three incidents involving threats against Dutch Jews. Shimon Samuels, director of ADL's European office based in Paris, said that judgments handed down in some of the lawsuits criticized outbreaks of anti-Semitism in the country and an "increasing insensitivity to its ramifications."

Several of the incidents, he went on, involved anti-Semitism "clothed in anti-Zionism." Other cases arose from the "uncritical manner" in which Nazi World War II persecution of Jews is portrayed in some publications circulating in Holland. These, he noted, "are a form of historical revisionism—that is the at-

Why are these people in Argentine Jails?

Supplementary List of Prisoners—August, 1981

The ADL Prisoner Project Pamphlet published in May, 1981 has stimulated great public interest. Many individuals have written on behalf of the men and women described in the pamphlet.

We are pleased to report some progress. Subsequent to the publication of the pamphlet, Eduardo Grutzky, whose case was high-

JERUSALEM POST

Argentina frees 33 on ADL 'missing' list

NEW YORK (JTA).—Thirty-three Argentinian prisoners whose names appear on a list compiled by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith have been given their freedom by the new Buenos Aires government, the ADL announced yesterday.

According to Abraham Foxman, ADL's associate national director and head of the league's international affairs division, news of release of six of the 33 was transmitted to the ADL by the Argentine government through its embassy in New York.

These positive developments suggest that your prompt intervention on behalf of those still in prison may lead to their liberation.

Won't you help, today?



Argentine Prisoner Project

NEW LONDON, CONN. DAY

Anti-Defamation League cites anti-Semitism in Nicaragua

NEW YORK (AP)—Nicaragua's Sandinista government, calling the country's approximately 30 Jews "enemies of the revolution," have driven them into exile, confiscated property and turned their synagogue into a children's social club, according to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

after overthrowing the Somoza regime. "We've been having on-going discussions, negotiations with representatives of the (Nicaraguan) foreign ministry, asking conditions under which Nicaraguan Jews could return to their country," Rosenthal said. "The foreign ministry has said they would consider the case."

the press spokesman was not immediately available. According to Rosenthal, the Sandinistas used subtle and direct threats as well as force to oust the Jews, as in the case of Abraham Gorn, 70, who Rosenthal said was thrown out of his house and put into jail for two weeks on a false accusation that Gorn had stolen land.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Not Diplomacy but Provocation

For good reasons, the State Department has rejected two proposed ambassadors from left-wing and right-wing Latin American Governments, unusual cases that make the same important point.

In naming envoys, discretion is the better part of diplomacy. When a sending country decides on an ambassador, it requests agreement — asks the receiving country if the person is acceptable before saying anything in public. When something leaks out first, that usually means something quite undiplomatic is going on.

Which brings us first to Nora Astorga, Nicaragua's Deputy Foreign Minister. She's the woman, it will be remembered, who entrapped a general of the Somoza regime in a fatal bedroom ambush. Nicaragua now says, publicly, that it wants her to become ambassador to the United States.

Because of her involvement in the 1978 killing, she was plainly a controversial choice to begin with. She then made things worse by announcing her appointment before the customary informal soundings were made.

Granted, Nicaragua has had its ambassadorial problems in Washington. Two of its envoys have been deposed. Unlike them, Miss Astorga is a committed Sandinista. Even so, her designation seemed less a diplomatic act than a political gesture meant to provoke rejection. The State Department was right to reject her.

The department was equally correct to rebuff the parallel case. The right-wing Pinochet government in Chile has insulted the State Department by proposing a diplomat who is a known anti-Semite.

editor of an anti-Semitic magazine. Arrogance, rather than design, probably explains this peculiar choice by a Government already notorious for sheltering Walter Rauff, a Nazi war criminal.

When the nominee's name became known, the Anti-Defamation League examined his writings and called for his rejection. He was denied agreement, though for the record, State, true to the code of discretion, will not confirm that fact.

The department is as reluctant to discuss denial of agreement to proposed American ambassadors. At least two excellent Reagan Administration choices have been rejected: Morton Abramowitz, proposed for Indonesia, and Brandon Groves, who was unacceptable to Kuwait because he had been an American consul in Israeli-ruled Jerusalem. No one will say whether there are other instances. To do so would violate diplomacy's union rules.

Such discretion makes sense because it protects the interests of both sending and host countries, a part of the fabric of international civility. When an American envoy to France was humiliated in 1798, President John Adams angrily informed Congress: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation."

The code that insures such respect works both ways. It's hard to take seriously any diplomacy that begins by proposing diplomats who are known anti-Semites.

WHY...

Are These People In Argentine Jails?

WHERE...

Are The Disappeared?

Gustavo Westerkamp
28 years old (born 9/9/52)

Arrested while he was leaving an army barracks where he went for a physical examination. He was blindfolded, beaten and forced into a waiting car. Gustavo has been held without charge or trial for five years in Argentina after being tortured repeatedly. He was sent to Villa Devoto Prison and in September, 1976 transferred to Sierra Chica where, he was again brutally beaten. There, he was forced to sign a statement saying that the marks left on him were the result of an accident. At Sierra Chica he was kept in an unheated cell with no glass on the window. In winter the temperature falls below zero. Transferred to La Plata Prison in September, 1977, he was again beaten. Then back to Sierra Chica in February, 1978 until his transfer to Rawson, where he is held today. He is now being held under PEN. Denied "option to leave the country" on various occasions. Gustavo was a student of economics at the time of his arrest.

Graciela Mellibovsky
35 years old (born 9/14/47)

Graciela was kidnapped by the Armed Forces on a street in the center of Buenos Aires, and subsequently disappeared. On the night of September 25, 1976 twenty armed security officers in civilian clothing broke into her parents' home, looking for the "subversive one." However, Graciela had already been kidnapped earlier that day.

A graduate of the University of Buenos Aires in Political Economy, she worked as an economist and translator at the Secretariat of Energy at the time of her abduction.



Argentine Prisoner Project
vised Edition; November, 1981

Middle East Notebook

Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring, 1984

A Publication of the National Committee for Middle East Studies/Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Lebanon: A Study Resource

Introduction

By Eugenia Kemble
Special Assistant to the President
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The deaths of our own marines in October, 1983, in war-torn Lebanon have focused American attention on a tiny country beset by the tragedy of conflict since well before it became a nation in 1943. And while the brutal murder of

strongly felt religions are compounded by "religious, communal and kinship cleavages" which have made "Lebanon an area of traditional veto groups." These too are outlined.

Following a compact summary of the country's economy and a discussion of how economic disparities likewise overlay religious and family divisions, the study resource adds a few light and sensitive touches: a recipe for *labneh*, the national dish of Lebanon; the reminiscences of an elderly Lebanese woman in the United States of her childhood in Lebanon; some excerpts from the well-known Lebanese writer, Khalil Gibran; and a listing of noted Lebanese-Americans. All is rounded out with a concise and informative bibliography.

This is a dispassionate, clear and simple summary of Lebanon in brief. The teacher who uses it to probe the tragic headlines on contemporary Lebanon will not only be giving students some base from which to explore further and to make sound judgments but an orientation on what kinds of things explain conflict—the kinds of things good students must dig for to obtain a surer understanding.

No. 83-1158

IN THE Supreme Court of the United States October Term, 1983

ESTATE OF DONALD E. THORNTON,
Petitioner,
v.
CALDOR INC.,
Respondent.

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME
COURT OF CONNECTICUT

MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE AND BRIEF
AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER

JUSTIN J. FINGER
Counsel of Record

Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

Belgian Nazi Tied to U.S. Army

By The Associated Press

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith said yesterday in New York that a Belgian Nazi convicted of torturing American pilots and of other war crimes worked for the United States Army after World War II.

In a case that B'nai B'rith learned of through an inquiry into the Verbeke case, B'nai B'rith said Mr. Verbeke now lives in Vienna, made speeches to pro-Nazi groups and wrote for right-wing publications. It said that, after the United States Army left Austria in 1955, Mr. Verbeke became an agent for the police and became an Austrian citizen. He was acquitted of war crime charges in an Austrian court in 1965, it said.

He was tried in absentia by a Belgian court in 1947 and condemned to death for various acts, including unprovoked

JEWISH PRESS A.D.L. Urges Court To Grant Time Off To Sabbath Observers

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith asked the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold the right of Americans to be given time off from work to observe their Sabbath.

In an amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief, the League asked the high court to overrule the Connecticut Supreme Court which found that state's Sabbath observance law unconstitutional.

Jeffrey P. Sinensky, director of ADL's Legal Affairs Department, said the case, *Thornton vs. Caldor*, grew out of the refusal of a department store (Caldors) to permit Donald Thornton, a department manager, to be excused from work on Sunday on the basis of his religious beliefs. Mr. Thornton refused after transferring to a Massachusetts branch store or a job demotion in Connecticut, both of which options would not have required him to work on Sundays.

The ADL brief asserted that the Connecticut Supreme Court erred in ruling that the state's Sabbath

—Neal M. Sinensky, ADL's director of legal affairs, said, "This is not under 'He said he plans to pursue this.'"

According to Mr. Sinensky, Connecticut's day of rest statute guaranteed that all workers can remain "gainfully employed in a manner that does not unnecessarily trammel upon their religious liberties."

The Connecticut law, the brief said, "represents a permissible accommodation between the two religion clauses of the First Amendment in a manner by which government neither advocates nor handicaps religion."

Pointing out that the Connecticut statute also excludes employees from work more than six days in a row, the brief asserted that employees who are religiously motivated are simply permitted to choose that seventh day according to the precepts of their religion.

The ADL brief was prepared by Justin J. Finger, director of ADL's Civil Rights Division; Mr. Sinensky; Meyer Eisenberg, chairman of ADL's National Law Committee; and Leslie K. Shedd, Ellen S. Weisburd, and "J. K."

EXTREMISM on the RIGHT

THE WASHINGTON POST

President Assails Moscow for Curtailing The Emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel

By David Hoffman

President Reagan accused the Soviet Union yesterday of "persecuting innocent people" by curtailing the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, and warned that Moscow faces "the world's condemnation for making a mockery of the Helsinki accords."

Speaking by telephone to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Reagan said he was "very disturbed" by the assertion of a Soviet official this week that the majority of Soviet Jews who want to join families in Israel have left, and those who still want to go have become "victims of Zionist propaganda."

"Let us stand together, spend the truth and tell the Soviets, stop persecuting innocent people. Let Israel's children go, so face the world's condemnation for making a mockery of an historic agreement that was signed by 35 nations," Reagan said, to applause from the group.

He was referring to the 1975 Helsinki agreement in which the Soviets and other nations pledged to deal in a "positive and humanitarian spirit" with applications of persons who want to emigrate to be reunited with their families.

According to figures compiled by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, Jewish emigration has declined from a peak of 51,200 in 1979 to 2,688 last year. So far this year, emigration has amounted to about 100 persons a month, according to the group. There are about 15 million Jews in the Soviet Union.

In his eight-minute talk to the Anti-Defamation League, Reagan directed harsh words at Moscow on other fronts as well. "It is no coincidence that the same forces which are destabilizing the Middle East—the Soviet Union, Libya, the PLO—are working hand-in-glove to destabilize Central America," he said.

Reagan was applauded for his pledge to stand by Israel and his condemnations of Soviet Jewry, but not when he appealed for support of "our friends" in Central America.

"The question isn't who has the most perfect democracy," Reagan said. "The question is who's trying to build democracy and who is determined to destroy it."

Apparently referring to complaints of widespread murders and human rights abuses by the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador, Reagan said the United States

had "never condoned slavery," but he said that many nations have "moved into better democracies over time."

He added that "the nations which fall into the clutches of totalitarianism do not become free again."

The president, in response to a question about the prospects for Syria withdrawing from Lebanon, said he remains "optimistic" and said that "I can't believe at this point... that it's all going to end here."

U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel W. Lewis offered a somewhat less upbeat view in a speech after Reagan's remarks. "I don't want to be a Pollyanna about the prospects," Lewis said of the Israeli-Lebanon peace accord that hinges on Syrian agreement to withdraw from Lebanon. "The chances of implementing it remain in the air."

Lewis said Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin will visit the United States in the next few weeks. After a period of strained U.S.-Israeli relations that he described as the worst since 1968 and the most difficult of his six years in the post, Lewis predicted that "the relationship is going to get better in the weeks and months ahead."

ADL BULLETIN Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith



The nuclear power plant at Indian Point, NY—the site of a terrorist attack in 1987?

A FORECAST FOR TERRORISM

by Jonah Alexander

ber 29, 1987. It is 27 of the United Palestine, dividing it came into being, was never realized. If calling itself the rations of Palestine, group, succeeds in

penetrating the nuclear facility at Indian Point, New York. They send a communiqué to the U.N., demanding that the partition resolution be revoked and that the U.N. pass a new resolution calling for the establishment of a Palestinian secular state in which Jews, Christians and Moslems are going to live side by side. If these demands are not met within 24 hours, the terrorists are going to blow up the Indian Point facility. Law enforcement agencies are trying to communicate with the terrorists but they do not respond.

Perhaps this scenario is far-fetched but I think we have to look at the possibility seriously. Why? Up till now we have been dealing with "conventional" terrorism, with conventional weapons. As we have seen in the last 20 years, these can cause a great deal of damage. But, in the future (Cont. on page 10)

DAILY NEWS

PLO loses 30G bequest from journalist

By ROBERT CARROLL

Nanhan Surrogate Marie Lambert yesterday approved a settlement directing that a \$30,000 bequest to the Palestine Liberation Organization by a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist be given instead to the International Red Cross.

Three Jewish groups—the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the World Jewish Congress—had filed court papers objecting to the PLO as a beneficiary of the estate of Fred Sparks.

In opposing the bequest, the three organizations argued that the PLO is

an unincorporated association that has no legal existence in New York and is therefore ineligible to accept a bequest.

THE GROUPS expressed satisfaction that the bequest "will only be used for humanitarian purposes and not to finance the PLO's terrorist activities."

But Zohar Tzuri, the PLO's permanent observer at the United Nations, said the decision meant that the American court system had, in effect, validated the PLO as a representative of the Palestinian people and not a terrorist organization.

The settlement involved the executor of the Sparks estate, the PLO, the

state attorney general's office and Vice Count Maughan, a beneficiary of the estate. The PLO bequest represented 10% of the estate.

Under terms of the settlement, the money will be used by the Red Cross "solely for the betterment of the living conditions of the Palestinian people."

Sparks' bequest had been held up by Lambert, who had scheduled a jury trial to determine whether the bequest to the PLO would be a violation of "public policy."

Sparks died here in 1981 at the age of 68. He won a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 while a reporter for the Chicago Daily News. He also had been on the staff of the New York World-Telegram.



THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: LE MOUVEMENT DES FEMMES:



THE ROAD TO NAIROBI LA ROUTE À NAIROBI



ISRAEL TODAY

ADL Leaders Visit the Vatican, Stress Holy See-Israeli Ties

NEW YORK — Leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in an audience with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican, called on the Pontiff to acknowledge the importance of ties between the Holy See and Israel as "a dramatic statement of sympathy and support."

The delegation, headed by ADL's national chairman Kenneth J. Bialkin, national director Nathan Perlmuter, and Rabbi Ronald B. Sobel, chairman of the agency's Intergroup Relations Committee, was received by the Pope March 22.

In a statement delivered by Bialkin, the league said its appeal was made in view of the fact that the Pope had "so courageously assumed the mantle of the moral conscience of the world."

In welcoming the ADL delegation, Pope John Paul II said the "mere fact of your visit to me... is proof of the constant development and deepening of relations between the Catholic Church and the Jewish community. He declared that the "encounter between Catholics and Jews... is a meeting between brothers of the Bible are dis-

come to Jerusalem and see for yourself the efforts that have been made to preserve the traditions and to revere the past."

Turning to the issue of anti-Semitism throughout the world, the statement said ADL continues to be "deeply troubled" by acts of terrorism and desecration of Jewish houses of worship.

"But even more serious in its potential for violence against the Jewish people," the Pontiff was told, "is a new reality in which the historical hatred of the Jew has become an embodiment of political expression."

Bialkin said the United Nations "is the cauldron of crude anti-Semitism" because it equates Zionism with racism. The Soviet Union, he went on, has become the principal "exporter of anti-Semitic propaganda throughout the world."

The Pope, in his remarks to the ADL delegation, acknowledged Jewish concern with "old and new forms of discrimination and violence against Jews and Judaism," and went on to tell the delegation that the Holy See is "deeply concerned" about the situation in the Middle East.

The Oberammergau Passionsspiel in regard to its image of Jews and Judaism

prepared by

Professor Leonard Swidler & Professor Gerard S. Sloyan

League protests doctors' tour, calls German play anti-Semitic

By ADON TAFT
Herald Religion Writer

When the Oberammergau Passion Play appeared on the itinerary of the Dade County Medical Association-sponsored tour slated for Aug. 2-15, the Miami office of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League cried foul.

Sharon Runyan, director of membership and professional services for the association and the one who handles the travel programs, pleaded ignorance.

She said she planned this trip and had no link to the Oberammergau Passion Play.

Art Teitelbaum, regional director of the ADL, said it is "unconscionable" that the medical association would plan a tour that included a performance of the Oberammergau Passion Play.

Jewish religion leaders are portrayed. Art Teitelbaum, regional director of the ADL, said it is "unconscionable" that the DCMA would plan such a trip and "at the very least [the association] should be open to making members aware of the play's anti-Semitic content."

trip because "we have contractual obligations now. If there were anything we could do at this point, believe me, we would."

She said the proposal for the trip to West Germany was made by the association's executive committee.

THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE

Friday, November 25, 1983

Drawing a different picture

Five well-known cartoonists were brought to Israel recently by the Anti-Defamation League to test the images they project against the reality of the country. ROBERT ROSENBERG reports.

CARTOONISTS don't usually rely on words alone to convey their views. But last week five leading American cartoonists, brought to Israel because of the optimism they convey to their readers in picture form, were articulate in a purely verbal way.

Paul Rigby, a jovial Australian whose cartoons appear in *The New York Post*, describes his modus operandi most succinctly: "I aim for the head and kick."

Jules Feiffer, tall, balding and bearded, made news as a healthy state of mind in his *Village Voice* strips. But he disclaims responsibility for what he's drawn about Israel. "It's not my fault that Ari Sharon looks like an over-the-hill John Wayne."

Steve Benson, syndicated by *The New York Times*, is the bright young guy who put Ari Sharon and Klaus Barbie in neighboring butcher shops, with the former offering "rump of refuge." With college-boy charm, Benson insists that he had no intention of offending Jews by comparing them with Nazis. All he wanted to do was to make people sit up and take notice.

The second member of the younger generation, Steve Kelly, a handsome right-winger from *The San Diego Union*, has a less than flattering description of professional

wounded. "The fifth member of the delegation was David Levine, whose acerbic portraits of the famous and the infamous grace the pages of *The New York Review of Books*."

All were guests of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Their escort in Israel was *The Jerusalem Post's* Ya'acov Kirschen, the creator of *Dry Bones*, who initiated the idea and personally invited the cartoonists.

ADL's aim, says associate director Abraham Foxman, was to give these five a first-hand look at Israel. "During the war in Lebanon a wave of cartoons appeared depicting Israelis as Nazis and crudely using Jewish religious symbols to characterize Israeli actions," said Foxman. "This was particularly hurtful for Jews. We hoped to sensitize cartoonists to the damage of such imagery and let them see for themselves the kind of country Israel is."

THE CARTOONISTS said Foxman wasn't their fault that Menachem Begin was as tempting a target for their pens as Richard Milhous Nixon. But it's hard to portray Israel as a David when its TV image and its sword-in-hand policies make it look like Goliath; or that Israel has become easy pickings for a Palestinian newspaper cartoonist.

But Foxman wasn't blaming them — at least not Benson and Kelly, two nice *goyische* guys who look like they belong on a box of Corn Flakes. You can't expect them to be as sensitive as Jews are to being compared to Nazis, or seeing pictures of Begin flying a Phantom over the Golan Heights carrying a Tora scroll and shouting, "Torah, Torah, Torah."

Foxman was concerned, of course, that Feiffer and Levine, two of the cornerstones of intellectual New York Jewry, had never been here. Indeed, both confessed that they probably wouldn't have come had they not been invited, and admitted to having been ambivalent about Israel. They weren't any more.

Nor is Benson likely ever again to portray an Israeli soldier as a Nazi, and Kelly will surely watch out for any unintended affront in the next cartoon he draws of a dollar bill with Yitzhak Shamir's picture on it instead of George Washington's. What got his readers upset was the serial number J. "J," you get it? Jew.

IT SEEMED at first that the group went on the standard VIP tour — Yad Vashem, a few meetings with Israeli politicians, various Palestinian, a stop at the Jewish settlement of Eilat. After the latter one of them said:

THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE



A Search for Conscience
A Curriculum Guide

BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES

Holocaust Anthology Published By ADL

"The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience" is the title of a unique new learning tool for educators and students which was launched recently by New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean at the national headquarters of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

The two-volume work — a curriculum guide and an anthology for students — published by the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared under the auspices of the New Jersey Department of Education in cooperation with ADL. It evolved from a pilot program initiated by ADL six years ago in the Vineland and Teaneck, N.J. high schools.

preprehensive set of study plans and teaching activities for approaching the Holocaust and genocide, either as separate courses or integrated into other courses of study, an annotated bibliography and sources of audiovisual aids.

Its companion volume, a 217-page paperback anthology, consists of selections of relevant fictional, nonfictional and poetic works and illustrations on the Holocaust from diverse sources.

The 43-page bibliography in the back of the curriculum guide is perhaps the most comprehensive listing available of literature on the Holocaust.

The volumes may be purchased from the Publications Department.

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Human Relations Materials for the School, Church and Community

Human Relations Materials for the School, Church and Community

Взаимоотношения
кол. религиозных
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Human Relations
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para la Escuela, Iglesia y la

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Human Relations Materials for the School, Church and Community

from the
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

FACE to FACE an Interreligious Bulletin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

Vol XI, Spring 1984 ISSN 0361-008

Judaism: The Christian Problem



A New Maturity In Christian-Jewish Dialogue:
An Annotated Bibliography 1973-1983

American Jewish History A Bibliographical Guide

Jeffrey Gurock



Foreword by Moses Rischin



My folks were born in —
But — Guess who My uncle is ?

MEMO & DATE BOOK
1984-1985 A Nation of Immigrants

ANTI-SEMITISM
IN THE
SOVIET
UNION

The roots and consequences

