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Purpose and Program

ADL: Yesterday and Today

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is one of the nation's oldest human relations agencies. A recognized leader in its field, ADL is dedicated in purpose and program to translating this country's heritage of democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans. Its history is an inspiring record of participation in democratic progress in the United States by a Jewish organization which realized from its very beginning that the security of all minority groups is intertwined with the security of democracy itself.

ADL was founded in 1913 with a handful of stationery, two desks in a Chicago law office, and a group of determined volunteers who set as its goal "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people...to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike."

Overt and unabashed anti-Semitism was the order of the day. Resorts advertised "No dogs! No Jews!" Magazines featured caricatures of Jews. There were crude stereotypes of Jews on stage and screen; massive circulation of such anti-Semitic documents as the fraudulent "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." And, fanning the flames of hatred, was the trial by prejudice of Leo Frank who was publicly described as a "Yankee Jew,"

falsely accused of murdering a young girl, tried in an Atlanta, GA, courtroom with spectators clamoring for his death, and found guilty and subsequently lynched.

Today, ADL's Chicago office is one of 30 regional offices in this country and ADL is a global agency, headquartered opposite the United Nations in New York City, with a European office in Paris, an Israel office in Jerusalem, affiliated offices in Latin America and Canada, and a consultant in Rome.

The League's staff is made up of professionals in the fields of civil rights, communications, education, international affairs, law, religion, research and inves-

tigation, urban affairs and social sciences.

ADL volunteers consist of leaders of the Jewish community here and abroad, including representatives of B'nai B'rith, the world's largest Jewish service organization, who sit on the League's National Commission, its governing body, and on regional boards which help determine national policy and also adapt national policy to local issues, problems and needs.

In its more than seven decades of existence, ADL activities have been governed by democratic principles and objectives, the ethics of Judaism, and the urgen-

cies of the times.

There have been organized hate groups. The Ku Klux Klan had a membership in the millions until exposure of its excesses and legislation, the model for which was drafted by ADL, forced it to unmask, drastically diminishing its power to peddle hate and terrorism against blacks, Jews and Catholics.

There have been the professional bigots and the fascist organizations whose activities and backers were exposed by the League—men like Gerald L.K. Smith, Joseph Kamp, Merwin Hart, Upton Close, Father



Coughlin, Conde McGinley; groups like the German-American Bund, whose members goose-stepped on American streets and secretly took orders from Nazi Germany.

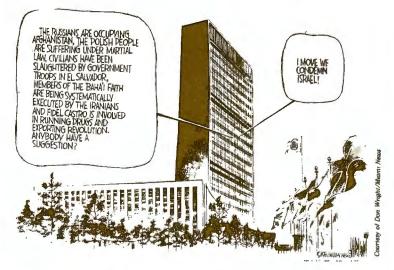
There have been the successful efforts to pass legislation against discrimination in housing and employment; the successful campaigns to crack-the-quotas which limited the number of Jewish and other minority students in colleges and universities.

There has been the League's active and proud leadership role in the passage of the 1960's civil rights laws.

And today, the League remains the watchdog for alerting the public and law enforcement authorities to the machinations and violence potential of the Klan, of the diminishing—but still active—organized hate groups and professional bigots.

The task now is to see that the civil rights laws are enforced, that quotas are not reinstituted in acts of reverse discrimination, and that radical right and radical left political extremists—who repudiate democratic concepts and have an affinity for anti-Semitism—are

exposed. Of particular concern is the anti-Semitism emanating from the United Nations; the anti-Semitic quotient of anti-Zionism; the anti-Jewish propaganda emanating from Arab and Soviet sources and their allies; the appeals to anti-Semitism in some of the debates around Middle East issues, the security of Israel and the security of Jews wherever they reside.



The League's substantive divisions—Civil Rights, Communications, Community Service, Intergroup Relations, International Affairs—rigidly observe the objectives of ADL's founders, but with flexible programs evolved through experience and the changing nature of American society. In addition, ADL's Leadership Division builds and orients new ADL leaders—at its annual conferences in Washington, DC, young communal leadership from all sections of the country brainstorm with government officials on issues of concern. Development Division oversees the fund raising activities of the ADL Appeal; Administration Division is concerned with the internal workings of the agency.

The Civil Rights Division works through departments on Fact Finding; Research; Legal Affairs; a Washington, DC, civil rights office, and four regional area coordinators. In addition, a special task force within the Division engages in efforts to hasten U.S. Justice Department investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals illegally entered and living in the United States.

The Communications Division consists of public relations and publicity specialists and writers and artists who produce and disseminate authoritative material in all areas of ADL concern and programming.

The Community Service Division directs the 30 regional offices located in centers of Jewish population throughout the United States.

The Intergroup Relations Division is made up of departments on Education; Higher Education/Campus Affairs; Interfaith Affairs; Television, Radio and Film; Publications, and an International Center for Holocaust Studies.

The International Affairs Division comprises departments in the United States concerned with European, Latin American and Middle Eastern Affairs and is in charge of ADL's overseas operations, including the European office in Paris and the Israel office in Ierusalem.

ADL seeks Jewish participation in the total responsibilities and privileges of citizenship and, through written and audio-visual materials on Jewish contributions to history and contemporary times, to enhance the public image of Jews. But the League does not confuse integration—the acceptance of the Jew as an equal—with assimilation, the loss of Jewish identity. It is concerned with maintaining the traditional elements of

Jewish religious and cultural life while deepening and enriching Jewish opportunities and democratic freedom. It believes in a pluralistic society under which groups with different cultures can live in harmony.

To achieve its goals, ADL employs the basic tools available to voluntary associations of citizens. These include education, community action, the media, and the law of the land. Although much has been achieved, much remains to be done.

Anti-Semitism

ADL's prime objective is to counter assaults on the safety, status, rights and image of Jews. Although organized anti-Semitism has lessened with each passing decade, the roots of anti-Semitism are not dead.

Just how deeply imbedded anti-Semitism is in the U.S. was disclosed through the five-year study conducted for the League by the University of California Survey Research Center and published in eight volumes: Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism; The Apathetic Majority; The Politics of Unreason; Protest and Prejudice; The Tenacity of Prejudice; Wayward Shepherds; Adolescent Prejudice, and, finally, Anti-Semitism in America, based on the conclusions of the total study. Published as part of ADL's "Patterns of American Prejudice" series, they give in-depth analyses of religion's role in fostering anti-Semitism, of attitudes among the clergy, the black community, youth, and the general public which are used for themselves and also as the base for other agencies' studies and polls.

ADL's own monitoring of changing conditions, part of what its founders called "vigilance work," reveals that as the memory and impact of the Nazi Holocaust

fades, and as Jews are perceived to be more and more a part of "the Establishment," there is a disturbing insensitivity and indifference to Jewish well-being and concerns. Moreover, as the ADL study, The New Anti-Semitism, pointed out, insensitivity and indifference, linked to various American domestic issues and the Middle East conflict, are often expressed by respected individuals here and abroad and are compounded by anti-Jewish hostility from radical pro-Arab elements, from extremist movements worldwide, from the Soviet Union, Islamic and Arab nations and Third World blocs within the United Nations and its agencies. All this in addition to the remnants of the hatemongering apparatus which has plagued this country since the early 1920's.

League studies, fact finding and research operations provide information and insight into the nature of anti-Semitism and spotlight the areas of concentration necessary for waging effective counteraction.

ADL's annual nationwide audit of anti-Semitic vandalism against private and community property belonging to Jews and harassments, threats and assaults against Jews as Jews have made the issue a matter of



concern and the means for sensitizing educators, clergy, community leaders, the courts and law enforcement agencies to the problem of bias crimes. A statute drafted by ADL has served as a model for state laws dealing with punitive measures for transgressions based on bigotry. Encouraged by ADL regional offices, such bills have already been enacted by many state legislatures and are in the hoppers of many others.

The Middle East

ADL's goal is to help promote a just and secure peace that will reduce world tension as it permits Israel to prosper and have normal relations with neighbors no longer hostile. The ADL office in Jerusalem provides close contact with Israeli government and nongovernment leaders, giving American Jews special insight into Israel's concerns, and Israeli Jews special insight into American concerns. The office also facilitates visits of American government leaders, journalists and clergymen. The Middle East Department, located in New York, develops and coordinates factual materials for distribution nationally to opinion molders, government authorities and community groups.

In its efforts, ADL underscores the importance to America of a militarily secure Israel to confront the destabilizing forces in the strategically important Middle East region. League materials also make clear the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East—its expansionist designs and its use of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a cutting edge for penetration of the world's oil lifeline.

The League monitors developments in the Israel-

Egypt peace treaty, concentrating its focus upon U.S. faithfulness to its position as mediator; Congressional actions to provide economic and military aid in the area; media treatment of the Middle East conflict; anti-Israel campaigns within the United Nations, and Arab investments and influence in U.S. business, industry and universities. An ADL handbook, "Pro-Arab Propaganda In America: Vehicles and Voices," lists and



describes the leading individuals and organizations here who are responsible for anti-Israel campaigns.

The leader in organizing the coalition of Jewish leaders and The Business Roundtable which led to the development of America's first federal anti-boycott legislation (signed into law in 1977 as an amendment to the Export Administration Act), ADL now monitors compliance with the law. Monitored, too, are so-called Middle East Trade Seminars to be sure that they do not exclude Israel and are not used to circumvent anti-boycott regulations and laws.

ADL-produced films, radio and TV programs on

various aspects of the Middle East situation and Israeli life reach an American audience in the millions.

Europe

ADL's European office serves the Jewish communities there. It introduces onto the European scene ADL procedures, programs and materials for counteracting anti-Semitic and anti-Israel activities, and conveys back to the United States the different geopolitical concerns of the European Jewish community.

The office monitors the international linkages of anti-Semitic groups on the continent—the upsurge of neo-Nazis, the activities of the P.L.O., and the connections between terrorist groups of the far left and far right with each other and with their counterparts elsewhere in the world, including the United States. It also strives to build closer relations between Jews and the Catholic and Protestant communities of the various countries.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith European Foundation (ADLEF), headquartered in The Netherlands and established with B'nai B'rith's Continental District 19 and Great Britain and Ireland District 15, oversees the activities of the European office to combat and counteract anti-Semitism.

The League's consultant in Rome is the agency's liaison to the Vatican where he works closely with papal officials on matters involving the Jewish and Catholic faith communities. It is a relationship that began with the monumental ADL study, "Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism," whose findings were instrumental in the passage of the Vatican II declaration absolving Jews, past and present, of the charge of deicide.

In this country, the European Affairs Department

works in liaison with ADL's European office. European Affairs, through its information gathering and research resources, keeps the League abreast of all developments affecting the Jewish communities in Europe. To help



the League work in behalf of Soviet Jewish prisoners of conscience, the Department reviews Soviet publications for anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda and analyzes and reports on Kremlin policies affecting Jewish emigration. Its widely distributed pamphlet, "Trapped In The Soviet Union," lists prisoners of conscience and refuseniks and how they can be helped.

Latin America

The long standing relationship between ADL and the organized Jewish communities of Central and South America has strengthened the efforts of Latin American Jewry to combat anti-Semitism, build bridges to the Catholic church which is predominant in the area, and project a positive image of Israel in counter-

action to P.L.O. and other Arab propaganda.

With Jews often endangered as Latin American governments strive to preserve themselves against upheavals due to economic and political woes, ADL serves as a consultant to, and partner with, local Jewish human rights offices it helped to establish. ADL helps train local personnel for their community relations responsibilities in such cities as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Santiago, Lima and Caracas. These human relations offices utilize ADL materials and methods to counteract anti-Semitism and anti-Israel propaganda and build interfaith and intergroup friendship and cooperation.

ADL spearheaded the international campaign to end violations of human rights in Argentina. During the military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983, thousands of Argentinians, including many lews, were imprisoned and thousands more disappeared. The League's Argentine Prisoner Project continues to help locate "desaparecidos," individuals who disappeared. The ADL pamphlet, "Why Are These People in Argentine Jails? Where Are the Disappeared?" printed in Spanish and English, contains a listing and description of the missing and is revised periodically as many of those listed are found. With thousands still unaccounted for, the program continues with the approbation of the American government, the American Commission on Human Rights and various international government entities.

ADL programs to counteract anti-Semitic vandalism in Argentina are pursued with the cooperation of Catholic hierarchy there and officials of the Argentine government interested in eliminating manifestations of anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice.

What began in the 1940's as simple brotherhood meetings where Jews and Christians talked about "tolerance," is now a strong and still growing movement to institutionalize real interreligious understanding.

The 1965 Vatican Declaration "Nostra Aetate" and its subsequent Guidelines on Relations with the Jews gave wide impetus to improving Catholic-Jewish understanding. In 1985, ADL marked the 20th anniversary of the Declaration with a Catholic-Jewish colloquium in Rome to discuss its effects and the challenges still faced. ADL leadership discussed Jewish concerns at a private audience with Pope John Paul II.



In another private audience at the Vatican with ADL officials, the Pope praised a unique example of Jewish-Catholic cooperation, the establishment by ADL with Polish American groups of the Janusz Korc-

zak Literary Competition. The Competition was initiated by ADL in honor of the Polish Jewish martyr who died in a Nazi concentration camp with the

children of his orphanage.

Working with Catholic and Protestant church leaders and educators, ADL continues its largely successful program to eliminate anti-Semitic references and nuances from sermons, texts and other church literature; to incorporate accurate information on Jews and Judaism in college and seminary curricula through textbooks, audio-visual aids and other educational materials. An essential element is developing understanding of the special Jewish attachment to Israel and countering pro-P.L.O. elements in church groups.

Ongoing League meetings in Germany with officials of the controversial Oberammergau Passion Play have resulted in vast revisions to reduce the play's anti-Semitic content. Nevertheless, ADL monitoring of the production, which attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists, continues. An ADL brochure on how to view

Passion Plays is distributed widely.



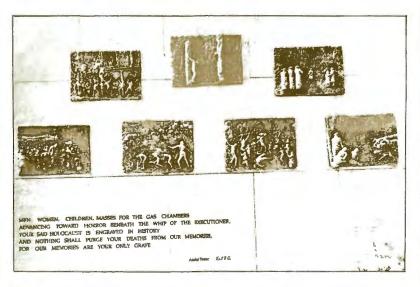
A new and constructive relationship with the Baptist community has been developed to promote greater understanding of each other's religion and role in American society. Conferences, workshops and institutes have been established to deal with the common concerns of both faith communities. ADL-Southern Baptist missions to Israel have been arranged for Southern Baptist leaders who, despite many missions to areas of Christian interest, had not before given special attention to sacred and historical Jewish sites.

Another aspect of ADL's interreligious program is publication of such scholarly books as *The Study of Judaism*; *Bibliographical Essays*; *Disputation and Dialogue*; *Readings in the Jewish-Christian Encounter*, and *A History of the Jews Since the First Century A.D.*, written by theologians and educators of all faiths. These and such other publications as ADL's interreligious bulletin, *Face to Face*, provide awareness of Christian-Jewish relations throughout history and new insight into the Jewish religious, historical and community experience, as well as such vital current concerns as Israel and the plight of Soviet Jewry.

ADL seminars and workshops on Judaism and the contemporary Jewish community continue to accelerate. Typical are the annual seminars on Jews and Judaism at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey and at the University of Indiana, which are major sources of enrichment about the Judaic tradition for academicians engaged in Christian instruction and training. There are Catholic-Jewish and Protestant-Jewish relations committees in cities throughout the country which delve into problems of beliefs and interpretations that affect interreligious relationships. Special reports on Israel and the Middle East receive

broad circulation in Christian community and religious journals. There are also study tours of Israel for Christian clergy and religion writers.

Holocaust observances are another focal point for Christian-Jewish understanding and ADL has been the catalyst for interreligious memorial services in churches and communities around the country. An outdoor memorial to the six million massacred in the Holocaust—a 13-foot by 21-foot granite wall containing seven bronze bas-reliefs depicting scenes of the Nazi slaughter—has been erected by the League on the Dag Hammerskjold Plaza side of its national headquarters building. Designed by the artist Arbit Blatas, the memorial is inscribed "Zachor" (Remember).



Discrimination

A pioneer in the struggle against discrimination, ADL's record of achievement in outlawing religious and racial discrimination in employment, in education, in housing and public accommodations is unparalleled. The work to implement anti-discrimination laws continues, with new dimensions as controversy continues over the use of racial quotas and preferential treatment to redress past discriminations.

As the initiator of the successful campaign in the 1940's to "crack the quotas" in college admissions which kept out Jews and other minorities, ADL remains committed to the concept of merit—in employment, as well as in college admittance. The agency has filed *amicus curiae* briefs with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of victims of "reverse discrimination" in the *DeFunis* and *Bakke* cases, both dealing with college admittance; in the *Weber* case, dealing with employment; in *Fullilove vs. Kreps*, involving quotas in the distribution of federal funds, and continues its legal activities on all court levels.

ADL supports affirmative action programs to provide access to education and employment for minorities and women without resorting to racial quotas or preferences. In addition, the agency acts as consultant and provides audio-visual and printed materials on intergroup relations and human relations training techniques to business and industrial management, as well as to government installations and the Armed Forces.

ADL monitors and informs the public of social clubs which discriminate on racial and religious grounds. The League also takes legal actions to ensure fair employment practices for Jews and others who observe the Sabbath and other religious holidays.

School Curriculum

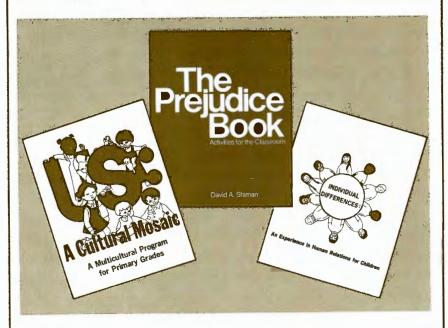
Integrating study about the Holocaust within the established curriculum of the nation's secondary

schools is a major ADL activity. Great strides have been made in the number of school systems which now teach the subject. National educational conferences concentrate on ADL's International Center for Holocaust Studies as a primary source of scholarship. League educational techniques and materials on the topic are made available to public, private and parochial institutions as well as community and religious groups.

The findings of an ADL study, Adolescent Prejudice—that there is a surprisingly large amount of hostility toward Jews and that educators were failing to do much about it—received widespread attention in educator conferences and workshops. Based on the findings and the discussions, ADL developed a special educational package including multimedia materials on Jews and other minorities for teachers as well as students. In addition, the treatment of minorities—including Jews and Judaism—in curricula and textbooks continues to be closely watched, with League staff frequently serving as consultants to publishers.

A wide variety of ADL printed and audio-visual materials on the history and contributions of America's racial and ethnic groups is available for general school use. Produced through private foundations and government educational grants, these films and slides are used by hundreds of schools and religious and community organizations.

The findings of prejudice among adolescents led ADL to expand its human relations programs to the primary grades, producing and disseminating new educational approaches such as those in *Individual Differences*; US: A Cultural Mosaic, and The Prejudice Book.



A highly successful educational tool for all ages the newspaper supplement—was first used by ADL in coordination with the NBC-TV broadcast, "Holocaust." Eleven million copies of the initial newspaper supplement, "The Record: The Holocaust in History" were circulated. A second effort, produced in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and entitled, "The Record: The Black Experience in America," was distributed as a teaching aid in connection with ABC-TV's presentation of "Roots: The Next Generation," and another, "The Record: The Jews of Russia—A Question of Human Rights," was distributed in connection with the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the Madrid Conference on the Helsinki human rights accords. Another edition, "Jerusalem: City of David," depicts the sacred city through the ages as viewed by Jews, Christians and Moslems, with particular emphasis on the special attachment of Jews and on Israel's determination to keep the city united. The latter two were issued in Spanish as well as in English and distributed in Latin America.

ADL's "Simulation Games" use filmed situations and discussion guide manuals to assist hundreds of school systems in resolving classroom conflicts based

on intergroup and socio-economic tensions.

ADL develops methods and materials for helping teachers discover and correct their own negative attitudes, as well as those of their students. The agency consults and cooperates with administrators and school systems, sets up and participates in workshops for teachers and education associations and in national, state and regional conferences on human relations education. The League provides counseling to educators and education administrators at all school levels—kindergarten through college.

On the level of higher education, ADL's Higher Education/Campus Affairs Department works with the academic community to provide greater understanding of Jews, Judaism and Jewish concerns on the nation's campuses. Programming involves printed and

audio-visual materials and conferences.

Extremism

American extremist groups, their bids for political power and the respectable sources of some of their support, are of continuing ADL concern. The existence of such extremists not only imperils the democratic fabric of the nation but poses a potential threat of increased anti-Semitism.

ADL research is often used by the media and by government and law officials concerned with maintaining community harmony. The size, locations, backers, membership and violence potential of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazis and other hate groups are under constant ADL surveillance. A comprehensive ADL curriculum, "Extremist Groups in the United States," provides lesson plans and relevant readings on the radical right and radical left to assist teachers of history and sociology classes.

ADL's research and counteraction efforts are directed at extremist groups on the far right—such as Aryan Nations, Liberty Lobby and several Lyndon La Rouche operations—and the amalgam of far left extremists and pro-Arab organizations which parrot Soviet and Palestine Liberation Organization propaganda. ADL strives to expose anti-democratic—as well as anti-Jewish—groups and to promote educational programs to immunize Americans against them.



Civil Rights

Proud of its history of leadership in the civil rights struggle, ADL is deeply committed to the unfinished task of securing equal rights for all in an integrated society.

League skills and experience are utilized by religious and educational institutions, community groups, and countless cities seeking measures to enforce civil rights laws and improve intergroup relations. Through its national departments and regional offices, ADL strives to serve as a bridge between racial and ethnic groups, helping them to candidly discuss problem areas, mitigate tensions and upgrade the quality and harmony of urban life. The League holds conferences and seminars and sets up human relations programs for police officials and other law enforcement agencies.

ADL personnel have conducted on-the-job training programs for the staffs of state and local civil rights enforcement agencies. The League is a frequent witness at governmental hearings on equal opportunity legislation and enforcement and is also involved in court cases dealing with civil and human rights.

These programs, together with others specifically involving employment, housing and education, enable ADL to continue its vigorous role in the pursuit of equal opportunity, winning support among a cross-section of Americans of every race, creed and religion.

Local American Communities

Through its 30 regional offices, ADL's broad human relations concepts and national programs are adapted to local traditions and used to resolve local problems. As one



of the most valuable instruments in American Jewish communal life, these offices bring ADL into close liaison with local civic and religious leaders, youth groups on and off the campus, editors and educators. When ADL moves to eliminate employment discrimination, ameliorate race relations, expose extremists, educate about the Middle East conflict or Soviet anti-Semitism, it often acts through an ADL regional office. The regional office structure also provides grass roots input into the national decision-making process. Working as microcosms of the national head-quarters, ADL regional offices have as their prime responsibility to service the needs of their communities.

Communications

Today, the mass media reach millions of people almost instantly and the need for current facts and background information is greater than ever before.

Through its communications activities, audio-visual programs, fact sheets, bulletins and other publications, ADL provides newspapers, magazines, radio and television with basic and authoritative material on human rights, human relations and all areas of the agency's concern and

programming. This factual information is also made available to government leaders, the general public and the Jewish community.

ADL's reputation for accuracy and dependability is a precious asset. The media—as well as government and academia—turn to the League for in-depth information—and reaction—on a broad gamut of domestic and international issues. ADL background reports and analyses are distributed widely to all segments of the media, to government officials, educators, clergy and opinion molders in all segments of society. Through its "Big 50" press surveys, ADL monitors editorial reaction in the nation's 50 largest circulation newspapers on events of specific concern.

The League communicates directly to the American people on matters of consequence through advertisements placed in the nation's most well-read newspapers. The ads, produced by a volunteer task force made up of top advertising talents, are also made available to local groups for placement in the press and

distribution as reprints.

In addition to its vast library of books and audiovisual materials on Jews, Judaism, ethnic groups, intergroup relations and human relations themes, several major publications play a vital role in ADL's program. They include:

ADL BULLETIN, the League's official monthly, which has a national circulation of 140,000 and is designed to keep the ADL constituency and others informed of League efforts and concerns.

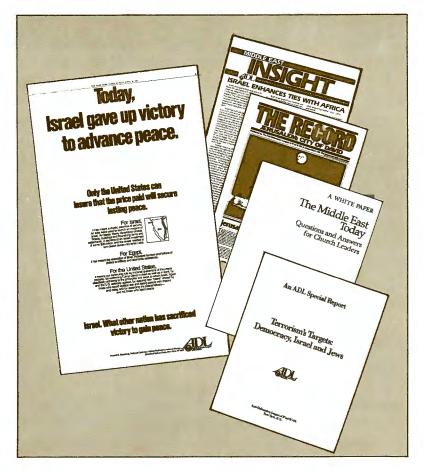
DIMENSIONS, a journal of Holocaust studies, features articles by leading authorities on the Nazi era.

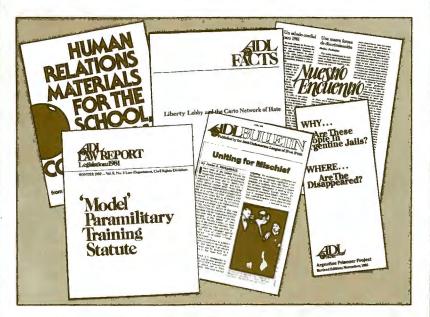
FACTS, which gives in-depth reports on anti-Semitic and extremist movements and individuals. RIGHTS, which reports on cases of anti-Jewish discrimination and remedial action taken. Special issues are devoted to studies and surveys on discrimination in employment, housing and education.

LAW, which provides in-depth analyses of legal

issues of concern to the League.

FACE TO FACE, an interreligious bulletin which deals with the contemporary Christian-Jewish agenda—the problems and issues of concern to various religious denominations in the common search for mutual understanding and trust.





INTERNATIONAL REPORTS, dealing with the Middle East, Europe and Latin America.

MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT, which provides background and interpretive material on Israel, its Arab neighbors and the Middle East conflict.

NUESTRO ENCUENTRO, a Spanish-language publication to build a bridge of understanding between the Jewish community and Hispanic-Americans.

Among other publications available periodically are Litigation Docket, Fact Finding, Research, and Discrimination reports. In addition to these, the newsletters of regional offices focus attention on local issues and programs. ADL also publishes special books and pamphlets on significant contemporary problems, as well as reports, research studies, school aids and other materials in all fields related to its program.

A catalogue listing available printed and audiovisual materials may be obtained from any office of the League. ADL BULLETIN individual subscriptions are

available at \$5 per year each; special group subscriptions for listings of 25 names or more are \$2.50 per subscription, per year, one billing for the group but mailed individually, are also available through ADL offices.)

Toward A Better Future

The Jewish condition today is far different from what it was when ADL began in 1913—there have been remarkable and positive achievements. Still, as long as prejudice, bigotry and undemocratic forces persist, the struggle must go on.

Complicated by troubled times and by more subtle problems, the tasks and the responsibilities are greater and call for more sophisticated techniques.

Continuing to balance emotion with reason, ADL uses a combination of proven and innovative methods to counteract bigotry, strengthen bonds of unity among Americans of all backgrounds and solidify the democratic foundations of this nation's government and society. Supported by men and women from all walks of life who share its goals, ADL provides workable programs to satisfy the needs of millions who look to it for inspiration, guidance and action.

The Anti-Defamation League's purpose, now as when it was founded, is to build a future in which people the world over live as neighbors in free and peaceful security.



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of Canadian B'nai B'rith

15 Hove St., Suite 210, Downsview, Ontario M3H 4Y8



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



File

For Your Information

Abraham H. Foxman

823 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017 212-490-2525 PAUL LAXALT NEVADA



MICHARIS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 15, 1983

Dear Bill:

I understand that a decision is imminent on the invitation for the President to appear at the ADL's 70th Anniversary Annual National Commission on June 8th.

If I may, I'd like to put in another plug for this one. It would be an excellent opportunity for the President to reach this group.

Thanks for your serious consideration of this invitation.

PAUL LAXALT U. S. SENATOR

Mr. William Sadleir
Director, Presidential Appointments
and Scheduling
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Blind copy to: Mr. Nathan Perlmutter





For Your Information

Abraham H. Foxman

823 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017 212-490-2525

MICHAEL

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 5, 1983

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

You were most kind to write about my recent speech in Orlando. As you know, some people were quick to take pot shots at me for daring to use the "bully pulpit" of the Presidency to utter such unfashionable words as good and evil.

But if America, which has offered hope, freedom, opportunity and equal justice under law to millions of people from all parts of the world, cannot be called good, to what society can that word be applied? And if we look at the ovens of Auschwitz, the carnage of the Khmer Rouge, and the numbing vastness of the Gulag Archipelago and cannot pronounce them evil, when can we use the word? These brutal totalitarian systems deny basic human rights, feeding on and fostering racial, religious, and class hatred. They are, as you say, intrinsically evil.

To us in our time has fallen the responsibility of standing up against these systems, of defending democracy and decency. And how shall we begin if not by telling the truth? We both know the answer to that question.

Ronald Reagan

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter 823 United Nations Plaza New York, New York 10017



Nathan Perlmutter National Director 823 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017

March 9, 1983

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to tell you how much on target and how meaningful your comments concerning racial and religious prejudice, made last night in Orlando, were. They are consonant with your long record and deeply held views and, for being reiterated, serve the nation constructively.

I want to take this opportunity, however, to also express my own heartfelt commendations for your articulation of the realistic ingredients of a just peace. A long brutal history of Soviet oppression, of its own people as well as of other people, is ugly evidence of Soviet Communism's intrinsic evil. Only through democracy's capacity to effectively defend itself can peace be rationally expected.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

NP:mat

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASH . TON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

May 13, 1983

: 01

FROM:

REQUEST:

JENNIFER FITZGERALD, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY 741

To have the Vice President keynote the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai

B'rith's 70th Anniversary Dinner.

PURPOSE:

To provide the Vice President with an excellent forum to address a combined Jewish and non-Jewish audience. Because of the diverse nature of the audience, the Vice President could discuss not only Middle East issues, but also the Administration's domestic programs, defense, touch upon anti-

semitism, as well as civil rights in general.

BACKGROUND:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is a highly respected organization, both within and without the Jewish community. dinner is expected to attract about 1,000

attendees.

PPFVIOUS None

PARTICIPATION:

DUTLINE OF EVENT:

DATE:

June 8, 1983 TIME: Evening

DURATION: One Hour

Convention Center, Washington, D.C. LOCATION:

'ARTICIPANTS: ADL Officials, grassroots members and friends.

Vice President would arrive at event that was already underway, thank the officials for inviting him to join, deliver his remarks, join the guest on the dais, eat dinner, listen to remarks of one or two orther speakers and end involvement. The other choice would be to appear at the end

of the dinner and deliver closing remarks.

Remarks EMARKS REQUIRED:

RESS: Full press

PPOSED BY:

ECOMMENDED BY:

Michael Gale ROJECT OFFICER:

I am delighted to send my greetings and congratulations to the members of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as you celebrate the 70th Anniversary of your organization's founding.

Traditionally, the ADL has championed the cause of human rights and justice for all Americans. In our world, the darkness of intolerance often shadows those who strive to strengthen the ideals of freedom. For your efforts in behalf of freedom, you have earned the respect of a grateful nation.

At home and abroad, the ADL has fought diligently to preserve the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government without interference from those elements who seek to undermine free choice.

We must continue to work together to further the cause of equality for all, regardless of race, color, or creed. As you pass this milestone in your history, I wish you continued success in the very important work you do and, again, congratulations.

Sent to:

Mr. David A. Brody
Director, Washington Office
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Call when signed to have picked up: 857-6663.

RR:Hodge:-living
cc: K. Osborne/D.Livingston/M.Gale/CF
EVENT: JUNE 8-12



Kenneth J. Bialkin National Chairman One Citicorp Center 153 East 53rd Street New York, NY 10022 (212) 935-8000

May 22, 1984

Mr. Marshall Brager The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Marshall:

I appreciate your having included me in the very interesting dinner with Michael Armacoast last Thursday. I think it was a very worthwhile meeting and was tremendously impressed by his openness and willingness to listen. I am having sent to you separately a copy of Joan Peters' new book "From Time Immemorial," a history of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine. I think you will find it very interesting and will agree that the book is one of primary importance and significance.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Kenneth J. Bialkin

KJB:pj

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 25, 1984

Dear Warren:

I very much enjoyed our lunch on Friday. Enclosed is a copy of my anti-Semitism panel at Heritage. As discussed, I would be very interested in giving a substantive paper on some aspect of anti-Semitism at the Zionism is Racism December conference. I believe that there are a number of significant theoretical issues at stake.

I look forward to speaking with you soon.

Sincerely,

Marshall Breger

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Mr. Warren Eisenberg
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith

November 14, 1984

Mr. Marshall Breger Office of Public Liaison The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Marshall:

It was good talking with you this morning.

Since then, I have received the enclosed from the Los Angeles Times of November 12. I am confident that you will feel as I do that the unnamed "senior White House official" is both mischievous and an ignoramus.

The latter because "an eye for an eye" historically was a step forward in meting out punishment for crime, but that's almost beside the point. What is the point is that his frame of reference puts Israel down as the land of the Old Testament and compares Israel pejoratively with the United States and the New Testament.

I don't know who this "senior White House official" is, but I do feel that it is important that a clarifying statement be issued, and issued promptly.

Looking foward to hearing from you,

Cordially,

Nathan Perlmutter

NP/cep Enclosure

cc: David Brody

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General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTER



December 17, 1984

Dr. Marshall Breger Office of Public Liaison The White House Washington, DC 20500

Dear Marshall:

Thought you'd be interested in seeing a copy of Rega Choshvim, a digest of Hebrew and English articles on current issues of Jewish concern, sent out to Shlichim across the country by the American Zionist Youth Foundation.

I'm biased about the digest, since my wife, Michal, is the editor. I note that you are featured in one of the Hebrew articles, from the magazine Koteret Rashit.

It was good seeing you at the Presidents' Conference. On your next trip to the City, how about breakfast or lunch?

Warm regards.

DSM:ab

Sincerely,

Daniel S. Mariaschin Assistant to the

National Director

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May 31, 1985

Mr. Marshall Breger The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Marshall:

Many thanks for taking the time to meet with our leadership the other day. As you very well know, there is great interest in recent developments and in the role of your own office. I thank you for candidly discussing those matters and for commenting on other current subjects of interest as well. was very useful to us out here in the hinterlands.

I hope the balance of your day's schedule worked out.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

mid

Michael C. Kotzin Regional Director

MCK:abs

Joel J. Sprayregen

Most Washington lobbyists boast about having connections. David A. Brody takes pride in making them.

The veteran Washington representative of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League is an inveterate matchmaker who wends his way through the capital's power circles on the lookout for people who ought to know one another.

No sooner do his antennae pick up a nugget of conversational information about somebody's past or present interests than the next words out of his mouth are invariably, "I'd like to put you together with '

The very next day, if not later the same day, Brody will be on the telephone proposing a luncheon involving himself and the two people he wants to bring together. Invariably, they are people who would have gotten together on their own at some point but, as Brody said in an interview, he finds that it advances his long-term interests if he can be the "facilitator or catalytic force."

"I do it so that the two people will know each other, so they will not be strangers when they need to deal with one another. Both parties usually welcome

it," he explained. Those involved may run the gamut from Members of Congress, White House aides and ambassadors to reporters, fund raisers and constituents.

Twenty years at his job has taught Brody that at some point, his gestures of good will are likely to be returned in some form. "It's not so much that people are beholden to me, as it's a matter of providing greater access for me," he said, stressing the golden word of the lobbyist's trade-access.

The autographed pictures on the wall of Brody's office attest to his success in gaining access at the very highest levels. They also attest to his skill at hearing what people say and sensing what makes them tick and what their current concerns are.

"In this town, so many people talk rather than listen," explained Brody, giving away a major secret of his success. It also helps to be quick-witted enough to put information to immediate use. "If I happen to be in a Member's office and a name comes up, we'll often set up a lunch right then."

Brody is constantly on the lookout for likely connections, two Members of Congress who haven't met each other yet, a reporter who is starting out on a project involving principals he hasn't met, new arrivals at the Israeli Embassy who need to meet the people they will be dealing with in Washington.

"It's just a matter of having almost an intuitive sense about people's needs," Brody said. "I guess it is just a matter of knowing how to relate to people. I will occasionally bring Members of Congress together whose views may be divergent. In bringing them together, they find that they are able to work together on other issues.'

Those other issues, with luck, may turn out at some point to be the very ones upon which Brody is lobbying. And, even if



David A. Brody

Making Matches Means Access

their votes do not always go his way, Brody at least gets a chance to have his say. In 1981. when Congress approved the sale of military aircraft to Saudi Arabia, Brody recalled, "a number of good friends of mine voted for the sale, but I still had the opportunity to sit down and talk to the principal-to the man who cast the vote."

That statement is also revealing. In lobbying, as in matchmaking, the permanence of relationships is important. Accordingly, significance attaches to Brody's reference to "good friends" who voted against his position. They still are his good friends, and maybe next time they will be with him.

Besides putting his lunch hour to regular use, Brody and his wife, Bea, entertain at their home, throwing dinner parties that may bring anywhere from a dozen to three dozen Washington notables together to trade information and get to know one another better.

"From time to time, press people are invited to my parties at home as friends," Brody explained. What goes on is not intended for publication, Brody noted, but it is recognized "a reporter may pick something up

at a party." But, he added, "the story won't be that I had that group of people to dinner."

Brody added that he has never hesitated to bring politicians and journalists together in a social setting. "I don't draw any lines," he said. "When I find it useful to play that catalytic role, I do it." With reference to the politicians, he observed, "I think they welcome the opportunity too, otherwise they wouldn't agree to it."

To the best of his recollection, Brody over the years has never become a matchmaker in the romantic sense. He says that he knows of no marriages that have resulted between people he has brought together and quickly adds in a businesslike tone that "if it has happened, that would not be the purpose that the meeting started out with.

There is more than a bit of a Horatio Alger aspect to Brody's career. The man who now wines, dines and facilitates friendships among the high and mighty started out in life as the son of an immigrant garment worker who entered this country through Ellis Island. He grew up in Brooklyn, attended public schools and ended up studying law at Columbia University on a scholarship. He came to Washington in 1940 to work as a lawyer for the government and has been with the Anti-Defamation League since 1949.

Brody said he has developed his skills as a lobbyist-social connecter as he has gone along. "I like to say that the things I do, I never learned in law school." Nonetheless, the 69-year-old lobbyist makes it clear that he enjoys what he does. "I have no plans to retire," he said.

The matchmaker is obviously well matched to his calling.-Dick Kirschten

The American Farmer and the Extremists

An ADL Special Report



Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith/Civil Rights Division New York, N.Y.



a report of the Fact-Finding Department of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

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The American Farmer and the Extremists

January, 1986

Liroduction

The serious economic plight of great numof America's family farms has become a of growing public record and of deep catastrophic personal hardship, but clearly minority have incurred severe financial mades including, in many cases, foreclosures.

Almost in parallel a disturbing phenomenon **developed.** Perceiving opportunities to fish **troubled** waters, a number of extremist, anti**expocratic** groups and individuals of the far have been concentrating a rash of activi-**Midwestern and Southern farm regions.** exploiting troubles to enhance their own public ding or growth in numbers. They have promoted radical remedies: offering unsound to debt-ridden farmers—for example. ***steful pseudo-legal pro se ("do it vourself") demes as means of financial recovery. More **minously**, some have encouraged violent con-**Limitation** with law enforcement officials in foresure cases by providing farmers with armed mamilitary support.

In addition, some of the extremists have

tempted to buttress their nostrums with hate

toric and conspiracy theories in propaganda

pecifically targeting the farm belt. The scape
as in centuries of traditional bigotry, has

the Jew. The theme most frequently em
toric in the hatemongering is that "interna
bral bankers"—a standard anti-Semitic

phemism—and specifically the Federal

eserve Board and its banks, allegedly con
bral by Jews, have plotted to bankrupt

trimers and take their land.

All of the conditions that foster the kind of targerous irrationality that usually accompanies totry, fear-peddling and threats of violence

are present here. For this reason the Anti-Defamation League has conducted extensive field investigations, initiated discussions and joined in cooperative counteraction activities with community leaders in the nation's rural areas. A full evaluation will follow in these pages, but it must be stated at the outset that the results of ADL's investigations make it clear that at the present time the overwhelming majority of America's farmers have not swallowed the message or bought the radical nostrums. Nor have the extremist groups enjoyed any extraordinary growth in rural areas. This is not to say that there is no reason for deep concern about their present thrust. The organized participants in the campaign are adversaries of America's democratic processes. In some cases they are preachers of racial and religious hatred; in some they are advocates of violence. In almost all, they are exploiters of misery. As is true in any campaign in which violence is threatened as a tactic, general failure of results does not rule out specific dangers. Radicalism and bigotry have never required wide acceptance in order to enact serious mischief.

There are, in the situation at present, factors suggesting potential danger in the future.

The purpose of this report is to detail the extraordinary efforts undertaken in buffeting the farm country with propaganda and with patent bigotry, to present a credible analysis of the results and future potential of these efforts, and to outline the steps that are being taken to expose and to thwart them.

I. THE EXTREMIST CAMPAIGN

Eager participants in the radical thrust to seduce American farmers range from the eccentric anti-Semitic cult of Lyndon H.

LaRouche to the so-called "Identity" advocates, who preach an anti-Jewish pseudotheology, and the paramilitary groups openly training for violence.

The most visible and far-reaching activity in the campaign has been generated by the network of organizations and allies under the control or inspiration of Willis Carto, a man who once lamented the defeat of Hitler and who has been the shadowy central figure in organized anti-Jewish activity in the U.S. for more than two decades.

The 'Populist' Thrust

A false pretender to the mantle of 19th century American populism, the so-called Populist Party of the 1980's is the political vehicle launched to promote the agenda of Willis Carto's extremist stronghold, the Washington-based Liberty Lobby. The Populist Party is the major far-right complex attempting to exploit the American farmer's problems; *The Spotlight*, the weekly newspaper edited by Carto's Liberty Lobby staffers, is the chief voice in the campaign.

The mechanism of the Party, which achieved ballot status in 14 states in the 1984 election, has turned its sharpest focus upon one of seven "critical issues" that were determined by the vote of the 600 delegates to its 1984 nominating convention in Nashville namely, the farm economy and the problems of "the family farm." Through the Party, many of whose leaders have unsavory connections with Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi and paramilitary hate movements, extremism has sought to cloak itself in the seeming respectability of nationwide electoral politics. Certain traditional code words in the Party's platform and literature. however, provide insight into its anti-Semitic and racist orientation. Among the specific planks of its platform designed to appeal to distressed farmers is abolition of the Federal Reserve, which is said to be owned by "international bankers." The terms "international bankers," "international banking conspiracy," or "the conspiracy"-and often, specifically, "the Federal Reserve System"—permeate the Populist-Spotlight propaganda drive as they have similarly permeated the entire body of irrational anti-Semitic literature of the twentieth century. The plain and simple meaning encoded in these terms is: the Jews.

Rolland Victor, a farmer who is the Populist Party's state chairman in Nebraska, has described the "international conspiracy" as involving "a handful of grain traders and meatpackers who have monopolistic control over the agricultural markets." He added: "I'm sure some of these people have financial connections with the Zionists. Every country these Zionists ever went into their immense greed has always led to their downfall. They've been driven out of every country in the world."

(The present national chairman of the Party, John M. Couture, once expanded on the theme in delivering the keynote address to the right-wing American Independent Party's nominating convention in 1976. According to *The Spotlight*, he declared: "I think we should have the guts and the honesty to call political Zionism what it is: The most insidious, far-reaching murderous force the world has ever known, which plotted two world wars, undermined countless governments, dictates the policies of numerous others and has an assassin's bullet ready...for any influential person who dares to oppose its machinations...")

Although the number of votes cast for the Populist Party in 1984 in the farm belt states in which it appeared on the ballot (Kansas, Minnesota, North Dakota and Wisconsin) was not substantial, its activists have been gearing up for a greater effort in 1986. Almost every issue of *The Spotlight* has featured articles on the plight of farmers, who are viewed as prime candidates for Party membership, and for new *Spotlight* subscriptions, and for eventual conversion to the Carto world view.

When the Populist national committee met in Chicago on the weekend of March 8-10, 1985, there was much discussion on how to package the Party as a political vehicle for the farmer, and the "packages" have since been produced. Copies of *The Spotlight* and the Party's farm resolution have been distributed a farmer's rallies and demonstrations and even a several farm foreclosures.

The direction of the continuing "package" had been predictable. Many Spotlight articles have harshly criticized the granting of foreign

debt crisis. Several articles have described federal budget considerations peofic choice between support for Israel port for farmers. In the June 17, 1985 The Spotlight, Jim Yarborough, then by's vice-chairman, was quoted as bring:

The Populist Party and the overwhelming majority of the American people are more concerned about the small farmers, whom America's first populist, Thomas Jefferson, called 'the chosen people of God,' than we are concerned with bankrolling a free spending, inflationridden, politically unstable Middle East aggressor state that is not, and never has been, an ally to the United States."

On August 2, 1985, the Populist Party filed against the Federal Reserve Board and advidual member banks, charging the board the fraud, conspiracy and libel. According to court papers filed with the U.S. Southern Distict Court in Iowa, the Party seeks a minimum one billion dollars in actual and punitive damages for Iowa farmers.

In describing this suit, *The Spotlight*(August 19) has made clear the underlying philosophy behind the action: "The suit is designed to challenge unethical practices by the Federal Reserve Board and to expose the international conspiracy that seeks to control the American economy." In the same *Spotlight* issue, Fred Seipold, then the Party's chairman, urged all farmers to support the "attack" on the alleged world plot, an attack which he described as part of a process which "will surely succeed in fanning the flames of resistance to the tyranny being imposed on America by the Federal Reserve and the international banking conspiracy."

The Carto network and *The Spotlight* continue to berate an "economy run by bankers" and to blame aid to Israel and the machinations of a "dual loyalist Israel-first lobby" for the problems that beset the American farmer. *The Spotlight* regularly carries advertisements for materials harmonious with its conspiracy theories. The September 2, 1985 issue, for exam-

ple, carried an ad for a tract published by the late Sheldon Emry, a veteran Jew-baiting "Identity" preacher who operated out of Phoenix, Arizona. It read, in part:

"HAS AMERICA BEEN FORECLOSED UPON? BANKERS HAVE FORECLOSED BUSINESSES, FARMS AND HOMES. HAVE THEY TAKEN OVER YOUR TOWN, CITY, STATE, OR NATION? WOULD YOU KNOW WHEN THEY DID?"

The LaRouche Apparatus

Lyndon H. LaRouche, three-time Presidential candidate and the leader of a bizarre, anti-Semitic cult-like political and propaganda network, has of late tried to make inroads in rural communities by projecting doom-filled prophecies of an impending world-wide agricultural collapse and of mass starvation. A LaRouche front group, the Schiller Institute, has attempted to sign up farmers at propaganda meetings held in rural communities in the Midwest.

The front page of the March 5, 1985 issue of New Solidarity, the newspaper of LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees, headlines a story, "Dope Lobby is Behind Reagan Farm Cutbacks." (LaRouche publications have for years described "the dope lobby" as a conspiracy of Jewish families and institutions allegedly involved in drug traffic, criminal violence and terrorism.) Over the past year the LaRouche propaganda voices—New Solidarity. and The Executive Intelligence Review—have accused bankers of making farmers into serfs on their own land and have blamed both the government and the media for alleged conspiracies of silence. In addition, LaRouche's followers have been making a systematic effort to influence farmers' organizations, notably the American Agricultural Movement (AAM).

Confrontation—and the 'Heritage Library'

On November 15, 1985, approximately 25 armed men descended on a farm in central Georgia and prevented authorities from fore-closing the property and evicting the owner and his family. Signs prominently displayed on the property denounced the Federal Reserve Sys-

tem and "ZOG"—this latter term, currently popular in extreme right-wing circles, denoting "Zionist Occupation Government" as a way of describing the federal government.

The protesters' spokesman was Tommy Kersey, a farmer from nearby Unadilla who was one of the American Agriculture Movement's organizers of the "tractorcade" to Washington during the Carter administration. Kersey expressed support for the activities of extremist organizations, including the anti-Semitic vigilantes of the Posse Comitatus and the followers of Lyndon LaRouche. (Kersey shared the speakers' table with LaRouche at a farm meeting in Unadilla in 1983.)

During the confrontation, the armed visitors fired their weapons at a bale of hay, and one of them declared: "We won't fire until fired upon, but if we are fired upon, heaven help the men on the other side."

The speaker was a member of a paramilitary anti-Semitic group from southern Oklahoma calling itself the Heritage Library, a number of whose members had accompanied their leader and founder, Lawrence L. Humphreys, to the Georgia farm. Humphreys, 32, has poured much of his \$5 million oil and banking inheritance into his organization since its inception in 1982. Located in Velma, Oklahoma, the Heritage Library settlement is situated on 300 acres of land which includes campgrounds, an 1,800-foot airstrip, a man-made lake and a mansion housing a cathedral-domed library.

Humphrey's organization adheres to the philosophy of the "Identity" movement.* Its literature promotes racial segregation and purports to expose an international Jewish "conspiracy."

Humphreys has acknowledged that members of his organization purchased weapons in 1984 from the heavily-armed racist and anti-Jewish organization in northern Arkansas known as "The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord." He has for some time advocated armed resistance to bank foreclosures, proclaiming in a video cassette his group has distributed: "I would stand with the first man who defended his land."

When Humphreys stood with his members and others in the confrontation at the Georgia farm in November, the result was an agreement by the local sheriff to postpone eviction in order to give the farmer sufficient time to repurchase the farm. The apparent "success" of the tactic has suggested to some observers the potential danger of its repetition, particularly disturbing in that armed extremists had come from great distances across many state lines to mount the confrontation.

A May, 1984 article in The Spotlight, describes the Heritage Library's plans to sponsor "a work and educational program combined with a 'crisis location training exercise." The purpose of the project is "to provide both education and employment for Christian Americans who embrace the Identity message" of the organization. The coordinator for the project, George Whitcraft, is identified in a revealing photo caption in *The Spotlight* as "Coordinator of the Military Project," a title which speaks for itself—particularly in light of the action at the Georgia farm where protesters were armed with semi-automatic weapons. The project has been endorsed by the anti-Semitic paramilitary Christian Patriots Defense League's director John Harrell and by Col. Jack Mohr, an Identity leader and paramilitary expert who heads Harrell's Citizens Emergency Defense System.

Roderick Elliot, the NAPA, and the Law

The theme of the "do it yourself" legal seminar has been adapted by a number of extremist groups engaged in exploiting the farm situation. A notable history in this regard is that of Roderick "Rick" Elliot, 58, of Brighton, Colorado, who has employed a variety of questionable schemes to capitalize on the difficulties currently experienced by farmers. Elliot, a former dairy farmer whose writings and orations at farm meetings are laced with anti-Semitism, began publishing a weekly farm paper called the Primrose and Cattleman's Gazette in 1974. By the early 1980's, the Gazette contained articles blaming Jews for conspiring to destroy the nation's economy and advertisements promoting the extremist Aryan Nations organization. An ownership statement filed with

^{*}The "Identity" movement preaches that Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are the "true Israel" and the Chosen of God. Vicious hostility against Jews (the "seed of Satan") is a fundamental of Identity practice.

U.S. Postal Service in October, 1983 ported that the *Gazette* had more than 17,000 subscribers.

er

In 1983, Elliot formed the National Agricul-Press Association (NAPA), which he has are anized into state chapters throughout the **belt.** By paying \$30 for a NAPA member**time**, farmers have been given advice on filing common law liens and on other "legal" tactics, **application** for low-interest loans and a card identifying the holder as a news media represen**twe**. Elliot is currently facing twenty counts of theft and conspiracy in Colorado in connection with soliciting more than \$250,000 in loans he never repaid. NAPA has been investigated in Lowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Colorado, and by the Minnesota and United States Departments of Agriculture. Elliot has failed to deliver on even a single one of his promises to farmers on the offer of low-interest loans.

While out on bail, Elliot has continued to conduct meetings at which he warns farmers of the evils of bankers, "trilateralists," and the Federal Reserve Board. In his legal advice to farmers, Elliot advocates the filing of pro se lawsuits to stave off foreclosure, lawsuits which both legal and farm experts conclude are invalid. (A Columbia Journalism Review article dated January-February, 1985 quoted the general counsel of the Federal Land Bank of Wichita, who stated that in his four-state region he knew of about 35 such suits based on Elliot's strategies, none successful.)

A further sad effect of the "do it yourself" lawsuit is that farmers who go this route have all too often lost the possibility of legitimate legal recourse that otherwise might have been available.

Rick Elliot served two years in prison in the early 1960's on charges of first-degree perjury and writing a check with insufficient funds. He also pleaded guilty in 1972 to selling stock without a license in California and was fined and sentenced to two years probation.

Nor is Elliot's anti-Semitism a new wrinkle. In 1982, the (now defunct) *Primrose and Cattleman's Gazette* reprinted a strident hate sheet, "Who Rules America?," which was disseminated by the neo-Nazi National Alliance. During the spring and summer of 1983 it published a long series entitled, "How the Jewish Question

Touches the Farm," adapted mainly from Henry Ford, Sr.'s infamous and recanted 1929 book, *The International Jew*. Elliot's paper repeatedly blamed bankers and Jews for the farmer's woes. In the September 13, 1982 issue it advocated taking revenge and stated:

"If the Jews are so worried about their way of life, just wait till they feel the full wrath of what is in store, and then they can really lament their position..."

In May, 1985, Rick Elliot filed for chapter 11 bankruptcy protection for his NAPA. The following month, his wife Karla, who edited the *Primrose and Cattleman's Gazette*, pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy and was placed on two years' probation.

The Death of Arthur Kirk

Artificially stimulated hopes can sometimes lead to tragedy. On October 23, 1984, a farmer in Cairo, Nebraska died in a shootout at his farm with a state law enforcement SWAT team. Earlier that day, the farmer, Arthur Kirk, had grabbed a .41 magnum and threatened several deputy sheriffs who had come to serve legal papers for a local bank claiming the property.

In a taped telephone conversation between Kirk and law enforcement officials shortly before his death, Kirk blamed his financial problems on the "goddam f_____ Jews." He and his wife had joined Rick Elliot's anti-Semitic NAPA earlier in the year after hearing Elliot address a meeting of disgruntled farmers. Kirk had filed a NAPA-inspired lawsuit that summer attempting to get a bank loan nullified; the suit was dismissed without a hearing.

A few weeks after the shooting, Elliot announced that NAPA had found lawyers to represent Mrs. Kirk in a civil rights suit against the state. As an editorial in the *Grand Island Independent* put it following the shootout, "There are people who are profiting from the plight of farmers, some indirectly and even innocently because they are themselves deluded, and some more maliciously defrauding them."

Kirk's death prompted a special state investigation headed by retired Judge Samuel Van Pelt, which concluded that a decision to call in the state patrol's SWAT team was "under-

standable." During Van Pelt's inquiry, he reported having encountered at Kirk's farm a considerable amount of inflammatory political literature generated by extremist organizations with a common theme—"an anti-Semitic tone that to me is the thread of the whole thing." Van Pelt recommended that the state of Nebraska closely scrutinize groups advocating violence or other unlawful means to solve farm problems.

Pseudo-Legal Advice, Cont'd...

A newsletter published in Hales Corner, Wisconsin aggressively promotes lawsuits against banks by farmers and others who are concerned that they may be facing mortgage foreclosures. The newsletter, "Patriots Information Network," is the work of Conrad LeBeau, who served as a presidential elector for the Populist Party. LeBeau has advertised his "legal" advice in anti-Semitic publications such as *The Spotlight* and *The American Sunbeam*. He has also contributed to *The Spotlight*, where he has been identified as "a popular national lecturer on 'money' and the federal reserve."

In an open letter to sheriffs dated September 5, 1985, LeBeau wrote of "an incredible conspiracy originating with the Federal Reserve Board and international bankers," and informed the sheriffs of his goal "to expose those conspirators and have them brought to trial."

In addition to his newsletter, LeBeau holds seminars where he promotes his legal packets (also sold by mail) which include "model lawsuits" to be used against creditors. He also lists the names of "attorneys and patriots" who can be used as resource people for those facing bank foreclosures.

In his newsletter dated October, 1984, LeBeau referred to the Populist Party's Bob Richards as "the candidate who speaks the truth and who is not afraid to take on the money-changers from Wall Street." LeBeau took out several advertisements in "patriotic newspapers" promoting Richards' tapes and used his post office box to collect money for the Richards campaign. According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission, he collected nearly \$1600.

LeBeau has insisted that he disagrees with the racist and anti-Semitic philosophies of many on the Identity and violence-oriented fringes. In his Newsletter in August, 1985, LeBeau stated (the lower-case J's are his): "While it is true that most of the international bankers call themselves jews, it is not true that all jews are international bankers." He has, nonetheless, advertised or promoted works by two notorious Jew-baiters—Eustace Mullins (Secrets of the Federal Reserve) and Sheldon Emry (Billions for Bankers, Debts for People).

The Posse

The Posse Comitatus, the anti-Semitic organization of loosely-affiliated groups of armed vigilantes in several states in the Midwest and the West, blames the federal government for the plight of American farmers and has encouraged farmers to defend their land "with their lives."

The unauthorized, self-appointed "posses" who seek the return of vigilante "justice" are considered violent and dangerous by law enforcement authorities and "a terrorist organization" by the FBI. The Posse Comitatus implements its philosophy through various forms of intimidation and harassment including the open flauning of weapons, disruption of court proceedings and nuisance lawsuits against public officials.

The Posse's most notorious member, Gordon Kahl, was charged with killing two U.S. marshals in North Dakota in 1983 (the marshals had sought him as a parole violator). Later that year, Kahl died in a shoot-out with an Arkansas sheriff who tried to arrest him.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "The American Farmer: Twentieth Century Slave," James Wickstrom, the Posse's self-proclaimed "national director of counterinsurgency," declares:

"The Jew-run banks and federal loan agencies are working hand in hand, foreclosing on thousands of farms. They are, in essence, nationalizing farms for the Jews. The federal government follows a well-regulated plan that goes hand in hand with the Jewish money barons who pay off the politicians who con-

trol the farm crops...the farmer sells his hard-earned self-invested crops to the local Jewish governed cooperative, in turn practically giving our crops to the enemy for nothing."

Wickstrom has urged discontented farmers stockpile machine guns. In 1983 and 1984, he momoted a recorded weekly telephone message called "Fed-Up American," which at various times criticized "the Jew-controlled press," and referred to Jews as "mongrel[s]" and money manipulators." In 1984 Wickstrom was arrested in Wisconsin for impersonating a public official. He was released from jail in April, 1985 after serving some thirteen months on a bail-jumping charge related to the 1984 arrest.

Law enforcement officials believe that a recent Posse strategy is to camouflage their local groups by having them adopt new, innocuous-sounding organizational names, hoping that they will thereby escape offical attention.

The Murders

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In August, 1985, federal, state and local law enforcement officers raided a farm near Rulo in southeastern Nebraska occupied by right-wing "religious survivalists" and made a grisly discovery—two bodies placed in unmarked graves, one of them that of a five-year-old boy. The leader of the group, Michael Ryan, his son Dennis, and an associate, Timothy Haverkemp, have been charged with first-degree murder in the deaths of James Thimm, 25, of Beatrice, Nebraska, and Luke Stice, 5, of Fall City, Nebraska. The county sheriff reported that Thimm's body appeared to have "lacerations similar to whippings."

Hate literature produced by the Posse Comitatus and the Aryan Nations group was found at the farm in addition to large quantities of automatic weapons and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition. The three men, held without bond, were scheduled for separate trials beginning January 28, 1986.

Ryan is currently serving a five-year sentence at the Nebraska State Penitentiary in Lincoln on a state weapons conviction. The charge, to which he pleaded guilty last July, stemmed from an earlier raid authorities made on the

Rulo camp in which they seized a cache of weapons and ammunition.

Ryan was identified by a Posse Comitatus member in Kansas to law enforcement officials in 1984 as "Jim Wickstrom's main man in Kansas." The member's statement had added that "Ryan's group steals machinery and cattle from farmers and sells them."

Two Propagandists

Keith Shive, 65, is a retired farmer from Halsted, Kansas, who is the self-proclaimed leader of the "Farmers Liberation Army." Although law enforcement officials are skeptical that Shive has any substantial following, he has been offered a number of important platforms for his hate-filled rhetoric, much of it aimed at Jews.

A speaker at numerous "freedom festivals" sponsored by the Christian Patriots Defense League, Shive has been quoted as saying that Jews are "controlled by the devil" and that he is "against Jews who control our Federal Reserve System and the rest of our money."

In 1983, Shive served as master of ceremonies at a "memorial rally" honoring Gordon Kahl, the Posse Comitatus activist who had killed two federal marshals before being killed in the later shoot-out with law enforcement officials. According to the Bismark *Tribune*, Kahl and two North Dakota men had traveled to Keith Shive's farm to discuss farm issues only a few weeks before he killed the federal marshals. Law enforcement officials have confirmed the meeting.

Interestingly, Shive is the Kansas state chairman of the Populist Party.

In April, 1985, a number of full-page advertisements began appearing in eleven newspapers in Western Nebraska and Eastern Wyoming promoting a book which reportedly proves that a Zionist-Jewish conspiracy controls the economy and media of the United States. The author of these ads was Rudy "Butch" Stanko, Jr., a Scotsbluff, Nebraska meat packer whose two plants once were the second largest supplier of ground beef to the federal school lunch program.

Last fall, Stanko was sentenced to six years in prison and fined \$70,000 for ordering his employees to bypass federal meat inspectors.

His appeal for a new trial has been denied. Stanko says he became convinced of a conspiracy during his six months in jail, concluding that "Zionists own the federal reserve system, control our media, and are gaining control of our food supply, including the meat packing industry."

And From the Klan

During 1985, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK) was active in disseminating propaganda accusing Jews of stealing land from America's farmers. The KKKK has also equated America's farm crisis with the Soviet famine during Stalin's period in the USSR and has propagated the notion that the Jews were behind that crisis also.

The May 1985 issue of *The White Patriot*, edited by Thom Robb, contained "An Open Letter to the American Farmer" which claims that no Jews were murdered by Hitler's SS in the USSR during World War II, but that Jews were killing Russian farmers. "You have seen the pictures, but you were told by the same network of conspirators that is now attempting to drive you off your land that they were Jews killed by Hitler's SS. But they weren't Jews, they weren't even ordinary anti-Communist resisters: they were FARMERS!"

The letter cites the infamous anti-Semitic forgery, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," alleging, "It's as plain as can be, the Jewish conspirators wrote in their own book what they intend to do. And to put it simply, THE JEW PLAN IS TO STEAL YOUR LAND! And this is exactly what they are doing time and time again."

Such words from the Ku Klux Klan echo cries of hatred heard over the last 100 years from the "knights" who wear hoods. By now they have a hollow ring. But they are little different from the words of those who may have slicker credentials—radical political candidates or spokesmen for larger, less violent organizations. The Klan identification of "Jew" may in some cases become "international bankers," and this, in turn, "the Federal Reserve System." In reverse, the heartbreaking effects of harsh economic conditions become "conspiracy." Either way, simplistic nostrums primped by extremist rhetoric, and even hate itself, are

peddled as means to the panacea. There is no question of the potential for danger.

II. A MEASURE OF THE DANGER

The broad effort of political extremists and hatemongers to target rural America for propaganda and recruitment constitutes only half the story. The other half—less dramatic, perhaps, but no less important—involves the attempt to gauge the results of the extremist effort, to examine the extent to which the people of the farmlands have responded, or have not responded.

As indicated at the outset in these pages, the field investigations undertaken by the Anti-Defamation League reveal that while some farright organizations have enjoyed a limited measure of success—a few new recruits here, a dozen new subscriptions there, a few noisy rallies and many a noisy headline—the overwhelming majority of America's farmers are, at present, not buying what the extremists are selling. Several violent confrontations and some tragic deaths have generated news coverage, but these have been due to the activities of the few. Many farmers feel desperation over their economic plight, to be sure, and understandably so, but neither the effusive self-puffery of the far-right propagandists nor the shrill cries of certain alarmists can gainsay the lack of evidence of any truly significant mass radicalization of rural America at the present time.

The ADL's ongoing monitoring efforts, conducted through its Midwestern regional offices and its special investigators, also show that while some extremist groups have grown a little, others have experienced losses. Two of the most extreme right-wing groups—the Aryan Nations and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord—have recently lost leaders and rank-and-file members as a consequence of the crackdown by law enforcement agencies on the criminal activities of the terrorist network known as "The Order." Also, the leader of the Posse Comitatus, James Wickstrom, was recently released from a Wisconsin jail after serving some 13 months of a sentence and has moved to Pennsylvania; he is on a two-year probation which prohibits participation in Posse activities. Wickstrom's prolonged absence has

hurt the Wisconsin organization, which has been the best organized state unit in the country. (In addition, in June, 1985 a Wisconsin police strike force, operating under court orders, evicted and dispersed the occupants of the Posse's state headquarters at Tigerton.)

As to the more political of the exploiters. the most recent national election results revealed little public support for their candidates in the Midwest and Great Plains agricultural states. Despite all of the Populist Party's efforts, there is little evidence that their loud outreach has perked up the farm families' ears. (To the credit of the leaders of farm organizations, to date no official Populist Party representative has been permitted to address an audience from the platform of any major farm meeting or rally.) The Populists' candidate for President, Bob Richards, polled 10,882 votes out of a total of 5,627,100 votes cast in the four farm-belt states (Kansas. Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin) in which he appeared on the ballot, a mere one-fifth of one percent. The other far-right Presidential candidate, Lyndon LaRouche, received 30,537 votes out of a total of 11,783,529 cast in the six farm-belt states (Colorado, Iowa, Minnesota, N. Dakota, Ohio, Wisconsin) in which he was listed on the ballot. His share of the vote was a similarly negligible one-quarter of one percent.

What ADL's investigations indicate, and the election figures confirm, is that there is indeed a small minority of rural Americans, many of them longtime adherents of extremist or anti-Semitic doctrines, who are today more active and visible due to the agricultural crisis. Some of the favorite conspiracy theories—the Federal Reserve Bank "plot" is an example—are being mindlessly echoed by some bewildered farmers looking for simple explanations of their complex financial troubles. But as of now, most of these Americans remain practical-minded, law-abiding citizens who cope with their problems through the legal, peaceful avenues available in our democratic society. Operating through their farm organizations and the major political parties, they are lobbying and building alliances aimed at bringing pressure to bear in the political arena where, in the real world, their grievances must ultimately be resolved.

At the same time, as seen in the previous pages, several episodes of extremist violence

have occurred recently in rural areas, and it is entirely possible that there will be others. Indeed, there are indications that certain armed extremists—e.g., the vigilante group attached to the misnamed "Heritage Library" of Oklahoma—are deliberately seeking opportunities for confrontations over farm foreclosures. Other armed groups, such as the Klan and the Posse Comitatus, are quite capable of initiating similar confrontations. Such violence and the crackdown it could engender from law enforcement authorities could conceivably give rise to a more radical mood among at least a small and vocal minority in the farm regions.

Surely a swift resolution of this crisis is to be hoped for, but realism dictates that it may be a while in coming. During that while, there is much that can be done to counter the impact of the extremists. The Anti-Defamation League has undertaken a systematic effort in that direction, and it is to this effort that we now turn our attention.

III. MONITORING AND COUNTERACTION

As prescribed in its Charter, signed in 1913, the Anti-Defamation League goes about its work through law and education, and by investigating and exposing bigotry and the threats that bigotry's protagonists pose to democracy. The efforts of extremist groups to exploit the desperate conditions facing many rural Americans has shown the need for ADL's fact-finding.

• Since 1980, the League has exposed the growing paramilitary training activities of extremist groups—the Aryan Nations (and its criminal offshoot, The Order); the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord; the Christian Patriots Defense League and the various Klan organizations. The first ADL report on these activities, which was presented to the U.S. Attorney General, revealed the existence of extremist paramilitary camps in five states. Following this, the ADL Legal Affairs department drafted model legislation which would make such activities illegal; laws inspired by the ADL model have been enacted in eleven states thus far. Some of this legislation has had a measurable deterrent effect on the paramilitary organizations. The law enacted in Missouri, for

example, has resulted in a decided decline in the training activities of the Christian Patriots Defense League.

- The associate director of the ADL regional office in Denver has been notified that she is to be called as an expert witness for the State of Colorado in its present criminal prosecution of Rick Elliot of the National Agricultural Press Assocation for felony theft.
- In June, 1982, a powerful radio voice in the farm belt, the 100,000-watt country music station KTTL-FM in Dodge City, Kansas, began broadcasting vicious anti-Semitic tape recordings supplied by Posse Comitatus leaders Jim Wickstrom and William Gale. Some of the Posse messages openly promoted violence against Jews. Example:

"You better start making dossiers, names, addresses, phone numbers, car license numbers, on every damn Jew rabbi in this land, and every Anti-Defamation League leader or JDL leader in this land, and you better start doing it now. And know where he is. If you have to be told any more than that, you're too damn dumb to bother with. You get these road-block locations, where you can set up ambushes, and get it all working now."

Here began a long legal controversy—it continues still—in which ADL has petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to forbid these broadcasts, arguing that they constitute "incitement to imminent lawlessness." The FCC has now granted ADL permission to enter the case as a party to challenge KTTL's license renewal application.

• In Missouri and Arkansas, ADL has provided background information to the state attorneys general to bolster their policy of refusing to allow prisoners to receive hate materials in prisons or to organize "church" services led by Identity "ministers." (Inmates have challenged the states' policies. The issue is whether the promotion of bigotry under the rubric of "religion" could incite prisoners to confrontation and pose a security threat.) When two leaders of the Aryan Nations organization, publisher of much of the hate mail going to

prisoners in a recruiting effort, testified for the plaintiffs in the Missouri case in August, 1985, ADL materials were used extensively in the cross-examination. The attorneys general of Missouri and Arkansas have also sent information, including ADL materials, to their counterparts in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Idaho, where similar suits are pending.

- The ADL is stepping up its efforts to assist Jewish communal institutions in improving their security arrangements. The League's handbook, Security For Community Institutions, has been distributed to synagogues, community centers and welfare agencies. The ADL regional offices, particularly those in the Midwest, are available to the Jewish communities and others for consultation on security matters and liaison with law enforcement agencies.
- Since the publication of the ADL's background report on the Identity churches in 1983, regional directors have been working with Christian clergy encouraging them to appreciate the nature of Identity's bigotry and its distortion of Christianity. Prominent farm leaders and organizers have been encouraged to speak out against hate groups and their bigotry through formal resolutions and from platforms at important farm rallies. The ADL's Research and Fact Finding Reports* have been used to provide the hard background information needed by responsible farm groups to expose and repudiate the messages of hate groups.
- The ADL's Intergroup Relations Division contributes to the fight against extremism's scapegoating and simplistic solutions to farmers' problems through a variety of educational programs and activities. Working with schools and educators, the division provides materials—books, pamphlets, films and filmstrips—that stress democratic ideals of tolerance, understanding and fair play. A new highly rated program in this field is the Adolescent Prejudice Reduction Program, being conducted on an experimental basis in schools in Florida and Minnesota. Catching youngsters early enough

Extremism on the Right: A Handbook

^{*}The Populist Party: The Politics of Right-Wing Extremism

[&]quot;Propaganda of the Deed": The Far Right's Desperate 'Revolution'

ADL Paramilitary Training Statue: Implementation "The Identity Churches": A Theology of Hate

to defuse prejudice before it hardens is a major goal of the division.

In cooperation with public and private television and radio artists, ADL also produces Public Service Announcements that air in all fifty states. Through the medium of posters—attractive especially to the young—the message is multiplied. The Sports Poster Series, for example, features ten of the United States' leading athletes, from numerous sports and racial and ethnic backgrounds, who all subscribe to the slogan: "If You Really Believe in America, Prejudice is Foul Play." In lunchrooms, hallways and classrooms, children are offered an alternative to bigotry and discrimina-

tion through role models they respect and admire.

ADL's programmatic objective is to continue to play a role in ensuring that extremist group gains among farmers in the future do not significantly increase over their present small numbers—even if conditions facing the farms grow more desperate, as some analysts predict. ADL's efforts have focused on continued monitoring, and on education to reinforce tendencies in rural Americans—that they share with all citizens—which would naturally lead them to reject the anti-democratic extremists' message of scapegoating and bigotry.

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ADL

COMMENT:

The Year That Was...



t's "list" time, the time of year in which we sort things out, the best or the worst of this and that. In theatre, plays, in publishing, books, and no less predictably, here it's those events that reflect Anti-Defamation League concerns. They are not necessarily in order of importance:

• Terrorism. For all of the huffing and puffing of outraged statesmen, 1985 was nonetheless the Year of the Terrorist. Abroad there was the TWA hijacking and at sea the Achille Lauro hijacking cum murder, and there was the carnage at Malta. Here in the U.S., an Arab-American was murdered and a Nazi collaborator died of bomb wounds. One hopes that the U.S. interception of the Egyptian airliner, a safe-haven for P.L.O. murderers, suggests a hardening of the free world's resolve against terrorism. But one isn't betting.

• Catholic-Jewish relations. It was the 20th anniversary of Nostra Aetate. In this score of years, radical changes have been made in Catholic teachings and liturgy concerning Jews. Good. Very good. But time marches on and the ripening central issue in our relationship is Vatican recognition of Israel—making de jure what is de facto.

P.L.O. It suffered being discredited even in circles not without some tolerance for it.
 Discredited not so much by Israel, not so much by the United States, not so much by "moderate" Arab states and certainly not by the United Nations. Discredited by its own actions. Couldn't happen to more deserving killers.

• The United Nations. Its 40th anniversary and the not unrelated 10th anniversary of the General Assembly's mugging of Merriam—Webster and Funk & Wagnall. In 1975, the U.N. defined Zionism as racism. What seemed outlandish a decade ago has, alas, achieved the more acceptable state of merely being controversial. Throughout much of the world, Zionism and racism are being taught as synonyms. Alas, too, the Big Lie did not die with Goebbels. It is alive and well and living at the United Nations.

Bitburg. A reminder (as a people, we always seem to need reminding) that even friends
can be insensitive. But it was a faceted reminder. A reminder, too, that insensitivity should
not be equated with anti-Semitism.

 Farrakhan. It's not so much the demagogue that stirred melancholy thoughts. We've seen his type rise and fall throughout our lives, throughout the lives of our forebears.
 What may be more telling than Farrakhan are the rationalizations and the evasions, Continued on page 14

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organized a colloquium in collaboration with the External Relations Department of the World Zionist Organization in Cannes, France, protesting the tenth anniversary of the U.N.'s "Zionism is racism" resolution. ADLEF also acted as a resource facility for a two-day national seminar of French Jewish educators and school directors on the teaching of Jewish history. Elements of ADL's "Jewish Life in America" art exhibit, which is being shown in many areas of the U.S., was part of the program.

A FULL ACCOUNTING—ADL endorsed a proposal by Congressman Barney Frank (D-MA) that Congress appoint a commission to investigate the United States' involvement with Nazi war criminals post-World War II.

Participating in the Congressman's news conference in Washington, DC, Ruti G. Teltel, assistant director of ADL's Legal Affairs Department, said, "a full accounting of the facts about the assistance rendered to Nazi fugitives is the minimum debt owed to victims of Nazi oppression," adding, "this history will be repeated if we fail to account for our past and to establish ethical standards which strike a balance between our nations' security needs and the protection of fundamental human rights, here and abroad."

ENDING QUOTAS—President Reagan was urged to sign into law an Executive Order ending government sanctioning of racial quotas and their functional equivalent—goals and

timetables—In a statement by Jeffrey Sinensky, director of ADL's Legal Affairs Department, delivered at a U.S. Chamber of Commerce press conference in Washington, DC, marking the formation of the Ad Hoc Coalition Against Quotas.

Noting that the Justice Department has adopted a "forthright" position against hiring goals and quotas, Mr. Sinensky said "the President has the opportunity, by a stroke of the pen, to do away with (race preferences) once and for all."

"Counting by race," Mr. Sinensky asserted, "was never envisioned by the supporters of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The intent was rather to encourage affirmative action involving a conscious and active effort to recruit minorities, to provide training and skills necessary for advancement and, where appropriate, remedial education. It does not mean practicing discrimination as a means of combatting discrimination."

Among the Coalition members are: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Associated General Contractors, U.S. Business and Industrial Council, Committee on Academic Nondiscrimination, and the National Jewish Coalition.

KEEPING SCORE—Once again, ADL is circulating a pamphlet listing the voting record of each member of the United Nations in support of U.S. policy...and once again, Israel wins highest marks. The booklet, called "Keeping Score at the U.N.," conveys a clear

The Year That Was... continued from page 2

some bordering on hostility, of some mainstream black spokesmen. It the toxicity in their tolerance for Farrakhan really less than the poison in his intolerance?

- Meir Kahane. Racism, as if we didn't know, is not a disease to which Jews are immune. The razor-edged verbal bigotry of Meir Kahane may or may not frighten Arabs. Its cutting edge, however, should frighten all Jews who take pride in the rational foundations of our heritage.
- The Pollard case. It is too early, as I write (December 4, 1985) to assess its impact on Israeli/American relations, although it is likely not as negative as Israel's adversaries hope nor as meaningless as some friends pretend. That, however, does not absolve the boundless and mischievous irresponsibility of his sponsors.
- Israeli-American relations. Record levels of American support for Israel were further enlarged by the U.S.-Israel free trade pact which will, in 10 years, phase out all tariffs between the two democracies. A historic agreement, yes. But more, it symbolizes the mutual respect and regard of two good friends.

-Nathan Perlmutter National Director, Anti-Defamation League

COMMENT:

The Medieval Connection



ast December, driving one of Jerusalem's storied hills, our eyes seeking out, our attention caressing Mount Scopus, I remembered an ancient synagogue in Romania. The 700 year old shul in lasi and what I remembered was the richly ornamented bema and how, when craning my neck to look up into the dome's inner highpoint, the puzzled surprise I felt. The dome hadn't looked nearly so high from the street.

I said so and was reminded that to enter the shul we had descended stairs. Inside, we descended still more stairs. This explained why the zenith of the dome's interior was substantially higher above the shul's sunken floor than it was above the street level.

stantially higher above the shul's sunken floor than it was above the street level.

Why, I had asked our host, such "hard-way" architecture? Because, he explained, in medieval Romania, Christians would not permit Jews to build synagogues taller than churches.

Am I writing of resourcefulness, either Jewish or architectural? No. I'm talking about medievalism.

Back now, to that drive over Jerusalem's undulating green and brown hills, hills which through the millenia have sparkled blood red, too, the all too frequent coloration of religious ferocities: Brigham Young University is building a Mormon Center on Mount Scopus. No matter Mormon compliance with Jerusalem's demanding building requirements; no matter the approbation for the project of Mayor Teddy Kollek, whose fiercely jealous, almost maternal love is the Golden City's armor; no matter written Mormon assurances that the Center will not engage in proselytizing; no matter the absence of evidence that Israeli Jews have converted to Mormonism, a small minority of zealots would bar the Mormons from building on Mount Scopus.

We were asked by government officials how we felt the frustration of the Mormon construction would be received in the United States. We suggested the obvious. Terribly, But, we offered, realpolitik though that consideration is, it wasn't really what mattered. What counts, what really counts, is that made-by-Christians medievalisms of XII century lasi not be adopted by Jews, not in this already excessively punished century, and surely not in the city that should be a light unto all cities, Yerushalayem.

Happily, senior Labor and Likud leaders agree. Which proves, I suppose, that civic sanity and appreciation of the Jewish experience are not always evenly distributed between the publicly appointed and the privately annointed.

-Nathan Perlmutter
National Director, Anti-Defamation League

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