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ADL INTERNATIONAL REPORT

LATIN AMERICA

The LaRouche Network in Latin America

January, 1988

INSTITUTO JARKOW PARA AMERICA LATINA / THE JARKOW INSTITUTE FOR LATIN AMERICA
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ADL INTERNATIONAL REPORT

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THE LAROCHE NETWORK IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

Lyndon H. LaRouche is a political chameleon. Once a radical left wing activist involved with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at Columbia University, in New York, he now leads an extremist political cult which defies conventional description. The LaRouche political network, based in the United States, has also established branches or has activists in many Latin American countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela. In Latin America, as in the United States, his political network espouses an amorphous philosophy that touches many points on the political spectrum, from left to right.

Few individuals in the United States, even those who are knowledgeable about the LaRouche network, are aware that it has spread to Latin America. At the same time, most government officials and the general public in Latin America are generally not aware of the history of LaRouche and the methods used by him and his network of organizations in pursuit of their objectives.

The LaRouche network frequently uses front organizations, often called "coalitions," "institutes," "committees," or "foundations," to pursue its goals. These fronts raise funds which are used to support the LaRouche organization's operations and maintain its leadership in high style. Associated corporations and organizations include: Campaigner Publications, Inc.; Caucus Distributors, Inc.; New Benjamin Franklin House Publishing Company; Fusion Energy Foundation; the Club of Life; the Schiller Institute; PMR Printing; International Caucus of Labor Committees; Executive Intelligence Review and Executive Intelligence Review News Service.

These front organizations provide seeming legitimacy and respectability for his cult, both in the United States and abroad. The network, which appears to use these entities for spreading LaRouche's eccentric philosophies, often seizes upon issues of public concern and uses them as springboards for propagandistic rhetoric often framed within bizarre conspiracy theories. One such theory alleges that various influential Jews and Jewish groups (such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), the International Monetary Fund, major banks, crime syndicates and Soviet, British and Israeli intelligence agencies are part of the international drug trade which is directed by the

Queen of England.

The LaRouche organizations publicly attack and harass public officials and other individuals who oppose LaRouche activities. According to the LaRouche cult, former President Jimmy Carter is involved in an international terrorist apparatus of government agencies, private research groups and political organizations, and Henry Kissinger is a Soviet agent. LaRouche himself even claims to have found a "hard kernel of truth" in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a notorious anti-Semitic forgery discredited by a Swiss court in the 1930's.

In the United States political arena LaRouche now portrays himself as a "Conservative Democrat." After the 1976 presidential campaign in which he ran as the candidate of the U.S. Labor Party (now defunct), LaRouche shifted from the left to the right and presented himself as a "conservative" candidate in the Democratic Party presidential primaries. The name of one LaRouche vehicle, the National Democratic Policy Committee, is frequently confused with the Democratic National Committee, which oversees the Democratic Party.

Leaders of the Democratic Party have rebuffed his efforts to adopt a Democratic Party mantle. In 1984, Democratic Party chairman Charles Manatt condemned "the activities of this fanatical cult which...practices various forms of intimidation." Larry Framm, the 1988 chairman of the Democratic Party in the state of Virginia, where the LaRouche organization is headquartered said, "the Democratic party has no use for Lyndon LaRouche."

THE LAROCHE NETWORK ON TRIAL

The cult's fundraising methods in the United States have resulted in criminal prosecutions and investigations in several jurisdictions, which may jeopardize its operations. Three front groups -- Caucus Distributors, Inc., Campaigner Publications, Inc., and Fusion Energy Foundation -- appear to have ceased operations after April, 1987 when a federal bankruptcy judge placed them under interim trusteeship pending the outcome of government-initiated involuntary bankruptcy proceedings. The government's attempt to place the corporations in involuntary bankruptcy is part of an effort to collect more than \$16 million in contempt fines levied against the three firms for defying a federal grand jury's subpoenas for information regarding their fundraising practices.

LaRouche and several of his top lieutenants were put on trial in late 1987 for their alleged roles in a nationwide scheme which raised more than \$1 million by defrauding individuals who purchased LaRouche publications, made loans or contributions to LaRouche's presidential campaign, or made contributions to one of several causes advanced by the cult, such as fighting AIDS or

drugs. Fundraisers allegedly used high-pressure techniques to solicit contributions or loans, which they promised to repay with interest, when it was the organization's policy not to repay these loans, unless the lender was influential and could make trouble for the cult. Unauthorized charges were also allegedly made to the credit card numbers thus obtained. Former members have said the scheme was prompted by the need for funds for LaRouche's previously unsuccessful 1984 presidential bid. LaRouche is charged with obstruction of justice for allegedly interfering with a grand jury probe of the alleged fraud. Several of his associates are charged with obstruction of justice and credit card fraud. The trial is expected to last several months into 1988.

A former LaRouche security aide, Roy Frankhauser, was convicted in December, 1987 of plotting to obstruct the aforementioned investigation. Frankhauser is a former member of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party.

In prosecutions elsewhere, LaRouche followers were indicted in early 1987 by a Virginia grand jury on state charges of securities fraud. The trial has been continued until May, 1988. Others were indicted, also in early 1987, by a New York state grand jury for securities fraud and grand larceny. (Loans secured by promissory notes are deemed securities by these states.) The Attorneys General of Virginia and New York have said the amount fraudulently obtained may total more than \$30 million over a two-year period. Thirteen states have issued civil cease-and-desist orders barring LaRouche associates and organizations from raising funds in those states.

Arrest warrants were issued by the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office in January, 1988 against a LaRouche follower and two other persons for felony election law violations. In addition, a federal grand jury in Alexandria, Virginia is reportedly investigating claims of tax fraud and violations of the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act.

Fundraising for LaRouche's 1988 presidential campaign may have suffered a setback in January, 1988 when a Federal Elections Commission (FEC) staff report recommended against awarding presidential primary matching funds to LaRouche through his principal authorized campaign committee, the LaRouche Democratic Campaign. The FEC report cited "the historical and pervasive pattern of fraud and abuse of the public funding program exhibited by Mr. LaRouche, his authorized committees and associated organizations" in the 1976, 1980, and 1984 campaigns. The report also pointed up "certain irregularities" in the current campaign, including several personal checks from contributors which appeared to have been altered without being initialed to indicate the change was authorized.

ANTI-SEMITIC SENTIMENT

LaRouche's anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, anti-Israel campaigns began as early as March of 1978, when the LaRouche newspaper, New Solidarity (replaced in 1987 by The New Federalist), published an article in support of an unsuccessful libel suit brought against the Anti-Defamation League by Liberty Lobby, the largest and best financed anti-Semitic organization in the United States. In the weeks and months that followed, the paper sustained its attack on the ADL and other Jewish organizations. It printed inflammatory articles about the danger of the "Jewish and the Zionist Lobby," Israeli political leaders such as Menachem Begin and Moshe Dayan, and "The ADL as Britain's Zionist Gestapo."

According to LaRouche, "Israel is ruled from London as a zombie-nation" and Zionism is a "hideous doctrine..." In his article on the "Cult Origins of Zionism," LaRouche espouses three common anti-Semitic themes: 1) denial that six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust; 2) assertions that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus Christ; and 3) Zionism is racism.

LAROCHE'S LATIN AMERICAN APPEAL

Lyndon H. LaRouche has been able to garner support in Latin America by appealing to nationalist feelings of the people and their governments. He denounces the ever-mounting foreign debt and International Monetary Fund (IMF) measures that, he claims, compound the already severe economic problems facing these countries. However, LaRouche takes his criticism even further. He encourages the belief that the foreign debt is the root cause of all of the problems facing the Latin American nations today. He claims that the IMF-enforced austerity measures impinge on sovereignty, increase the threat of Communist subversion, and stimulate unemployment as well as narcotics trafficking.

LaRouche is also a staunch supporter of the efforts of many Latin American nations to curtail drug production and trafficking - what LaRouche calls the "war on drugs." However, LaRouche does not offer a meaningful and concrete program. His anti-drug campaign consists largely of attacks on public officials and prominent individuals who, according to his "intelligence network," are allegedly involved in the production and sale of drugs or in "narco-dollar laundering."

By "revealing" conspiratorial plots against Latin American governments and making himself useful to those in power LaRouche tries to win the support and confidence of Latin Americans. According to the LaRouche publication, Executive Intelligence Review (5/21/85), the United States government and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith are collaborating on a scheme to destabilize Latin American governments. Moreover, EIR claims

that the State Department is guiding the Mexican opposition party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), in its bid for power. A LaRouche activist in Panama, Mario Parnter, "revealed" and denounced the United States' "Project Democracy" as a plan to destabilize Panama and overthrow the government and leadership of the Panamanian Defense Forces.

THE PARTIDO LABORAL (LABOR PARTY)

The primary vehicle through which LaRouche and his followers propagate the cult's extremist politics in Latin America is the Partido Laboral, the Latin American arm of the International Caucus of Labor Committees (ICLC). The ICLC, of which LaRouche is the chairman, oversees the Ibero-American Labor Committee which directs the labor parties in Latin American countries. A Partido Laboral operates in at least four Latin American countries, but membership statistics are not available. In Colombia, Maximiliano Londoño leads PLAN (Partido Laboral Andino). In Mexico the PLM (Partido Laboral Mexicano) is directed by Marivilia Carrasco. Venezuela's branch is known as the PLV (Partido Laboral Venezolano) and its leader is Alejandro Peña Esclusa. In Peru the PLP (Partido Laboral Peruano) is led by Sara Madueño Paulette. All are members of the CELA, the Latin American Executive Committee, which runs the Ibero-American Labor Committee. Lorenzo Carrasco, the brother of Marivilia Carrasco, leads the small LaRouche office in Brazil.

These "Labor Parties" are not indigenous parties, despite their official-sounding titles, which conjure images of mainstream groups with mass based support. Although the title "Labor Party" seems to suggest a popular party linked to the international labor movement, the by-laws of the Partido Laboral Venezolano state "the party calls itself "labor" (laboral) because it considers that it is through work that the human being...perfects itself."

The Latin American labor parties appear to have used deceptive and fraudulent means to accomplish their goals. Maximiliano Londoño, Secretary General of PLAN, presented himself in a news bulletin (11/6/82) as a legal advisor to the UTC (Unión de Trabajadores Colombianos) in Colombia. According to a Colombian newspaper, the president of the UTC denied any such affiliation. The Supreme Electoral Commission denied legal status to the Partido Laboral Venezolano because of "false signatures" on petitions which it submitted. Thirteen members of a LaRouche group were arrested and expelled from Venezuela in 1985 for interfering in domestic politics and acting as journalists without regard for Venezuelan law. The Venezuelan daily newspaper, El Universal, cited documents linking the arrested and expelled LaRouchites to the Soviet KGB and the Cuban DGI intelligence service. According to the Venezuelan Minister of the Interior, Octavio Lepage, the LaRouche followers "claim to

be members of a labor party," but "this is a phantom party."

Although ostensibly concerned with issues affecting the welfare of local workers, the LaRouchite "Labor parties" seem to concentrate on international activities. For example, they actively support Peruvian president Alan García, denounce the IMF austerity measures, and attack prominent individuals. In Latin America, they have publicly libeled Mario Vargas Llosa, noted Peruvian author and Gustavo Cisneros, a prominent Venezuelan business man, as well as other public personalities for alleged involvement in narcotics trafficking. They also denounce efforts to control the increase in Mexico's population as part of a world anti-Mexican conspiracy.

EL CLUB DE LA VIDA (THE CLUB OF LIFE)

The Club of Life is another LaRouche organization that established branches in various Latin American countries. Lyndon LaRouche and his wife, Helga Zepp-LaRouche, head the International Board of Directors of the "Club." Founded in 1982, its stated purpose is to "stop the genocide being pushed by the Club of Rome and the Global 2000 program, and to fight for a new world economic order." The "clubs" are active in Colombia, Mexico and Peru where they promote LaRouche's ideas through "conferences."

The Club of Life, was one of the first LaRouche organizations in Colombia, and Jaime Sanin Echeverri, a writer, was one of the organizers of the group. Listed among the founders of the Club of Life in Mexico are: Marivilia Carrasco, Secretary General of the Mexican Worker's Party (PLM) and Dr. Demetrio Sodi Pallares, cardiologist and the former president of the Mexican National Academy of Medicine in Mexico City.

In Mexico, the "Club," one of four groups affiliated with the PLM, attempts to appeal to women, older people and the handicapped. That the various LaRouche front groups are interrelated is particularly obvious in Mexico where they share offices and staff and often have members who are active in several of the LaRouche organizations.

PUBLICATIONS IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

The LaRouche cult controls at least two publishing companies in Latin America, Editorial Benengeli and Proyectos Siglo XX, but many of the ostensibly Latin American publications are produced in the United States. His Spanish language propaganda usually has its counterpart in the United States; the publications often use articles which appeared originally in the English language.

The LaRouche publications in Latin America are: Solidaridad Iberoamericana (formerly Nueva Solidaridad), Fusión Nuclear, and

Resumen Ejecutivo (Spanish version of LaRouche's Executive Intelligence Review). While Fusión Nuclear is designed to appeal to and attract support in the scientific community, Solidaridad Iberoamericana seems to be directed toward the general public and Resumen Ejecutivo is geared to the corporate community. (The U.S. New Solidarity and Fusion have not been published since April, 1987, when the publishers -- Campaigner Publications and Fusion Energy Foundation -- were put into interim trusteeship as part of government-initiated involuntary bankruptcy proceedings. New Solidarity has been replaced by The New Federalist, and Fusion will reportedly soon be replaced by 21st Century Science and Technology).

The LaRouche book, Dope Inc., was published in Spanish in 1985, under the title, Narcotráfico, S.A. The Spanish language version includes a chapter, prepared by the Venezuelan EIR, which attacks prominent Venezuelan personalities.

The LaRouche organizations enjoy the support of some indigenous publications. In Venezuela, the Caracas newspapers, Ultimas Noticias and El Mundo echo the news and opinions of the LaRouche cult. In Argentina, Masonería, which has an anti-Semitic, anti-British, pro-military and pro-fascist philosophy, describes LaRouche as a "leader in ascendancy in the Democratic Party of the United States... and a fervent defender of the right of the Iberoamerican countries." The article goes on to claim that "Argentine nationalism can subscribe to 90% of the principles that LaRouche preaches."

The LaRouche publications and indigenous Latin American publications that are favorable to LaRouche organizations have utilized information distributed by NSIPS (New Solidarity International Press Service) which was founded by LaRouche in 1974, in New York City. In the United States, NSIPS appears to have been replaced by EIRNS (Executive Intelligence News Service) in 1987.

INSTITUTO SCHILLER (THE SCHILLER INSTITUTE)

The Schiller Institute, was established by LaRouche in July, 1984 in Arlington, Virginia, "to prevent the decoupling of Western Europe and the United States." Helga Zepp-LaRouche is the head of the Executive Board and Lyndon LaRouche is head of the Advisory Board of the group.

In 1984, the Schiller Institute appeared on the Latin American scene by sponsoring conferences in Peru, Colombia and Mexico. In Colombia, approximately 75 people were in attendance to hear the keynote speech delivered by Lorenzo Carrasco, then PLM leader. In his speech, Carrasco stressed the danger of Henry Kissinger returning to the White House, saying it would threaten the survival of the Atlantic Alliance.

In 1986, the Schiller Institute sponsored a conference in Peru in conjunction with Fusión Nuclear, Solidaridad Iberoamericana, and La Federación Médica. Among the attendees were Dr. Debra Freeman from the United States and Bertha Farfán from Mexico. "Dr." Freeman is a longtime LaRouche activist who claims to have a PhD from Johns Hopkins University, but the school has no record of her attendance. Dr. Bertha Farfán, coordinator of medical research for the Schiller Institute in Mexico, also an active LaRouche supporter, has stated that the Mexican economic problem is the principal cause of the outbreak of AIDS in Mexico.

The activities of the Schiller Institute in Latin America are obscure and unfocussed, seemingly dedicated to spreading LaRouche's message of grandeur -- that only he can save the world from imminent destruction.

LAROCHE CONTACTS IN HIGH PLACES

Following a pattern established in the United States and other parts of the world, such as India and Turkey, the LaRouche network has managed to obtain contacts with Latin Americans in high level positions. In 1982, LaRouche himself was received by Mexican President López Portillo at the presidential palace and he also met with Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín in Buenos Aires in 1984.

Five influential Latin Americans involved in LaRouche activities participated in a LaRouche " Fact-Finding Committee of the Commission to Investigate Human Rights Violations in the United States." They are identified by EIR (9/87) as: General Lucio Añez, former Bolivian delegate to the Inter-American Defense Board and advisor to the Bolivian Joint Chiefs of Staff; Mario Parnter, member of the National Directorate of the ruling Revolutionary Democratic Party of Panama; Juan Rebaza, Coordinator of the Iberoamerican Union Commission; Juan Valdivia, a Peruvian Congressman; and Wilber Bendezú Carpio, Congressional representative from Lima who is an expert in labor legislation. Despite the official sounding title of the committee, it appears that its major "investigation" of human rights abuses was the alleged persecution and harassment of Lyndon LaRouche and his followers in the form of federal and state indictments for credit card fraud, obstruction of justice and securities fraud.

Another influential Latin American involved with LaRouche is Dr. Ricardo Martín, former Congressional Attorney General of Peru, who has stated that corrupt forces in government have allowed the Soviets to turn drug trafficking into a tool of subversion. Like many LaRouche followers, Dr. Martín proposes theories that appeal to Latin American conservatives' fear of Communism.

These people are representative of Latin Americans whom the LaRouche network seeks to involve -- politicians, military personnel and other government officials who have the potential to influence their nations' future, and to shape public opinion as well.

CONCLUSION

Despite the continuing efforts of the LaRouche cult to establish itself in North American politics, it has failed to win significant positions in public office. Neither has it gained legitimacy in the United States mainstream, because the vast majority of U.S. citizens reject the extremism of LaRouche politics.

Moreover, the credibility of LaRouche has been seriously weakened by the indictment of LaRouche and his associates.

In Latin America, where fledgling democracies and nascent pluralistic philosophies struggle to survive against seemingly insurmountable odds, the LaRouche network, thriving on secrecy, deception, fear and hatred, may be a threat to democratic values and institutions. The camouflage of front groups and nationalistic propaganda imperfectly conceals the fantasy-filled politics of self aggrandizement practiced by LaRouche and his disciples.

There is, unfortunately, insufficient public awareness--especially in Latin America -- of the sordid and bizarre components of LaRouche and his political apparatus. Because the LaRouche cult thrives in an atmosphere of ignorance and disinformation, the best way to combat its extremism and fanaticism is to educate people about its methods and aims, and to point out that a LaRouche inspired flight from reality can only deepen rather than ease the problems of Latin American societies.

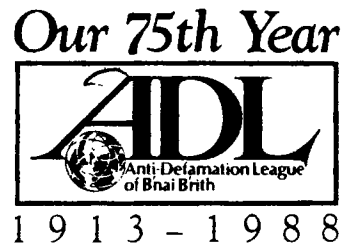
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OTHER ADL REPORTS ON LAROCHE:

1. "The LaRouche Political Cult: Packaging Extremism," Spring 1986 (Also available in Spanish language edition)
2. "LaRouche on Trial: A 1987 Update", Winter 1987

This report prepared by Rachel Schwartz Rubin, intern; edited by Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal, Director, Jarkow Institute for Latin America of the ADL and Mira Boland, ADL Washington, D.C. Fact-Finding Director

The Skinheads — An Update on “Shaved for Battle”



ADL

ADL Fact Finding Report

a report of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017
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This report was prepared by Irwin Suall, Director, Fact Finding Department and David Lowe, Associate Director, Fact Finding Department.

February, 1988

Preface

In November, 1987, the Anti-Defamation League published a special report on the rise in several U.S. cities of the Skinheads, menacing gangs of racist youths who shave their heads, sport neo-Nazi insignia and preach violence against Blacks, Jews and other minorities. The report, "Shaved for Battle," stated that there were several hundred members of the gangs nationwide at the time but pointed out that their numbers were growing.

The distribution of the 1987 report and the news media attention it received immediately brought, among other results, a feedback of additional data from varied sources concerning Skinhead activity. Consequently a new national survey was undertaken in early 1988, the results of which follow. This supplements and updates the findings of "Shaved for Battle."

* * *

A 1988 nationwide survey of racist Skinhead gangs indicates continued membership growth and a persistent propensity for engaging in violence, mainly against racial and religious minorities. The survey reveals that there are at present 20-25 Skinhead groups operating in 12 states with a combined membership of between 1,000 and 1,500. Highlights of the survey:

- Skinheads have been involved in criminal activity—much of it violent—in virtually every city in which they operate.*
- Synagogues in several cities have been heavily vandalized by Skinheads.
- The gangs are composed overwhelmingly of teenagers—many as young as 13 and 14 years of age—who have had no previous involvement in organized hate groups.
- The older hate organizations have stepped up their outreach to Skinheads, and members of the youth gangs have participated in KKK and neo-Nazi rallies in a number of locations.
- Law enforcement authorities have begun to crack down on Skinhead-perpetrated crimes, and leaders have been jailed in several cities.

The following is a state-by-state summary of racist Skinhead activities.

Arizona

Authorities indicate there are approximately 100 Skinheads of the racist type in Tempe, southern Scottsdale and northern Phoenix. Several violent episodes have occurred in Tempe over the past several months involving persons described as fitting the Skinhead mold but no arrests were made.

* We stress, as we did in our earlier report, that there are Skinheads who do not preach racism or adopt the symbols and ideology of Nazi Germany. These Skinheads are not included in our survey, although the line separating racist and non-racist Skinheads is not always clearly visible to observers. Further, some of the non-racists have been reported by law enforcement agencies to be engaged in ordinary criminal activity, including low-level involvement in the distribution of illicit drugs.

California, San Francisco Bay Area

A contingent of Skinheads from the Bay Area took part in a KKK cross-burning ceremony in Modesto in October and at least four were inducted into the Klan. The 13 youths present said they represented Skinhead clubs in Palo Alto, Turlock and Hollister.

Redwood City—Skinheads have distributed racist propaganda materials to high school students in this area, including the publication of the Aryan Youth Movement. A column in the publication headed "Clash and Bash" favorably described "bashing" as "a sport in which 'hunting parties' of White youth seek out non-White individuals and break their bones..."

Temple Beth Jacob in Redwood City was defaced with swastikas and Nazi slogans by a 15-year-old Skinhead girl who has been sentenced to probation. Police found Nazi flags and racist cartoons in her bedroom. "Her parents thought it was just another phase she was going through," said Redwood City Police Lt. William Pratt.

California, Los Angeles Area

A Skinhead, Philip Rowe, is in jail in Los Angeles awaiting trial on charges of attempted murder. He is accused of slitting the throat of a young Hispanic woman after he and several other Skinheads hitched a ride with her.

West Covina—A gang known as the American Front Skinheads operates in this area, several of whose members participated in a rally in Glendale in November, 1987, which headlined as a speaker the veteran anti-Semitic hater J. B. Stoner. The group's leader is Allen Maza, 18 years old, and its members, who range in age from 13 to 19, are seen often in "White Power" T-shirts. Maza, who has the word "Skinhead" tattooed across his neck, has called his gang a "part of the fight against Communists and Jews." He has recently pleaded guilty to a charge of disturbing the peace and is on two-year probation.

San Fernando Valley—The most visible group here are the Reich Skins, ranging in age from 14 to 24 and claiming a membership of 15 to 20. Their leader is Michael Casey Martin, 18, known to his friends as "Peanut" Martin. Martin and a 16-year-old member of his gang were arrested in October, 1987, charged with terrorizing an Hispanic family and flashing an automatic pistol at them. Two months earlier, a swastika and the words "Supreme White Power" were emblazoned on the door of the same family's house.

Martin is in jail awaiting trial while the others face charges as juveniles. In addition, seven young members of the Reich Skins have been arrested in connection with other hate crimes committed over a period of several months.

The Reich Skins cooperate with White Aryan Resistance (WAR), a hard-core hate group led by Tom Metzger, of Fallbrook, California. Martin has appeared on Metzger's "Race and Reason" Cable TV show. The Reich Skins are also reportedly in contact with the KKK and the National Socialist White American Party, whose literature they distribute.

Other Skinheads have been active in the San Fernando Valley area. In November 26-year-old Robert Renney of Pendleton, Oregon, 18-year-old Peter McGurk, and a juvenile were arrested after swerving their car, yelling racial obscenities and spraying a fire extinguisher at a group of Latinos. Renney has been sentenced to six months in jail and three years probation, and charges are pending against McGurk. Renney had been arrested earlier for painting swastikas on a bank in Studio City, also located in San Fernando Valley. He is known to have had a connection with the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based hate group.

California, Other Areas

San Bernadino County—Dave Mazella, an officer in the San Diego-based Aryan Youth Movement (led by Tom Metzger's son John), and Mike Barrett have moved to south-

ern California from the San Francisco Bay Area and are recruiting skinheads in Riverside. They call their group "War Skins."

In Fontana, prior to a January 1988 march honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the police stopped a van carrying 15 Skinheads and found a laser gun, three baseball bats, a knife, chains, tire irons and red shields with swastikas. The driver, Alan Mazzilla of Riverside, was arrested, and the others—hurling Nazi salutes—were ordered to leave. (One had "WAR" tattooed on the back of his head.) Later, Brian Wilson of Riverside was arrested for allegedly possessing a three-foot long lead pipe.

Orange County—Skinhead activities have been reported in eight to ten communities in this area. The most visible concentration of activists is in Huntington Beach, where the local Skinhead group claims 25 members. Gang activities have included distributing neo-Nazi hate literature, graffiti spraying, physical attacks on Asians and Hispanics, and anti-Jewish vandalism. As elsewhere, not all Skinheads in Orange County are of the racist variety.

San Diego—Skinheads numbering 25-30 congregate in the eastern part of the city and have randomly sprayed racist and anti-Semitic graffiti on private buildings. Some are associated with Tom Metzger, whose White Aryan Resistance is headquartered in nearby Fallbrook.

Skinheads are awaiting trial in two separate racially-motivated attacks in the Hillside area. In October, 1987, a 21-year-old Hispanic man and his girlfriend were attacked by a large group of Skinheads. The man's jaw was broken and had to be wired shut for six weeks. Chuck Leek, 20, and Frank "Bulldog" Tokash, 18, will stand trial in March on charges of assault, false imprisonment by force, and battery. Michael J. Mann, 18, and two juveniles are also facing a March trial date in connection with an attack in January on eight Vietnamese as they left a Hillside restaurant. Mann was freed on \$5,000 bail.

Joseph Matelgan, 21, who was on the scene at the October incident, claims he started the Skinhead movement in San Diego after moving from Chicago two years ago. Matelgan, a dock loader, told a reporter, "I believe in the word of Adolf Hitler. I hate just about all non-whites, mainly the Jewish race."

Colorado

Denver—Some 30 Skinhead types are reliably reported operating in the Denver area. They wear Nazi-type decorations and Doc Marten boots and have a reputation of engaging in hoodlum-like behavior. More of them are seen in the area during the summer months than at other times.

Florida

Miami—A police officer was stabbed during a gang confrontation between Skinheads and another gang last October. Skinheads in the area have been arrested for robbery, assault and vandalism.

Orlando—Police estimates for the area range from 15 to 30 Skinheads. No longer seen hanging out in East Orlando, where they had been badly beaten and two of them arrested after a clash with a black gang, they currently frequent the Pine Hills Shopping Center of the city's west side. One leader of the group, Russell Penrose, has been arrested for aggravated battery and robbery, and others have been picked up on weapons charges. Eight area Skinheads appeared at a KKK rally in January.

Illinois

Chicago—The Chicago Area Skinheads, also known as "Romantic Violence," number 20-30 and congregate in the near North Side, Lakeview and Uptown areas. Led by 28-year-

old Clark Martell, the group holds two P.O. boxes, one in Cicero registered to Martell, the other in Blue Island registered to his associate Pat Signore. Skinheads gather at a juice bar called Medusa, and at other clubs, including Club Dreamers, Cabaret Metro, and Cubby Bear (across from Wrigley Field).

On January 25, Martell and five other Skinheads were arrested for an April, 1987 assault on a 20-year-old female member who wanted to leave the group. The six, who are being held on bail, are charged with home invasion, aggravated battery and robbery. (Home invasion carries a minimum penalty of six years.) Arrested with Martell were his girlfriend Morgan Kipp, 18, Sean Kipp, 20, Cassandra Clark, 20, Tracey Zajdel, 20, all of Chicago, and Keith Jamieson, 26, of Grove Village, Illinois.

A close associate of the Chicago Skinheads, William Lienberger, was indicted in January on two counts of felony criminal charges growing out of a series of window smashings of Jewish-owned businesses on the anniversary of Kristallnacht.

Michigan

Detroit—The Detroit Area Skinheads (DASH), who hold a Southfield P.O. box, publish "Final War," a newsletter whose one issue to date is devoted to interviews with Skinhead rock group leaders, information about other (mainly European) Skinheads, and crude racist propaganda. Members frequent a tattoo parlor in the working class suburb of Taylor that is owned by Steve Richards, who was dishonorably discharged from the Navy and who has attended meetings of hate movement leaders at the farm of Robert Miles.

Ohio

Cincinnati—Skinhead activity in this city is presently dormant since reaching a peak last summer.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City—Two Skinhead groups, each with 10-15 members, gather at separate locations: the Wreck Room bar and The Ditch. Most live in the northwestern part of the city and are bused to high schools with a majority of black students.

Two Oklahoma City synagogues were hit with three separate incidents of heavy vandalism in December, 1987. The phrases "Die Jews," "White Race Rules," and "OKC Skins Rule" were scrawled on the walls along with swastikas. Charges have been brought against five Skinheads or associates of Skinheads for malicious harassment in connection with one of these incidents. They are: Kelley Carlton McNiece, 19, Scott Alan Nanken, 21, and John Dustin Williams, 21, all of Oklahoma City, and two juveniles. These were implicated by three other Skinheads, Mark Edward Walker, 20, and two juveniles, arrested earlier for beating a black man they had been taunting at a restaurant. When they were arrested, police officers confiscated spiked rings believed to be used in the beatings.

Oregon

Portland—There has been no violent or lawless Skinhead activity in the area of late. The local Skinheads number approximately 25-30 young people. In November, 1987 a black woman, Elise Anfield, was terrorized in her car by a group of white youths thought to be Skinheads. The auto was damaged and Ms. Anfield suffered eye lacerations from shards of glass from the car window.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh—A group of a half-dozen Skinheads regularly congregate at a teenage rock club called The Electric Banana disco on Bigelow Boulevard, shout racial and anti-Semitic epithets and attempt to pick fights.

Texas

Dallas—Dallas Area Skinheads are known as the "Confederate Hammer Skins" and are linked to Oklahoma City's Skins. Their leader, Sean Christian Tarrant, helped provide security for a march in Pulaski, Tennessee in January, 1988 sponsored by the Knights of the KKK. In February, a delegation of Dallas Skinheads traveled to Arkansas to participate in a rally in support of 14 white supremacists facing trial in Fort Smith on charges of seditious conspiracy and plotting to kill federal officials.

Austin—The local group is known as the "Teutonic Order of Skinheads" and reportedly has 100 members.

Washington State

Spokane—A small group of Skinheads, calling themselves D-I, has appeared in Spokane, where they desecrated a Methodist Church with racist and devil-worship slogans. Members of the gang, whose initials reportedly stand for anything from Drunken Idiots to Death Investigators, range in age from 15 to 18. One activist, currently under arrest for burglary, has claimed that members of his gang belong to the "National Front." No such organization is known to exist in the U.S., but the group may look for inspiration to Britain's neo-fascist National Front, which maintains links with Skinheads in the United Kingdom. D-I has distributed racist propaganda to Spokane high school students.

Conclusion

It is still too early to determine whether the Skinhead gangs who preach hatred of minorities and perpetrate acts of violence will continue to grow or gradually decline.

Although growth in some cities and the proliferation of new gangs to others since the issuing of "Shaved for Battle" has been documented, in a few places groups have become inactive over the past several months. This may simply reflect the mobility of the teenagers involved, who, when things get too "hot" in an area, can set up shop in locations they consider more hospitable. It may also be attributable to the impact of firm law enforcement in serving as a deterrent to further activity.

It is important that community leaders familiarize themselves with the Skinhead phenomenon and develop educational programs geared toward youngsters who may be vulnerable to the appeals of Skinheads. There is a role to be played here by the family, church, schools and the music industry. And it is imperative that law enforcement authorities continue their vigorous efforts to investigate and prosecute those Skinheads who glorify violence and habitually engage in criminal activity.

ADL BULLETIN

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Sanctuary for a Nazi



Alois Brunner

**by Gerald Baumgarten
and Elliot Welles**

For more than 30 years the government of Syria has provided sanctuary and protection to Alois Brunner, who heads the list of most-wanted Nazi war criminals still at large. Known as the "Monster of Vienna," the now 75-year-old Brunner was a key aide and close associate of Adolf Eichmann, the Nazi official charged with masterminding the "Final Solution."

Gerald Baumgarten is assistant to the director of ADL's Research and Evaluation Department. Elliot Welles is director of the Task Force on Nazi War Criminals. Both are departments of the Civil Rights Division.

Brunner has been described as "a second Eichmann" by Holocaust historians. Born in Rohrburn, Austria, in April 1912, he joined the then underground Austrian Nazi Party at the age of 19 after failing to attain a position as a policeman. Prior to the Third Reich's annexation of Austria in 1938, Brunner acquired German citizenship. With the Anschluss, he joined the SS and worked in Vienna for Eichmann's Jewish affairs department, the Nazi Central Office for Jewish Emigration.

Working as secretary to Eichmann, he won his praise as "my best man." The accolade was evidently well deserved as he proved when Brunner later became director of the office and, by 1943 had deported some 48,000 Austrian Jews to concentration camps. Called to Berlin, he planned the deportation of Jews living there. Sent next to Salonika, Greece, site of one of the oldest Jewish communities in Europe, he masterminded the mass evacuation of some 46,000 Jews in February 1943 to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where all were gassed to death. While in Salonika, Brunner lived in a mansion complete with torture chambers in the basement. Witnesses said that Brunner reveled in inflicting torture and was obsessed with killing Jewish children and women of child-bearing age.

In June 1943, he organized a round-up of some 23,500 Jews in France. Placed in charge of the Drancy concentration camp located north of Paris, in July 1944 he personally ordered the arrest and deportation of more than 300 Jewish children from France to Auschwitz, none of whom ever was seen again. Brunner then was transferred to the Sared concentration camp in Czechoslovakia, where he directed the deportation of more than 13,500 Jews.

Continued on page 13



COMMENT:

Let's Not Lose the Momentum

The Soviets have finally released refuseniks Alexander Lerner, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak and Josef Begun. They are among the best known of some 8,000 Jews given permission to emigrate in 1987. And now, in the wake of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit and the warming climate between our two countries, Moscow reportedly says it will ease emigration restrictions beginning in 1988.

This is encouraging news, but illusory. The grim reality is that several hundred thousand Soviet Jews—only a handful whose names are even known in the West—want to emigrate but cannot. Moreover, General Secretary Gorbachev cynically claims that limits on emigration have nothing to do with violations of human rights—but are only based on preventing a "brain drain" or protecting national security.

Despite the Kremlin's rhetoric about glasnost and adherence to human rights principles, the Soviets brutally break up peaceful demonstrations in Moscow by Jews denied permission to leave.

The fact that General Secretary Gorbachev could arrogantly dismiss questions about Jewish emigration—while in the center of the summit publicity glare—does not augur well for long-term prospects of Soviet Jewry. And we must always bear in mind that Jews are still the only ethnic minority in the country denied institutions to teach their language, religion and culture.

It is critically important, therefore, with another summit likely this year, that Soviets be pressed to follow through on their assurances to ease visa restrictions.

It is vital to encourage and support those hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews in applying for exit visas now. We can't allow this window of opportunity to close for those who become social and economic outcasts when they apply to emigrate and who are often harassed by the KGB. Many refuseniks have lived in this kind of limbo for 10 years or more.

We can't afford to lose the momentum generated by 250,000 Americans who went to Washington to tell Mikhail Gorbachev that they won't rest until Soviet Jews are given their basic human rights—that they be allowed to preserve their identity as Jews and to leave for their homeland in Israel if they so choose.

During 1988 we must forcefully impress upon our nation's leaders the need to speak in unmistakable terms to Moscow: that only by honoring its commitment to human rights, in the Helsinki declaration and elsewhere, can there be genuine improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations.

—Burton S. Levinson

National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League

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JAP-Baiting on American Campuses

by Jeffrey A. Ross

Jokes about the so-called Jewish American Princess or "JAP" have long been a staple of what passes for humor at many colleges and universities. In recent months, there has been an escalation of this "wit" at campuses across the country. The jokes have ceased to be funny, if indeed they ever were, and often cross the line into verbal assault and public humiliation.

Stores surrounding Syracuse, Boston and American Universities, where "JAP" jokes have been particularly prevalent, catered to student demand by selling such items as "Slap a JAP" or "JAP Buster" T-shirts and beer mugs. At least one nationally distributed and widely read guide to campuses, "The Insider's Guide to the Colleges," produced by the *Yale Daily News*, refers to the prevalence of "JAPS" at certain schools. At Syracuse, the university's pep band added a jeer along with its cheerleading during sports events by leading thousands of students in a chant of "JAP, JAP, JAP" when a coed supposedly fitting the "JAP profile" would be sighted.

Two Jewish male student disk jockeys at

Jeffrey A. Ross is director of the Campus Affairs/Higher Education Department of ADL's Intergroup Relations Division.

the radio station of American University ran a "Biggest JAP on Campus" contest for their listeners. In a play on words, undergraduates will refer to the "Oy Vey League" (instead of the Ivy League) that includes such schools as "S-Jew" (instead of S-U for Syracuse), "B-Jew" (Boston), and "American-Jew" (American University).

The soft-core form of "JAP" humor, engaged in by Jew and non-Jew alike creates an atmosphere that can quickly change to hard-core "JAP-baiting." Women identified as being Jewish have been accosted on campuses by fellow students who greet them with obscene epithets, the most printable of which are "Jew bitch" or "JAP slut." Graffiti carved into some of the wooden study desks of the Syracuse University library compare with the grossest forms of *Der Sturmer*-style anti-Semitic obscenities. Small groups of campus rowdies at Syracuse have been known to declare their hangouts to be "JAP-free zones," marked off with swastikas.

The perpetrators of such outrages often defend themselves by saying that "every-one does it" or by insisting that Jews themselves created and popularized the "JAP joke," even raising it to a popular art form in film and print. It is indeed unfortunate that some Jews continue to engage in "JAP"—oriented humor and self-denigration, unwittingly providing license for



Samples of the JAP-baiting graffiti that abounded in the Syracuse University area.

a form of anti-Semitic expression.

Professor Gary Spencer, a Syracuse University sociologist, has produced a well-documented and clearly conceptualized study of this phenomenon. He points out that the "JAP" stereotype is a contemporary form of the classic American anti-Semitic stereotype in which Jews are defined as obnoxious, uncultured, highly materialistic and *nouveau riche*. Part of this imagery has been internalized by the Jewish population and incorporated within its own humor and folk-culture. But the same words may have very different meanings and behavioral consequences when used outside the group.

Professor Spencer argues that "JAP" humor mixes with and provides an outlet for other anti-Semitic images, even escalating into suggestions of violence (i.e. one joke asserts that "JAPS" and pizzas are alike in that they belong in an oven).

The Anti-Defamation League has monitored these disturbing trends for a number of years. As far back as the mid-1960s, the agency's Civil Rights and Community Relations staffs sought to sensitize authors, performers, publishers and others to the psychic harm inherent in the "JAP" stereotype. The League consistently sought in these efforts to balance its opposition to censorship with the need to take ameliorative action.

The current situation at Syracuse University has provided the context for ADL's most extended involvement in the problem. Located in central New York State, the university attracts a diverse student body, approximately 20 percent of which is Jewish.

"JAP-baiting" became a highly visible public issue at Syracuse after Professor Spencer, relating to the concerns expressed to him by his students and to the examples he saw on campus, began a systematic study of the problem. His interviews with students, analysis of graffiti and chronicling of incidents convinced him of the seriousness of the situation. In April 1987, the campus Hillel held a public forum on "JAP-baiting" at Syracuse. A small group was expected but over 500 students, many non-Jews among them, turned out and told of the hurt that they had experienced and seen around them.

Responding to the professor's request for outside assistance, ADL's Department of Campus Affairs/Higher Education came onto the scene. The university administration had been passive to the problem, seeing the issue, in Gary Spencer's terms, "as a public relations rather than a human relations matter."

Conferring with Professor Spencer and Hillel leaders, ADL made a formal statement to the chancellor asking for meaningful action, followed by formal and informal discussions with the vice chancellor and other members of the university's administrative staff. Public attention was called to the problem through local newspaper stories and statements.

A number of positive developments have emerged. The university has taken steps to remove graffiti and has given assurances that the pep band would refrain from leading offensive chants. The campus newspaper, *The Daily Orange*, once a source of "JAP" derision, has run articles and an editorial entitled "Not Just Harmless Fun." The editorial said the use of the word "JAP" was unacceptable adding, "As students at one of the better universities in the country, it would be nice to think we are above name-calling."

In a statement to the *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, Dr. Gershon Vincow, Syracuse University vice chancellor for academic affairs, said, "the university condemns all forms of anti-Jewish behavior and will take steps to curb it whenever it can."

While Jews themselves must be made aware of the consequences of self-denigration, university administrators certainly must take responsibility for anti-social activity on their campuses and provide leadership in combatting it. Along with Professor Spencer and his colleagues on campus, ADL continues to press in this area.

Long-range human relations programs in sensitivity training for student advisors and the college population at large need to be put in place with the support and sanction of the campus administration. Faculty members like Gary Spencer and the students who support him must be helped to fight the battle against hostility, derision and indifference. ADL is committed to this struggle. □

ORAL MEMOIRS

Our 75th Year



1913 - 1988

This is the second in a series of excerpts from the Anti-Defamation League's Oral History Memoirs. The volumes, entitled "Not the Work of a Day" and published in conjunction with ADL's 75th anniversary this year, are the recorded recollections of individuals who played key roles in ADL history.

The following is excerpted from the volume featuring remembrances of Seymour Graubard, ADL's national chairman from 1970 to 1976, Burton M. Joseph, national chairman from 1976 to 1978, and Maxwell E. Greenberg, national chairman from 1978 to 1982.

The Oral History Memoirs, seven volumes and a separate index, may be ordered from ADL regional offices at \$250 a set, including shipping and handling (six of the volumes will be shipped immediately; the final two books will be shipped during the summer).

Seymour Graubard:

... as a child I read a great deal. Frequently I would absorb an armful of books within a week ... As a result of that reading I learned a great deal, theoretically, about anti-Semitism ... anti-Semitism in the history books as well as in the novels worked its way into my consciousness. It wasn't until I got to college that anti-Semitism became something personal. I went to Columbia ... no Jew could become the editor of the *Columbia Spectator*, the manager of a major team, or even a member of the two honor societies.

In 1935, I was increasingly disturbed by what was happening in Germany. I was shocked by the fact that the German American Bund, the American Nazis, were marching in Yorkville and training with arms in New Jersey. I felt the need to do something—personally.

... [A friend, Charlie Metzner, and I] visited ADL, which was not well known in New York at that time. We were welcomed with open arms. They gave us assignments. We had men and women monitoring radio stations, the newspapers and magazines and the activities of certain organizations.



With their urging, some of the members of our group joined the Bund and reported from the inside.

... Over the long run, we did more in ADL to diminish anti-Semitism through education, through conferences, through publication of studies than all the actions that my young group took at that time.

Along about 1948, Ben Epstein called me and said, "You worked so well with us before the war, won't you get interested again?" He invited me to some meetings at ADL.

... Perhaps no substantive issue during my term of office as national chairman took up so much time as the Arab boycott ... When initiated, the boycott was devoted to isolating Israel but was soon extended to a boycott of any firms that dealt with Israel and also applied to firms with Jewish management regardless of whether they dealt with Israel ... ADL received many complaints about Jews working for major corporations who were put in the cellar, so to speak, by their employers because they did not want Arab purchasers to realize that they were employing Jews. A number of concerns headed by Jews did not want any fuss made because of antagonizing non-Jewish customers if the Arabs extended the boycott to firms that dealt with Jews. Thus the Arab boycott might

influence the well-being of Jews generally, let alone anybody interested in helping Israel. We had to take a firm hand. Our Law Department did an excellent job in the compilation and investigation of information. I doubt that any other agency, Jewish or non-Jewish, made such a thorough study of the Arabs and their boycott proceedings.

At the start of my term, ADL released a summary of U.S. firms which cooperated with the Arabs or refused to employ Jews or do anything which might jeopardize future contracts with the Arabs.

... At that time a statute gave the U.S. Department of Commerce the right to promulgate rules which would have discouraged observance of the Arab boycott. The Department refused to do this. Ben Epstein and I met with the Secretary of Commerce.

... I told the Secretary of instances in which the boycott affected American citizens... cases of employment, business, or indirect relationships where a Jewish firm might be cut out from supplying a non-Jewish firm because the latter feared an elimination of business with Arab countries... We noted that Jewish [military] officers or enlisted men were not sent to Arab countries. The U.S. was yielding even in assignments of diplomatic corps members. The Arabs were dictating who would be a first-class citizen of the United States. I think the Secretary got the point because we got better regulations—not quite the way we wanted them—and we realized then that new legislation was needed... I testified before House and Senate committees regarding [such] legislation. There was no doubt that ADL played a principal role because we had amassed more information and had done more investigation than anybody else.

... Sad to relate, some Senator filibustered on the last day of the session so that the anti-boycott bill had to be put over. I never had that legislation as [my] crowning achievement.

Burton M. Joseph:

... It is because of my middle west background and the fact that our family happened to land in Minneapolis that I was particularly aware of prejudice and bigotry,

especially as it applies to Jews and to the Jewish community.

... It has been said that Minneapolis was a hotbed of anti-Semitism. This was certainly the case in the late 20s, early and middle 30s. We had a very active pro-Nazi organization called the Silver Shirts, related to the German American Bund group led by Fritz Kuhn of New York... It was an isolationist part of the country... thoroughly indoctrinated with the American First philosophy... Remember, we were in the midst of the Depression, when 25 percent were unemployed. Some were only too eager to accept some harebrained philosophy to rationalize their own problems... Propaganda was put out in large quantities and it was all too obvious that Jews were being targeted.

... Even in my early teens, I would say to myself: "If I'm going to participate in Jewish life it is going to be in what we now call the defense area."

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 caused the national Jewish community to start raising money for the new country... I decided I would become programmatically involved. I became a member of the Minnesota Jewish Council.

By a wonderful coincidence, about this same time Hubert Humphrey emerged as the mayor of Minneapolis... clearly a political leader with some future... able to motivate the Minneapolis community. One of the most important ways was the establishment of the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, the forerunner of the national and state-wide commissions on human rights.

My wife and I were very fond of him. We found it easy to be energized in the human rights field... It is interesting to note that later, our foundation, the Joseph Foundation, established a Humphrey Room at the ADL building in New York. Through the generosity of Dwayne Andreas, [we created] a Hubert Humphrey Award, which has become an important part of the ADL scene.



I became a member of the ADL regional board in the middle 50s, at the same time maintaining my membership in the Minnesota Jewish Council... I was [later] responsible for the merger of the local ADL board and the CRC. They now operate through Minnesota and the Dakotas. It has worked beautifully.

In November 1976, I was elected national chairman... Arab oil power was at its height. It was beginning to interact dramatically with the American business community in both economic and political terms.

... In early 1977, Irving Shapiro, chief executive officer of the DuPont Corporation, Ben Epstein and I talked about a way to meet the [boycott] challenge. Irv had an idea that we could do this through the Business Roundtable, of which he had just been elected chairman. The Roundtable was made up of the chief executive officers of about 160 of the major American corporations.

The Roundtable was represented at the first meeting by Irving Shapiro and by the chairmen of General Electric, General Motors, IBM, Exxon, Citicorp, Mobil, Bechtel, AT&T and the better rated department stores. I chaired the meeting on behalf of ADL. Also present were Maxwell Greenberg, Max Kampelman, Ben Epstein, Arnold Forster, Sy Graubard and Dore Schary.

We found a spirit of support amongst the business community. Reggie Jones, General Electric chairman, said: "What we're talking about is Americanism and not dividends and not profit and loss... We must prevent anything that would force the American business community to choose between one part of the community and another based on religious preference."

My remarks, which prompted Reggie Jones' response, indicated that under no circumstances could we allow a foreign force to break up the philosophy which made America great—to permit those who did business to be recognized on their merit and their capacity to serve and to produce... It clearly struck a responsive chord which Reggie Jones articulated.

... We appointed a special advisory committee, made up of their attorneys and

ours, to draft a joint statement of principles to submit to Congress and the President... To my knowledge, nothing like this had been attempted before.

... It was clear that certain people did not favor this approach because they had benefited enormously from business with Persian Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. We felt the need to conduct ourselves in a most diplomatic way. Apparently it was successful, because no one publicly came out in opposition.

The legislation [that was enacted] enabled the American business community to tell the Arabs: "This is against American law. Therefore, don't ask us to do it." In almost every case, the Arabs said: "Okay, forget about it. Let's go ahead and do business."

... We found that the volume of business done by American companies in the Middle East has continued to grow in spite of warnings that this [legislation] would be detrimental to American business interests. We didn't believe it and it didn't work that way.

Maxwell E. Greenberg:

... I entered college at the age of 15... The minority factor [for me] wasn't connected with being Jewish. The minority factor was being 15 years old in a group of people who were 17 and 18.

Maybe that made me both personally and socially more sensitive.

My most troublesome or most poignant experience of anti-Semitism occurred when I went into the Army. I went in as an enlisted man. I was about 20 years old... Although I was very much aware of the fact, even in, say, seventh, eighth and ninth grades, that I was Jewish and there were many kids who were not Jewish and didn't want to associate with Jewish kids, it never impinged on me in a way that was upsetting. It was the state of society at that time and I never felt that I was deprived.

... The first time that I recall being



Continued on page 12

This article is excerpted from an evaluation of international and domestic terrorism in 1987 given by five authorities at a news conference sponsored by the Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Foundation of the Anti-Defamation League, in cooperation with the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at the State University of New York (SUNY) and the U.S. Global Strategy Council.

The Klinghoffer Foundation, in addition to sponsoring the news conference, presents a yearly award to an individual or government which has taken effective action against terrorism and publishes an annual volume analyzing terrorist activities.

In opening this fourth annual conference, Kenneth Jacobson, associate director of ADL's International Affairs Division, summed up the situation. "A year ago," he said, "we had a mixed assessment as to the state of counterterrorist efforts. But America's attack on Libya seemed to turn the tide. Then came the Iran-contra affair. How did it affect counterterrorist efforts? Were the terrorists emboldened? Or are we still heading in the right direction? How does the new Soviet-American rapprochement affect the counterterrorist effort?"

The participants at the conference held in Washington, DC, were:

- Professor Yonah Alexander, director of the SUNY Institute;
- Peter Probst, special assistant for concept development, U.S. Department of Defense;
- Steven Pomerantz, chief, terrorism section, Federal Bureau of Investigation;
- Donald R. Hamilton, office of the Ambassador-at-Large for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State;
- Paul Martin Joyal, director of security, Select Committee for Intelligence, U.S. Senate.

Yonah Alexander:

Terrorism in 1987 again proved to be effective. Less than 10 percent of terrorists have been captured or killed. It was worldwide, moving from place to place, from country to country, and it grew to a record number of approximately 3,000 incidents.

Latin America was again number one as



Tightened U.S. Air Force Base security in the Philippines following terrorist attack.

Terrorism 1987

the site of terrorist incidents. Asia was second, Europe, third, and the Middle East, fourth.

Bombing was again the most popular tactic and resulted in a great number of casualties. Terrorists continued kidnapping, hostage-taking and assassinations directed against government leaders, the military, journalists, dissidents and others. About one quarter of all attacks in 1987 were directed by various groups within the Palestine Liberation Organization. In addition to ideological mercenaries, terrorists were "for hire."

Contrary to popular impression, Libya continued—although very cautiously—with terrorist activities. Syria also continued its activities. Abu Nidal's offices in Damascus were closed but at the same time the Abu Nidal group is still functioning in the Bekaa Valley. The Iranians worked through the network they have in Europe, Asia and elsewhere. North Koreans were active.

The Soviets posed a double threat. On the one hand, the General Secretary was in Washington and supposedly a new era

is beginning. At the same time, the Soviets were continuing their revolutionary process throughout the world, training terrorists.

The future looks bleak for many reasons, among them the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. I also foresee problems all the way from the Philippines to Italy and Egypt.

1988 is going to be a very tough year. However, I believe we can reduce risks. We need an across-the-board policy to protect societies so that they do not cave in to terrorist demands. We have to strengthen the legal framework and law enforcement, use whatever diplomatic, economic and military options we have, and communicate the message that the rights of all citizens will be protected.

Peter Probst:

Modern terrorism is difficult to combat because in many countries, the public does not regard it as their fight as long as the targets are government officials, institutions, the military, the judiciary, security forces or unpopular controversial in-

dividuals or sectors of society. There is a tendency to adopt an attitude of "a plague on both your houses." Often the victim government is unable to mobilize support and the resources to protect itself.

International terrorist attacks decreased 10 percent worldwide in the first six months of 1987. We attribute the decrease largely to the 1986 raid against Libya. This created the perception that the U.S. would strike back if sufficiently provoked and an appropriate target could be found. Also contributing to the decline were improved intelligence and analytic capabilities as well as greater cooperation among countries threatened by terrorism.

However, one swallow does not make a spring. In the latter half of 1987, terrorist operations began to accelerate. Preliminary data indicated that international terrorist operations exceeded the 1986 total. The recent murder of American servicemen in the Philippines and current tensions in the Persian Gulf illustrate the danger of taking short-term totals as indicative of a long-term trend.

In the last six months, there was a significant increase in anti-American plotting and pre-operational terrorist activities. Our diplomats, military personnel and representatives from the private sector are being surveilled and targeted. Attacks are increasing in sophistication and lethality as terrorists find a need to increase the carnage and bloodshed in order to maintain public interest. Terrorists are increasingly aware of what will play in Peoria, what will play on Capitol Hill. They are developing strategies that better advance their political ends.

Steven Pomerantz:

Looking at terrorism in 1987 from the domestic side, it was a pretty good year. There were no confirmed incidents in the United States although we are examining eight suspected incidents to possibly classify some as acts of terrorism.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation divides the terrorism problem into two aspects:

- Domestic or incidents perpetrated by "homegrown" groups such as the right wing Aryan Nations, a variety of Puerto

Rican terrorist groups, as well as some from the left wing.

—Incidents that occur in the U.S. that are perpetrated by outside groups such as Abu Nidal, the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine, the Japanese Red Army and others in Europe.

There is no question that the decline in domestic incidents is related in large part to successful law enforcement efforts. There were major prosecutions during 1987. The indictments returned in Fort Smith, AR, against ten members of the Aryan Nations and the principal leaders of other right wing terrorist groups have severely impacted on their ability to conduct terrorism.

The convictions of members of the El-Rukn gang, a violent Black crime syndicate in Chicago, is another example of a major successful prosecution. The extreme left wing United Freedom Front trial continued in 1987 and that group essentially has been put out of business.

A number of terrorist acts were prevented during 1987. It should be emphasized, however, that we can never get too comfortable in terms of prevention and prosecution.

Terrorists' threats against Americans and American interests abroad remained high. Since the FBI has extraterritorial jurisdiction to investigate such crimes, we have responded to a number over the last two or three years. There has been no incident of international terrorism in this country since 1983 and a number of acts were intercepted in serious planning stages.

From the FBI perspective of international terrorism, two events clearly stand out: first, the arrest of Fawaz Yunis in April in international waters in the Mediterranean. Second was the arrest of Mohammad Hamadei in Germany in January 1987. Those two incidents illustrate that terrorists have lost their ability to freely travel from one country to the other. That is a major step forward.

Looking ahead domestically, 1988 should be a bad year for terrorists. Some of the prosecutions I mentioned should conclude, hopefully with more convictions and incarcerations. That will surely make it more difficult for these groups to operate and to recruit new members. But they

are not totally out of business. The conditions that spawned them, the beliefs that sustain them among a certain element of the population still exist and the infrastructures remain. These things tend to be cyclical and we may well see them accelerate again.

On the international side, with conditions in the Persian Gulf and continued instability, the FBI remains concerned about internationally-inspired terrorism here at home.

Donald R. Hamilton:

I would like to outline a four-part policy that we are trying to pursue in dealing with terrorism. First, terrorists are criminals. For some reason, people tend to get myopic when they look across an international border. There is often a search for motives, a cause. Our department proposes as a matter of policy that in dealing with terrorism, motivations should be ignored.

If a person has some great motivation, after conviction let him make a pitch to the judge for mitigated circumstances. But in truth, a criminal is a criminal.

The other elements of our policy are fairly simple. We don't believe that one should make concessions to terrorists any more than one should to other criminals. No permanent advantage can be gained by making a deal with terrorists. That does not mean that we shouldn't talk. But concessions that could be construed as a reward and lead to further terrorism should not be made.

We also believe in pressure on terrorist-supporting states, pressure brought to bear by whatever means come to hand, whether quiet diplomacy, blasts of publicity or—as a last resort—other more tangible sorts of blasts. We believe that the raid on Libya had an overwhelmingly positive effect for us.

The goal has to be to raise the costs to states supporting terrorism to the point where they will no longer do so. Ultimately, we want a series of practical measures to deal with terrorism—a mix of military force, as in the case of the raid on Libya, of intelligence practices to determine who the terrorists are, what they do, why they do it. We will share that information with friendly nations and ultimately lock up



Two of the right wing extremists to be tried in Arkansas, Robert E. Miles, L, and Richard Butler.

terrorists or otherwise get them off the streets.

In 1987, we have noticed several changes aside from raw statistics or gross numbers. There was a dramatic increase in terrorism in Pakistan, with more than 90 attacks there accounting for about 80 percent of all state-sponsored incidents. Well over half of all casualties resulting from acts of international terrorism took place in Pakistan with support from Afghanistan.

There is an increased willingness on the part of most states to tighten up procedures and some dramatic arrests have resulted from better police work. Friendly states have stopped regarding terrorism on an incident-by-incident basis and look at it as a grand policy scheme. They are giving their police forces, intelligence and immigration services the political backing and the resources to do the job.

It is foolish to say that terrorism is going to be eliminated or that states won't continue to support terrorism but there is a change in the international climate. With the possible exception of Libya, you can't find a state or a nation that will say "we support terrorism." There is an increasing unwillingness to claim support for obviously reprehensible acts. No credit is being taken at all. In the 60s and 70s, terrorists holding hostages could ask for refuge in any Arab state. Today, an increasing number of states are flatly unwilling to provide that kind of refuge. That is helpful.

We must encourage this change in the international political climate.

Peter M. Joyal:

The Senate action in passing the Specter Bill on extraterritorial jurisdiction over terrorist acts abroad against United States

nationals expresses both the Senate's concern and its willingness to act to deter terrorism through the bolstering of legal remedies. This legislation is a tremendous asset in the fight against terrorism. It sends clear word to those who engage in criminal acts against U.S. citizens that they will be prosecuted and brought back for trial. The Administration has acted quickly to utilize this law.

Domestically, the effectiveness of the FBI working with other federal agencies and law enforcement authorities is evidenced by the high number of successful prosecutions and pending trials. Those imprisoned reflect the entire political spectrum from right to left. Among the approximately 75 individuals presently incarcerated for criminal acts related to terrorist causes are representatives of Puerto Rican and Black nationalist movements and North American anti-imperialists. The conviction of white hate group members in the murder of Alan Berg, the Denver talk show host, and other prosecutions of similar groups indicate the effectiveness of the FBI in that area.

While they have been put out of business for the time being, these groups are rebuilding. Their political front organizations are actively engaged in assessing and recruiting potential candidates.

In the future, we will see increased cooperation between European and North American anti-imperialist elements, especially related to the Strategic Defense Initiative controversy.

If the United States were to become involved in direct intervention in Nicaragua, an immediate reaction would be bombings of high profile domestic targets or possibly even individuals being attacked by anti-imperialist groups. As Cuba was in the 60s, Nicaragua now is the international center for anti-American and anti-imperialist rhetoric and beliefs.

The effectiveness of Federal government responses to terrorism has improved through Congressional legislative support. The Executive branch has vigorously applied the laws at its disposal while downplaying rhetoric, and that is also very important. By taking action and speaking less, we send a much clearer message to terrorists. □

Leo Frank Remembered



A scene from the recent NBC-TV network mini-series "The Murder of Mary Phagan" which retold the story of the Leo Frank case. L. to r., Peter Gallagher who portrayed Leo Frank, Beeson Carroll as Sheriff Mangum and Jack Lemmon as Georgia Governor John Slaton. A study guide created by Lifetime Learning Systems and the Anti-Defamation League for NBC was distributed by ADL through its regional offices and by the network to high school social studies departments and NBC affiliates. The League was founded in 1913 in the aftermath of the Frank trial and did not close its file on the case until his posthumous pardon in 1986.

Oral Memoirs *Cont. from page 7*

labelled a Jew or a kike was in the Army. The first time that I had interpersonal relationships in which there were conflicts because I was Jewish was when I was a buck private. This was in training and the non-coms were not Jewish and it was very plain that being Jewish meant something negative to them. They had no hesitancy about showing it. And if it wasn't the non-coms, it was some of the other people in training with me.

... In my experience as an enlisted man, being Jewish meant that I was always potentially subject to a fight to defend my position, whether it be my bunk or my work assignment. It became clear to me that being Jewish meant something more negative to people in the Army than it did to people I had known in Los Angeles.

... I was aware that being Jewish had its

negative implications. There was rampant discrimination against Jews in education, in employment, while I was growing up in the 1930s and 40s.

... On the other hand, there was upward mobility for Jews if they excelled and so I think that being Jewish and being aware of being Jewish was a motivational force in my life and I decided that if I went to undergraduate school and then I went to Harvard Law School and if I were on the Harvard Law Review, all dreams and goals were possible.

From approximately 1952 to 1978, when I became national chairman of ADL, I went through the League's levels of activity in the same manner that one would rise from private to general in the U.S. Army—not skipping being a major or a lieutenant colonel. . . . The span of years between my affiliation with ADL and becoming national chairman. . . were 25 very significant years in my life. . . . It probably is appropriate to talk about the substantive work of the League during my years as national chairman. There is no doubt in my mind that the subject matter to which we devoted our greatest amount of time—both in emergency issues and the emerging issues—related to the State of Israel. These issues arose out of the role of Israel in the world and particularly the Israeli-American relationship. We focused on. . . supporting the work, the existence and the prosperity of the State of Israel.

I think my personal position is. . . sympathetic to Israel but I am very sensitive to the fact that the principal constituency of ADL is in the United States. We are essentially an American organization, and most of all, I think that, pragmatically, unless we view ourselves and speak for ourselves as an American organization, we will lose the capacity to influence opinion in the United States. I believe that slavish adherence to Israeli policy in all aspects is a mistake. . . . I think that it is up to us to call the issues as we see them—not to be creatures either of the Likud Party or of the Labor Party. Rather, we should be American Jews who are striving for the betterment of America and other Jews throughout the world, certainly including and being sensitive to the needs of Israel.

... I think [that] imposes upon us a duty

to keep our noses out of Israeli policy and politics. I am not one of those who believe that every time something happens in Israel with which I am not personally in agreement or with which the League might find difference or view as violative of good public relations in the United States, that we should. . . importune the Israeli governmental officials to adopt what we think their internal policies ought to be.

I have to draw a distinction. I am willing to say, "I am your advocate, I am your attorney in the United States and I think as your attorney I have to tell you that behavior A-B-C will be more inimical to your position

Sanctuary *Continued from page 1*

By war's end in 1945, although only a captain in the SS, Brunner was responsible for organizing the roundup and mass murder in Nazi death camps of more than 135,000 Jews from Austria, Germany, Greece, France and Czechoslovakia. In reviewing his wartime activities, one publication characterized him as "the SS' roving mass-murder expert, traveling from country to country to supervise killings."

Brunner was arrested and interned in Germany by American and British authorities after World War II. He went unrecognized, however, because he used an alias (Alois Schmaldienst) and did not possess the telltale SS blood-type tattoo. He even worked for a time as a civilian truck driver for American forces in Munich and subsequently lived undetected in postwar Germany for nearly a decade, despite the fact that his name continued to appear on wanted lists in Austria, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Germany.

When a French court condemned him to death in absentia in 1954, Brunner fled Europe to Egypt and then to Syria. Using the name Dr. Georg Fischer, he ran a trading company and acted as a representative for West German firms. His true identity was disclosed to Syrian authorities in 1960, when he was arrested by the secret police on suspicion of drug smuggling. Brunner reported that a police captain shook his hand and said: "Welcome to Syria. The enemies of our enemies are our friends."

Syrian officials subsequently enlisted Brunner's aid in a scheme to free Adolf

in the United States than D-E-F" I personally did that in communications with the Prime Minister of Israel. But that is not to say to him, "And I expect you to change your policies because of that," nor should we threaten with some fantasy about our withdrawing our support from the State of Israel, simply because they don't do things in a manner which meets our views. . . They are a sovereign state. They are under the guns of their enemies and they have a right to make their own determinations. I may have my views as to those issues but I'm not a voting citizen of the State of Israel. □

Eichmann from captivity in Jerusalem following his apprehension in Argentina by Israeli agents. However, Israeli security proved too tight and the plan was abandoned. Syrian authorities then sought Brunner's help to plant a bomb at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Vienna in 1961. The planned attack was foiled when Austrian police learned of the plot.

Brunner later served as a security adviser to the Syrian government, trained security police in interrogation methods and was a security adviser to the brother of Syrian President Hafez Assad.

Efforts by the Austrian government in 1961 to extradite Brunner proved unsuccessful. Syrian authorities responded that because of "certain and special circumstances" they did not consider him a "common criminal" subject to extradition. When in 1974 a news service reported that Brunner was living in Damascus and employed by the Syrian government as an adviser on Jewish affairs, the Austrian government concluded that to renew its request for Brunner's extradition would not have any positive result.

In September 1984, when a court in Cologne issued a warrant for Brunner's arrest based on "fresh material and documents" concerning his responsibility for the deportation and deaths of Jews, the West German government requested his extradition. Syria flatly denied that Brunner was in the country. Moreover, Syria did not even bother to respond officially to the request, citing the fact that it does not have an extradition treaty with West Germany.

In October 1985, *Bunte*, a West German

magazine, interviewed Brunner, who was located living alone in a third floor apartment at 7 Rue Haddad Street in Damascus under the name Georg Fischer. The magazine's photos of Brunner walking in the streets of Damascus showed him to be a balding, gaunt man with deformed hands and only one eye, the results, he claimed, of Israeli letter bombs in 1961 and 1980. *Bunte* reported that Brunner was accompanied at all times by two armed uniformed bodyguards provided by the Syrian government.

Brunner readily admitted responsibility for sending European Jews to their deaths. He told *Bunte* that he had "no bad conscience" for "getting rid of that garbage." In reviewing the political situation in the world, Brunner further stated: "The Communist East is bad, the capitalist West is much worse. Jews, with their Christian and Islamic sects, are the crowning achievement of the devil."

Following the *Bunte* interview, West Germany renewed its request to Syria to extradite Brunner. "Despite his [Brunner's] relatively low rank in the SS, he is probably the most incriminated Nazi still alive," said Alfred Streim of the Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes. A Boston *Globe* editorial said: "The very survival of a man like Brunner is a shame that taints several nations. His escape from justice is one of many signs that the evil he personifies still flourishes."

In 1986, the Syrian government once again rebuffed the request for his extradition. Subsequently, West Germany asked Interpol to seek out Brunner.

In October 1987, Brunner told the Chicago *Sun-Times* in a telephone interview from Damascus that he regretted nothing he did in World War II and he called Jewish Holocaust victims "the devil's agents" and "human garbage."

The following month both West Germany and Austria renewed their requests for Brunner's extradition.

ADL's Task Force on Nazi War Criminals has worked closely with authorities in both Austria and West Germany to promote actions leading to Brunner's apprehension.

Although justice has been too long delayed, hopefully it may yet be meted out to this unrepentant Nazi murderer. □

NEWS BRIEFS

NEW OPPORTUNITY— In response to the Vatican announcement that Pope John Paul II will meet with Kurt Waldheim during his visit to Austria June 23-27, Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, called upon the Pontiff "to confront the issues of the Holocaust in the presence of Kurt Waldheim on Austrian soil." Expressing hope that "new sensitivities toward Jewish concerns had emerged from the Pope's meetings in Rome and in Miami with Jewish leaders," Mr. Foxman said the Pope should use the visit as "a new opportunity."

ON THE BALL— A recent article in *The Boycott Law Bulletin* credits ADL as the leading Jewish service organization in the U.S. passing information to the Commerce Department on possible antiboycott violations by American companies. The League was instrumental in the enactment of federal legislation to counteract the efforts of Arab countries to isolate Israel by boycotting companies that do business with the Jewish state.

The article details the League's nationwide antiboycott monitoring and compliance program which is run with the cooperation of ADL's 31 regional offices across the country.

Quoting Jess Hordes, associate director of the League's Washington, DC, office and chief intermediary of Jewish service organizations with the Commerce Department's Office of Antiboycott Compliance (OAC), the article notes that all ADL regional offices are knowledgeable about U.S. antiboycott law and relay information about possible boycott compliance. The article points out that more than a few cases which ADL has referred to OAC have developed into enforcement actions and states that information on possible antiboycott violations by a dozen firms has been received by ADL in the last few months, equal to the number of cases in an average year.

NO TAX BREAK— Maryland's highest court has been asked by ADL to rule that the state can deny tax benefits to a country club which refuses to accept women members. The case

involves the Burning Tree Country Club of Bethesda, MD, which challenged the legality of a Maryland statute that denies tax breaks to clubs that practice race, ethnic or gender discrimination.

In an amicus curiae brief, the League asserted that the club's "right of association" is not violated by the Maryland law, noting that there is a difference between the enjoyment of the constitutional right of association and the state's responsibility to pay for that enjoyment.

The Burning Tree Club would lose a \$186,000 annual tax benefit if the anti-discrimination law is upheld. The trial court had held that the denial of tax benefits to a discriminatory country club does not violate its right of freedom of association.

WITNESSES WANTED— ADL's Task Force on Nazi War Criminals is seeking witnesses to testify against Nazi war criminal Josef Schwammberger, recently arrested in Argentina and facing extradition to West Germany.

Witnesses are asked to write the Task Force director, Elliot Welles, at the Anti-Defamation League, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 or phone 212/ 490-2525. He will forward the names of potential witnesses and their evidence against the concentration camp commandant to the prosecutor's office in Stuttgart, West Germany.

T'AIN'T SO— The Anti-Defamation League has protested a Tass dispatch headlined "U.S.A.: Raging Anti-Semitism," as being "an exercise in Orwellian 'Newspeak,' filled with tortured logic, disinformation and distortion."

In a letter to Nikolay D. Turkatenko, Tass' Washington, DC, bureau chief, ADL said, "It is ironic that in the supposedly more open-minded era of 'glasnost,' the official Soviet government press agency would engage in such transparent deception."

The inaccurate Tass story, sent to American papers with a Moscow dateline, misused statistics lifted from ADL annual reports of anti-Semitic incidents. The ADL letter cited as examples of "gross errors" the Tass writer's claim that right wing extremist groups in the United States are growing, that the Ku Klux Klan membership has risen (it is now one-tenth the size Tass claimed) and that the White Patriot Party is growing when it is actually defunct.



UP FRONT— A delegation of Anti-Defamation League lay leaders and staff, led by national director Abraham H. Foxman, traveled to Washington, DC, to take part in the mass rally on behalf of Soviet Jewry just prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the nation's capital.

Pictured above with the ADL banner during the march are A. Albert Alperstein (hands on the banner), chairman of the DC/Maryland regional board, and to his right, Edward Leavy, director of the DC/Maryland regional office.

In conjunction with the march, ADL regional offices generated proclamations on behalf of Soviet Jewry from 35 governors. States from every region of the country were represented on the list. This effort helped to spread the message conveyed by the marchers throughout the country.

NAMES IN THE NEWS— Richard H. Lobenthal, ADL's Midwest area director, has been appointed to the Michigan Council for the Humanities by the state's governor, James J. Blanchard. . . Arnold Forster, ADL's general counsel, authored an article in a recent *Penthouse* magazine entitled "Are Soviet Jews Free At Last?" . . . Marvin Stern, director of the Seattle regional office, has been named as a member of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Washington State Holiday Commission.

DEFINING RIGHTS— Two attractively packaged ADL educational kits— "Government By The People, Government Upon The People" and "America's Conscience: The Constitution in Our Daily Life"—are being made available to junior and senior high schools across the country. The first kit comparing the difference between life in the Soviet Union and in the United States, contains 17 lesson plans and a teachers guide for questions and discussion topics designed to promote greater understanding of the Soviet system, increase American appreciation of constitutionally guaranteed rights and inform students of how

governmental policies of both nations are reflected in the lives of ordinary people.

The second kit points out that the U.S. Constitution is frequently misunderstood, taken for granted and unused and warns against "the certain dangers of losing its guarantees." The kit consists of 20 separate classroom activities dealing with the Bill of Rights and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, discussion suggestions, and a glossary of related terms.

Both kits are available at an introductory price of \$10 each from ADL's Education Department, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, or any of the agency's 31 regional offices around the country.

WE MOURN— Joseph I. Lichten, head of ADL's liaison office to the Vatican from 1971

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until his retirement in the fall of 1986, died December 14 at his home in Rome. He was 81.

Dr. Lichten, who joined ADL in 1945 as director of ADL's Intercultural Affairs Department, initiated the first Catholic-Jewish interfaith dialogue in the United States and went on to organize and participate in hundreds of ADL Catholic-Jewish interfaith conferences, workshops and colloquia with clergy, scholars and lay leaders.

During 1964 and 1965, he represented ADL in Rome during the last three sessions of Vatican Council II to document the effect of the deicide charge on anti-Semitism and Catholic-Jewish relations. Through his efforts, the findings of a study of the linkage between Christian beliefs and anti-Semitism, conducted for ADL by the University of California Research Center, were published and distributed to the Council as background material. This material was thought to have played a key role in the deliberations which culminated in *Nostra Aetate*, renouncing the deicide charge and ushering in the modern era of Catholic-Jewish dialogue and understanding.

Dr. Lichten was designated by Pope John Paul II in 1986 as a Knight Commander of the Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great for his more than four decades of leadership in building mutual understanding between Catholics and Jews.

A widely known lecturer on interfaith concerns, Dr. Lichten was the author of many articles and essays which have appeared in Catholic and Jewish publications.

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ADL BULLETIN

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Anti-Semitic Vandalism Increases 17 Percent

Anti-Semitic vandalism in the United States increased significantly in 1987 after a five-year downward trend, according to the annual audit conducted by the Anti-Defamation League. The rise largely reflected a 121 percent increase in California, where such acts soared from 62 reported in 1986 to 137 last year.

The audit revealed a total of 694 reported incidents of vandalism and desecration, ranging from swastika daubings to arson, against Jewish institutions and property—a 17 percent increase over the 594 episodes reported in 1986. Ten of the 1987 vandalisms involved arson or bombings.

The highest number of incidents occurred in New York with 207, up 21 from 1986; followed by California; Florida with 64, down 15; New Jersey with 43, down 5, and Illinois with 36, up 22. The survey found episodes in 34 states and the District of Columbia.

The report cited the following among its findings:

—Some of the more serious vandalism incidents were perpetrated by members of a hate group, the neo-Nazi Skinheads, in several cities, including Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles and Miami.

—There were 78 arrests connected with 58 of the anti-Semitic incidents, a sharp increase in arrests over the 1986 total of 57 in connection with 33 incidents.

—While the majority of perpetrators continued to be teenagers, a fifth (17) of the 78 individuals arrested were 21 years of age or older, the highest proportion in that age group ever recorded.

—The increase in anti-Semitic incidents paradoxically came during a period of vigorous local law enforcement and statutory efforts against bias

crimes and the recent federal crackdown against hate groups.

The report pointed out that vandalism involving hate groups jumped to about 20 incidents in 1987 because of anti-Semitic episodes attributed to Skinhead extremists.

One of the more serious episodes occurred on November 9 when 11 separate Jewish targets were vandalized in the Chicago area. A Skinhead gang member was arrested in con-

Continued on page 10

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Edward Hobofoll in front of his Chicago shop following anti-Semitic vandalism attack.

Chicago JUF News



COMMENT:

So Quick to Criticize...

Watching and reading reactions to the riots in the West Bank and Gaza, the word that keeps coming to mind is: hypocrisy.

So many are so quick to criticize Israel without remembering.

I couldn't help thinking how we in America would react to violent rioting in our own country. In the 60s, there were riots in cities around the U.S., but they lasted for days, not weeks. There was a lot of resentment, and—yes—harsh measures to quell the disturbances. And America, unlike Israel, is not a small country under siege. But few put themselves in Israel's place and ask how they would solve this dilemma.

We hear criticism that Israel is keeping the refugees in dilapidated camps. Cameras show rundown conditions and despair. I think of Israel's many plans through the years to move the refugees to new and better housing and how—year in and year out—the United Nations has barred Israel from taking such steps on the grounds that Israel has no right to solve the problem this way. And I think of how small but useful a project it would have been had the international community financed the rehabilitation of the refugees. But Israel stands accused.

We hear complaints that the Arabs in the territories do not have equality in law with the citizens of Israel. And I think—what if Israel had long ago given the residents of Gaza and the West Bank full rights enjoyed by the Jews and Arabs of Israel? Can you imagine the outcry? Israel would have been condemned for unilaterally annexing the areas, for breaking international law. Indeed, Israel decided to leave the residents under the existing laws, (Jordanian and British), until an Arab leader finally negotiates peace. And for that, too, Israel is accused.

We hear critiques that Israel isn't doing enough for peace. And I think about the enduring shame of the international community that has allowed 40 years of Arab warfare against Israel to go on without exerting pressure on the Arab world to stop the madness once and for all. And I wonder when was the last time the U.N. condemned the Arab League for its refusal to accept Israel, for the continuing economic boycott, for the terrorism of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

What's so terrible about a little hypocrisy, you ask? A lot. Most of all, it turns idealists into cynics. It causes Israel to wonder whether anything it does, short of committing self-

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An ADL Poll

American Opinion On Middle East Unrest

There had been no erosion of the American people's "bedrock support" for Israel and a majority viewed Israel as "a military and strategic asset to the United States," according to a nationwide poll commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League at a height of the unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The survey was conducted for ADL January 20-24 by Penn and Schoen Associates among a random sampling of 810 Americans of diverse social, ethnic, religious, geographic and economic backgrounds.

The findings also revealed that Americans by a wide margin blamed the Palestine Liberation Organization for the unrest and considered Iran the greatest threat to peace in the Middle East and to U.S. interests in the region.

On the question of Israel's reactions to the demonstrations, 36 percent of those polled said they were too harsh; 12 percent said not harsh enough; 29 percent said they were appropriate under the circumstances and 23 percent had no opinion.

The survey posed two major questions: (1) Has there been an erosion in support for Israel since the unrest began on the West Bank? and (2) What has been the reaction of the American public to what is going on in the Middle East?

The poll compared some of the answers with the results of a survey carried out by the same firm in August 1981, at a time of relative quiet in the Middle East.

The current poll found that not only was there no erosion of support for Israel but more Americans today perceived Israel as "a reliable ally of the U.S." than in 1981.

Among the major findings of the current poll:

—47 percent said their sympathies lie with Israel compared to 14 percent for the Arabs; 14 percent said "neither," 8 percent said both and 17 percent didn't know.

—When asked, "should the United States give stronger support to Israel or to the

Arabs?" 43 percent replied Israel and 11 percent the Arabs; 6 percent said both, 25 percent said neither and 15 percent didn't know. In 1981, 42 percent favored Israel compared to 11 percent for the Arabs.

—On the question of which nation is perceived as America's strongest ally in the Middle East, 47 percent chose Israel, compared to 17 percent for Saudi Arabia, the next highest total in the region. In the 1981 poll, 47 percent chose Israel.

—57 percent said Israel is a military and strategic asset of the United States; 30 percent disagreed; 12 percent didn't know.

—49 percent said Iran is the greatest threat to Middle East peace; 4 percent blamed Israel. Others cited included the P.L.O., which 14 percent viewed as the major threat, and Libya, chosen by 8 percent.

—43 percent said the P.L.O. is "most responsible" for the unrest in the West Bank and Gaza; 16 percent blamed the Arabs in the area; 16 percent singled out Israel and 26 percent didn't know.

—Sentiment overall towards the P.L.O. was negative: 61 percent said they did not believe it represents the Palestinian people; 23 percent said it does; 16 percent didn't know; 66 percent described the P.L.O. as a terrorist group; 17 percent characterized it as a liberation organization.

—48 percent favored direct U.S. contact with the P.L.O., 42 percent were opposed; 46 percent said Israel should not negotiate with the P.L.O.; 43 percent felt it should; 11 percent didn't know.

—78 percent said an international peace conference should be convened; 15 percent opposed the idea; 74 percent of those who favored a conference said the P.L.O. should be invited; 24 percent said they should not.

—Asked whether they considered the unrest in the West Bank and Gaza the result of legitimate grievances or whether the Palestinians had been mobilized

Continued on page 6.

Heroes For Our Time

by Stephen J. Solarz

Individuals motivated by moral convictions and guided by pragmatic purpose can still make a difference in today's world. High on my own list of personal heroes are four people whom I have been privileged to know as friends and comrades in the struggle for justice and human rights. They are Corazon Aquino, Lech Walesa, Vinicio Cerezo and Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky.

Two years ago, while the world watched with awe and admiration, Cory Aquino led one of the few successful peaceful democratic revolutions. She has embarked on the daunting task of ending the misery created by the repression of a right-wing dictatorship and forestalling a violent, Communist-led upheaval and a new tyranny of the left.

Corazon Cojuangco married Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino who quickly made a name for himself in Philippine politics. She devoted herself to home and family until 1972 when Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law and arrested Ninoy Aquino, the man most likely to succeed him. Permitted to visit Ninoy in prison, Cory became his link with the outside world. In 1980 Marcos gave Ninoy permission to come to the United States for medical treatment.

I met Cory Aquino in June 1983 when Ninoy came to Washington to testify before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs which I chair. He announced his intention to return to the Philippines. Noting that he was still under a sentence of death, he said: "If Mr. Marcos decides to have me shot, he can have it done the moment I arrive." As fate would have it,

This article is excerpted from the address by Congressman Stephen J. Solarz (D-NY), the keynote speaker at the fourth annual Benjamin R. Epstein Memorial Lecture. The series honors the memory of the late Mr. Epstein, who was ADL's national director from 1947 to 1979.

Ninoy got only as far as the tarmac of the Manila airport when he was murdered.

Cory led two million people in a ten-hour funeral procession and, standing at her husband's coffin, vowed to continue his work. She established herself as the moral alternative to the regime and mobilized the "people's power" which swept the Marcoses out of the country.

Now this gallant woman must ride the tiger of a bankrupt economy, a Communist insurgency, an increasingly fractious military, limited resources and a crushing foreign debt. She is the best hope for a free and democratic Philippines. A military coup would polarize the country and pave the way for the eventual triumph of Communism. The survival of democracy will require her skilled and determined leadership. I trust she will prevail.

Lech Walesa created "people's power" several years before the term was coined in the Philippines. He led the first proletarian revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Solidarity stood as an alternative to the Polish party-state for only a short period. Yet Walesa and Solidarity brought about profound changes throughout the Communist world. It is no exaggeration to say that seeds of Chinese, Soviet and East European reform were planted by the workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

Poles harbor a deep hatred for Marxism-Leninism and a centuries-old resentment of Russian domination. Yet Walesa and his colleagues were acutely aware of the geopolitical context of their struggle. They recalled Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 and acknowledged the futility of trying to take Poland out of the Warsaw Pact and the Communist Party out of Poland. They knew that their hopes for a freer Poland depended on peaceful evolution rather than violent revolution.

The Solidarity movement was almost unique in its non-violence and self-restraint. It probably would not have been so without Walesa's genius.

I met Walesa for the first time in the rectory of his parish church in Gdansk, where we had a long talk about Poland's future. He retains a deep religious faith and a commitment to the survival of the Polish nation. He looks for the progress possible even in the current system. In Solidarity's aftermath a new society has emerged with underground media and a plethora of social organizations which will be a more powerful base when the next upheaval begins, as it inevitably will.

In Central America, Vinicio Cerezo has spent all of his adult life trying to get the military of Guatemala to return political power to the people. Two years ago he became the first genuinely elected civilian president in over 30 years. Since then he has been walking on a high-wire—trying to expand human rights protections and economic opportunities for the Indian majority, while not alienating the military and economic oligarchy.

While in university, Vinicio Cerezo joined the Christian Democratic Party, which throughout Latin America was forging a humane middle road between leftist revolution and rightist repression.

Vinicio's popularity and independence caused him to run afoul of the military's ideology of "national security"—any political thought or action not consistent with the regime's rigid anti-Communism had to be eliminated. Guatemalans in the tens of thousands died in a very dirty war.

It was on a visit to Guatemala that I first met Vinicio Cerezo. He drove up to the American embassy in a bullet-proof van, flanked by bodyguards with submachine guns at the ready. These security precautions were a rational response to the

violent environment. He told me of three attempts on his life since 1978. Hundreds of his Christian Democrat activists have been killed by death squads.

As the 1980s wore on, Guatemala's military leaders recognized a return to the barracks was the only way to end the economic decline and international shame they had brought on their nation. They knew that Vinicio Cerezo was the likely winner of a free and fair election. Vinicio recognized, however, that he would not significantly alter the central roles of the military and the economic oligarchy.

In effect, Vinicio Cerezo had to make a pact with the devil in order to create a better, more humane life for Guatemala. He accepted an edict granting blanket amnesty to the military. Relatives of the victims still accuse him of betrayal. Yet otherwise, he might have jeopardized the fledgling democracy.

Vinicio Cerezo is testing the proposition that Guatemala—rent by deep cleavages of race and class, plagued by poverty and ignorance and stained by a history of political violence—can survive as a democracy.

Anatoly Shcharansky—now Natan Sharansky—did not have grand ambitions. All he asked was to go to Israel—the political expression of his religious belief. However, he did not stop until he became a symbol of the lengths the Soviet regime will go to stop its citizens from exercising fundamental human freedoms.

Sharansky has a precocious intelligence, an engaging sense of humor and a strong sense of what is right and wrong. While still a student, he acquired a strong Jewish identity. He was drawn inexorably into the vortex of the emigration and human rights

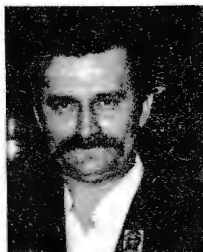
At the Epstein Memorial Lecture, l. to r., Mrs. Benjamin R. Epstein, Congressman Stephen Solarz and Justin J. Finger, ADL associate national director.



Whitestone Studio



Corazon Aquino



Lech Walesa



Vinicio Cerezo



Natan Sharansky

movements. Partly because of his good English, partly because of his inexhaustible energy and partly out of a sense of obligation, he became a refusenik leader.

Both in prison and out, Sharansky waged a sophisticated struggle. He mastered Soviet law and challenged the regime to observe its own legal system. He tied the government into knots of blatant hypocrisy concerning emigration regulations, his trial and his treatment in prison. Through hunger strikes, he kept international attention focused on the refuseniks' plight.

It was four months after Sharansky left Russia that I met him for the first time at a rally in New York. As I was speaking, a cheer began to build. As the applause reached thunderous proportions, I realized that the cheering was for Sharansky, the small man with a very large heart who had arrived to the welcome of the countless people he had inspired for so many years.

I subsequently met privately with him and found that the KGB may have imprisoned his body but failed completely to crush his indomitable spirit.

Cory Aquino, Lech Walesa, Vinicio Cerezo and Natan Sharansky have demonstrated several common characteristics:

- None was groomed for greatness.
- Each possessed a deep religious faith.

ADL Poll *Continued from page 3.*

by the P.L.O. for political reasons, 39 percent pointed to the P.L.O.; 33 percent felt the grievances were legitimate; 9 percent replied both and 19 percent didn't know. —56 percent said Israel and the Arab states were both responsible for the welfare of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; 15 percent felt it was Israel's sole responsibility; 29 percent didn't know.

—Each was firmly committed to expanding the boundaries of human freedom.

—Each is an idealist without illusions, skilled at harnessing his or her principles to a shrewd sense of what is possible.

They offer at least four lessons for today's world:

That a cause fraught with difficulty is not hopeless; that the free world has an obligation to associate itself with those fighting repression; that we should reconsider our views about the role of the individual in history; that life is punctuated by a series of choices and how and whether opportunities are seized depends on the values and vision of those assuming leadership.

It made a world of difference, for example, that Franklin Roosevelt and not Herbert Hoover became president in 1933 and that Winston Churchill, not Neville Chamberlain, led Britain through World War II. Israel might never have been established had it not been for Theodore Herzl, Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion. Surely the idealism of Gandhi and the pragmatism of Nehru eased the birth pangs of democratic India.

At the intersection of freedom and determinism, there is still room for heroes, even in the large and complex societies of the late 20th Century. □

—48 percent said that a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza would constitute a threat to Israel; 32 percent felt it would not; 20 percent did not know.

—51 percent said Israel had come to occupy the West Bank and Gaza "because the Arabs lost a war they had started as part of their effort to destroy Israel"; 16 percent said the occupation came about because of an Israeli invasion; 33 percent didn't know. □

A Fresh Look At the Dreyfus Case

by Norman Redlich

Looking at the Dreyfus case from the perspective of an American constitutional lawyer at this moment in history offers some interesting lessons.

In October 1894, a document came to the attention of the French Army intelligence unit. It had been discovered by an agent who was a cleaning woman in the German embassy in Paris. Her espionage consisted of going through wastepaper baskets and transmitting what she found to French intelligence authorities. This document was a memorandum written apparently by a French military officer giving certain information to the German authorities. Based upon that memorandum, a quick inquiry was conducted which led to the arrest of Captain Alfred Dreyfus. He was court-martialed in December 1894, found guilty and sentenced to permanent deportation to Devil's Island.

His case was not appealed until the spring of 1899, more than four years later. That June, the High Court of Appeals of France reversed the judgment, annulled it and sent it back for a new court-martial. Dreyfus was brought back from Devil's Island and, in August 1899, was again court-martialed, found guilty a second time and then, almost immediately, pardoned. It took from September 1899 until July 1906 before the second court-martial was reversed, the judgment annulled and, instead of sending the case back for a third

court-martial, Alfred Dreyfus was ruled innocent.

The conviction of Dreyfus was not just an error, which often happens in the judicial process. Almost from the beginning, it was a conscious frame-up, a deliberate manufacturing of evidence, blatant violations of procedure, an effort to authenticate documents that the authenticators knew were forgeries. In one proceeding after another, the effort to cover up prior forgeries continued.

If one translated this conspiracy into contemporary American terms, the Secretary of Defense, the head of the CIA, the Army Chief of Staff and virtually all of their top subordinates and their successors would be involved in a deliberate and continuous effort to manufacture evidence to convict an innocent captain.

The fact is that Dreyfus did nothing. It is often hard to grasp that. He was a completely innocent person. He was convicted and sent to Devil's Island after being brought to trial based upon flimsy evidence.

What was the initial evidence? The document that came out of the wastepaper basket indicated that there was a spy among the officers of the General Staff. If it had been studied carefully, officials would have realized that Dreyfus didn't possess the information in that document. Instead, they looked for possible officers who could be identified. Dreyfus was one. He was Jewish. He was Alsatian, which may have made him somewhat suspect. Someone looked at his handwriting and, without experts, said, "This is identical."

That was the case against Alfred Dreyfus. They produced some so-called handwriting experts, who really couldn't say that Dreyfus' handwriting and the handwriting on the memorandum were identical. They did say that it was the handwriting of Dreyfus if he was trying to conceal his handwriting.

Norman Redlich is dean of the New York University Law School. This article is excerpted from his presentation at an ADL reception highlighting an exhibit about the Dreyfus Affair at the Jewish Museum of New York. The Museum and ADL's Education Department prepared a curriculum on the Dreyfus case for use at educational seminars in connection with the exhibit.

ing. When the true author was identified, some experts said it was the handwriting of Dreyfus imitating the author or that the author was writing at Dreyfus' direction.

The conspiracy started from the very beginning because of the flimsiness of the evidence. For example, while the judges were deliberating, a secret file was transmitted to them from the Minister of War and the head of the Army intelligence agency. That file contained either totally innocuous documents or documents that had been forged or altered to appear as if they were implicating Dreyfus. Accompanying the file was a commentary which, in effect, said, "These documents may not look very important but we're telling you that they basically refer to Dreyfus," even though they did not do so. Incredible as it may seem, that file was transmitted to the judges while they were deciding the case and they found Dreyfus guilty. The file was then returned to the military authorities, the individual documents dispersed among the files from which they came and the commentary destroyed so it would have been difficult or impossible to trace them. Neither Dreyfus nor his lawyers were aware that these documents had been read by the judges.

This was at the beginning of the Dreyfus episode. Within a year and a half, information came to the Army intelligence service which clearly established that Dreyfus was innocent and who the guilty party was—a Major Esterhazy, who was attached to the General Staff and had been engaged in espionage work for months prior to the discovery of the memorandum.

How was this discovered? Sometime in the spring or perhaps summer of 1896, no one is quite sure of the date, the same

cleaning woman apparently found another document, a draft of a letter from the military attaché at the German Embassy in Paris, making reference to information received from a French military officer. It was addressed to Major Esterhazy. The head of the intelligence unit, a Colonel Picard, who had been present at the initial Dreyfus court-martial and convinced that Dreyfus was guilty, became the first honest military officer in this whole process and started an investigation. Incidentally, he was later banished from Paris but he was able to discover that Esterhazy was an extremely shady character—in debt, a liar, a gambler, etc. He compared a sample of Esterhazy's handwriting and found it, in his view, identical to the handwriting on the memorandum that had convicted Dreyfus.

At that point—the summer of 1896—this case should have been over. If there had been honest people who were not trying to frame Dreyfus, it would have been. The case went on and on and on, through one judicial proceeding after another. Esterhazy was court-martialed in January 1898 and promptly acquitted on the basis of false information. He was assisted by the conspirators who framed Dreyfus.

I can make certain observations on this case from the vantage point of an American lawyer:

This judicial system was incapable of correcting itself, maybe because it was such a closed system. By the time of Dreyfus' second court-martial, in August 1899, almost five years from his initial arrest, when the facts were abundantly clear, the system still found him guilty. When a system is closed, it tends to reinforce its prior mistakes. As I studied the Dreyfus case, one of the first thoughts that came to

So Quick to Criticize. . .

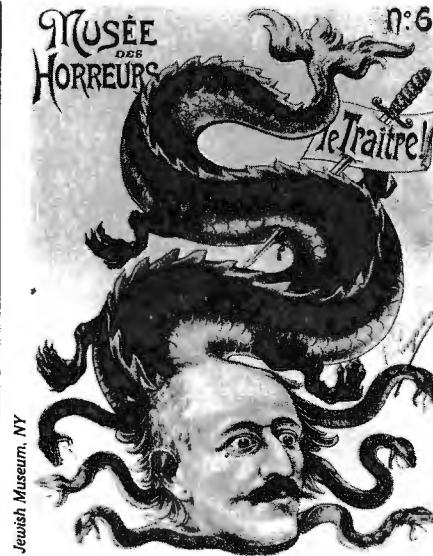
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destruction, would satisfy. Consequently, it leaves some Israelis unwilling to listen to the comments of even well-meaning outsiders.

Some real concern by the world—for the welfare of the refugees, for the dilemmas that face Israel in trying to balance security needs with human concerns, for a country living in a state of war for its entire existence—would go a long way toward mitigating the circumstances that led to the outbreaks in the territories. So far, hypocritical criticism appears to be higher on the international agenda than constructive criticism.

—Abraham H. Foxman

National Director, Anti-Defamation League



A political cartoon about Dreyfus typifying the anti-Semitism of the period.

my mind was: Wouldn't it have been nice if someone could have obtained a petition for writ of *habeas corpus* and reviewed this whole trial *de novo*? If that had been done as early as the fall of 1896, the Dreyfus case would have been blown out of the water. But the mechanism to attack collaterally a closed system was not there.

As one looks at the groups organized to support Dreyfus—writers; intellectuals, professors, journalists—there is no reference to the organized Bar. That's intriguing. If one looks at the travesties of justice that we have experienced in the United States—the Scottsboro cases, Sacco/Vanzetti and others—there were groups of lawyers that organized and played a decisive role. That did not happen in France. There also was no organized Jewish community in opposition.

My most important observation relates to the relationship between the political process and the legal process. In the United States, we tend to look to law as a means of correcting injustices in the legal system. In France at that time, and maybe even to this day, injustices that turn up in the legal system tend to be created through the political rather than the legal process. That makes several obvious problems. If one relies on the political process to correct

legal injustices, then it must be advantageous for those in political power to take such steps. The fact is that for much of Dreyfus' martyrdom it was not in the political interest of the French leadership to support him. Indeed, it was the reverse. The desire to support the Army, to defend the existing institutions, the great pressure of the Catholic Church—concerned about reforms that were going through France—the political system, instead of working to Dreyfus' benefit, worked to his enormous disadvantage. It was not until the political system started to turn around that it, not the legal system, corrected the grievous injustice against Alfred Dreyfus.

Dreyfus was convicted in the second court-martial with one of the strangest verdicts: five to two for conviction and five to two for extenuating circumstances. If Dreyfus was guilty of treason, there were no extenuating circumstances. So, five judges, in effect, were saying, "He's innocent but we find him guilty." That was the final judgment of the judicial process prior to the 1906 reversal. Within one day, the political mechanism started to turn. The subject of a pardon came up and Dreyfus accepted because it was sold to him, quite properly in my view, as the political judgment that he was innocent.

Normally, pardons are granted years later, when there's new evidence or when people say, "He may have been guilty, but he's suffered enough." That was not the case; there was no new evidence. Within a couple of days of conviction, he was pardoned. That was the most cogent evidence that the political process was saying, "We don't care what the legal system has done. We have reached the conclusion (which was a correct conclusion) that Dreyfus is innocent and we are acquitting him."

One wonders how long Dreyfus' martyrdom would have gone on if the political situation in France had continued as was at the time of the original trial and the first few years after.

If one has to depend on the vagaries of the political process, it can be a very flimsy reed upon which to hang liberties. The only thing that put an end to the cruel martyrdom of an innocent man was that the politics of France finally willed it. □

Audit

Continued from page 1

nection with one of the attacks. (November 9 is the anniversary of *Kristallnacht* in 1938 when Nazi mobs attacked synagogues and Jewish stores in Germany.)

The report concluded that the sharp increase in the California incidents may have been due, in part, to Skinhead gang members in attacks on Jewish property. In the San Fernando Valley area, some episodes of vandalism and desecration during a three-month period in 1987 were believed to have been carried out by Skinheads, one of whom was arrested and charged.

Two synagogues—one in Massachusetts and the other in California—were arson targets and sustained major damage. Arsonists also attacked a home in Maryland and Jewish homes in Georgia and Ohio were struck by pipe bombs.

The audit, which was based on reports gathered by ADL's 31 regional offices from individuals and law enforcement authorities, included a separate calculation on threats and harassments directed against Jews or Jewish institutions, usually through

the mail or by telephone. Of the 324 such incidents reported in 1987, 16 involved physical assaults on Jews clearly motivated by bigotry and 244 individual Jews were harassed by mail, telephone or through verbal confrontations. In 1986, the total was 312, with 11 physical attacks. Eighty of the total 1987 incidents in this category were directed against Jewish institutions in hate mail and telephoned threats. In 1986 there were 71 such episodes.

In another area examined in the survey—which was prepared by the Research Department of ADL's Civil Rights Division—reported incidents of anti-Semitism on college campuses showed a decline, from 19 in 1986 to 14 last year. Four of the 1987 incidents involved Jewish property or institutions such as fraternity houses or Hillel buildings.

In the past several years, 29 state legislatures have adopted stricter laws aimed at curbing religious or ethnic vandalism, 12 of which have enacted statutes based on or similar to a model bill drafted by ADL in 1981. In addition, ADL monitoring activities have provided law enforcement

authorities with information on hate groups and their leaders and the agency has cooperated with local law enforcement authorities in combatting bias crimes.

As part of its counteraction and educational efforts, ADL issued an updated version last year of its handbook, "Security for Community Institutions," which outlines security measures and appropriate reactions to bias crimes.

The report pointed out that the need for confronting prejudice must start in the classroom. It noted that ADL has published and distributed throughout the country a manual entitled, "Teacher, they called me a ———!", which provides an educational program for prejudice-reduction. Still another ADL program to combat bigotry as well as to stress America's pluralism known as "A World of Difference," is being utilized through classrooms and the media in cities across the U.S.

One important aspect of counteraction is prompt reporting of anti-Semitic incidents to enable law enforcement authorities to act against those responsible. In the wake of the *Kristallnacht* attacks in

Chicago and the 1986 Howard Beach incident in New York, there was an upsurge in reports of incidents of bigotry.

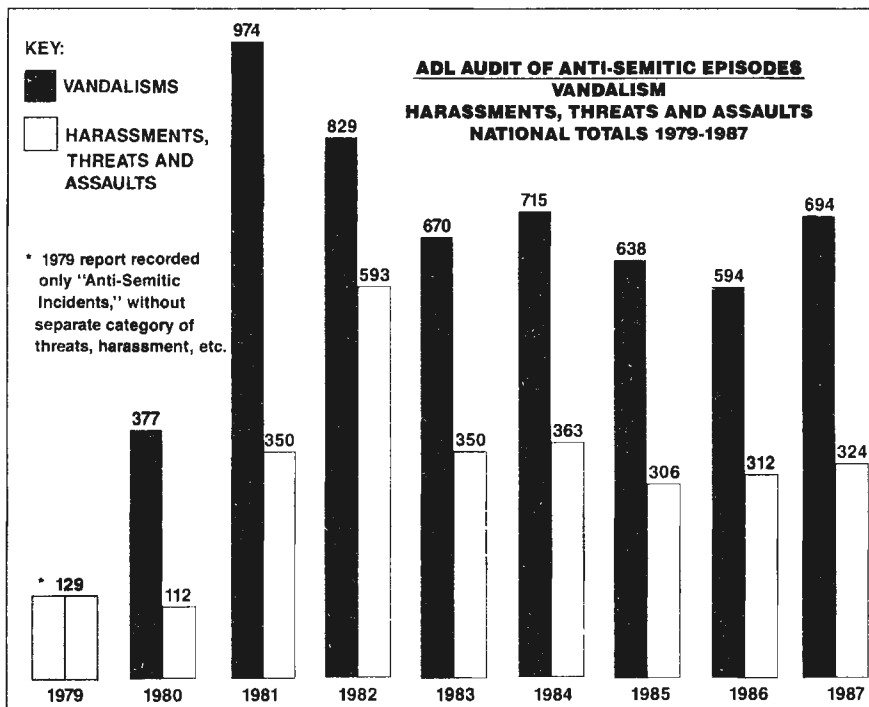
The ADL audit included a nine-year graph of the annual national totals of anti-Semitic incidents, a state by state breakdown of the current figures and a table of states with ethnic crime statutes.

In making the audit public, Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the League, said that while the annual survey is a useful measure of one aspect of anti-Semitism, it must be borne in mind that there are other troubling manifestations. He included the activities and propaganda of organized hate groups, anti-Zionists' denunciations of Israel and vestiges of discrimination and stereotyping still found in many areas.

ADL will convene a conference this spring with law enforcement officers, sociologists, educators and clergy to reflect on anti-Semitism and bias crimes through the 1980s. The conference will include an analysis of the nine annual audits conducted since 1979, the implications of recent trends and legal and educational methods for counteraction. □

Comparison of Anti-Semitic Vandalisms

	1987	1986		1987	1986
New York	207	186	Washington	4	2
California	137	62	Arizona	3	2
Florida	64	79	Indiana	3	1
New Jersey	43	48	Oklahoma	2	0
Illinois	36	14	Montana	1	0
Massachusetts	27	24	Nebraska	1	5
Maryland	23	30	Nevada	1	0
Pennsylvania	22	27	New Hampshire	1	0
Georgia	15	4	New Mexico	1	0
Michigan	14	35	Oregon	1	5
Minnesota	14	9	Wisconsin	1	6
Ohio	10	10	Alabama	0	0
Colorado	9	4	South Carolina	0	0
Louisiana	8	2	District of Columbia	0	3
Rhode Island	8	6	Idaho	0	2
Virginia	8	5	Iowa	0	0
Mississippi	7	0	Kansas	0	1
Texas	7	8	Kentucky	0	0
Arkansas	6	1	Maine	0	1
Connecticut	6	5	North Carolina	0	1
Missouri	4	3	Tennessee	0	3
				694	594



ORAL MEMOIRS

Our 75th Year



1913 - 1988

This is the third in a series of excerpts from the Anti-Defamation League's Oral History Memoirs. The volumes, entitled "Not the Work of a Day" and published in conjunction with ADL's 75th anniversary this year, are the recorded recollections of individuals who played key roles in ADL's history.

The following is excerpted from the volume featuring three men who were involved as ADL lay leaders from the early days of the agency's founding. . . Philip M. Klutznick, an honorary vice chairman of ADL's National Commission and former president of B'nai B'rith International; David A. Rose, honorary chairman of ADL's National Executive Committee; and Bernard Nath, an honorary vice chairman of ADL's National Commission and former chairman of the National Executive Committee and the national Civil Rights Committee.

The Oral History Memoirs, seven volumes and a separate index, may be ordered from ADL regional offices at \$250 a set, including shipping and handling (six of the volumes will be shipped immediately; the final two books will be shipped during the summer).

Philip M. Klutznick:

... Zionism in the 20s, the 30s and early '40s was a minority movement in every sense of the word in the American Jewish community. It did not capture the masses across the country. It had a very strong cultural undertone or overtone. I doubt if there were many . . . affiliated with the Zionist movement who could see in our lifetime the restoration of the Jewish state. Many of us were drawn to it because we had read Ahad Ha'am, who didn't think of a state. He thought of it as a cultural and religious center for Jewish life.

... Martin Buber thought of a center where Jews could be fully Jewish, religiously and culturally and every way. But the notion that there would be a Jewish state . . . was not really believed with the depth that we began to believe it after the horrible things that happened in Europe during World War II.

... When I was the Assistant Administrator for War Housing in the National



Housing Agency, I got a call from the administrator [asking me to] meet at 10 o'clock on a certain day. I said, "Jack, I can't meet with you that day. I'll be in synagogue for Yom Kippur." . . . I said, ". . . each one has his own way of living. But if you say it's an emergency and the decision has to be made that day, I will be there." "Oh, Phil, [he said] it's not an emergency. You're right, you go to the synagogue."

This man had to make the nomination for the commissionership of the Federal Public Housing Authority. . . . He decided [to] nominate me. I don't know that the fact that I went to the synagogue on Yom Kippur had much to do with it. But knowing the man who was my chief, I would say it was one of the considerations.

... it was Secretary Dulles who recommended my appointment to the delegation of the United Nations 12th General Assembly. . . . I didn't expect any such gesture. I had been a vice president of the only conference on prejudice of the United Nations in Geneva in 1955. . . . of all the positions I have had, I enjoyed most my work in the United Nations.

[During the Carter administration] one

day the phone rang at 7 A.M. ". . . Phil, this is the Vice President of the United States. . . . I've been delegated by the President of the United States of America to tender to you the honorable office of Secretary of Commerce. . . ."

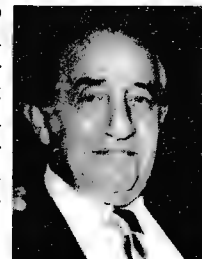
... It was a demanding but a great experience. . . . One must understand that when you accept public responsibility, the greatest contribution you make to the Jewish community is by being a success in the discharge of your duty. Being a successful public servant and an American Jew who does his work well is a credit to his community. . . . to the extent that you can, with propriety, be a spokesman, you do so.

The function, to my way of thinking, of ADL . . . and B'nai B'rith and long established institutions. . . . is to react only after they've analyzed the problem adequately—unless there's an emergency of some kind. . . . As an American-based organization, we have a responsibility. . . . to know our government's side of the story before we attack. We may want to attack even more vigorously when we know it. But at least we will have shown the courtesy that a responsible voluntary organization owes to its country.

The status of Jews in America today, as relates to ADL's purposes, is a fundamental question in reviewing the past, looking at the present and planning for the future. For one who lived through the change from immigration status of the American Jew to the second, third and fourth generation and whose integration into American society has been achieved in great measure in two generations, it is difficult to plan without considering the momentum that has brought us to this point.

David A. Rose

... I came into ADL as a . . . B'nai B'rith . . . representative in Boston. At that time, ADL was a very limited organization . . . about six or seven commissioners [as] the governing organiza-



tion under Sigmund Livingston. This was about 1932 to 1934. The leader in Boston was Judge A.K. Cohen . . . a well-respected . . . outstanding lawyer. ADL activities in the city alternated between his office and mine. . . . a large part of [my] work was contacting resorts in New England who were carrying on discriminatory policies, trying to get them to at least correct their advertising. . . . mostly notices of "churches nearby" or other phrases that suggested Jews were not welcome.

... about [the same] time, I was elected to the [state] legislature. At that time nobody anticipated that legislation would form an integral part of the remedial effort towards getting rid of discrimination and anti-Semitic incidents. Shortly thereafter, I was appointed [as a judge] to the Municipal Court of Dorchester.

... In the early days, there was a constant clash between the Jewish Community Council, ADL [and the American Jewish Committee] as to jurisdiction of activity. . . . then we all got together. We decided that something had to be done on the state level with reference to discrimination in admissions to colleges and universities. . . . A bill was filed creating the Fair Educational Practices Commission. It met with a great deal of opposition at first.

... the ADL office at that time. . . . would send multiple applications to universities for highly creditable applicants, one with a Jewish name and one a non-Jewish name. I recall testifying before a legislative committee indicating that my own university, Boston University, had accepted, in several instances, the non-Jewish applicant. I remember testifying about this practice as typifying what was going on in many universities.

Later, Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University, made a statement. . . . about the disloyalty of some alumni testifying against their own university. . . . Eventually all of this was resolved when the legislation was passed and the commission appointed. [One of the members appointed to the commission was Judge Cohen.]

... in the late 40s and early 50s [ADL's] efforts were directed towards elimination

of discrimination in graduate or professional schools. . . . I don't believe we received much newspaper support nor from non-Jews. To some extent, we received support from courageous alumni of the [medical] schools to which we were directing our efforts . . . the attrition in discrimination may be attributable in part to the persistent efforts of ADL.

. . . The fact that we were a united people during the war, we had worked together, both in and out of the armed forces, and the realization that the democratic concept for which the war had been fought entailed a greater responsibility of people to each other. . . so [Jews] emerged from . . . tolerance into acceptance. . . as a result ADL found that it could make more progress, it had more allies and could find a degree of cooperation among kindred organizations towards enlargement of our program.

What is gratifying about my many years with ADL is the impact upon my own life. I know no organization that has so influenced me, directed my efforts, my attention and had such an impact upon me in my emotions, in my own development, as has ADL.

Bernard Nath

. . . I lived at home [while] I was at the University of Chicago, both undergraduate and graduate school. At first, I paid very little attention to the . . . tacit acceptance of isolation of the substantial numbers of Jews in the student body. As I recall, there were no Jews on the faculty. Non-Jewish students, for the most part, never showed overt hostility. . . they just seemed to assume that . . . they didn't have to associate with Jewish students. There was a definite cleavage. I began to feel strongly about these attitudes for a personal. . . reason. . . . With practically no exceptions, Jews were not in the honor societies. . . it seemed incredible that I wouldn't be elected to the honor society. . . I made Phi Beta Kappa, I was captain of the tennis



team, I won my "C" athletic letter, I was runner-up in the Western Intercollegiate Tennis Championship, I was treasurer of the senior class and I had many friends. I was not elected to the honor society and I was angry. . . . I was troubled by a feeling of personal injustice and a growing resentment against Christian students who were so sure of themselves that . . . they acted as if Jewish students weren't there.

. . . If ADL . . . has done one thing above all else, it has been to make anti-Semitism unpopular, unpatriotic, irreligious, something to be ashamed of.

. . . Initially the membership of the national Civil Rights Committee was not large but by the time I had finished as chairman, we would have a room full of people all involved in . . . discrimination, litigation, fact-finding. The result was the creation of the national Civil Rights Executive Committee and subcommittees such as Fact-Finding, Discrimination, Church and State, International Affairs, Israel, to mention only a few. . . . ADL has brought into its fold as workers and contributors many more people than would otherwise have been the case. It is one thing to come to a meeting and listen but it is very different to feel that you are involved in the decision-making process. I think this has been a brilliant job of organization.

. . . in all of my experience with ADL, one of the most interesting related to the studies which, at our request and expense, were made at the University of California at Berkeley in anti-Semitism and its causes . . . ADL and other organizations talked about anti-Semitism . . . but, amazingly, there was no hard evidence of [its] extent [and causes]. . . . at Berkeley there was a study group in this very area of social sciences. . . the head of it was Dr. Charles Glock. [After] many meetings with Oscar Cohen, Dr. Glock [gave] the National Executive Committee an estimate of what the university might do in the way of actual studies. . . there was such enthusiasm that the group said . . . "go ahead."

. . . an amazing coincidence occurred. The Catholic Church [had] elected a new Pope, John XXIII. There had been stirring in the church, among clergy and Catholics

generally, that this was a time for reform. The Second Ecumenical Council was in progress. ADL sent Dr. Joseph Lichten to Rome during the council sessions. Joe had been important in the Program Division . . . in charge of Catholic-Jewish relations. . . he had achieved a very friendly relationship with a number of church people in the Vatican, including Cardinal Bea. Lichten told one or more of his close Vatican friends that a study was being made on the Christian roots of anti-Semitism. He gave a first draft of the book to a small group including Cardinal Bea. They . . . [told him] they wanted to distribute the book among a large group of important Catholics; in other words it went to everybody in the Ecumenical Council. The extent to which that resulted in the ultimate statement [Nostra Aetate] on the position of the Catholic Church with respect to Jews was incredible. Whether there would have been such a statement without that book is difficult to say.

. . . the book . . . went to Christian clergy in the U.S. It was recognized as of tremendous importance. . . the study became almost the stepping-stone for ADL . . . to improve relationships with the Catholic Church and the various Protestant denominations. . . . It was like throwing a stone in the pond. The ripples just radiate[d]. . . . I feel that the . . . California study probably was worth all the trouble that ever went into there being an ADL.

. . . Despite the problems American Jews have faced over the past 30 or more years, one must recognize the progress. . . . I started by talking about the attitude of Christian Americans to Jews in my boyhood. Everybody took it for granted that a Jew was second-rate citizen . . . We of ADL spend most of our time and effort . . . in protecting the rights of all minorities [including] Jews, in Israel, Russia, South America or wherever.

This has not been a one-way street. No one can possibly evaluate the contributions of American Jews to our country in this same short period. . . . We can be proud . . . we can believe that the recognition of Jews is deserved and overdue and that the time may come when the attitudes of Christians towards Jews will become even more sensible and reasonable. □

NEWS BRIEFS

JOURNALISTIC RESPONSIBILITY—ADL's offices around the country were flooded with protest calls following an ABC-TV World News Tonight broadcast which compared Israel with South Africa in connection with the disturbances in Gaza and the West Bank. A letter from ADL to ABC News President Roone Arledge criticized the Peter Jennings' broadcast for making a "mockery of journalistic responsibility."

A subsequent meeting with ABC officials took place at the request of ADL and other Jewish community leaders. ABC was told that the Israel-South Africa link was unjustified, that there were specific errors in the presentation and that, in general, the coverage of the West Bank-Gaza crisis lacked perspective. The Jewish leaders pointed out that the issue was less that of a comparison of Israel and South Africa than why the world wrongfully likens Israel to South Africa.

KEEP IT CLOSED—A federal appeals court has been urged by ADL to uphold the State Department's closing of the Washington-based Palestine Information Office, an affiliate of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The League's amicus brief asserted that the information office "functions more as a diplomatic lobbying mission for the P.L.O. than as an information source," adding that the case arises from "a challenge to the cooperative efforts of the State Department and Congress to fight P.L.O. terrorism which has included murder and acts of violence against American citizens."

The State Department ordered the Palestine Information Office closed last year and the order was upheld in federal district court on the ground that the office is actually a "foreign mission of the P.L.O."

In its brief, ADL argues that both the Executive and Legislative branches have demonstrated their concern about the P.L.O. role in international terrorism and have taken steps to counter such activity.

ADL told the appellate court that the closure of the information office is not a "gag order." According to the brief, Hasan Abdel Rahman,

director of the Palestine Information Office, is not forbidden from speaking out and disseminating materials reflecting P.L.O. views "as long as that speech is not paid for or delivered under the auspices of the P.L.O."

RECIPROCITY— Unseasonably harsh weather failed to discourage 250 San Diego residents who turned out for the second in a series of reciprocal visits between the Catholic and Jewish communities under the auspices of the San Diego ADL regional office.

Rabbi Sheldon Moss, president of the city's Rabbinical Association, participated in a service at the Catholic Church of the Immaculata. In October, Bishop Leo T. Maher of the San

Diego Catholic Diocese had visited members of the Jewish community at Tifereth Israel Synagogue.

Both visits are part of that office's ongoing Jewish-Catholic dialogue and educational programs to advance mutual understanding between the two communities.

WELL DONE— A few months ago, ADL's Paris office alerted the Campus Affairs/ Higher Education Department that they had been contacted for assistance by the British Union of Jewish Students. An anti-Israel, pro-P.L.O. resolution was pending at an upcoming conference of Great Britain's National Union of Students. The Jewish students asked ADL to generate pressure through American student groups to help defeat the resolution.

The Campus Affairs Department put out an appeal through ADL regional offices, Hillels and other Jewish groups active on American campuses to send petitions, resolutions, letters to the editor, etc., to the president of the National Union of Students in London. Similar efforts were directed to Canada and, with the help of the Latin American Affairs Department, throughout Latin America. At the same time, American and Canadian trade union federations were contacted and they in turn made their views known to British trade unions.

The response was immediate and strong and the statements that were sent to Britain are credited with playing a significant role in the overwhelming defeat of the resolution.

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