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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith 3/14/89 [OA 6853]

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PURPOSE and PROGRAM



ADL
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

Purpose and Program

ADL: Yesterday and Today

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

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

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

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

Today, ADL's Chicago office is one of 31 regional offices in this country and ADL is a global agency, headquartered opposite the United Nations in New York City, with European offices in Paris and Rome, an Israel office in Jerusalem and affiliated offices in Latin America and Canada.

The League's staff is made up of professionals in the fields of civil rights, communications, education, international affairs, law, religion, research and investigation, urban affairs and social sciences.

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

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



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

There have been the professional bigots and the fascist organizations whose activities and backers were exposed by the League—men like Gerald L.K. Smith, Joseph Kamp, Merwin Hart, Upton Close, Father Charles E. Coughlin, Conde McGinley; groups like the German-American Bund, whose members goose-stepped on American streets and secretly took orders from Nazi Germany.

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

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

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

The task now is to see that civil rights laws are enforced, that quotas are not reinstituted in acts of reverse discrimination and that radical right and radical left political extremists—who repudiate democratic concepts and have an affinity for anti-Semitism—are exposed. Of particular concern is the anti-Semitism emanating from the United Nations; the anti-Semitic

quotient of anti-Zionism; the anti-Jewish propaganda from Arab and Soviet sources and their allies; the appeals to anti-Semitism in some of the debates around Middle East issues, the security of Israel and the security of Jews wherever they reside.



Courtesy of Don Wright/Miami News

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

The Civil Rights Division works through departments on Fact Finding, Research, Legal Affairs, a

Washington, DC, civil rights office and four regional area coordinators. In addition, a special task force within the Division engages in efforts to hasten U.S. Justice Department investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals illegally entered and living in the United States.

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

The Community Service Division directs the 31 regional offices located in centers of Jewish population throughout the United States.

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

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

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

dom. It believes in a pluralistic society under which groups with different cultures can live in harmony.

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

Anti-Semitism

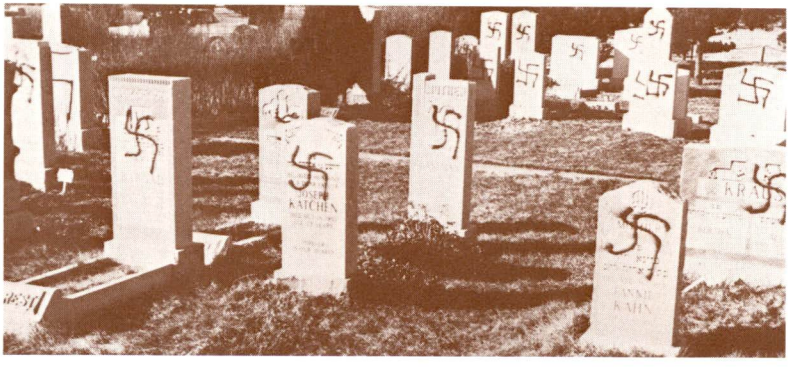
ADL's prime objective is to counter assaults on the safety, status, rights and image of Jews. Although organized anti-Semitism has lessened with each passing decade, the roots of anti-Semitism are not dead.

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

ADL's monitoring of changing conditions, part of what its founders called "vigilance work," revealed that as the memory and impact of the Nazi Holocaust fades, and as Jews are perceived to be more and more a part of "the Establishment," there is sometimes a disturbing insensitivity and indifference to Jewish well-being

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

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



ADL's annual nationwide audit of anti-Semitic vandalism against private and community property belonging to Jews and harassments, threats and assaults against Jews as Jews have made the issue a matter of public concern and the means for sensitizing educators, clergy, community leaders, the courts and law enforcement agencies to the problem of bias crimes. A statute drafted by ADL has served as a model for state laws

dealing with punitive measures for transgressions based on bigotry. Encouraged by ADL regional offices, such bills have already been enacted by many state legislatures and are in the hoppers of many others.

The Middle East

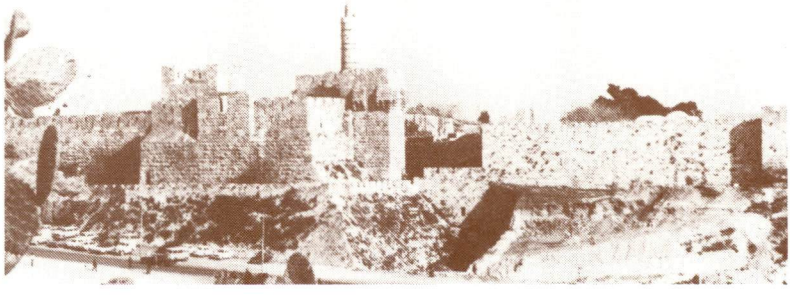
ADL's goal is to help promote a just and secure peace that will reduce world tension as it permits Israel to prosper and have normal relations with neighbors no longer hostile. The ADL office in Jerusalem provides close contact with Israeli government and non-government leaders, giving American Jews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

In its efforts, ADL underscores the importance to America of a militarily secure Israel to confront the destabilizing forces in the strategically important Middle East region.

The League monitors Congressional actions to provide economic and military aid in the area, media treatment of the Middle East conflict, anti-Israel campaigns within the United Nations, and Arab investments and influence in U.S. business, industry and universities. An ADL handbook, "Pro-Arab Propaganda In America: Vehicles and Voices," lists and describes the leading individuals and organizations here who are responsible for anti-Israel campaigns.

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

ADL-produced films, radio and TV programs on various aspects of the Middle East situation and Israeli life reach an American audience in the millions. The League's Eugene Warner Middle East Lecture series brings Israeli academics, foreign policy experts and military strategists to the United States to meet with opinion molders and explore the concerns and ideals of both democracies.



Concerned that the United Nations End Decade Conference on the Status of Women held in Nairobi could become a forum for anti-Israel propaganda, ADL sponsored a "pre-conference" in Paris in which 19 Jewish women's organizations from 17 countries participated in preparation for preventing a takeover—such as the "Zionism is racism" resolution adopted at the Women's Conference in Mexico City and the anti-Semitism sub-

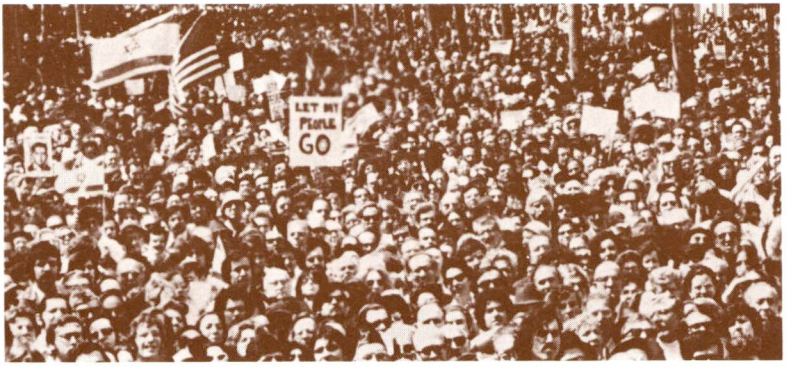
sequently encountered during the conference in Copenhagen. The cooperative efforts of the Jewish organizations were instrumental in the Conference's formal rejection of an attempt to restate the "Zionism is racism" resolution. An ADL publication on Israel's constructive role in Black Africa and its film "Between North and South" on the same theme received wide usage in Nairobi and throughout the third world.

Europe

ADL's European offices in Paris and Rome serve the Jewish communities there. They introduce onto the European scene ADL procedures, programs and materials for counteracting anti-Semitic and anti-Israel activities, and convey back to the United States the different geopolitical concerns of the European Jewish community.

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

ADL works closely with papal officials at the Vatican on matters involving the Jewish and Catholic faith communities. It is a relationship that began with the ADL study, "Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism," whose findings were instrumental in the passage of the Vatican II declaration absolving Jews, past and present, of the charge of deicide.



In this country, the European Affairs Department works in liaison with the offices in Europe and, through its information-gathering and research resources, keeps the League abreast of developments affecting the Jewish communities in Europe. To help the League work in behalf of Soviet Jews, the Department reviews Soviet publications for anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda and analyzes and reports on Kremlin policies affecting Jewish emigration. Its widely distributed pamphlet, "Trapped In The Soviet Union," lists prisoners of conscience and refuseniks and how they can be helped.

Latin America

The long-standing relationship between ADL and the organized Jewish communities of Central and South America has strengthened the efforts of Latin American Jewry to combat anti-Semitism, build bridges to the Catholic Church, which is predominant in the area, and project a positive image of Israel in counteraction to P.L.O. and other Arab propaganda.

The Latin American Bishops Conference, in cooperation with ADL, has developed and introduced

new guidelines and texts on Jews and Judaism for use in Catholic schools in the region.

With Jews often vulnerable in the unstable economic and political environment in Latin America, ADL serves as a consultant to, and partner with, local Jewish human rights offices it helped to establish. Through its Jarkow Institute for Latin America, ADL helps train local personnel for their community relations responsibilities in such cities as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Santiago, Lima and Caracas. These human relations offices utilize ADL materials in English and Spanish and methods to counteract anti-Semitism and anti-Israel propaganda and build interfaith and intergroup friendship and cooperation.

ADL spearheaded the international campaign to end violations of human rights in Argentina and helped locate "desaparecidos," individuals who disappeared. The League brought to world attention the plight of the Nicaraguan Jewish community which was forced into exile.

In the planning stage is a major museum exhibit, "The Jewish Contribution to the New World: 500 Years of Jewish Life in Latin America," to go on display throughout Latin America in 1992, the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World.

Interreligious Understanding

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

The 1965 Vatican Declaration "Nostra Aetate" and its subsequent Guidelines on Relations with the Jews

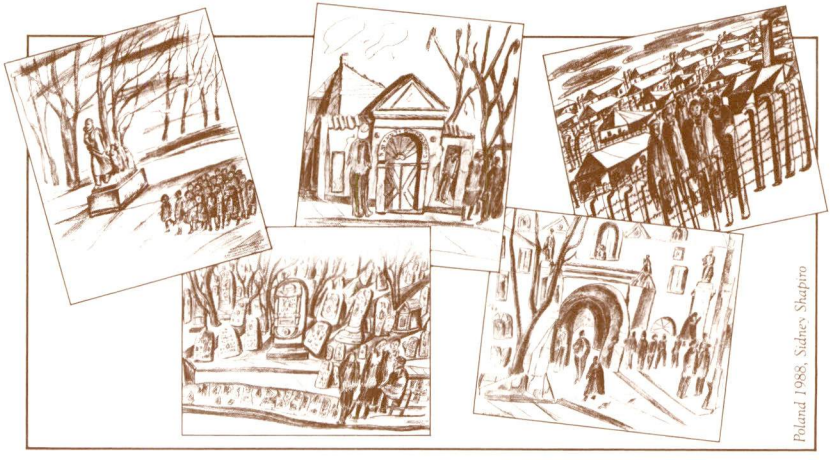
gave wide impetus to improving Catholic-Jewish understanding. In 1985, ADL marked the Declaration's 20th anniversary with a Catholic-Jewish colloquium in Rome to discuss its effects and challenges still faced. Then, and again at a 1986 colloquium, ADL leadership discussed Jewish concerns, including recognition of Israel, at a private audience with Pope John Paul II.

In another private audience at the Vatican with ADL officials, the Pope praised a unique example of Jewish-Catholic cooperation, the establishment by ADL with Polish-American groups of the Janusz Korczak Literary Competition. The Competition was initiated by ADL in honor of the Polish Jewish martyr who died in a Nazi concentration camp with the children of his orphanage.



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

community has been developed to promote greater understanding of each other's religion and role in American society.



Poland 1988, Sidney Shapiro

A unique Christian-Jewish colloquium, held in a monastery near Auschwitz and sponsored by the Polish Catholic Bishops Conference and ADL, was the opening dialogue for future forums to confront the dimensions of the Holocaust and improve teaching about Jews and Judaism in Polish seminaries.

Ongoing League meetings in Germany with officials of the controversial Oberammergau Passion Play have resulted in some revisions to reduce the play's anti-Semitic content, with much yet to be done. Therefore, ADL monitoring of the Passion Play production, which attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists, continues. An ADL brochure on how to view Passion Plays is distributed widely.

Another aspect of ADL's interreligious program is publication of such books as *Judaism: A Primer*; *Jews, Judaism and Catholic Education*; *Disputation and Dialogue*; *Readings in the Jewish-Christian Encounter*, and *A History of the Jews Since the First Century A.D.*, written

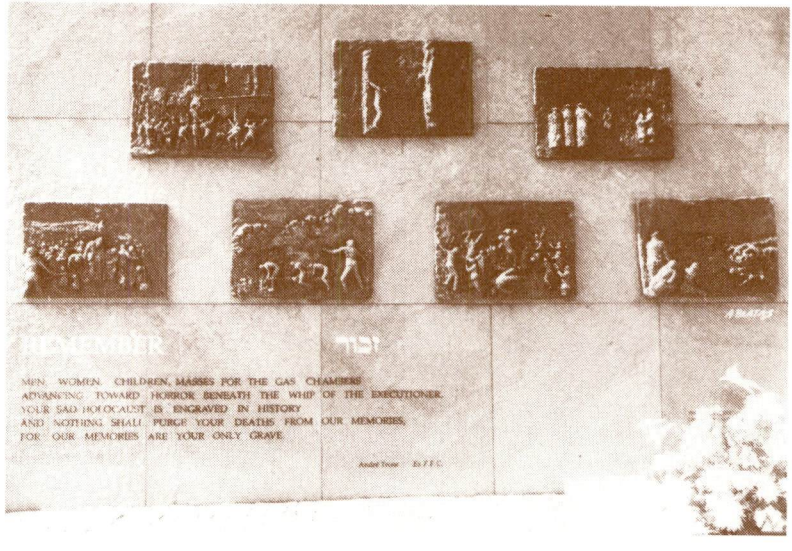
by theologians and educators of all faiths. These and such other publications as ADL's interreligious bulletin, *Face to Face*, provide awareness of Christian-Jewish relations throughout history and new insight into the Jewish religious, historical and community experience, as well as such vital current concerns as Israel and the plight of Soviet Jewry.

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



Holocaust observances are another focal point for Christian-Jewish understanding and ADL has been the catalyst for interreligious memorial services in the U.S. Armed Forces and in churches and communities around the country. ADL seeks out and presents "Courage to Care" awards to Gentiles whose brave deeds helped save Jews during the Nazi years.

An outdoor memorial to the six million massacred in the Holocaust—a 13-foot by 21-foot granite wall containing seven bronze bas-reliefs depicting scenes of the Nazi slaughter—has been erected by the League on the Dag Hammerskjold Plaza side of its national headquarters building in New York. Designed by the artist Arbit Blatas, the memorial is inscribed "Zachor" (Remember).



Discrimination

A pioneer in the struggle against discrimination, ADL's record of achievement in outlawing religious and racial discrimination in employment, in education, in

housing and public accommodations is unparalleled. The work to implement anti-discrimination laws continues, with new dimensions as controversy continues over the use of racial quotas and preferential treatment to redress past discriminations.

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

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

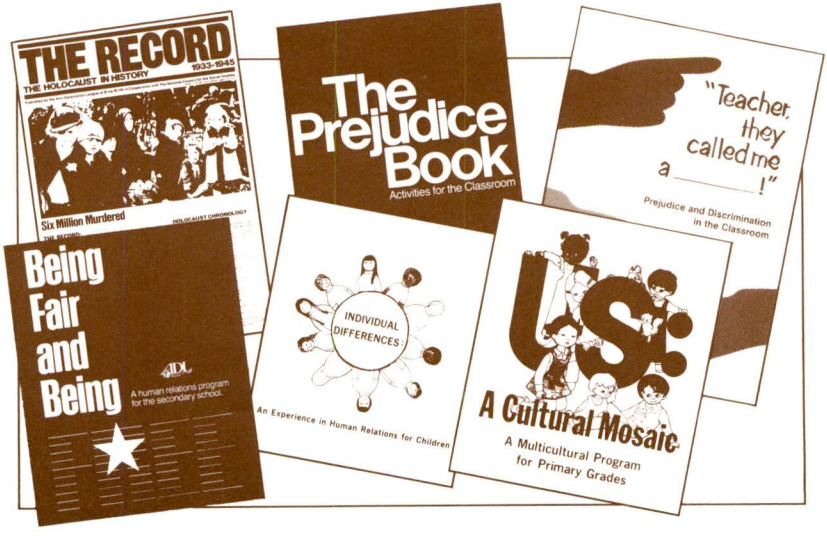
ADL monitors and informs the public of social clubs which discriminate on racial and religious grounds. The League also takes legal actions to ensure fair employment practices for Jews and others who observe the Sabbath and other religious holidays and to safeguard Constitutional guarantees of separation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

School Curriculum

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

ADL educational packages include multimedia materials on Jews and other minorities for teachers as well as students. In addition, the treatment of minorities—including Jews and Judaism—in curricula and textbooks continues to be closely watched, with League staff frequently serving as consultants to publishers.

A wide variety of ADL printed and audio-visual materials on the history and contributions of America's



racial and ethnic groups is available for general school use. Produced through private foundations and government educational grants, they are used by hundreds of schools and religious and community organizations.

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

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

ADL's "Simulation Games" use filmed situations and discussion guide manuals to assist hundreds of

school systems in resolving classroom conflicts based on intergroup and socio-economic tensions.

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

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

Extremism

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

The findings of ADL research and investigative operations are often used by the media and by government and law officials concerned with maintaining community harmony. The size, locations, backers, membership and violence potential of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazis and other hate groups are under constant ADL surveillance. A comprehensive



ADL curriculum, "Extremist Groups in the United States," provides lesson plans and relevant readings on the radical right and radical left to assist teachers of history and sociology classes.

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

Civil Rights

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

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

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

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

Local American Communities

Through its regional offices in the U.S., ADL's broad human relations concepts and national programs are adapted to local traditions and used to resolve local problems. As one of the most valuable instruments in American Jewish communal life, these offices bring ADL into close liaison with local civic and religious leaders, youth groups on and off the campus, editors and educators. When ADL moves to eliminate employment discrimination, ameliorate race relations, expose extremists, educate

about the Middle East conflict or Soviet anti-Semitism, it often acts through an ADL regional office.

Regional offices are bringing ADL's innovative prejudice reduction program, "A World of Difference," involving television, newspapers, schools and government, to communities all over the country.

The extremely effective program aimed at young people and including specially-created ADL materials was initiated in Boston and is being used in more and more American cities throughout the country. The program has spread rapidly—taking on different aspects in different localities—and is still growing.



ADL works with existing coalitions of racial, religious and ethnic groups or initiates new ones where none exists, to bring this sophisticated public service campaign to millions of television viewers and hundreds of thousands of students and teachers. "A World of Difference" is making a difference in how Americans view, understand and respect their neighbors—helping to reduce problems no one person or group can solve alone.

The regional office structure also provides grass roots input into the national decision-making process. Working as microcosms of the national headquarters, ADL regional offices have as their prime responsibility to service the needs of their communities.

Communications

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

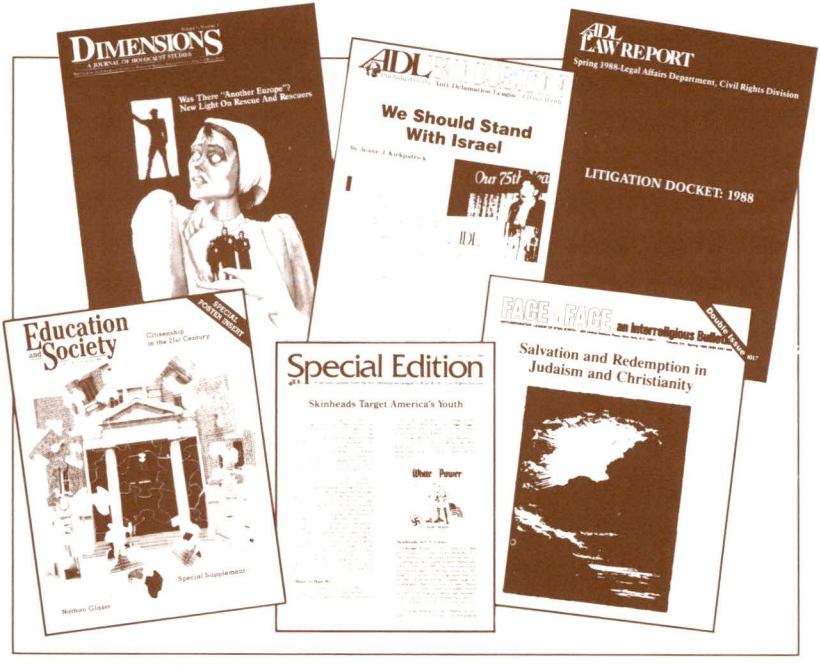
Through its communications activities, audio-visual programs, fact sheets, bulletins and other publications, ADL provides newspapers, magazines, radio and television with basic and authoritative material on human rights, human relations and all areas of the agency's concern and programming. This factual information is also made available to government leaders, the general public and the Jewish community.

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

The League communicates directly to the American people on matters of consequence through advertisements placed in the nation's most well-read newspapers. The ads, produced by a volunteer task

force made up of top advertising talents, are also made available to local groups for placement in the press and distribution as reprints.

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



They include:

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

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

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY, a quarterly aimed primarily at helping teachers to reduce prejudice among young people.

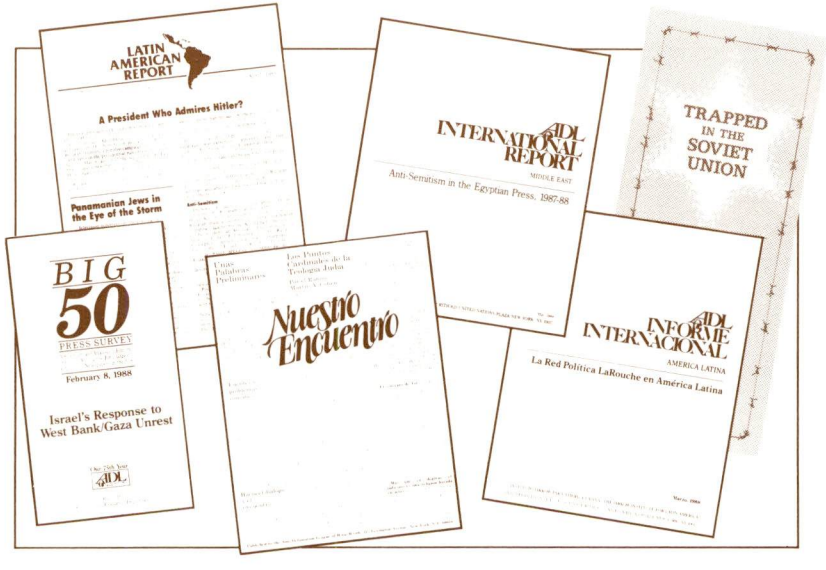
FACTS, which gives in-depth reports on anti-Semitic and extremist movements and individuals.

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

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

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

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



A catalogue listing available printed and audio-visual materials may be obtained from any office of the League. *ADL BULLETIN* individual subscriptions are available at $5 per year, 10 issues. Special group subscriptions for listings of 25 names or more are $2.50 per subscription, per year—one billing for the group but copies are mailed individually—are also available through ADL offices.

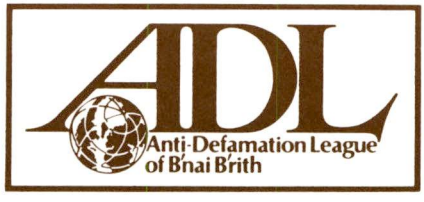
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HATRED UNDER GLASNOST

WITH A FOREWORD BY NATAN SHARANSKY



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PAMYAT:

HATRED UNDER GLASNOST

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FOREWORD

By Natan Sharansky

As soon as Glasnost in the Soviet Union provided an opportunity for more freedom of expression, we could witness the rapid growth of Pamyat and similar ultra-nationalistic, reactionary and anti-Semitic mass organizations. In Pamyat we see cautionary warnings about the long-term prospects for successful reform and human rights in Russia. Simply put, the problem of Pamyat is a reflection of the larger dilemma of freedom in the USSR.

Free individuals are a natural danger for totalitarian regimes. Freedom was the key to my own survival as well as to the survival of my fellow political prisoners in the Gulag. Our strength to endure came from our own identity as free people. As one who had found an inner freedom through hard days of long interrogation, false charges, staged trials and brutal incarcerations, I was at peace with myself, I knew who I was, what I stood for and what I had to do.

The kind of blind hatred that is exemplified by Pamyat is a manifestation of a systematic denial of freedom. On the part of the cynical Soviet elite, Pamyat is an attempt to deflect the search for liberty through the preaching of bigotry. On the part of Pamyat's followers, hate reflects a fear of freedom that is symptomatic of unfree people in an unfree society. Those who are unable to accept freedom for themselves can be manipulated against others who would seek it. Pamyat is an expression of the slave mentality that defines Soviet life.

This culture of unfreedom has deep roots in Russian history. In its authoritarian isolation under the tsars, Russia never experienced a renaissance, reformation or enlightenment. Beneath a very small elite, the vast majority of the population lived as enserfed peasants. The ingrained habits of serfdom did not die out when the serfs of Russia were emancipated in the last half of the nineteenth century. Until the Russian revolution, periodic attempts were encouraged by outstanding and noble representatives of the Russian intelligentsia to reform Russian peasant life along quasi-Western lines, but these were all abysmal failures. For instance, early in this century individual peasants who were able to establish productive independent farms were assaulted by fellow peasants who both feared and envied their success. The forced industrialization decreed by Stalin merely transferred this rural populist mentality to the urban areas where it predominates to this day. Pamyat

is a contemporary technique through which the Soviet establishment continues to exploit this sentiment.

Anti-Semitism found fertile ground in this environment because Jews continued to cherish a history and feeling of destiny that exalted freedom and human dignity. As such, Jews in Russia have been a force for political change and artistic individuality. The enemies of freedom and the masses who fear change targeted the Jews as a dangerous force, an alien mentality.

Even political differences do not present a problem for anti-Semites. For those who support the Soviet regime, all dissidents are Jews; for those who do not, the Jews are responsible for creating the revolution, for Stalin's atrocities and for stagnation during the Brezhnev period. The so-called "anti-Zionist literature" actually supports and openly encourages the wide spectrum of anti-Semitic feelings which we now observe in Pamyat.

Gorbachev, who wants to preserve the system yet introduce reform, is now facing a major problem. An effective social system in the modern, technological world requires a population which has political and psychological freedom necessary to exercise creativity and initiative. Paradoxically, Perestroika can only succeed if the Soviet regime grants the populace more freedom than it wants or is able to give, and if the Russian people, who have been conditioned to a mind-set of external control, accept more freedom than they want to have. Without an openness to freedom, real restructuring is doomed to failure. Pamyat serves as an indicator of this fundamental contradiction.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, an organization that has been a beacon of freedom around the globe, is to be commended for bringing these troubling and important issues to public attention through this publication.

PREFACE

By Burton S. Levinson

Responsible Western statesmen who have dealt with the Soviet Union in times of tension as well as in times of relative amity have learned an important lesson. When the Soviet regime is most respectful of human rights at home, it will be a more trustworthy and responsible power in its external relations. The bellwether indicator of the Soviet human rights environment has been and continues to be the regime's policy toward, and treatment of, the Jews.

The Soviet Union is now experiencing complex and far-reaching changes. In foreign affairs it has moved to improve East-West relations: it has made advances in the sphere of arms control, it has begun the process of disengaging its forces from Afghanistan, it has promoted peaceful settlements in a number of third world conflicts, and it has even made initial steps in the direction of the restoration of diplomatic ties with Israel. At home, the regime has freed dissidents, restored Andrei Sakharov to a position of public honor, given more, though uncertian, leeway to restive national minorities, and commenced a large scale overhaul of the economic and political systems. At the same time, Jewish immigration has increased, though not to the levels previously achieved in the late 1970's, and promises have been made concerning increased opportunities for Jews to obtain their cultural and religious rights.

While these events have been most encouraging, other trends have been rather troubling. Among these is the growth of a chauvinist, anti-Semitic mass organization called Pamyat that openly preaches hatred of the Jews. The spread of Pamyat and the official favor that it seems to enjoy call into question our assumptions about the direction of change in the Soviet Union today. At the very least, the phenomenon of Pamyat suggests that the triumph of liberalization in the USSR is by no means assured.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is deeply concerned about the fate of the Jews of the Soviet Union. As the world's third largest Jewish community, Soviet Jewry is a major concern of Jews around the world. ADL is also vitally interested in the larger questions of peace and human rights that are inevitably shaped by the situation of the Soviet Jewish community.

This publication, therefore, is designed to serve three purposes.

First, it conveys information that helps to provide a full picture of the current situation facing Soviet Jews. Second, it provides an important context for the ongoing debate in the United States over policy towards the USSR. Third, it presents a valuable perspective through which current trends within the Soviet polity can be understood.

The materials in this pamphlet are organized into three sections. The first section contains several descriptive and analytical overviews of Pamyat, written by three respected students of Soviet affairs. The second includes a number of proclamations, manifestos, and other writings attributed to Pamyat. Through these, we can see Pamyat in its own words. The third section is made up of a number of responses to Pamyat that have appeared in Soviet sources. These show the controversy over Pamyat within the Soviet Union. □

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PAMYAT, THE SOVIET REGIME AND GLASNOST

By Jeffrey A. Ross

On May 6, 1987, a previously obscure, officially "unrecognized," mass membership organization came to prominence in the Soviet Union when it held a public rally and march in central Moscow, converging at the Moscow city Soviet (town hall), where a delegation of its leaders was cordially received by two high-ranking Soviet officials: Boris Yeltsin, then First Secretary of the Communist Party organization of the Moscow Oblast (region), and Valery Saykin, Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet (Mayor). This unprecedented two hour meeting seemed to give an official stamp of approval to the new organization called Pamyat (which translates into English as Memory). Since that time, despite periodic denunciations in sections of the Soviet press, Pamyat has acted with impunity, building its organizational apparatus and spreading its ideology.

Pamyat was founded in 1980, during the later Brezhnev period, by several employees of the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry. Its manifest goal was to help preserve and secure traditional Russian historical and cultural monuments, first in Moscow and then throughout the Russian Republic. Its calls for national pride, traditional moral values, abstention from alcohol, and volunteer weekend labor, met a popular response and the embryonic organization began to grow.

As it grew, it became an increasingly attractive vehicle for people with an agenda of chauvinistic Great Russian nationalism and anti-Semitism. Loosely organized groups of right-wing fanatics, some even taking on neo-Nazi form, had been tolerated and even promoted in the Soviet Union since the 1960's. The regime had found them to be a useful tool in its attempt to mobilize mass support and intimidate Soviet Jews through a widespread anti-Zionist campaign. Pamyat left the Ministry of Aviation Industry and, by the fall of 1985, at the very same time that the policy of Glasnost was proclaimed, emerged with a new leadership and a new program. Since that time, its public espousal of hatred against the Jews, whom it sees as the cause for all of the ills of the USSR, has grown in intensity and notoriety.

This phenomenon, of an officially-tolerated anti-Semitic hate group, doing the regime's bidding but not formally part of the regime, is not new to modern Russian history. A particular historical analogy is most instructive. In 1905 the Tsarist regime was nearly toppled by a

popular revolution. Seeking to establish new bases of popular support, and seeking to deflect internal failings onto vulnerable external targets, the regime sponsored, protected and financed supposedly patriotic societies, the most important of which was an organization called the Union of the Russian People.

Sidney Harcave, a distinguished Western historian, has described the Union of the Russian People as follows.

> On the extreme right, among the reactionary officials, the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church, and the nobility, the Manifesto was taken as a humilating capitulation to the revolutionaries. Since these reactionaries considered the revolution to have stemmed not from any genuine discontent among the people but from the malicious activities of the intellectuals and the despised national minorities, they turned their full hatred upon these groups, designating them as the enemies of Russia . . . They organized themselves into patriotic monarchist societies, which came to be known to their opponents as the Black Hundreds. The most important of such societies was the Union of the Russian People, under the presidency of Dr. Alexander Dubrovin. On the surface it was a patriotic organization with a most distinguished membership, including high court nobility and ministers. . . The Union's most important activities, however, were below the surface. With financial aid from officials within the Ministry of Interior and with free access to the police department's printing presses, it engaged in large scale propaganda against the revolutionaries, liberals, and national minorities, especially the Jews. It operated a secret fighting organization composed of minor police agents, government employees and criminal elements, who made or stirred up armed attacks on Jews in particular. . . These underground activities were not known to all high government officials, but the Union had the support of a sufficient number of governors, ministers, and police officials to be assured of immunity from action by any other officials who did learn of it. . . Meanwhile gangs of the Black Hundreds organized attacks throughout Russia with impunity.
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> (*Russia: A History*, 1964, p. 417-426)

Pamyat and the Black Hundreds have many things in common. Indeed, the similarities are not lost on Soviet Jews, on the Soviet regime and especially on the leaders and followers of Pamyat. Both see Russia as being under assault from a Jewish conspiracy that is international

in scope and which relies upon the international Masonic order as its particular tool. Both draw heavily for inspiration, justification, and propaganda upon that notorious forgery of the Tsar's secret police, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (a document that Lenin had strongly condemned during his lifetime). Both rely on shadowy friends and protectors in high places, especially among the security services. Both use the same hate-filled slogan of the pogrom: "Death to the Yids. Save Russia."

It is ironic that Glasnost, the liberalization of politics and society that has been highly touted by the Soviet regime and welcomed by commentators throughout the world, has been extended to Soviet anti-Semites but is still largely denied to Soviet Jews, who are not allowed to either freely emigrate or to develop their own culture within the USSR. Pamyat, despite its nostalgia for pre-revolutionary Russia, publicly proclaims its loyalty to Soviet Communism and its support for the policies of General Secretary Gorbachev. Pamyat defines itself as a militant defender of Perestroika against all who would seek to undermine true reform, namely Jews and Masons.

Pamyat has drawn into its ranks a number of well-known figures from the officially-inspired anti-Zionist campaign of the last twenty-one years whose ideological zeal proved to be an embarrassment to the regime but who can still be useful in a more informal organizational setting. These include Aleksandr Z. Romanenko, author of a virulently anti-Semitic book published in 1986 entitled *The Class Essence of Zionism*, a book purporting to document an international Zionist plot to control the world; Evgeny Evseev, the most prolific Soviet anti-Zionist writer of the 1970's; Valery N. Emelyanov, a former lecturer with the official agitprop agency, the Znanie Society, specializing in anti-Zionism; and Vladimir Y. Begun, a senior researcher at the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosphy and Law, who wrote several anti-Semitic books during the 1970's. Kim Andreyev, the chairman of the Pamyat council, is a known member of the Communist Party. The most important leader and self-styled theoretician of Pamyat is Dimitri D. Yasiliev, a sometimes journalist and photographer and an avid promoter of the *Protocols*, who is reputed to keep dossiers on many leading Soviet officials.

Pamyat's ideology draws heavily from the nineteenth century Slavophile movement that called upon Russia to reject any attempt to become more like the West and, in the process, abandon its own traditions. Like the Slavophiles, Pamyat sees the West as lacking in moral, ethical, and spiritual values, and offering only an empty, superficially

attractive, materialism in their place. Jews are particularly believed to be the principal importers of Westernization into Russia and are, as a result, both hated and feared as a cultural enemy.

Pamyat is attracted by societies that it sees as having successfully fought Western culture and built upon traditional values. It has given special praise to the regimes in Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya in this regard, even claiming to have a functioning branch in Syria. This pro-Arab slant, along with its strident anti-Zionism, places Pamyat within the mainstream rather than at the periphery of Soviet policy.

Pamyat's policy prescriptions are often fuzzy and deliberately obscure. Its spokesmen have denounced rock music as "Satanic," and condemned such Western technological imports as computers, the telephone, and television. It calls for a vague new synthesis of Soviet Russia with its pre-revolutionary, and particularly its Orthodox Christian, roots. This view of the new holy Russian future is one in which there is no place for the Jews. This exclusionary religio-political messianism was reflected in the Pamyat campaign to publicly intimidate Moscow's sizable Jewish community at the time of the June 1988 observance of the millennium of Orthodox Christianity in Russia.

Among the anti-Semitic claims made by Pamyat are charges that Jewish "internationalists," in league with the Masons, spearheaded the destruction of traditional Russian culture during the 1920's and 1930's; that Jews active in the Soviet arts and media are currently acting to "contaminate" Russian culture; and that Soviet Jewish emigrés "defame" Russia from abroad. Jews are blamed for the hardships of life in the USSR, are blamed for massive soil erosion, are seen as responsible for the nuclear diaster at Chernobyl, and are even blamed for the stagnation of the Brezhnev years.

Pamyat propaganda has brought to the Soviet Union a crudity of language unseen since the days of the Black Hundreds. Pamyat materials often refer to Jews not as Evrei (the Russian word for Jew) but as Zhid, a highly pejorative form that combines "Yid" with "Kike." The dissemination of such blatant anti-Semitism is illegal under the criminal codes of both the USSR and the Russian Republic. Nonetheless, while there has been some pointed criticism of Pamyat in the Soviet press, no arrests have been made and no prosecutions have been launched—a situation that is in stark contrast to the actions that have repeatedly been taken against those Jews who have attempted to assert their officially-guaranteed religious, national, and cultural rights.

The denunciations of Pamyat in the Soviet press are generally

phrased in such a way as to link anti-Semitism with Zionism as joint socio-ideological evils. This formula undermines the official criticism of Pamyat and allows the movement to justify its blatant anti-Semitism by pretending it's anti-Zionism. This ambiguity in Soviet ideology has given Pamyat considerable room in which to maneuver.

Pamyat has chapters in many cities throughout Russia and continues to grow in size. Its membership numbers in the thousands (an exact figure is impossible to determine) and it's supported by many sympathizers. Similar anti-Semitic groups such as Spasenie (Salvation), in Leningrad, and Otechestvo (Fatherland), in Sverdlovsk, have been established on the Pamyat model.

Pamyat's agenda is not identical with that of the Soviet leadership. The fact that Pamyat has been publicly criticized while it is permitted to operate freely points to some unease. A number of distinguished analysts of Soviet affairs, including William Korey and Seweryn Bialer, have recently argued that Pamyat has aligned itself with and is being used by those segments of the Soviet elite which are most threatened by and most opposed to the Gorbachev reforms. Their strength in the Party and security apparatus has been sufficient to protect Pamyat from meaningful official sanction.

Nevertheless, Pamyat is useful politically because it provides real benefits to important segments of the regime. First among these is its usefulness in providing an outlet for popular anti-Semitism, an anti-Semitism that the regime can simultaneously support and disavow. Like their tsarist predecessors, many Soviet leaders view anti-Semitism as a lure that can channel discontent into a "safe" area, onto a vulnerable target, away from the regime itself. Internationally, as well as internally, the existence of Pamyat allows the regime to picture itself as a relatively moderate alternative to darker, more threatening forces. It even allows for a questioning of the premises of democratization: Pamyat forces one to ask whether the prime beneficiaries of democratization would necessarily be democrats and liberals. The existence of Pamyat also serves as a warning to other non-Russian Soviet nationalities that have begun to stir in the era of Glasnost.

Russian nationalism is perhaps the most potent ideological threat that the Soviet regime faces, especially given the fact that Marxism-Leninism has long since lost its hold on the imagination of the populace, degenerating into a cynically-mouthed collection of clichés and platitudes. Pamyat is one way in which the Soviet regime attempts to control and manipulate this threat, following the time-honored Leninist

strategy of cooptation. Nonetheless, this is a most dangerous game. The ruthless and seemingly irrational hatred unleashed through Pamyat may not always prove easy to control, especially if internal struggles among the Soviet leadership further undermine their political capabilities, if economic restructuring produces large-scale disruption and even unemployment, and if the promised material benefits of reform fail to materialize. □

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THE PAMYAT PHENOMENON

Can Gorbachev keep a lid on Moscow's lunatic fringe?

By William Korey

When several important Soviet newspapers last summer ran articles exposing the anti-Semitism of Moscow's well-known Russian nationalist organization, Pamyat, it was perceived as a stunning development, a reflection of the new, enlightened thinking of Mikhail Gorbachev. That the articles were unprecedented could scarcely be challenged. Kremlin rulers and spokespersons for over half a century have persistently denied charges of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev himself, in response to questions raised in February 1986 by the French Communist newspaper *L'Humanite*, formally declared that any manifestation of anti-Semitism is "impossible in the U.S.S.R." because it is "prohibited by law and constitutes a crime."

But the press exposés about Pamyat raise more questions than they answer. A central issue is the source of Pamyat's anti-Semitism. To what extent does it spring from the Kremlin's propaganda guidelines and, therefore, to what extent is anti-Semitism inherent in Soviet policy? Such questions cannot help but emphasize the profoundly heightened unease that Soviet Jews feel about their future in Soviet society.

Soviet press accounts about Pamyat were prompted by the organization's remarkable march and demonstration through the downtown streets of Moscow to the City Council building on May 6 of last year. As many as 500 people were involved, some carrying enormous banners denouncing the "saboteurs" of Gorbachev's *perestroika* (restructuring of the economy), demanding preservation of monuments of Russian culture and condemning the evils of alcoholism. If the demonstrators' demands were generally consistent with current Soviet policies, various spokespersons for the organization went beyond those policies and accused Soviet Jews of responsibility for the Chernobyl disaster, for the high rate of Soviet alcoholism and for the subversion of Soviet culture.

Especially disturbing was the fact that Valery Yemelyanov addressed the crowd. During the 1970s, Yemelyanov had been one of the fiery anti-Jewish lecturers from the Znanie Society, a leading nationwide propaganda body. In various public lectures (and even while he was teaching at a Moscow higher education institute), Yemelyanov projected an image of the "Zionist Jew" as the incarnation of evil, seek-

ing world domination by the year 2000. The Zionists' presumed control of the Western banking system and of the media was said to be part of their strategy for domination, while the mass constituency for the takeover was to come from Masonic lodges allegedly manipulated by them. Obviously inspired by the notorious tsarist forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Yemelyanov's bizarre views and policy proposals were distributed in early 1977 to members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Yemelyanov's career was interrupted in April 1980, when, after murdering his wife and chopping up her body, he was sentenced to confinement in a hospital for the criminally insane. That he was released only a few years after his conviction, and then permitted to address the marchers on May 6, cannot fail to raise questions as to whether he enjoys protection in some official circles.

Equally mystifying was the willingness of Moscow's former top Communist city official, Boris Yeltsin, to receive a delegation from Pamyat. Once a close colleague of Gorbachev's and a candidate member of the Politburo prior to his recent fall from grace, Yeltsin held a two-hour meeting with the group. Although he later indicated that he was "appalled" by the group's anti-Semitism and extremism, he is reported to have said during the meeting that consideration "should be given to granting it [Pamyat] legal status." An account in a Moscow newspaper two weeks later suggested that several issues that had been raised, such as combating bureaucracy and alcoholism, merited continuing interest.

On May 22, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the daily of the Young Communist League, sharply chastised Pamyat for anti-Semitism. Its members, said the newspaper, "see Jewish influence everywhere, from a picture of the moon that is often featured on children's clothing to the six-pointed stars that they allege appear in Soviet newspapers as a camouflaged symbol." Pamyat also has charged that designs for a historical monument on display at a Moscow exhibition hall contain "Masonic-Zionist" symbols, and that there is a sinister purpose behind the removal of the sign of the Order of Lenin from the cover of the weekly *Ogonyek* since the beginning of the year. (That journal, incidentally, characterized Pamyat as the bearer of "dangerous social demagogy.")

A report in the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* on June 3 was particularly revealing about the group's use of the *Protocols*. From tapes of a Pamyat meeting, it disclosed that speakers at the gathering

read portions of the *Protocols* in order to demonstrate the existence of a supposed Zionist plot to seize world power. The history of the *Protocols* is "dirty and sinuous," observed *Izvestia*, yet Pamyat regards the *Protocols* as "one of the keys to a 'real' understanding of the past, present and future of the country in which we live." *Izvestia* noted that the "dark power of the Jews" is the obsessional concern of Pamyat leaders, who constitute a "demagogic group" that exploits the fears of their "hysterical" and "dramatically suspicious" followers.

The origins of Pamyat lie in cultural nationalism rather than in overt anti-Semitism. The organization was founded in 1980 by employees of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Aviation Industry. Their aim was to prevent the destruction of Moscow's historical and cultural monuments. Like its name—*pamyat* means "memory"—which carried a strong nationalist resonance, the designated purpose of the group tapped a popular vein of support. Thousands of people attended its various functions.

After a few years, the leadership of Pamyat was penetrated by people more preoccupied with "mythical enemies" than with history, and by its new and current set of purposes without altogether dropping its original concerns. Anti-Semitism meshed with the preservation of Slavic cultural and religious monuments. Thus those responsible for the drastic decline of the number of Russian Orthodox churches in Moscow were said to have been the late Lazar Kaganovich, the only Jew in Stalin's Politburo, and Yemelyan Yaroslavsky, an early Stalin aide who had headed the Organization of Militant Atheists.

A report about a meeting of Pamyat in December 1985 revealed its new character. (The report appeared in a journal issued by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, *Jews and Jewish Topics in Soviet and East European Publications*, in the Winter 1986-7 issue, which provided the full text of a tape of the meeting and an account by a Jewish activist present.) One of its leaders was identified as Yevgeny Pashkin, a geologist who, according to the report, "sees the main enemy of ancient Russian architecture as international Zionism, entrenched in the Main Department for Architecture and Planning in Moscow." But the group's central figure, Dmitry Vasiliev, a journalist and photographer, gave the principal speech. He sought to expose the entrenched "enemy" who lurks everywhere, including within the state apparatus, by reading excerpts from the presumably authoritative source—the *Protocols*.

The "elders," according to Vasiliev, have nothing but contempt for the goyim (drawing upon the language of the *Protocols*), who are to be subverted by "hard liquor, alcoholism, depravity." Power, the principal

aim of the elders, is to be won through "bribery, deception and betrayal." Vasiliev's rambling address then concluded: Since "Zionism represents an extreme threat" to the "peoples of our planet," "all nations should unite in their struggle against this monstrous and most terrifying enemy." "Applause" rang out, the report said, followed by "stormy applause" when he finished by reading a patriotic poem.

Vasiliev took meticulous care not to stray too far from official party policy. He cited an article from the party's propaganda journal, *Agitator,* entitled "Zionism as a Tool of Reaction," as a source for revealing "the strategic aims of international Zionism." Gorbachev was pointedly praised (even though, on another occasion, his close associate, Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, was portrayed as an agent of the Masonic-Zionist conspiracy.) Strikingly, Vasiliev warned against "anti-Semitic escapades" even as he called for action against "stinking Zionism."

That Pamyat has protectors well-placed in various levels of the Communist Party is suggested by available evidence. Kim Andreyev, the chairman of the Pamyat Council, is a known party member. A number of Pamyat meetings have been held on Communist Party premises. The party extended official approval for public marches and the use of public halls. In one instance, last March, the first secretary of a regional party committee invited an author much favored by Pamyat, Aleksandr Romanenko, to lecture at the concert hall of a scientific institute. The lecturer, according to a Moscow dissident, charged that Jews had murdered his wife and then arranged to have him accused of the crime, which resulted in his ending up in a psychiatric hospital.

Pamyat seems also to be protected from criminal investigation. Anti-Semitism is supposed to be a crime, as Gorbachev himself emphasized in 1986. Article 74 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic makes incitement through propaganda of racial or ethnic or religious enmity an offense punishable by imprisonment for a period of six months to three years or by internal exile of two to five years.

Evidence of vicious anti-Semitic propaganda drawn from the tsarist *Protocols* and promoted by Pamyat is publicly available, including a *samizdat* (underground) tape of the December 1985 meeting. But there is no indication that a criminal indictment against the organization is contemplated. Indeed, past experience is scarcely encouraging. Since the 1930s, anti-Semitism has not been treated as a punishable act (as it had been during the early years of the Soviet Revolution). Not a single court case involving anti-Semitism under Article 74 has ever been reported. And with the protection in high circles that seems to envelop

Pamyat, the likelihood of judicial action against it is virtually nil.

Moreover, Pamyat has an intellectual lineage that goes back to official Communist Party propaganda against Zionism, a policy initiated in July 1967 and then intensified, especially since the autumn of 1974, when a secret party directive requiring a massive media drive against Zionism was adopted and sent to every party regional office.

Last June 18, *Sovetskaya Kultura*, a major, nonideological Moscow periodical, noted that three of the favorite lecturers at Pamyat meetings in Moscow and Novosibirsk are Yevgeny Yevseev, Vladimir Begun and Aleksandr Romanenko. Yevseev, who served in the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences, was a major contributor to the anti-Zionist effort in the late 1960s and early 70s. His shrill and extensive writings, which barely disguise a vituperative hatred of Jews, were published in dozens of Soviet newspapers, journals and authoritative books.

Begun, a senior writer at the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Law, was the author in the 1970s of two works that were highly praised in the Soviet media and published in tens of thousands of copies. His diatribes against Judaism and Jewry differed little from those of tsarist anti-Semites. Indeed, Begun went so far as to endorse the anti-Jewish pogroms of the tsarist epoch as "class uprisings."

Romanenko's contribution to the propaganda drive came more recently, in 1986, with the publication of *The Class Essence of Zionism* in an edition of 50,000 copies. The alleged striving of Zionists for world supremacy is the book's major theme, embellished by traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes.

So extreme were Romanenko's formulations that in January 1987 an authoritative academic party journal, *Questions of C.P.S.U. History*, sharply criticized the book for being full of "factual inaccuracies, distortions and errors," including the "manipulation" of quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Even so, the book today can be found everywhere in the U.S.S.R. Observers in Leningrad have noted that when copies in bookstores sell out, new ones quickly appear.

These three authors have been very much in the mainstream of the party-endorsed anti-Zionist propaganda campaign. *Sovetskaya Kultura's* article of June 18 may have characterized their writings as "erroneous, anti-scientific and, in fact, misleading," but this has been almost the only negative comment in the daily or weekly press. Enthusiastic and overwhelming endorsements of their writings and the writings of other anti-Zionist specialists have been the typical response in the past.

Zionism was and continues to be seen in Manichaean teams as a cosmic enemy of enormous hidden power. It embraces every conceivable physical threat and moral evil—imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, militarism, crime, subversion, espionage, even Hitlerism. A standard feature of Soviet propaganda has been the charge that Zionists assisted Hitler in coming to power and collaborated with him in every endeavor of the Nazi war machine, including the massacre of Jews. Adolf Eichmann has been portrayed as initially a Zionist agent, a view that the Pamyat leader, Vasiliev, publicly repeats. Clearly Pamyat, in almost every respect, does not diverge from this established ideological pattern. The only significant difference is that its leaders do not hesitate to identify the *Protocols* as their principal ideological source. Such candor would hardly be acceptable to party ideologues, who are certainly aware that the *Protocols* were alien to Lenin and to Leninism. But if the tsarist fabrication is not specifically acknowledged as a source for the party's anti-Zionist propaganda, its impact has nonetheless been clear and palpable.

One feature these three authors share requires particular attention: the alleged role of Freemasonry and its "secret, conspiratorial" relationship with Zionism. This theme, which is at the core of Pamyat thinking, has its Russian origins in publications of the tsarist Black Hundreds, a reactionary anti-Semitic group that was powerful during the early years of the 20th century. Later, the theme became the centerpiece of the *Protocols*, which strongly influenced Hitler. And 30 years after World War II this obscurantist theme enjoyed a remarkable revival in the Soviet Union.

Significantly, during the mid-1970s, in the course of the Kremlin's intense anti-Zionism campaign, the "Masonic-Zionist conspiracy" theory came to occupy a prominent place. It was first aired in an official volume of the Ukrainian republic, *Zionism and Apartheid*, by V. I. Skurlatov. Skurlatov contended that Freemasonry was an expression of "secular Judaism," channeling the major Judaic ideas into the upper strata of bourgeois society. The principal feature of Judaism was declared to be "racism" (following from the "chosen people" concept) and the aspiration for domination over other people, and the Masonic order was seen as the means for realizing Jewish dominance.

Nedelya, the weekly supplement of *Izvestia*, elaborated on the Skurlatov perspective, pointing to the supposed similarity between the Masons' and B'nai B'rith's organization according to local "lodges." An article by Vadim Raevsky in that journal in February 1976 portrayed B'nai B'rith as seeking, with the help of the Masons, to rule the world. A

cartoon accompanying the article showed a man's arms, with the Star of David imprinted on one hand, embracing the entire globe. In July 1977, *Nedelya* further developed the theme when it published an article, by Vadim Pigalev, charging that the Soviet Union was threatened by "neo-Fascism, international Zionism and the dregs of the criminal-political world" who "jointly use the old mechanism of Masonic lodges more and more frequently."

Komsomolskaya Pravda, in September 1978, repeated *Nedeya's* charges with some variation. An article by V. Polezhaev argued that Freemasonry has become an "invisible form of government" that had developed the "strategy and tactics" of raising human rights issues in Eastern Europe. The Zionists, he contended, use Masonic influence "in order to manipulate secretly the [world] economy." According to Polezhaev, the Zionists are especially attracted to the Freemasonry with its "worship [of] the six-cornered Star of David" and its observance of Judaic rituals.

In 1981, the Masonic-Zionist theme was picked up by *Golos Rodiny*, a Soviet journal promoting Russian patriotism, which printed an article by B. Aleksandrovsky that focused on a scandal involving a Masonic lodge in Italy whose secretive, rightist activities aroused the Italian Government's concern. Aleksandrovsky contended that Freemasonry was "extremely closely linked, by threads invisible to mere mortals, with the top bosses of World Capital and the highest Zionist organizations."

A Soviet military-patriotic journal, *Sovetsky Voin*, added its voice in March 1982. The author was again Pigalev, who had written the 1977 article in Nedelya. Now he found that the Solidarity movement in Poland was basically a Masonic-Zionist plot because Lech Walesa had an alleged "Zionist" adviser, B. Geremek, who was said to have received instructions from a Masonic group in Paris.

Pitalev added that all instances of destabilization in the world, whether in Poland or Turkey or Italy, were the results of the Masonic-Zionist conspiracy. Basically, it was the Zionists who manipulated the plot since Gentiles who assumed high office in Freemasonry were "in one way or another sifted by the Zionists" and merely "function as the active accomplices of this international lobby."

The Soviet Union's most prolific anti-Semitic writer, Lev Korneyev, who worked at the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies, joined the chorus of analysts focusing on the Masonic-Zionist conspiracy. He first developed it in *Neva*, the Leningrad monthly, in May 1982. Writing in the same journal six months later under a Jewish-

sounding pseudonym, "Solomon Verbitsky," Korneyev discussed the "criminal links" of Zionists with "the Nazis, neo-Fascists, the Mafia and Freemasons."

Two books published in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, in 1984 and 1985 respectively, also emphasized these themes. V. A. Stefankin's *In the Service of Aggression* includes a chapter about how the military-industrial complex in the United States is linked to the "conspiracy." Stefankin alleged that the Honeywell Corporation was run by a Zionist who, "like many other American magnates, belongs to the Zionist-Masonic lodge." A review of the Byelorussian book, *Vendetta: American Style*, by S. Pavlov, stressed the attention the author gave to the Masons, "a deeply conspiratorial international political mafia." The review, which appeared in *Sovetskaya Rossija*, lauded the work for revealing how "American imperialism and Zionism . . . pursue their racist ideology and imperial policies through secret Masonic channels."

Even the journal of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, *Novoye Vremya*, has communicated the same ideology. In October 1985 it carried an article describing Zionism as a secret conspiracy aimed at establishing world domination. Singled out in the article was B'nai B'rith, which was depicted as a Masonic institution.

If to the outside world the Masonic-Zionist conspiracy theory appears archaic and obscurantist, within the Soviet Union it has nonetheless enjoyed an extraordinary legitimacy. Sanction, to a certain extent, was officially provided by one of the U.S.S.R.'s most prominent historians, Professor Nikolai Yakovlev, who was a section head at the Institute of Social Studies of the Academy of Sciences. In his best-selling work on World War I, *August 1, 1914*, he came to the astonishing conclusion that a critical factor in the internal crisis faced by Tsar Nicholas II was an antipatriotic Masonic conspiracy attributed to "the ruling circles of the Entente." Indirect evidence suggests that a crucial source for this theory was the K.G.B., which is known to have provided Yakovlev access to its files.

Clearly, the ideology of anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R. is deeply rooted in the prerevolutionary Russian past and draws heavily on myths and canards that are alien to enlightened thought. Neither perestroika nor glasnost has countered its impact. Indeed, glasnost has served to open a public hearing for the more aggressive advocates of anti-Zionism.

At the highest party level, Zionism continues to be targeted as the embodiment of evil. Gorbachev, in his major policy address to the party plenum on January 27, 1987, bracketed Zionism with anti-Semitism as

examples of nationalist and chauvinist aberrations that must be repulsed. To equate Zionism with anti-Semitism is to resurrect the provocative "Zionism equals racism" theme of United Nations infamy. The signal from the party's highest authority ineluctably influences the party apparatus as well as outside organizations such as Pamyat, which take the policy address as a justification for open bigotry.

Western diplomats in Moscow have taken note of the tolerance displayed by the authorities toward Pamyat. Last May 24, one was quoted by Felicity Barringer, a Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times*, as saying that the "people of the Pamyat strain have some protection in the ruling circles of the Communist Party." Another commented to the same correspondent that Soviet leaders "don't want to come down too hard on Pamyat because some of the ideas they espouse are popular and respectable and supported by some of the leadership." Even some critical newspaper commentaries paid a certain tribute to the goals of Pamyat, particularly its support of Gorbachev's anti-alcoholism campaign and its devotion to Russian history.

Pamyat is not the only organization that has caused concern and anxiety. A similarly chauvinistic group, Spasenie ("Salvation"), was established in Leningrad, while in Sverdlovsk, a group called Otochestvo ("Fatherland") was created. Neo-Nazi youth groups wearing Nazi-type regalia and using the Hitler salute have also appeared in several cities. In Leningrad, last April 20—Hitler's birthday—they organized demonstrations. Soon afterward, desecrations of gravestones in that city's Jewish cemetery were reported by the Soviet press agency Tass. The assault on Jewish sensibility also finds expression in verbal abuse shouted at small groups of refuseniks when they publicly protest the regime's refusal to grant exit visas.

That the emergence of open anti-Semitism will generate anxieties among all Soviet Jews is not surprising. Yet those Jews who occupy positions in the establishment appear fearful about any Jewish issue being publicly raised lest it activate even more virulently the not impotent anti-Semites.

For example, late last spring, academician Vitaly Goldansky wrote an open letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, which appeared in a Moscow journal, pleading with him not to emphasize the problem of Jewish emigration during his visit to the Soviet Union because it would provide ammunition for the anti-Semites. A similar letter appeared the following week, signed by nine prominent Soviet Jews, most of them active in the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee.

Refuseniks, and Jewish activists generally, recognize the Pamyat phenomenon as neither accidental nor incidental. Rather, they perceive Pamyat and organizations like it, with all their extremism and vulgarity, as integral to recent Communist Party propaganda policy. If the propaganda campaign in the Soviet press has significantly diminished in quantitative terms since the beginning of last year, the term "Zionists," when used in the media, which it commonly is, remains one of utter contempt. The scurrilous character of the canards spread against Zionism stirs a continuing and deep concern.

In an appeal to Gorbachev last June, 28 leading Jewish activists wrote: "Twenty years of anti-Zionist propaganda in the mass media have now borne fruit." After warning that Pamyat's slogans "could easily lead to physical violence" against Jews, they demanded "an immediate end to the wave of anti-Jewish propaganda." Whether and how the Kremlin responds to this appeal will provide a test of the self-proclaimed humanist aspirations of the new leadership. □

William Korey is the author of *The Soviet Cage* and has written for numerous publications. He serves as director of international policy research for B'nai B'rith.

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EXTREMISTS FLOURISH IN GORBACHEV ERA

By Dimitri K. Simes

Under the cover of *glasnost*, forces of Russian chauvinism make a claim on power in the Soviet Union. Remarkably, it is these extreme nationalists and anti-Semites who are the first to test the limits of the Kremlin's new tolerance. That they will be able to take over is extremely unlikely. Still, their growing visibility reflects powerful political undercurrents that have been unleashed by Mikhail S. Gorbachev. And the immunity with which the Soviet nationalist right is allowed to operate suggests that it has supporters in high places.

How otherwise can one explain the access to government facilities in Moscow that these extremists enjoy? Unofficial groups normally are not allowed to conduct meetings in clubs that are uniformly controlled by party and state organizations. But the Pamyat (which in Russian means "memory") Society, an organization of Russian nationalist extremists, regularly gathers hundreds of members and sympathizers in a variety of halls provided courtesy of institutions ranging from the Union of Artists to the Dynamo factory. On May 6, 1987, 400 Pamyat members, after a noisy demonstration in downtown Moscow, were granted a two-hour audience with Boris Yeltsin, the Soviet capital's party boss and a candidate member of the ruling Politburo. There is no precedent since the 1920s for protesters to be received by an official of even remotely similar stature.

And that is despite the fact that Pamyat's political philosophy is no secret. Created originally under the pretext of protecting historical monuments, the organization now devotes all of its energy to the crusade against "the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy." Speakers at Pamyat's gatherings do not stop at reading aloud from the notorious forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." They call for violence against their political opponents—predictably, Jews and liberal intellectuals. At one recent Pamyat meeting an appeal to the "Russian people" was adopted calling for demonstrations against Zionists and Masons all over the country, and to "identify and massacre corrupt journalists" who fail to pay tribute to Russian national values.

According to the Soviet media, Pamyat's membership is in the thousands and the organization has chapters in many Soviet cities. What it does not have—no unofficial group does—is access to a printing press. So Pamyat produces and distributes videocassettes, reaching all Russian areas of the Soviet Union. In addition, it receives help from

like-minded emigrés in the United States. The New York Russian-language paper, the *Russian Self-Conscience*, which praises Adolf Hitler for acting against Jewish domination, somehow escapes extensive Soviet customs controls and is used by Pamyat as its substitute voice.

No Soviet publication openly supports Pamyat. And many, in the aftermath of the Moscow demonstration, have bitterly criticized it. Nevertheless, it would be a profound mistake to dismiss the organization as a bunch of politically irrelevant fanatics.

The truth is that Pamyat articulates in an extreme way what many influential Russians think. Russian nationalists control several important government literary publications in which they regularly engage in bitter anti-Western polemics, often degenerating into attacks against "alien"—read Jewish—influence. They blame the West and its alleged agent, Zionism, for many ills of Russian society ranging from technological backwardness to alcohol abuse.

Pamyat's political connections are more difficult to trace. Soviet journalists make clear that it benefits from the sponsorship of some middle-level party officials. Moscow's rumor mill has it that Pamyat's secret patrons include Gorbachev's party deputy, Yegor Ligachev, and even Gorbachev's own wife, Raisa.

For whatever reason, Pamyat is very high on Gorbachev. Its members demonstrate with signs pledging complete support of the new leadership. That may be partly explained by political opportunism. But it may also mean that *glasnost* means different things to different people. Moscow insiders claim that many of Gorbachev's initiatives are genuinely popular among Russian nationalists. His no-nonsense approach at home appeals to their sense of law and order. The general secretary's relentless effort to ensure Soviet greatness abroad also strikes a responsive chord among Pamyat cohorts.

Americans like to believe that the relaxation of political controls universally leads to freedom and democracy. But, as the experience of Iran indicates, it also provides encouragement to all kinds of xenophobic extremists. Mikhail Gorbachev has opened the Pandora's box of Soviet politics. What he will get out of it still remains to be seen.□

Dimitri K. Simes is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. This article originally appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*.

EXAMPLES OF WIDELY DISTRIBUTED LITERATURE BY PAMYAT

PROCLAMATION OF THE PATRIOTIC UNION "PAMYAT" TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND TO THE PATRIOTS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND NATIONS.

Lately enemy activities have become very obvious. The enemies have penetrated every sector of the Party. Sinister forces disguised under Party slogans continue to struggle with the native people in our country and destroy the national character of our people. They are restoring Trotskyism to discredit socialism, to foment chaos in our State, and to open the gates for Western capital and ideology. "Pamyat" declared this publicly and received threats and reprisals that our compatriots or supporters would not make.

"Pamyat" represents the people's will and the people's view in our country. But who would act against his own people? Only those to whom the people's interests are alien and who cannot understand the heart of the people. They say to everyone in our country that there are no dark forces here. If that is true, then answer before the world:

Who launched political terror in our country over the past 70 years?
Who destroyed freedom of thought and violated the Constitution and democracy?
Who profanes our history and culture?
Who destroyed a great many landmarks that belong to the Russian people?
Who ruined sacred historical landmarks, churches, Christian shrines and monasteries?
Who destroyed our economy and our agriculture?
Who caused the accident in Chernobyl?
Who is responsible for the ecological disaster in our country?
Who exhausted our resources of raw materials and sold them for next to nothing to the West?
Who destroyed the Russian nation by means of ideology and alcohol?
Who attacks us like a rabid dog with charges of nationalism whenever the word "Russian" is mentioned?
Who tries to make the word "Russian" a synonym of "enemy"?
The time has come to stand before the judgement of con-

science. Our people are in danger, and it is not only the nuclear war that threatens to destroy us. Many people are acting as if they were asleep; they do not understand real reasons and do not see the real enemy; they are not preparing themselves for the struggle.

The international Zionists and Masons launched an attack against the last remaining havens of our national spirit and self-awareness.

For three years "Pamyat" tried to expose and demonstrate all these facts to the public. We invite all honest and brave people to unite around "Pamyat" and help Perestroika to protect the ideals of Socialism.

We appeal to all patriots in the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Soviet Armed Forces: Demand a meeting with the leaders of "Pamyat"! You must realize that the day may come when the enemy (who may be everywhere and sit in any chair) will order the destruction of the patriotic forces in the Soviet Union whom he calls "black shirts" [i.e., fascist—Translator's note], nationalists, or anti-Semites. You must realize that you will be the first who will be sent to kill and destroy innocent people. Have the events in Poland and Czechoslovakia taught you anything? The events where Zionist agents pretended to be loyal Communists?

We call to all Soviet people: Mobilize all your forces for a fight against the threat of Zionism in our country! Stop the machinations of those who would sell their country for thirty pieces of silver!

The attack by the Soviet and world media against "Pamyat" must be discussed by all our people. May of 1987 was a month of yet another slanderous campaign waged by the Soviet and foreign press against "Pamyat." Even the European Parliament took action against our patriotic union, which shows what it means to reveal the secret plans of world Zionism and Masons. The surprising unanimity of Soviet and foreign journalists in their condemnation of "Pamyat" reminds us of one fact: There is an international center which the controls the press and acts in support of Zionist interests.

In concluding our Proclamation, we wish to underscore the fact that the patriotic union "Pamyat" is international and has nothing in common with anti-Semitism or any other form of racial discrimination. All charges of anti-Semitism are meant to distract attention from the main purpose of our life, i.e., the struggle against extremism, which is sprouting all over Russia, and against the suppression of the Russians and of the Russian soul.

We should like to emphasize that the national issue is still very important in the Soviet Union and that it must be resolved.

We presume the only way to resist Western gold, Zionism, and the Masons is by fostering our national self-awareness. The only purpose of the Zionists and Masons is to penetrate our country and paralyze the forces of our national resistance.

PROCLAMATION

To the Russian People,
To the Patriots of All
Countries And Nations;

Zionism Has Now Launched
An Undisguised Offensive
Against
The Patriot Front!

What new indictments are being cooked up for us by the Zionists?

Their main task now is to cut the people off from their own songs, to show that Pamyat is the reason for all their problems. Look! Pamyat! Let the Russians cut the throats of each other and meanwhile the Zionists are plotting a takeover of Russia.

They are saying that Pamyat members are Nazis, that we are forming "storm-troops"! Against whom? Where? We are Nazis?

Nazism was not born out of Russian Christianity!

Nazism was born out of Judaism!!!

Nazism has jumped out of the Talmud: ". . . Kill the best of Gentiles!!!"

Using Pamyat as a springboard, Zionist elements are trying to destroy our society, blaming everything on the party! They are trying to put Pamyat outside the bounds of the law, to pit Pamyat against the party. But all those tricks are transparent. The time has come to say clearly and unequivocally:

The country has been bisected!

Two camps are pitted against each other openly! It is the National Patriotic Front versus the Zionist-Mason-Cosmopolite bloc!

With whom are you, countrymen? They want you to serve not your motherland, but to serve the ideas of cynical cosmopolites! Take off the blinders from your eyes! Demand the right to meet with Pamyat activists and to discuss the manifesto in workers collectives! Set up people's councils for the advancement of perestroika! Do not permit them to carry out the foul designs against Pamyat!

Today they want to destroy Pamyat. Tomorrow they will deal with you and your children! Zionist capital needs new robots! Do not follow the orders of Zionists, who usurped power in a criminal way! Support the union of Communists and non-party members which holds true to the ideals of motherland, national self-fulfillment, truth and freedom! Everything will be judged by the great mind of the people!

You are the masters of the country! Without fear, take power into your own hands!

Chairman signed, and members of the Council of Pamyat: Kim Andreev, Alexei Gladkov, Dimitri Vasiliev, Alexandr Barkashov, Alexandr Linev, Nikolai Detkov, Sergei Bogdanov.

Moscow, February 1st, 1988.

The following fascist leaflets were pasted by Pamyat supporters around Moscow's House of Culture "Yaliza" on May 8, 1988, a day after the club administration agreed to give their hall for a conference to the Jewish Cultural Association.

Comrades! Russian Patriots!

How long can we put up with dirty Jews, who have brazenly infiltrated our society, in particular into positions of privilege! Come to your senses! Why have we allowed the filthy ones to make a Jewish mess out of our beautiful country?!

Why do we, great, beautiful, wise Slavs see the Yids amongst us as normal phenomenon?!

Why do the Yids-cattle manage, by various means, to obtain Russian surnames and under the section of "nationality" they write "Russian." How can those dirty, stinking Jews hide and pass as heroic and proud Russians?

RUSSIA FOR RUSSIANS

Organization "D.Y."

Death to the Yids

EXCERPTS OF PUBLISHED LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN THE OFFICIAL SOVIET PRESS

From *Komsomolskaya, Pravda*, December 19, 1987.

". . .who needs to shield Yids and Freemasons, and why? After all, it is clear to any sober-minded person that the phenomenon of stagnation in social life and the economy is the handiwork of "the children of Israel"!

"Greetings, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* staff (except Jews and members of national minorities)! We fully back Pamyat. The primordial enemies of Russian culture, destroyers of national self-awareness and today's adversaries of restructuring are the "Masonic-Zionist circles," an enemy who must be "ground to dust" and against whom it is necessary to unite in communities of mistrust and committees in defense of restructuring."

Komsomolskaya, Pravda, May 22, 1987

D. Vasiliev—"Imperialism and Zionism plant agents who cultivate bureaucracy. This enemy has entrenched himself everywhere and driven us in a corner. . . The enemy has not let you show your abilities. These people who are ruining our economy and science are pensioned off, but they should be put against the wall. They are the enemy. "Unite to implement the new political course. . . brothers and sisters! We must unsheathe our weapons. . . We have waited long enough!"

THE CASE OF ONE SOVIET CITY:
PAMYAT LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION IN BELORUSSIA

In May, 1988 L. Belkin, a recent Soviet immigrant to Israel testified on the circulation of anti-Semitic leaflets by Pamyat supporters at his university in Belorussia. Following are excerpts of his testimony:

Beginning in November 1987, leaflets/information bulletins of a clearly anti-Semitic character began to circulate among various circles, starting with the intelligentsia and ending with the faculty of history of the Belorussian State University in Minsk. These leaflets were not signed by any organization. They were mostly typed using carbon paper, and some were handwritten.

It is known that at the Belorussian State University the leaflets were disseminated by civil guard members and bore the titles of real officials, although evidently with fabricated names. For example, "responsible KGB official L. N. Sivtsov," "Secretary of the Chair of the History of the Party S. I. Ivanovsky," and so on. There were 3-4 such names.

The leaflets allegedly contained "scientifically proven facts," that "the Jews by their personal participation and ideological influence distorted the plans and the process of building socialism. And at the same time destroyed the Russian and other cultures in the U.S.S.R." No conclusions were presented. Tables of the Jews' participation in punitive and diplomatic organs during the first 25-30 years of Soviet power were presented, and so on. There was a tone of Pan-Slavism and Christianity.

These leaflets were carefully hidden from Jewish students but they managed to steal one and make a summary of it.

I personally know of three independent appearances of such materials in the course of five months. The Belorussian State University was just one of them.

SOVIET CHURCH LEADER DENOUNCES PAMYAT

Metropolitan Aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod, head of the Tallinn and Estonian dioceses, Chairman of the Conference of European Churches, member of the Soviet Peace Fund Board, answers questions from a Moscow News correspondent (MN No. 38, 1987).

Q: The processes taking place in society have brought about many phenomena, among them the society Pamyat (Memory). What can you say about its activity?

A: The name Pamyat arouses a feeling of respect and imposes a deep obligation upon us. One of the directions of the work of the Culture Fund is to preserve memory of history. If we want to protect and preserve national values, contribute to the creation of objective and strictly scientific history, such an activity deserves every approval and support.

However, it puts you somewhat on guard when the main fervor in the work of active members of the Pamyat unofficial society is directed at searching for enemies, at convincing the public that a certain plot has been staged against Russian national culture. Such an atmosphere, far from serving the cause of strengthening national consciousness, even undermines respect for the movement. If the movement degenerates into nationalism and chauvinism, it will distort the spirit of internationalist fraternity which has always characterized the best representatives of the Russian people, Russian intellectuals. We know from experience that if the solution of the problem begins with a search for "enemies," such enemies are found quickly, but the problems remain unsolved. If the unofficial society Pamyat directed the energy of its members towards creativity, to studying national culture and its contacts with world culture, to revealing all that is good in man, in his national character, it would be a real service to strengthening national awareness, a contribution to our people's spiritual culture.

APPENDIX
ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION DURING 1988

—Vandalization in May of eight tombstones in the Jewish section of the Vostryakova cemetery, near Moscow.
—Smashing of all windows of the Kaunas Synagogue on May 24 by unidentified thugs.
—Display in Moscow (reported by Galina Zelichonok) of placards with the czarist-style legend, "Hit the Jews to Save Russia."
—Display during the May 26 Moscow demonstration of placards by hostile passersby containing a swastika linked with the Star of David.
—Warnings to residents of Leningrad not to rent summer houses to Jews.
—Publication in the Soviet monthly magazine *Nash Sovremenik* of excerpts from a novel, describing a Jewish masonic organization "which has ruled the world since ancient times."
—The April 19 issue of *Ogonyok* ran a letter from Ukrainian filmmaker G. Shklyarevsky criticizing the Deputy Chairman of the Kiev City Executive Committee, V. Savchuk, for stating that there are too many Jews in the city's cooperatives.
—The same issue also carried an article by literary critic Tatyana Ivanova complaining about anti-Semitic overtones in an article by the Russian nationalist poet Stanislav Kunaev, published not long before in *Molodaya Gvardiya*.
—On 20 April, more than sixty gravestones were smashed in the Jewish cemetery in Orsha.
—A May 29 demonstration by non-Jews on Leningrad's Nevsky Prospect, demanding that the city's Jews be expelled.
—The May 12 posting of Fascist leaflets at Moscow's Yauza Culture Club; and continous distribution throughout the Soviet Union of "Pamyat" material.
—USA Research Institute head Georgi Arbatov's statement, during an interview, that Reagan's pressure on Jewish issues will result in increased anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.
—During May and June 1988 leaflets were circulated in Moscow warning Jews to stay away from celebrations of the Millenium of Christianity in Russia.

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

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
OEOB, ROOM 450
TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1989

I'M PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH ALL OF YOU THIS MORNING. I SEE A BRIEFING SESSION LIKE THIS -- WITH TOP MEMBERS OF MY ADMINISTRATION -- AS A TWO-WAY STREET. WE CAN BOTH BENEFIT FROM THIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND AN OPEN SHARING OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS.

AS I LOOK AROUND THE ROOM, I SEE MANY FAMILIAR FACES. LET ME WELCOME BURT LEVINSON AND ABE FOXMAN.

FOR THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY, THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE HAS PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN PRESERVING AND PROTECTING THE SACRED RIGHT OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. THERE IS NO SINGLE GREATER CONTRIBUTION YOU COULD MAKE TO THIS NATION -- AND FOR THAT YOU'VE EARNED OUR GRATITUDE.

FROM THE TIME THE PILGRIMS LANDED AT PLYMOUTH ROCK, THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM -- AND THE NOTION OF AMERICA AS A HAVEN FOR THOSE WHO SEEK TO EXERCISE THAT FREEDOM -- HAS BEEN DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE AMERICAN HERITAGE.

BUT THE ADL KNOWS WELL THAT HOWEVER WELL-ESTABLISHED RELIGIOUS FREEDOM MAY BE, IT CAN NEVER BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. OUR NATIONAL CONSCIENCE MUST TAKE NOTE WHENEVER THIS FREEDOM IS VIOLATED -- AND ALL AMERICANS MUST RUSH TO ITS DEFENSE.

AS ONE OF OUR FOREFATHERS WROTE NEARLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO: "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ... GIVES TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION, TO PERSECUTION NO ASSISTANCE.... MAY THE CHILDREN OF THE STOCK OF ABRAHAM ... SIT IN SAFETY

UNDER HIS OWN VINE AND FIG-TREE, AND THERE SHALL BE NONE TO MAKE HIM AFRAID."

I KNOW THAT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE RECENTLY ISSUED ITS ANNUAL REPORT DETAILING RISING INCIDENTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN 1988.

WE MUST CONDEMN ALL ATTACKS ON THE JEWISH RELIGION AND THE JEWISH HERITAGE -- CLEARLY, UNEQUIVOCALLY, AND WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

THIS NATION MUST STAND FOR TOLERANCE, PLURALISM, AND A HEALTHY RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF ALL MINORITIES.

I KNOW MANY OF YOU WELL. WE'VE WORKED TOGETHER IN COMMON CAUSE MANY TIMES OVER THE YEARS. YOU KNOW HOW DEEPLY I CHERISH THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM -- AND I KNOW HOW HARD YOU'VE FOUGHT, NOT ONLY FOR YOUR OWN BELIEFS, BUT TO PROTECT THE PRINCIPLE THAT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN TO WORSHIP AS THEY BELIEVE RIGHT.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST, TO PROTECT THESE RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS. REST ASSURED THAT MY ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK TO UPHOLD THIS PRINCIPLE AS THE VERY CORNERSTONE OF OUR FREEDOM.

THANK YOU.

# # #

(McGroarty/Simon)
March 10, 1989
6:00 pm
(antidef)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
WASHINGTON, D.C.
TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1989

I'm pleased to have this opportunity to meet with all of you this morning. I see a briefing session like this -- with top members of my Administration -- as a two-way street. We can both benefit from this exchange of views, and an open sharing of information and ideas.

As I look around the room, I see many familiar faces. Let me welcome Burt Levinson and Abe Foxman.

For three-quarters of a century, the Anti-Defamation League has played a central role in preserving and protecting the sacred right of religious freedom. There is no single greater contribution you could make to this nation -- and for that you've earned our gratitude.

From the time the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, the principle of religious freedom -- and the notion of America as a haven for those who seek to exercise that freedom -- has been deeply rooted in the American heritage.

But the ADL knows well that however well-established religious freedom may be, it can <u>never</u> be taken for granted. Our national conscience must take note whenever this freedom is violated -- and all Americans must rush to its defense.

As one of our forefathers wrote nearly two hundred years ago: "The government of the United States ... gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.... May the children of the Stock of Abraham ... sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

I know that the Anti-Defamation League recently issued its annual report detailing rising incidents of anti-Semitism in 1988.

We must condemn all attacks on the Jewish religion and the Jewish heritage -- clearly, unequivocally, and without exception.

This nation must stand for tolerance, pluralism, and a healthy respect for the rights of all minorities.

I know many of you well. We've worked together in common cause many times over the years. You know how deeply I cherish the principle of religious freedom -- and I know how hard you've fought, not only for your own beliefs, but to protect the principle that recognizes the right of all men and women to worship as they believe right.

We must continue to work together as we have in the past, to protect these rights for all Americans. Rest assured that my Administration will work to uphold this principle as the very cornerstone of our freedom.

Thank you.

# # #

(McGroarty/Simon)
March 9, 1989
2:30 pm
(antidef)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 14, 1989

I'm pleased to have this opportunity to meet with all of you this morning. I see this briefing session as a two-way street. We can both benefit from this exchange of views, and an open sharing of information and ideas.

As I look around the room, I see many familiar faces. Let me welcome Abe Foxman and Burton Levinson....

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But the ADL knows well that however well-established religious freedom may be, it can never be taken for granted. Our national conscience must take note whenever this freedom is violated -- and all Americans must rush to its defense.

As George Washington wrote nearly two hundred years ago: "The government of the United States ... gives to bigotry no

sanction, to persecution no assistance.... May the children of the Stock of Abraham ... sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

I know that the Anti-Defamation League recently issued its annual report detailing rising incidents of anti-Semitism in 1988.

We must condemn all attacks on the Jewish religion and the Jewish heritage -- clearly, unequivocally, and without exception.

This nation cannot -- and I will not -- tolerate intolerance.

I know many of you well. We've worked together in common cause many times over the years. You know how deeply I cherish the principles of religious freedom -- and I know how hard you've fought, not only for your own beliefs, but to protect the principle that recognizes the right of all men and women to worship as they believe right.

We must continue to work together as we have in the past, to protect these rights for all Americans. Rest assured that my Administration will work to uphold these principles as the very cornerstone of our freedom.

Thank you.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Jess Hordes
857 6663

Burt
Abe

MEMO TO: DAVID BATES

FROM: SARAH DECAMP

DATE: FEBRUARY 27, 1989

RE: REQUEST FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH TO SPEAK AT WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING FOR ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

March 14; 11:10 A.M.; Room 450, OEOB

On March 14, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith will attend a White House Briefing as part of their Eleventh Annual National Leadership Conference in Washington. We consider ADL to be one of the most important Jewish organizations in the country and one ot the most supportive of the Reagan and the Bush Administrations. Consequently, we have scheduled top Administration officials such as Secretary Kemp and Governor Sununu to speak.

Jess Hordes, Washington representative for ADL, has also specifically requested that Attorney General Thornburgh discuss the civil rights agenda of the Bush Administration. If he is available, we urge him to attend. We would like him to speak from 11:05 - 11:30 A.M. if possible.

Please call me at 456-2245 if you have any questions.

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

MARCH 9; 10:45 A.M.

I am delighted that you could be here today.

I hold in very high regard the opinions of the Jewish community in this country.

I want to hear about your trip to Israel and your observations about the present situation in Israel.

I understand that you see a rise in anti-semitism in the United States. I want you to know that I will not tolerate discrimination or bigotry in any form. I made that position clear with regard to David Duke from Louisiana. As far as Lee Atwater and I are concerned, David Duke is not a member of the Republican party and never will be.

I also want to know your thoughts about the problems related to the processing and admission of Soviet refugees into this country. I share your concern.

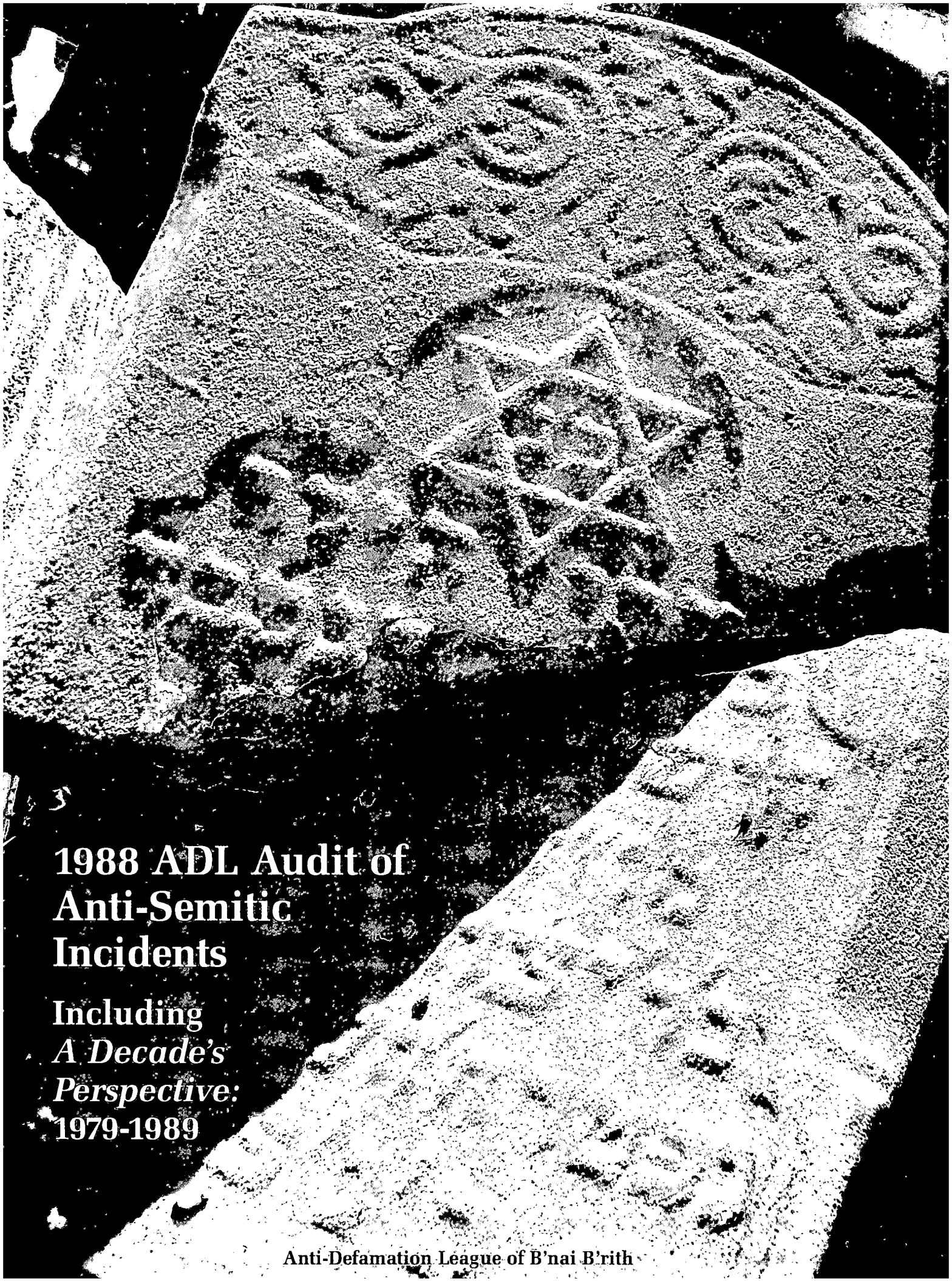
Promoting peace and diplomatic progress in the Middle East is a major priority in my Administration. The essential underpinning of our policy is consistent, strong support for the security of Israel. Only an Israel confident of U.S. support is likely to take risks for peace.

Whatever steps we take will be in consultation with our Israeli friends. Our policy is under review. Foreign Minister Arens is coming to see me next week, and Secretary Baker and I look forward to exchanging ideas with him.

We have built a very close and friendly relationship with Israel and I am committed to see this friendship strenghthened. Despite our budget situation, we give -- and will continue to give -- substantial assistance, military and economic, to Israel. And, through a program of strategic cooperation, we will expand our mutual defense efforts and capabilities.

Let me say a word about arms sales to Arab countries. We believe that when it is clearly in our interests selective arms sales should be undertaken, where these do not impinge upon Israel's security. We will look carefully at any arms requests to assure that our tough criteria are met.

In our dialogue which has just begun with the PLO, we are stressing that violence and terror are not the right way to go about changing the situation. Their actions are being carefully looked at because they have made certain commitments; the PLO has a responsibility to honor those commitments or to discipline



1988 ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents

Including *A Decade's Perspective:* 1979-1989

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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For 75 years the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has been a leader in the fight for equal justice. Its annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents is not only an invaluable tool for those who prosecute crimes directed against Jewish citizens; it also serves the larger purpose of informing the general public of the nature and volume of incidents of bias and prejudice. This effort is in the finest tradition of public service. It calls to mind the premise advanced by Nobel-laureate Elie Weisel in his book Night, that unblinking exposure is the first step in prevention and reform.

As Attorney General, I have directed the Department of Justice's prosecutors to continue to rely on such firsthand information reported by the ADL and other organizations. We are proud that, in 1987, the Department's Civil Rights Division brought an unprecedented number of civil rights prosecutions. We have a success ratio of over 75 percent, including successful prosecutions of extremist leaders of the Ku Klux Klan and White Patriot Party and the murderers of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver. I have consistently supported efforts to prevent acts of ethnic violence and to bring to justice those who would commit such acts. As governor of Pennsylvania, I signed legislation in 1982 which made acts of ethnic intimidation a criminal offense.

We may never be able to completely eradicate mindless bigotry or the violence of hate. But, with alert and accurate reporting by civic groups such as ADL, we can pursue swift and sure prosecution of these crimes against the American dream. In its special 1987 report, "The Hate Movement Today," the ADL cited the Justice Department's "superb job" in controlling the hate movement. I pledge that this unrelenting effort will continue just as vigorously as it has in the past.

Finally, mention should be made that the ADL's 1987 Audit was specifically cited by Congress last year in establishing the need for a new federal law relating to religious violence. This law was strongly supported by the Department of Justice. It provides for federal criminal penalties when individuals commit certain acts of destruction of religious property or obstruct the exercise of religious beliefs. We have initiated several investigations under this new Act, pursuant to my direction that it be aggressively enforced.

Acts of racial, ethnic and religious violence must always have the highest enforcement priority of government. The efforts of the ADL in the Audit and elsewhere are a vital part of meeting that goal.

Dick Thornburgh
Attorney General of
the United States

Significant Increase—Five Important Factors

Five notable factors apparently played an important role in the 1988 increase in anti-Semitic incidents:

(1) neo-Nazi Skinhead gangs proliferated around the country and were involved in numerous attacks on Jewish targets;

(2) the widely publicized observance of the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 9—10, (when anti-Semitic mobs destroyed synagogues and Jewish property throughout Germany and Austria) was associated with dozens of incidents;

(3) a large number of episodes were linked to the "uprising" by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza;

(4) a significant increase in campus anti-Semitic incidents was recorded, including serious acts of vandalism as well as individual and group harassment of Jewish students;

(5) an unusually large number of incidents occurred in the South, including states having very small Jewish populations.

On a more positive note, 5 more states passed laws dealing with hate crimes. A total of 43 states now have such laws in some form. (See p. 29, "Hate Crimes and the Law.")

Skinheads

An especially troubling factor this year was the continuing spread of neo-Nazi "Skinhead" activity around the country. Responsibility for 41 anti-Semitic incidents in at least 15 states was either claimed by or attributed to Skinhead elements. The year before, 12 incidents in six states fell into that category. ADL has been actively monitoring this violent movement. (See below.)

—from "Young and Violent: The Growing Menace of America's Neo-Nazi Skinheads," ADL *Special Report*, October 1988:

The ranks of the Skinheads have continued to grow over the past several months. The last tally undertaken by the Anti-Defamation League in February, 1988 indicated that some 1,000 to 1,500 Skinheads were active at that time in twelve states. A recently completed survey, conducted through the League's thirty-one regional offices, shows a rise in the number of racist Skinheads to about 2,000, located in twenty-one states. A number of new gangs have cropped up in this short period of time. Skinheads may now be found in virtually all sections of the United States, but the area of greatest concentration is California. Other regions where gangs are active are the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, the Midwest and the Southeast.

The rise in the number of Skinheads has been paralleled by an increase in the amount of violent crime they have committed, including two homicides and numerous shootings, beatings and stabbings, mostly directed against members of minority groups. Skinheads

have also been responsible for a significant number of vandalisms of synagogues and other Jewish institutions.

The Skinheads of special concern here are those shaven-headed youths who sport Nazi insignia and preach violence against Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians and homosexuals. They range in age from about 13 to 25, with males outnumbering females.

(We stress once again, as we have in our previous reports, the important distinction between racist and non-racist Skinheads. Not all youths with shaved heads or closely cropped hair are neo-Nazis. Indeed, there are young people who call themselves "Skinheads" who are anti-racist, some of whom have actually been targeted for violence by neo-Nazi Skinheads.)

The chief problem presented to communities by the presence of Skinhead gangs is that of lawless behavior, and the appropriate response to all such criminal conduct is firm law enforcement. Where culprits are too young to be tried and penalized as adults, they must be dealt with by the criminal justice system as juveniles. But strict law enforcement is the most effective means available for dealing with Skinhead violence. Not only does it tend to discourage future criminal acts, but experience has shown that some Skinhead gangs have become inactive when confronted with no-nonsense law enforcement.

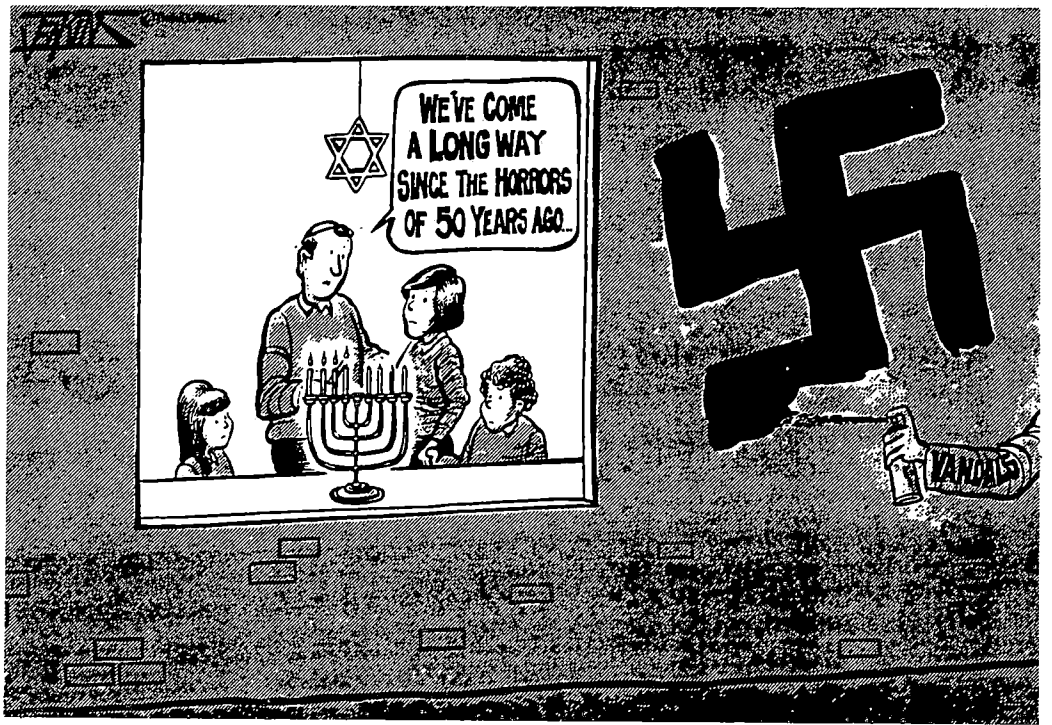
At the same time, judicial authorities ought not view Skinheads who come before them, especially the younger ones, as beyond redemption. Sentences handed down by the courts should include, in addition to appropriate punishment, measures designed to rehabilitate.

A second problem posed by the Skinheads is the potential influence of their propaganda on young people. The Constitution, of course, protects the right to express racist and anti-Semitic views, detestable as they are. By the same token, the opponents of bigotry have the right and a moral responsibility to do what they can to neutralize the impact of such propaganda.

"Kristallnacht"

November 9—10, 1988 marked the 50th anniversary of the infamous "Night of Broken Glass," when Nazi-inspired mobs in Germany and Austria burned synagogues, smashed Jewish shop windows and killed or injured many Jews. Some observers have described this pogrom as the beginning of the Holocaust.

Numerous press articles, TV reports and community memorial services focused intense public attention on this commemoration. Some individuals inclined toward anti-Semitic behavior apparently found the *Kristallnacht* theme appropriate for expressing their hate. During the week of November 6—13, over 60 incidents involving anti-Semitic graffiti and verbal or written threats were reported from all parts of the country. Since ADL has found that the average weekly total of reported anti-Semitic incidents is about 15 (except for such "high-profile" periods as the Jewish High Holidays and Halloween), it is reasonable to conclude that the intense public focus on *Kristallnacht* had the paradoxical side effect of providing a stimulus to those perpetrating anti-Semitic acts during this week.



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The Anti-Israel Factor

This year, for the first time, an external political event—namely, the West Bank/Gaza Palestinian "uprising"—was clearly related to a high number of anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. Prior to 1988, world and national events related to Jewish concerns had generated a negligible number of anti-Semitic attacks in this country.

Yet in 1988, a total of 117 reported incidents (including bomb threats, vandalism, and phone or mail threats) targeting American Jews, their institutions and their property were linked by the perpetrators to the Israeli/Palestinian unrest—9% of the year's total. These incidents occurred in all sections of the U.S.; they were reported in 20 states,[1] Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico. By way of comparison, during *all* of 1987 there were only 3 anti-Semitic incidents recorded by ADL of a politically related anti-Israel nature, out of the total of 1,018 anti-Semitic episodes of all types recorded in that year—obviously an infinitesimal percentage. In 1986, the comparative figure showed eight such politically oriented episodes out of that *entire year's* total of 906, (594 vandalisms, 312 harassments) again a tiny percentage (less than 1%).

As another interesting point of comparison, a scant few anti-Semitic incidents were recorded in connection with other recent foreign and domestic controversies of special concern to Jews in the U.S. For example, Israel's 1982 incursion into Lebanon was linked

[1]These states, listed in order of frequency of such incidents reported, were California (28), Florida (12), Minnesota (11), Illinois (10), Massachusetts (6), Pennsylvania (6), Oregon (5), Georgia, Maryland and Washington (4 each); Arizona, Kansas and Tennessee (2 each); and Alabama, Colorado, Nebraska, Ohio, Rhode Island and Texas (1 each). [Two such incidents were reported in Puerto Rico, one in D.C.]

to four anti-Semitic episodes in the United States. The 1984 Jackson/Farrakhan controversy, President Reagan's 1985 visit to the Bitburg cemetery in West Germany, and the 1986 revelations concerning Austrian President Kurt Waldheim—all of which generated significant media coverage and public debate—were reflected in ADL's annual audit by six or less anti-Jewish incidents in each case.

A June, 1988 ADL *Special Report* entitled "Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents: The Anti-Israel Component" provided the following illustrations of such acts:

There were four synagogues vandalized in the Palm Beach County, Florida area. The graffiti included "Victory Uprising" and "Abu Jihad." Arson at a Fullerton, California synagogue was followed by the taunting phone threats of a Palestinian sympathizer who claimed responsibility for the fires. In Springfield, Illinois two synagogues were among a half dozen targets throughout the city over a five-day period. In San Juan, Puerto Rico, two synagogues were defaced with anti-Israel graffiti. In addition to these episodes, phone threats and harassments were reported in Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle, Philadelphia, and Atlanta, while bomb threats were received by synagogues in Fullerton and La Jolla, California, Skokie and Springfield, Illinois, and Mercer, Washington.

(In issuing the June report ADL emphasized that it was not condemning mere expressions of political criticism. Rather, the violence and the anti-Semitic bigotry of the incidents cited placed them beyond the bounds of legitimate debate.)

Campus Incidents

Reports of anti-Semitic incidents of all kinds (i.e., vandalism, threats, harassment and assault) on American college campuses during 1988 have more than doubled since ADL's 1987 survey, which cited episodes at 14 campuses.

In 1988 reports from 38 campuses revealed a total of 54 incidents, (3% of all incidents nationwide) including several anti-Jewish vandalism episodes related to the 50th anniversary remembrance of Kristallnacht, and to the year-long Palestinian uprising or *intifada* in the West Bank and Gaza.

For example, on November 10, 1988, spray-painted swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans such as "Kill the Kikes" and "Zionazi racists" were found on the wall of the Jewish Student Center at SUNY Binghamton.

Another serious act of campus anti-Semitic vandalism took place on October 21 at the Jewish Student Union on the Memphis State University campus. Swastikas and the words "Hitler is God" were spray-painted on a sign advertising an exhibit of Jewish antiquities and on the JSU building.

An example of the Mideast-related campus vandalism occurred at the University of Minnesota's Minneapolis campus, where vandals spray-painted "PLO" on the front of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Building.

Another disturbing campus phenomenon that has been monitored by ADL over the past several years, and that continued during 1988, is the use of abusive remarks and "humor" known as "J.A.P. jokes" and "J.A.P.-baiting" (for Jewish American Princess). These vulgar slurs, combining anti-Semitism and sexism, have proliferated on numerous

campuses, manifested in graffiti, public harassment of Jewish female students—particularly at school sports events—printed materials and even T-shirts. Incidents along these lines have been reported at such universities as: American, Boston, Cornell, Hartford, Maryland and Syracuse.

ADL has encouraged vigorous investigation and forthright repudiation by campus officials of such incidents. Using its informational resources and the expertise of its Campus Affairs Department, ADL will continue to work with college administrators, with Jewish and other concerned students, as well as with campus organizations (including Hillel and the American Zionist Youth Foundation) to counter such disturbing developments.

Racist and anti-Semitic attacks take on a uniquely troubling character when they occur in a university environment dedicated to civilized dialogue and the pursuit of knowledge. [2] (See p. 14 for a listing of campus incidents.)

Most Serious Crimes

As noted, 823 of the 1988 incidents were acts of vandalism. Of those, 282 or 34% were reported against Jewish institutions (as opposed to attacks on *personal* or *public* property). In previous Audits, institutional vandalism made up about 25% of the vandalism total. Thus, the hostility of anti-Semitic vandals was focused intensely on synagogues and Jewish centers—the most basic and obvious symbols of Jewish community life.

This year saw a rise in the most serious violent crimes as well. In all, there were 28 such incidents, the highest total in the last five years for this category—including 7 cases of arson, 7 of attempted arson, one bombing and 13 cemetery desecrations. During the comparable period in 1987 there were 12 such serious crimes: 5 arsons, 3 attempts, 2 bombings and only 2 cemetery desecrations. In 1988, a pipe bomb exploded on the grounds of a Florida synagogue. Arson and attempted arson were reported in New York, California, Florida, Illinois, Texas, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Ohio. Desecrations of Jewish cemeteries—a particularly cruel and painful form of vandalism—were reported in Louisiana (4), New York (2), Ohio (2), Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Oregon, and Mississippi, one each.

Most "Active" States

The states reporting the highest totals of anti-Semitic vandalism in 1988 were as follows: (See Appendixes A and B for complete state-by-state breakdowns.)

The greatest activity, as in past years, was reported in New York with 208, up one from 1987. (New York City figures, however, totalled 103, an increase over 1987 by 13%.) California is next with 121, down 16 from that state's total of 137 in 1987. Next is Florida

[2] See also " 'J.A.P. Baiting': When Sexism and Anti-Semitism Meet," ADL *Special Edition*, October 1988.

with 89, up 25, the most ever reported in an ADL Audit for that state. New Jersey, with 67, is up 24 from last year.

Maryland, with 36, is up 13. Massachusetts, with 35, is up 8; Pennsylvania, with 33, is up 11; and Illinois, with 29, is down 7.

At the next level, both Texas and Georgia report higher-than-previously recorded yearly totals of 23 and 22 incidents respectively. Next is Connecticut with 19, Michigan and Ohio with 16 each and Minnesota with 11. Alabama and Tennessee each report 8, followed by Colorado, Nebraska, Oregon, Virginia and Arizona each with 7. There were fewer than five incidents in each of the remaining states reporting in 1988.

Arrests

Law enforcement action against perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts is becoming increasingly effective. This year, police departments in 19 states reported 124 arrests in connection with 57 of the incidents. Of those arrested, 111—approximately 90%—were under 21 years of age. In 1987, 58 incidents in 15 states had resulted in the arrest of 78 individuals, nearly 22% of whom were 21 or older—the highest percentage of arrests in that age group noted in any ADL audit.

The fact that 1988 saw many more arrests than 1987, in connection with a comparable number of incidents, may indicate that many acts of anti-Semitic vandalism are being perpetrated by groups or gangs of youths, rather than by individual miscreants.

Among those arrested for vandalizing Jewish institutions in 1988 were a number of teenage members of local "Skinhead" groups. They were arrested in Mobile, Alabama; Dallas, Texas; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and in Ventura, and San Diego, California.

A malicious harassment trial—the first one of its kind to prosecute someone under the state of Washington's seven-year-old law—recently brought a twenty-four-year-old neo-Nazi skinhead into court to be tried for his alleged racial attack on a black truck driver. On December 14, 1988 the defendant, Bill Wayne Worl, was convicted of attempted murder and malicious harassment in the vicious knife attack which took place July 30, 1988. (Worl, originally from Oklahoma, said he was attracted to the Northwest by the Idaho-based Aryan Nations, a stridently anti-Semitic, white supremacist paramilitary group.—See also ADL's publication *Hate Groups in America*, © 1988.)

The 1981 Washington law is similar to ADL model legislation. It states that it is a felony to cause physical injury with the intention of harassing or intimidating someone because of his or her race, color or ancestry.

ADL's Seattle regional director indicated that he hoped the case would raise awareness among public and law enforcement agencies that such laws can and should be used for combating bias crimes.

Geographic Breakdown

Regionally, the **South**, with 12 states reporting 172 vandalism incidents, was the most notable geographic area for increases. Up nearly 50% over last year's total of 115, the South reported several state totals of record proportions: Florida—89 incidents; Texas—23; Georgia—22, and Alabama and Tennessee with 8 each. In Virginia there were 7; North Carolina, 4; Louisiana, 4; and 4 in Mississippi. Arkansas, South Carolina and Kentucky each reported one incident in 1988.

Law enforcement officials in the South have had considerable success in bringing perpetrators of anti-Semitic vandalism to justice. The key factor in this success has been a reward fund. In most cases it is posted by the ADL regional office; occasionally it is supplemented by the institution defaced. Our lay leaders have pledged their resources to ADL for this purpose. It does not require a large commitment from any one individual.

Since *most* of the vandals have turned out to be teenagers, it is of critical importance that the reward be announced in public schools located in the neighborhood of the crime. Information should be turned in to the police department investigating the crime. While some calls will be made by students bearing a grudge against others, decisive leads have been obtained from students who have heard the culprits brag about their exploits.

The normal procedures and penalties of the courts have been supplemented in Dade County, Florida by explicit authorization of school principals to recommend expulsion from schools of those guilty of hate crimes. In this way, the vandals are separated from their peers, minimizing the spread of the virus of bigotry.

—Charles F. Wittenstein, ADL Southern States Civil Rights Area Director.

The **Northeast**, where the greatest number of incidents occur annually, was up 22% with 411 incidents reported in 11 states and the District of Columbia. As noted, New York with 208 incidents was followed by New Jersey, 67; Maryland, 36; Massachusetts, 35; Pennsylvania, 33; Connecticut, 19; Rhode Island, 4; New Hampshire, 2; Maine, West Virginia and Delaware, each with one; and three in the District of Columbia.

The ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic incidents has been an important tool in measuring the problems presented by anti-Semitic bias crimes. I frequently discuss the Audit as an introduction to seminars on police training, emphasizing that the Audit provides us with much useful information to help us target areas with which we have had such difficulties.

We know from the Audit, for example, if incidents in our area have recurred, whether the response of police was effective and if arrests were made. Also, many victims know that we keep track of these incidents and are therefore far more inclined to call us. This means that we are frequently being contacted even before the police; this in turn underscores the importance of open lines of communication between law enforcement and the ADL.

—Sally Greenberg, ADL Eastern States Civil Rights Area Director.

The **Midwest**, with 92 incidents in 1988, was slightly higher than in 1987, when there were 85—an 8% increase. Nine states in the region reported vandalism incidents. Illinois had 29; Michigan, 16; Ohio, 16; Minnesota, 11; Nebraska, 7; Indiana, 4; Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri, 3 each.

There is a growing awareness that government and law enforcement officials can do more to directly address the far-reaching implications of crimes prompted by prejudice. The severe penalties levied against the individuals responsible for the Howard Beach [NY] incident in December of 1986 and the indictment of a neo-Nazi leader in Chicago for acts of vandalism directed against Jewish community institutions on the 49th anniversary of Kristallnacht in 1987 are examples of effective response to hate crimes.

The Anti-Defamation League has played an important leadership role in crafting strategies to confront hate crimes. The data we collect enables us to make important comparisons, chart trends, draw conclusions, and tailor our response.

In the last year, the League has produced two useful publications on this important subject. The first, "Hate Crimes Statutes: A Response to Anti-Semitism, Vandalism and Violent Bigotry," contains our model legislative initiatives and a survey of state hate crime statutes around the country. The most recent publication, "Hate Crimes: Policies and Procedures for Law Enforcement Agencies," provides a number of examples of specifically-focused programs, procedures, and practices employed by law enforcement agencies around the country to confront hate crimes. We believe that these initiatives can greatly enhance the success of efforts to reduce the number of bias-related incidents of violence and harassment nationwide.

We recognize that prejudice, hatred, and bigotry cannot be legislated, regulated, or prosecuted out of existence. Even the stiffest criminal penalties, the most thoughtful law enforcement agency guidelines, and the best trained officers and prosecutors will not eliminate criminal activity motivated by prejudice. But we can make treatment of these crimes a priority. We can send an unmistakable message that these crimes are not pranks and that they will be treated seriously.

—Michael Lieberman, ADL Midwestern States Civil Rights Area Director.

The **West** was the only region to report a decrease. In 1988, six states reported 146 incidents compared to 157 reported in 1987—a 7% decrease. California had 121 incidents—down 16 from the disturbing 137 of last year; Arizona, Colorado and Oregon, 7 each; Washington, 4; and New Mexico, 1.

It has been gratifying to hear ADL mentioned so often as the one community organization which has long had a system for reporting incidents of hate. Representatives of various other ethnic and racial communities typically complain that the members of their respective communities do not know whom to call when they become the victims of a hate crime. Precisely because the ADL has established an effective system for reporting, and encouraging the reporting, of hate crimes and has successfully obtained a certain degree of visibility

through the annual publication of an Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents, the League can serve as a model for the multitude of organizations which represent minority interests.

As one example, ADL reporting forms and samples of past ADL Audits have been provided to the members of a Hate Violence Reduction Committee of the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission.

ADL can further improve its own data collection capabilities through cooperative efforts with other agencies which are the recipients of similar data. In Los Angeles, for instance, the Anti-Defamation League regularly trades statistics on incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism with the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission and the Los Angeles Police Department.

As a way to increase understanding among line officers in the police department about hate crimes, and the impact they have on their victims, specific training should be introduced for police officers. They must learn how to recognize a hate crime and how to respond to the needs of the victims.

Also, in terms of police training, it is essential for new police cadets to undergo an extensive session on human relations. Minority-community leaders should be encouraged to observe one or more of these sessions and to provide input about the way their respective communities are portrayed during the classroom training.

—Betsy Rosenthal, ADL Western States Civil Rights Area Director.

Harassment, Threats and Assault

In a second general category of incidents, there were 458 acts of anti-Semitic harassment, threats and assault committed against Jewish individuals and institutions during 1988. This year's total is 41% greater than the 1987 total of 324.

It is the second highest total of such incidents ever recorded in ADL's annual surveys. (See Appendix C.) The highest yearly total was in 1982 when 593 were reported; the average yearly figure has been 340. Of the incidents noted in 1988, 60 were characterized by references to the Israeli/Palestinian situation discussed earlier in this report.

This year, more harassment and threats were directed against Jewish *institutions* (as opposed to *individuals*) than ever before—133 incidents, or nearly 30%. Generally, institutions are targeted in about 20% of the total number of harassment incidents.

Of the 325 incidents reported against Jewish individuals, 21 were physical assaults. This total is about the yearly average with few having resulted in serious bodily injury. One incident in New York in November was brutal however, as a Yeshiva University student was set upon by a gang of teenaged thugs. The attackers yelled anti-Semitic epithets as they beat and then stabbed the 19-year-old student. He was also robbed of $20 and his jacket in the attack. The victim survived the assault and two days later his five attackers were arrested. One, a thirteen-year-old, has already been convicted. The other four, aged 14-16, await trial.

A Decline in Civility?

[Why have complaints of personal harassment, assault, and the casting of slurs apparently been rising? A recent New York *Times* article suggests some possible answers:]

This may well be remembered as the year when nastiness came into its own and became a commodity.

Morton Downey Jr. sneered at guests on his talk show and drew three million viewers a night. Geraldo Rivera's nose was broken, along with rating records, in a brawl on his own talk show when it presented a segment called "Teen Hatemongers." The harsh, scatalogical humor of performers like Eddie Murphy spawned a new phrase: attack comedy. And the Presidential campaign was fueled by extraordinarily negative advertising and more than a few nasty one-liners.

'We Hate Most Everybody'

Now, just in time for the holidays, anyone can partake of confrontational entertainment, or "confrontainment" as it is being called....

Novelty stores in Washington are selling a Monopoly-like board game called Home Rulette, a parody of the District that slurs blacks, homosexuals, the homeless and women. Its instruction manual says, "Yes, we hate most everybody...."

"Nastiness seemed to reach an all-time low this year," said Todd Gitlin, a professor of sociology at the University of California who is the author of numerous books on the impact of television....

Professor Gitlin argues that television functions as a "funhouse mirror" of the culture, exaggerating still further what is already extreme....

By no means is the outbreak confined to television, or to a number of publications that have adopted the gossipy and particularly irreverent style of the British press. "The deterioration of politeness and public manners is at a sufficiently rapid stage to be measurable within any one individual's experience," said Dr. Willard Gaylin, a psychoanalyst who is president of the Hastings Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, in Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.....

The therapeutic venting of one's emotions emerged as a fad in the late 1960's, amid sweeping social changes that also undermined conventional civility. Traditional values and authority came under attack....

Other factors include what Dr. Gaylin calls "the coarsening and corrupting influence of modern urban life"; the Federal Communications Commission's deregulation of commercial radio in 1981, which fostered "shock radio;" and the bruising battle for television ratings....

Undeniably, the "confrontainment" strikes many Americans as entertaining. A school of crude and hostile comedy has gained an enthusiastic audience....

Where does it end? "We are testing the limits," said Dr. [Chaytor] Mason, who is an associate professor at the University of Southern California. "We're waiting until there is a complete breakdown. Like Geraldo's broken nose."

[C]ivility should not be underestimated, said the Rev. Robert Paul Mohan, a professor of philosophy, ethics and theology at Catholic University in Washington.

"I define civility as the outer ramparts of morality," he said. "I think civility has been replaced with the ethic of self-interest, accompanied with an inadvertent assumption that principles don't mean much. That has made us a rather rude, insensitive people."

—Excerpted from "It Was a Year When Civility Really Took It on the Chin" by Lena Williams, The New York *Times*, Sunday, Dec. 18, 1988. © 1988 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Listing of Campuses Reporting Anti-Semitic Incidents

The most serious campus incidents were anti-Semitic vandalisms targeting Hillel buildings, other on-campus centers of Jewish student activity and Jewish religious displays or monuments. Fourteen campuses across the country reported those types of incidents in the period covered by the 1988 Audit. They are:

December 1987—The University of Southern California;
January 1988—University of Miami, Ohio;
January—Rutgers University;
April—University of Kansas;
April—University of Alabama;
April—University of Arizona;
May—University of Minnesota;
May—University of Maryland;
July—University of California, Berkeley;
October—Yale University;
October—Memphis State University (TN);
October—University of Texas, Austin;
November—Drexel University (PA);
November—State University of New York, Binghamton.

The vandalism incidents at the Kansas, Minnesota and Arizona campuses were included in ADL's special report in June, 1988 which addressed anti-Semitic attacks apparently motivated by Palestinian unrest. The Rutgers, Alabama and Yale campus incidents included graffiti that suggested that the desecrations were perpetrated by "Skinheads."

Additionally, anti-Semitic vandalism to dormitory rooms, private offices and other personal property were reported at the following campuses: January—University of Southern California; February—State University of New York, Plattsburg; April— University of Kansas, April— Northern Illinois University; May— Rutgers University (NJ); May— Michigan State University; May— University of Pennsylvania; October— Southwest Missouri State; November— University of Pennsylvania.

Moreover, anti-Semitic graffiti on college public property was also reported at the following campuses: February, University of Connecticut, Law School; February, University of Miami (FL); February, San Francisco State University; April, Harvard (MA); April, California State, Long Beach; July, University of Minnesota; October, Memphis State (TN); October, Duke University (NC); November, University of Pennsylvania, November, University of Minnesota; December, Rutgers University (NJ); December, Michigan State University.

At some of the locations listed above, phoned threats and harassment were recorded in connection with vandalism incidents. In addition, other harassment incidents, in the form of verbal abuse, threats and the distribution of anti-Semitic hate-literature, were reported at these campuses: University of New Mexico; East Tennessee State; State University of New York, Cortland; Wayne State (NJ); Stanford (CA); University of California, Davis.

A Look at Some Major Incidents

Many anti-Semitic vandalism incidents generated considerable news coverage and community response—including ADL counteraction—during 1988. The following are several illustrative examples.

—Brooklyn, NY

Just after midnight, on September 17, the Sabbath between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the Congregation Rabbinical Institute Sharai Torah in Midwood, Brooklyn was viciously desecrated. Two boys, ages 12 and 15, spray-painted 15 swastikas on the walls, ripped up and burned six Torah scrolls and set fires around the building, which was heavily damaged by the blaze.

The incident drew immediate response from the Jewish community, and numerous law-enforcement and political officials. Nearly 10,000 Jews held a "funeral" in the streets of Brooklyn for the six Torah scrolls.





Photo Credit: S. A. Schwartz, B'nai B'rith Star

Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward said the young vandals acted out of hatred. "It was exactly like a lynching," he was quoted as saying.

Announcing the indictment of the 2 boys, Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman said, "Crimes of hatred or bigotry of any kind must be prosecuted to the fullest extreme of the law."

ADL's National Director, Abraham H. Foxman, later escorted sixth and tenth graders to the site, where he talked with the students about the destructiveness of bigotry.

"Some good will be derived from this evil," he said, "if each of you becomes a messenger. . .transmitting to all those you know how terrible this desecration is and helping them to understand where hatred can lead."

"If you hear someone calling other people derogatory names simply because they may be of a different religion or race," Mr. Foxman went on, "have the courage to speak up, to say that bigotry, hatred and prejudice are wrong."

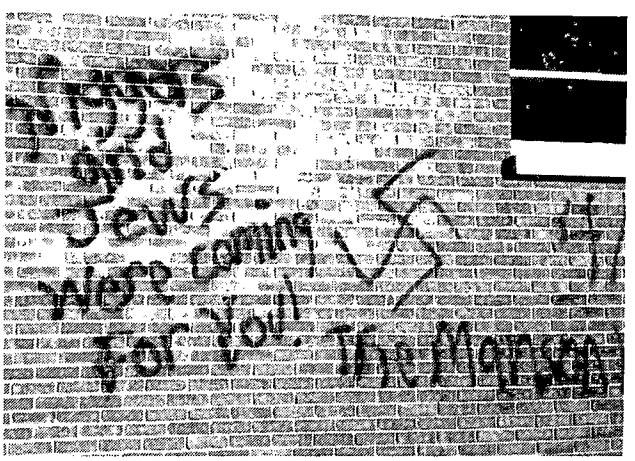
—Doraville, GA

ADL played a major role in the resolution of a disturbing incident in Doraville, GA. Last March, the community's Yeshiva High School was vandalized and spray-painted with anti-Semitic and anti-Black slogans.

ADL's Southeast regional office in Atlanta offered a $1,000 reward for information about the perpetrators. As a result, police received a tip that brought about the arrest of two youths, ages 17 and 15. Both pleaded guilty and the younger one was sentenced in a closed Family Court session.

The older youth was tried and sentenced to a five-year term including time at a "shock treatment" facility which offers strict discipline similar to Marine Corps boot training. In addition, he will be subject to intensive probation and receive mandatory psychological counseling.

ADL photographs taken at the scene were introduced into evidence at the trial. (see below) At the pre-sentencing hearing—in an unprecedented move—the judge invited Charles F. Wittenstein, the League's Southern area Civil Rights director, to address the court. Mr. Wittenstein said the vandalism was not "merely a childish prank but a serious act of violence that severely affected the entire community."





—Denver, CO

In Denver, on November 9, the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, a synagogue and a Jewish-owned store were both spray-painted with swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti.

The defacement of the Hebrew Educational Alliance and Steinberg's Kosher Grocery "brought an outpouring of letters, flowers, phone calls, money and offers of help from people of varied religious beliefs," according to the November 18 *Denver Post*.

Because it coincided with *Kristallnacht*, the incident generated considerable local newspaper and television publicity.

In 1987, the ADL Mountain States office (Denver) was instrumental in convincing the Colorado Legislature to pass the Ethnic Harassment and Intimidation bill, which would make such a crime a Class I misdemeanor. In a prepared statement ADL said "should the offenders in this case be identified, ADL would encourage examination of the appropriateness of prosecution under this new statute."

—San Diego, CA

At two A.M. on Sunday, November 13, the Tifereth Israel Synagogue in San Diego was extensively spraypainted with virulently anti-Semitic graffiti. Emblems and slogans of anti-Semitism, including swastikas, were painted on the synagogue's stained glass windows, exterior walls, signs and landscaping. The damage was noticed around 8:30 A.M. by the janitorial staff. The Anti-Defamation League's regional director, Morris Casuto, was contacted at 8:45 A.M. and after viewing the extent and nature of the obscenities, considered it "the worst vandalism of a Jewish institution in the history of San Diego." Two nearby homes of synagogue members were also marked with four-letter words and hate symbols.

The incident followed on the heels of the commemoration of *Kristallnacht*. The hate messages include "Adolph Lives," "America Befor [sic] Israel," and "Love Skinheads." The incident, however offensive, became a model situation in terms of community and media involvement. ADL coordinated the public response, including the offering of a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the vandals. A press conference was attended by all three local TV stations, two major San Diego newspapers, the Associated Press and three radio news stations. The 5 P.M. and 11 P.M. television news shows all carried lengthy stories about the incident and community leaders were on the air condemning the crime.

On Monday, September 14, five 16-year-olds (three girls and two boys) were arrested. An official of the San Diego Police Department said, "We had a tremendous outpouring of community support and information." He said three of the youths refer to themselves as Skinheads, but none of them appeared to appreciate the seriousness of the crime until expressions of shock and outrage became clear via the news coverage.

ADL's Morris Casuto criticized longtime California hate-monger Tom Metzger, the head of a white supremacist group called White Aryan Resistance, based in nearby Fallbrook. Casuto noted that Metzger "serves as the catalyst" for Skinhead activities.[3]

[3]See also "Young and Violent: Skinheads Target America's Youth, ADL *Special Report*, October 1988.

—Oakland, NJ

On November 17, Temple Emanuel in Oakland, New Jersey was painted with anti-Semitic slogans including, "Die Kikes," "Adolph Lives" and "Kill Jews." The Oakland police, who discovered the vandalism during a routine patrol, notified not only the Temple's rabbi, but also the principal of nearby Indian Hills High School. That day and the next, groups of students, faculty members, the school principal and the police sergeant worked with scrub brushes, paint removers, hoses and a sand-blaster to remove the slurs.

(See p. 44 for "Recommendations for Community Action," a set of guidelines for coping with hate-motivated vandalism, distributed statewide to community leaders by ADL's New Jersey regional office.)

Conclusion

The findings in ADL's 1988 Audit reflecting a significant rise in anti-Jewish incidents are deeply disturbing—all the more so because they follow upon the earlier notable increase reported in the 1987 Audit. Regarding only acts of anti-Semitic vandalism, the last two years have seen a jump of 38% over 1986 figures.

Several of the factors noted earlier in this report as having contributed to the increase may have been unique to 1988:

—The 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* was the focus of intense national publicity, evidently prompting some violence-prone anti-Semitic individuals to commit imitative acts of destruction.

—More than 100 anti-Semitic acts of vandalism were linked by their perpetrators to the Palestinian "uprising" in the West Bank and Gaza. Most of these incidents, however, occurred during the first half of 1988; if this limited downward trend continues, it may portend a decline in this particular type of incident during the coming year.

—The unusually high degree of anti-Semitic activity reported in the South has been met, in large measure, with condemnation and repudiation by the general community and by a strong law enforcement response. It remains to be seen whether this increased level of bias crime continues next year.

Two other major factors, however, showed continued signs of increase for the second straight year—(1) the spreading menace of violent young neo-Nazi Skinhead gangs responsible for many acts of anti-Semitic vandalism, among other violent crimes against racial and ethnic minorities; and (2) the dismaying rise of anti-Jewish incidents reported on college campuses. In addition, a higher percentage than ever before of both vandalism and threats were directed against Jewish institutions, and the most serious types of violent vandalism more than doubled as compared to the previous year.

These problems, like the rest of the general nationwide increase in anti-Semitic acts, must be countered ever more forcefully through those means available to official

authorities and community leaders in a democratic society: firm enforcement of appropriate laws, regular and creative educational programming against prejudice, and enhanced public awareness of the nature and dimension of the hate crime phenomenon. ADL's active monitoring efforts, its widely hailed "A World of Difference" project (see p. 27), and its counteraction program (described in "A Decade's Perspective," p. 26), including the publication of this 10th Annual Audit report, are geared toward those goals.

Despite the year's troubling statistics, there remain as well some grounds for cautious optimism. Forty-three states now have some form of statute dealing with hate crimes (see p. 29, "Hate Crimes and the Law"), many patterned after ADL model legislation. Numerous states and localities are working to improve communication between community groups and law enforcement authorities, and the latter, increasingly sensitized, are developing better reporting and investigative procedures on bias crimes. Public officials, educational administrators and community leaders frequently respond to hate-motivated incidents with sympathy and solidarity toward victims and a determination to reject and overcome the affront to decency and the threat to pluralism posed by prejudice.

With the passing of 1988, its 75th anniversary year, ADL rededicates itself to broadening those advances.

A DECADE'S PERSPECTIVE 1979-1989

a fresh source of recruits for older organized hate groups;

- In anti-Semitic propaganda activities—including Holocaust "Revisionism," the effort to deny that the Nazi extermination of 6,000,000 Jews in World War II ever took place—carried out by extremist groups such as Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby, and by followers of Lyndon LaRouche;
- In the anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda carried on by pro-PLO organizations in the U.S. that has often masked hostility to Jews;
- In the activities of radical leftist organizations, such as the Communist Party USA, whose propaganda against Israel and Zionism attacks the most basic concerns of the overwhelming majority of Jews in the U.S.

Enhancing Public Awareness

The ADL Audit has provided evidence that a troubling undercurrent of anti-Jewish hostility remains beneath the surface of American society. The Audit has shown that anti-Semitic vandalism, overwhelmingly, is not the work of organized hate groups. Rather, these incidents are most often the work of teenagers unaffiliated with hate groups; year after year, some 80% to 90% of those arrested for such crimes have been aged 20 or younger.

An ADL-sponsored task force of educators, law enforcement officials, social scientists and psychiatrists met in New York in early January, 1981—shortly after ADL's 1980 Annual Audit was published. Professor Mel Tumin, a noted Princeton University sociologist, observed that while in some cases, youthful vandals may be seeking to release personal frustrations common to adolescence, the anti-Semitic nature of many of their actions could be attributed to "the transmission belts coming from families and other institutions where resentment of Jews is expressed." He added that anti-Semitic incidents might well be just the "tip of an iceberg" and the overt expression of "a pervasive and deep-rooted anti-Semitism which has lain dormant" for years.

Since then, in cooperation with law enforcement agencies and community groups, ADL regional offices have carried out programs of public education emphasizing the need for stronger security measures at houses of worship and other institutions. The offices have sponsored security conferences bringing together leaders of community institutions, clergy, educators and law enforcement officials to discuss problems of bias-related attacks as well as the importance of stronger security measures. By the end of 1988 virtually every ADL office had participated in or sponsored this kind of conference.

The success of these local events led ADL's National Civil Rights Division, in cooperation with the League's West Coast offices, to develop a National Conference on Hate Crimes which took place October 26, 1988 in Los Angeles. The Hate Crimes conference—made possible by a grant from the William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and Extremism—was attended by leading law enforcement, education and civic leaders such as L.A. Police Chief Daryl Gates, who participated in a panel discussion on the "Problems of Hate Crimes," moderated by Joan Weiss, executive director of the National

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
cordially invites you to a

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES

Keynote Luncheon Speaker: **Charles Hynes**
Deputy Attorney General, New York State
Office of Special Prosecutors, Howard Beach Prosecutor

Panelists will include:

Hon. W. Cary Edwards, Attorney General, New Jersey
Richard M. Daley, State's Attorney, Illinois; President-Elect, National District Attorney's Assoc.
Daryl F. Gates, Los Angeles Police Chief
Colonel Leonard Supenski, Commanding Officer, Baltimore County Police Department
Douglas White, Commissioner, New York State Division of Human Rights
Frank Jordan, San Francisco Police Chief
Dr. Mary Ann Swain, Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Michigar
Stewart Kwoh, Executive Director, Asian Pacific Legal Center of Southern California

Moderators:

Joan Weiss, Executive Director, National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence
Elsie Scott, Executive Director, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives

Wednesday, October 26, 1988
Century Plaza Hotel
Los Angeles, California

8:30 a.m. Registration
9:00 a.m.-4:30 Program

Institute Against Prejudice and Violence.

The keynote address, "Case Study of a Hate Crime: The Lessons of Howard Beach (N.Y.)," was delivered by Charles Hynes, Deputy Attorney General in the New York State Office of the Special Prosecutor. Hynes was the special prosecutor in the Howard Beach case, in which a gang of white youths assaulted three black men and chased one to his death on a nearby highway. He told the conference participants that perpetrators of hate crimes must be sent a basic message: "If you hurt someone because they're different, you have to be punished."

Another participant, Stewart Kwoh, Executive Director, Asian Pacific Legal Center of Southern California, told the group about violence directed at Asian Americans, and observed: "The question is not to blame each other, rather it is how we can work together to build a partnership against hate." Other conference participants, all of whom have taken the lead in their communities in fighting hate crimes, were Hon. W. Cary Edwards, Attorney General of New Jersey; Richard M. Daley, State's Attorney in Chicago, Illinois (and President-elect of the National District Attorney's Association); Colonel Leonard Supenski, Commanding Officer of the Baltimore County Police Department; Douglas White, Commissioner of the New York State Division of Human Rights; Frank Jordan, San Francisco Police Chief; Dr. Mary Ann Swain, Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of Michigan; and Elsie Scott, Executive Director, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE).

"Hate Crimes: Policies and Procedures for Law Enforcement Agencies," a new ADL publication on how law enforcement should respond to bias crimes was made public at the conference.

Expanding Counteraction

The ADL Annual Audit has helped focus the nation's attention on the wider problems posed by hate crimes. In recent years, American society has begun to respond to this disturbing phenomenon. ADL is proud to have played a part in promoting that response, which includes the following:

- Forty-three states now have some form of statute addressing hate crimes; 33 have laws against institutional vandalism, and 31 states have enacted laws against bias-related intimidation or harrassment. Many states have multiple statutes against such offenses and 17 have adopted legislation based on an ADL Model Statute prepared in 1981 and updated in 1988. (See section 2, "Hate Crimes and the Law.")
- During 1988, President Reagan signed into law a measure that imposes Federal criminal penalties for damage to religious property.
- During the 100th Congress, legislation was considered that would require the U.S. Attorney General to collect statistical data concerning crimes motivated by religious and racial bigotry and hatred. ADL testified in favor of the proposal, which was passed by the House of Representatives and had been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee when Congress adjourned. It is expected to receive renewed attention in the new Congress.
- In the past 10 years, the mass communication media have paid increasing attention to hate crimes and public officials have spoken out strongly to denounce such acts. ADL has participated in many such projects and programs, offering its professional expertise and guidelines.

For example, during July 1988, ADL helped to train volunteers who will handle incoming calls on a "Bias Hot Line" run by the State of New York Division of Human Rights Crisis Prevention Unit. The program represents part of New York State's efforts to deal with hate crimes in the wake of the Howard Beach incident of 1986.

Accurate Reporting: A Basic Need

ADL has been active in sharing its experience in bias-crime reporting with local officials and community groups around the country.

An important aspect of prompt, accurate reporting of bias crimes is that such action often sharpens community awareness of this troubling subject, and leads to the reporting of additional incidents by victims who might otherwise have been reluctant to come forward.

Professional experience on this subject has increased; refined and expanded collection efforts have improved the reliability of hate-crime data, accurately gauging the dimensions of the hate-crime problem. Knowing the scope of the problem and the trends it reveals are basic to developing remedies—by police, legislatures or private agencies.

To facilitate accurate tabulations, ADL utilizes a standardized reporting form with which our regional offices document incidents. The reporting process elicits information as to the time and place of the incident; notification of law enforcement; degree of

property damage and/or personal injury and possible community response, e.g., editorials, reactions from civic leaders and clergy. (See p. 47 for the ADL Report Form.)

Completion of this "intake" form often entails contact with the victims of ethnic vandalism, assault and harassment—which translates into sympathetic, supportive outreach during the painful period that often follows these attacks.

Other ADL Steps

To encourage and broaden public awareness on the hate-crime issue, ADL's own counteraction program has included the following measures (in addition to the previously described security conferences):

- ADL has published, and widely circulated to synagogues, churches and schools, a "Security Handbook for Community Institutions" to aid in coping with—and preventing—destructive violence against persons and property by providing practical guidance on security measures. It was prepared in cooperation with the Crime Prevention Section of the New York City Police Department.
- ADL has provided expert testimony on the subject of hate crimes before many official bodies including the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,[4] the New York Governor's Task Force on Bias Related Violence, and the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies.
- ADL also served as a major resource for a report prepared for the Justice Department's National Institute of Justice, entitled "The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Bias Crime: An Exploratory Review." The report examined local and federal government activity—as well as the efforts of private civil rights and human relations organizations—on the issue.
- ADL developed and launched a major school- and media-based prejudice awareness project called "A World of Difference" (AWOD) in 1985. Designed to reduce community racial, ethnic and religious friction in a realistic and measurable way, AWOD is operational in 12 cities*and will begin in at least another 12 during 1989. The projects use classroom material written and designed by local and national education authorities, supplemented by TV programming, special newspaper sections and community-wide public events. In addition to AWOD, ADL has published and distributed many other educational materials throughout the United States to fight prejudice. For example, a manual for elementary students entitled "Teacher, They Called Me a—-!" is being widely utilized.

[4]In South Orange/Maplewood (Essex County), New Jersey a rash of seventy-eight racially motivated and anti-Semitic acts were reported between 1983-85. The December, 1988 Summary Report of the New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights entitled "Incidents of Bigotry and Violence in Essex County" refers throughout to the important work and ongoing role of ADL's regional office in various aspects of dealing with this plague. The report notes that "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) provided literature for the victims and counseling for victims and others who were coping with the personal trauma of hate violence."

*Albany (NY), Baltimore, Boston, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle.

enforcement agencies in crafting operating procedures for recognizing and responding to bias crimes.

A growing number of law enforcement agencies have recognized the unique community impact of bias crimes and have determined to give priority attention to them—either through the adoption of formal regulations for dealing with crimes motivated by bias or bigotry or through the establishment of a distinct bias crimes investigating unit.

Federal Initiatives

As noted earlier, two major legislative advancements occurred at the federal level in 1988. First, Congress passed a religious vandalism statute establishing criminal penalties for damage to religious property.

The legislation imposes fines of up to $250,000 and/or 10 years imprisonment on anyone convicted of causing more than $10,000 in damage to a religious institution or cemetery, or causing serious bodily injury to anyone trying to exercise his or her religious beliefs.

Second, the House passed a hate crimes statistics bill that would federalize hate crime reporting by requiring the U.S. Attorney General to collect and publish such statistics annually. Although this measure did not pass in the Senate, it is expected to be reintroduced and passed in the new Congressional session. ADL supported these legislative efforts, and hopes that this proposal will be adopted.

Shaare Tefila: A New Counteraction Approach

On May 18, 1987 the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision with important implications in the fight against anti-Semitic vandalism and other bias crimes. The Court's decision in *Shaare Tefila Congregation v. Cobb* allowed a desecrated synagogue to sue the perpetrators of the vandalism for civil damages using an 1866 civil rights law which prohibited acts of racial discrimination.

In order to understand how this ruling came about, as well as its implications, it is useful to examine the history of the case.

The *Shaare Tefila* case stemmed from an incident of anti-Semitic vandalism which occurred in November 1981, when the synagogue, located in Silver Spring, Maryland, was defaced. Huge, red anti-Semitic graffiti, including swastikas, a skull and crossbones, a burning cross, a Nazi eagle, and such slogans as "Death to the Jude" and "Take a shower Jew" were painted on its walls. The desecration prompted the synagogue's members to file a lawsuit seeking redress from the perpetrators following their arrest and conviction.

In its complaint, the synagogue invokes the Civil Rights Act of 1866, a post-Civil War race discrimination statute providing, among other things, that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right . . . to the full and equal benefit of all laws . . . as is enjoyed by white citizens."

Shaare Tefila's argument, echoed in an *amicus curiae* brief filed by ADL, was that even

though Jews are not a separate race, and do not regard themselves as such, they are covered by the statute which protects not only blacks but all ethnic groups. Furthermore, ADL contended, the vandalism in *Shaare Tefila* was "racially motivated," and "federal remedies for racially-discriminatory conduct should not be limited by narrow and arbitrary definitions of race."

In the Supreme Court's decision, Justice White wrote that Shaare Tefila stated a viable claim, because at the time the statute was adopted, "Jews constituted a group of people that Congress intended to protect."

The Supreme Court's broad reading of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to apply not merely to blacks but also to other victims of ethnic discrimination will likely have a significant impact on future civil rights litigation. A new avenue of redress has in effect been created, which goes well beyond the employment discrimation prohibitions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Unlike Title VII, the 1866 Act exposes those who engage in anti-Semitic acts to civil damages, allows for jury trials, and has a more lenient statute of limitations. As a consequence, the Court's action can be viewed as a landmark in the historic struggle to eradicate all forms of bigotry.

Revised ADL Model Legislation

1. Institutional Vandalism

A. A person commits the crime of institutional vandalism by knowingly vandalizing, defacing or otherwise damaging:

i. Any church, synagogue or other building, structure or place used for religious worship or other religious purpose;

ii. Any cemetery, mortuary or other facility used for the purpose of burial or memorializing the dead;

iii. Any school, educational facility or community center;

iv. The grounds adjacent to, and owned or rented by, any institution, facility, building, structure or place described in subsections (i), (ii) or (iii) above; or

v. Any personal property contained in any institution, facility, building, structure or place described in subsections (i), (ii) or (iii) above.

B. Institutional vandalism is punishable as follows:

i. Institutional vandalism is a _____ misdemeanor if the person does any act described in Subsection A which causes damage to, or loss of, the property of another.

ii. Institutional vandalism is a _____ felony if the person does any act described in Subsection A which causes damage to, or loss of, the property of another in an amount in excess of five hundred dollars.

iii. Institutional vandalism is a _____ felony if the person does any act described in Subsection A which causes damage to, or loss of, the property of another in an amount of one thousand five hundred dollars.

iv. Institutional vandalism is a _____ felony if the person does any act described in Subsection A which causes damage to, or loss of, the property of another in excess of five thousand dollars.

C. In determining the amount of damage to, or loss of property, damage includes the cost of repair or replacement of the property that was damaged or lost.

2. Intimidation

A. A person commits the crime of intimidation if, by reason of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin or sexual orientation of another individual or group of individuals, he violates Section _____ of the Penal Code (insert code provision for criminal trespass, criminal mischief, harassment, menacing, assault and/or any other appropriate statutorily proscribed criminal conduct).

B. Intimidation is a _____ misdemeanor/felony (the degree of criminal liability should be made contingent upon the severity of the injury incurred or property lost or damaged).

3. Civil Action for Institutional Vandalism and Intimidation

A. Irrespective of any criminal prosecution or the result thereof, any person incurring injury to his person or damage or loss to his property as a result of conduct in violation of Sections 1 or 2 of this Act shall have a civil action to secure an injunction, damages or other appropriate relief in law or in equity against any and all persons who have violated Sections 1 or 2 of this Act.

B. In any such action, whether a violation of Section 1 or 2 of this Act has occurred shall be determined according to the burden of proof used in other civil actions for similar relief.

C. Upon prevailing in such civil action, the plaintiff may recover:

i. Both special and general damages, including damages for emotional distress;

ii. Punitive damages; and/or

iii. Reasonable attorney fees and costs.

D. Notwithstanding any other provision of the law to the contrary, the parent(s) or legal guardian(s) of any unemancipated minor shall be liable for any judgment rendered against such minor under this Section.

4. Bias Crime Reporting and Training

A. The state police* shall establish and maintain a central repository for the collection and analysis of information regarding crimes which are motivated by bigotry and bias. Upon establishing such a repository, the state police shall develop a procedure to monitor, record, classify and analyze information relating to incidents apparently directed against racial, religious, or ethnic groups. The state police shall submit its procedure to the appropriate committee of the state legislature for approval.

B. All local law enforcement agencies shall report monthly to the state police concerning such offenses in such form and in such manner as prescribed by rules and regulations adopted by the state police. The state police must summarize and analyze the information received and file an annual report with the governor and the appropriate committee of the state legislature.

C. Any information, records and statistics collected in accordance with this subsection shall be available for use by any local enforcement agency, unit of local government, or state agency, to the extent that such information is reasonably necessary or useful to such agency in carrying out the duties imposed upon it by law. Dissemination of such information shall be subject to all confidentiality requirements otherwise imposed by law.

D. The state police shall provide training for police officers in identifying, responding to, and reporting all criminal offenses motivated by race, color, religion, national origin or sexual orientation.

*or other appropriate state law enforcement agency

States with Hate Crime Laws

	INSTITUTIONAL VANDALISM	INTIMIDATION/HARASSMENT (INCLUDING CROSS BURNING AND INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGIOUS WORSHIP)	BASED ON OR SIMILAR TO ADL MODEL	PARENTAL LIABILITY	DATA COLLECTION
AL	x			x	
AK				x	
AZ	x			x	
AR	x			x	
CA	x	x	x	x	
CO	x	x	x	x	
CT	x	x	x	x	x
DE	x			x	
DC	x	x			
FL	x	x		x	
GA	x				
HI	x				
ID		x	x		
IL	x	x	x	x	x
IN	x			x	
IA				x	
KS	x			x	
KY	x				
LA	x		x		
ME	x			x	
MD	x	x	x		x
MA	x	x	x	x	
MI		x		x	
MN		x		x	x
MS	x	x		x	
MO	x	x	x		

States with Hate Crime Laws

	INSTITUTIONAL VANDALISM	INTIMIDATION/HARASSMENT (INCLUDING CROSS BURNING AND INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGIOUS WORSHIP)	BASED ON OR SIMILAR TO ADL MODEL	PARENTAL LIABILITY	DATA COLLECTION
MT				x	
NE				x	
NV		x		x	
NH					
NJ	x	x			x[b]
NM	x	x		x	
NY		x	x	x	
NC	x	x		x	
ND		x		x	
OH	x	x	x	x	
OK	x	x	x	x	x[c]
OR	x	x	x	x	
PA	x	x	x	x	x
RI	x	x			
SC		x		x	
SD		x		x	
TN		x			
TX	x			x	
UT					
VT				x	
VA	x	x	x	x	x
WA	x	x	x	x	
WV		x		x	
WI	x	x	x	x	
WY				x	

[b]Executive Directive from the New Jersey Attorney General.

[c]Legislative mandate to the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation to establish a standard system of data collection.

Appendix A

THE 1988 ADL AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC VANDALISM AND OTHER INCIDENTS

	VANDALISM							ASSAULT, THREATS, HARASSMENT		
			LOCATIONS			SERIOUS CRIMES				
STATE	1988 TOTAL	'87/'88 CHANGE	INST	PVT	PUB	ARS/att	BMB/att	CEM. DES.	TARGETS INST/IND.	1988 TOTAL	1987 TOTAL
NEW YORK	208	207 + 1	65	95	48	1 / 2	0 / 0	2	11 /104	115	105
CALIFORNIA	121	137 - 16	46	48	27	1 / 3	0 / 0	0	21 / 28	49	26
FLORIDA	89	64 + 25	28	25	36	1 / 0	1 / 0	0	15 / 25	40	20
NEW JERSEY	67	43 + 24	17	25	25	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	7 / 23	30	18
MARYLAND	36	23 + 13	6	16	14	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	4 / 9	13	11
MASSACHUSETTS	35	27 + 8	8	15	12	0 / 0	0 / 0	1	5 / 23	28	20
PENNSYLVANIA	33	22 + 11	11	15	7	1 / 0	0 / 0	0	7 / 18	25	14
ILLINOIS	29	36 - 7	10	11	8	0 / 2	0 / 0	0	10 / 18	28	9
TEXAS	23	7 + 16	15	7	1	1 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 2	2	3
GEORGIA	22	15 + 7	12	4	6	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	9 / 14	23	13
CONNECTICUT	19	6 + 13	9	5	5	1 / 0	0 / 0	1	1 / 3	4	5
MICHIGAN	16	14 + 2	4	7	5	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	5 / 5	10	5
OHIO	16	10 + 6	6	6	4	1 / 0	0 / 0	2	4 / 4	8	19
MINNESOTA	11	14 - 3	3	3	5	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	8 / 14	22	15
ALABAMA	8	0 + 8	5	0	3	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 2	3	1
TENNESSEE	8	0 + 8	2	3	3	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	5 / 4	9	0
COLORADO	7	9 - 2	1	3	3	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 0	1	0
NEBRASKA	7	1 + 6	3	4	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	7
OREGON	7	1 + 6	3	3	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	1	2 / 3	5	1
VIRGINIA	7	8 - 1	3	3	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 6	7	2
ARIZONA	7	3 + 4	4	2	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	3 / 0	3	12
INDIANA	4	3 + 1	2	2	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 1	2	2
LOUISIANA	4	8 - 4	4	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	4	1 / 0	1	0
MISSISSIPPI	4	7 - 3	3	1	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1	0 / 2	2	0
NORTH CAROLINA	4	0 + 4	3	0	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 0	1	0
RHODE ISLAND	4	8 - 4	1	0	3	0 / 0	0 / 0	1	0 / 1	1	2
WASHINGTON	4	4 0	0	3	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	6 / 3	9	6
KANSAS	3	0 + 3	2	1	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
MISSOURI	3	4 - 1	1	2	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 1	2	1
OKLAHOMA	3	2 + 1	1	1	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
Wash. DC	3	0 + 3	0	1	2	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 1	1	1
NEW HAMPSHIRE	2	1 + 1	1	1	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
PUERTO RICO	2	0 + 2	2	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
DELAWARE	1	0 + 1	0	0	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
KENTUCKY	1	0 + 1	0	0	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 2	2	0
MAINE	1	0 + 1	0	0	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
NEW MEXICO	1	1 0	1	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 3	3	1
SOUTH CAROLINA	1	0 + 1	0	1	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 3	3	3
WEST VIRGINIA	1	0 + 1	0	1	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
ARKANSAS	1	6 - 5	0	0	1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	2 / 1	3	0
NORTH DAKOTA	0	0 0	0	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 1	1	0
WISCONSIN	0	1 - 1	0	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 1	2	1
* Montana	0	1 - 1	0	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
* Nevada	0	1 - 1	0	0	0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	1
1988 TOTALS =	823	694 + 129	282	314	227	7 / 7	1 / 0	13	133 / 325	458	324

* States listed for comparison to 1987.

Appendix B

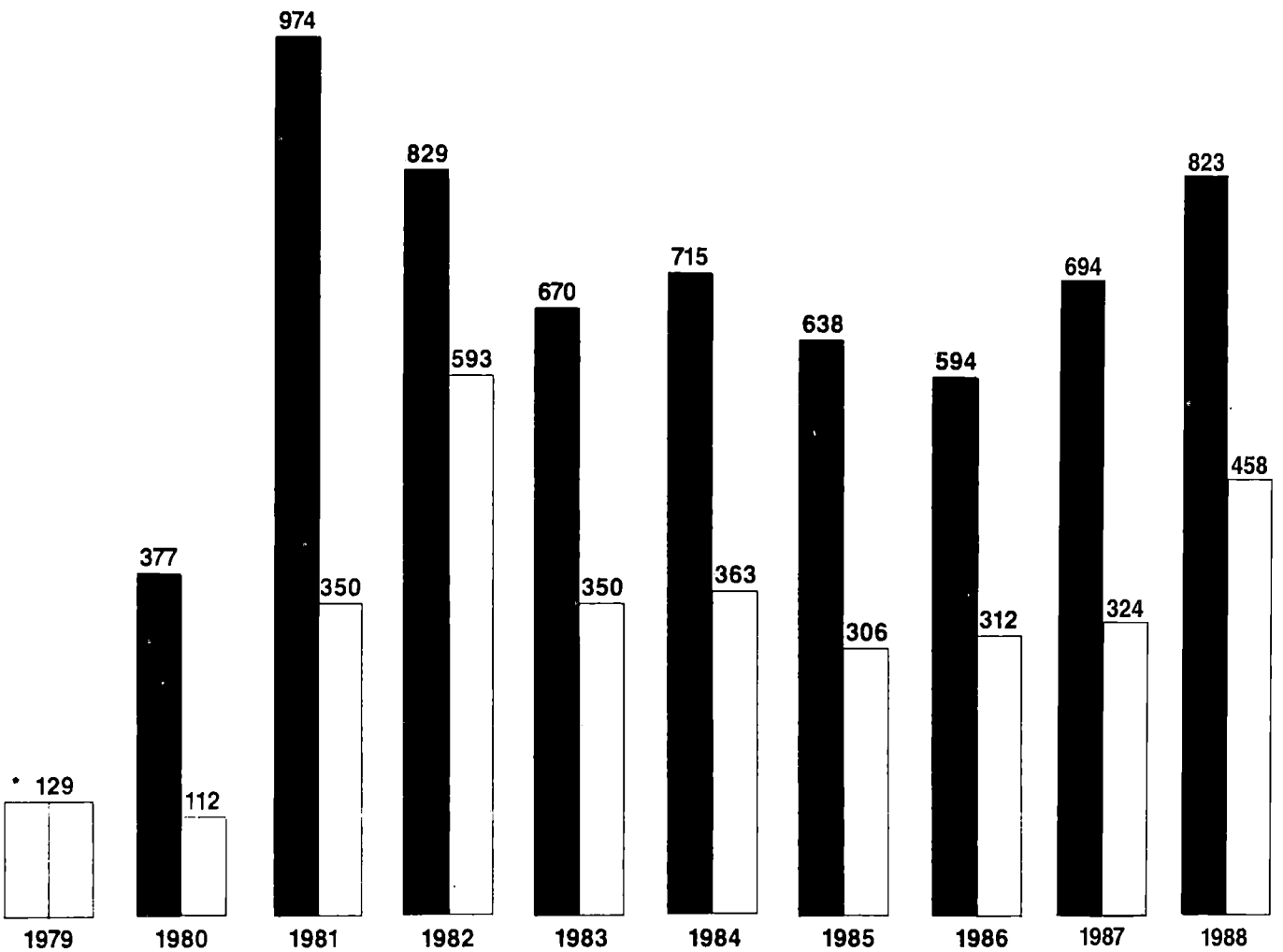
THE 1988 ADL AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC VANDALISM AND OTHER INCIDENTS

NEW YORK STATE

	VANDALISM									ASSAULT, THREATS, HARASSMENT		
			1988 LOCATIONS			SERIOUS CRIMES						
	1988 TOTAL	'87/'88 CHANGE	INST	PVT	PUB	ARS/att	BMB/att	CEM. DES.	TARGETS INST/IND.	1988 TOTAL	1987 TOTAL
1. BROOKLYN	40	37 + 3	18	17	5	1 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 26	27	17
2. QUEENS	37	22 + 15	15	11	11	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	3 / 13	16	7
3. MANHATTAN	17	27 - 10	4	5	8	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	1 / 12	13	11
4. BRONX	8	2 + 6	1	4	3	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	0 / 0	0	0
5. STATEN ISLAND	3	3 0	1	2	0	0 / 1	0 / 0	0	0 / 5	5	2
6. NASSAU COUNTY	47	60 - 13	11	21	15	0 / 1	0 / 0	0	1 / 17	11	15
7. SUFFOLK COUNTY	41	41 0	11	26	4	0 / 0	0 / 0	2	3 / 25	28	52
8. UPSTATE	15	15 0	4	9	2	0 / 0	0 / 0	0	2 / 6	8	1
1988 TOTALS =	208	207 + 1	65	95	48	1 / 2	0 / 0	2	11 / 104	125	105

Appendix C

ADL AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC EPISODES
VANDALISM
HARASSMENTS, THREATS AND ASSAULTS
YEAR-BY-YEAR
NATIONAL TOTALS



KEY: ■ VANDALISMS

□ HARASSMENTS, THREATS AND ASSAULTS

* 1979 report recorded only "Anti-Semitic Incidents," without separate category of threats, harassment, etc.

Appendix D

COMPOSITE 10-YEAR TOTALS AND BREAKDOWNS OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
1979-1988

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	TOTAL
VANDALISMS	129	377	974	829	670	715	638	594	694	823	6,443
Institutions	78	157	255	197	162	196	165	159	202	282	1,853
Private Jewish-Prop	51	160	423	347	321	317	244	241	320	314	2,738
Public Locations	0	60	296	285	187	202	229	194	172	227	1,852
Arsons	10	10	10	7	3	9	6	4	5	7	71
Att. Arsons	0	2	6	7	10	8	5	3	3	7	51
Bombings	2	4	4	3	0	3	3	1	2	1	23
Att. Bombings	0	2	2	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	10
Cemetery Des.	0	5	15	15	9	11	4	9	2	13	83
ASSAULTS, THREATS, and HARASSMENTS		112	350	593	350	369	306	312	324	458	3,174
Institutions		*	63	136	39	106	48	71	80	133	676
Individuals			287	457	311	263	258	241	244	325	2,386
COMPOSITE TOTALS:	129	489	1,324	1,422	1,020	1,084	944	906	1,018	1,281	9,617

Note: Reports of Arsons, Attempted-Arsons, Bombings, Attempted-Bombings and Cemetery Desecrations are always included in the Vandalism totals.

* The 1980 Assaults, Threats and Harassment reports were not broken down into sub-categories of "Institutions" and "Individuals"; therefore, they are not reflected in those sub-totals. In 1979, assaults, threats and harassments were not separately reported.

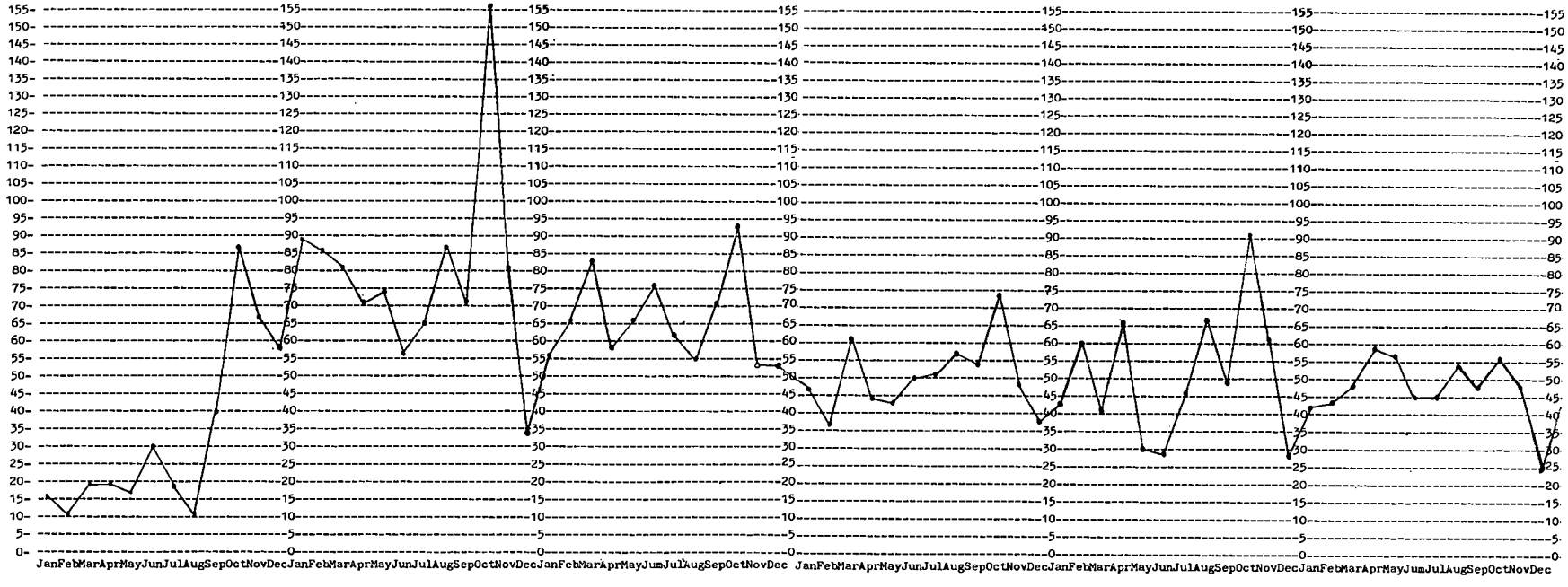
Appendix E

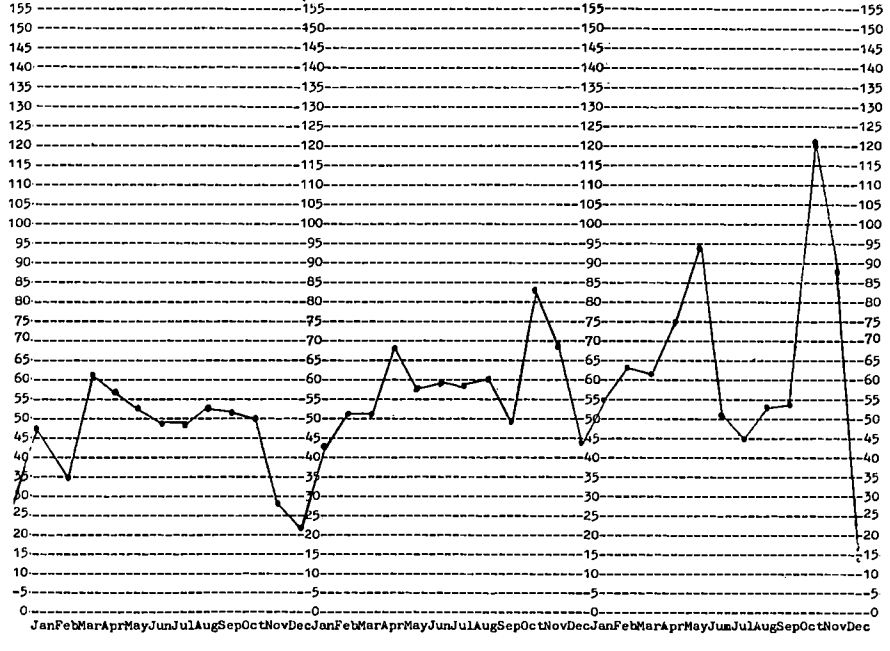
State-by-State Composite, 1979-1988

STATE	ALL ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS TOTAL	VANDALISM TOTAL	ASSAULTS, THREATS and HARASSMENT TOTAL
1. NY	2,951	1,996	955
2. CA	1,223	941	282
3. NJ	807	615	192
4. FL	611	443	168
5. MA	526	333	193
6. MD	431	327	104
7. PA	401	247	154
8. MN	328	139	189
9. IL	321	198	123
10. MI	237	155	82
11. GA	177	86	91
12. OH	171	76	95
13. VA	168	113	55
14. CT	139	97	42
15. RI	114	65	49
16. AZ	110	54	56
17. MO	102	49	53
18. TX	86	68	18
19. WA	84	36	48
20. LA	59	43	16
21. CO	55	45	10
22. NC	55	28	27
23. NE	54	31	23
24. OR	54	25	29
25. IN	50	36	14
26. DC	48	36	12
27. TN	40	20	20
28. WI	37	21	16
29. MS	27	25	2
30. AR	23	20	3
31. AL	17	12	5
32. KY	15	7	8
33. NM	14	10	4
34. IA	13	4	9
35. SC	11	4	7
36. KA	9	7	2
37. NH	9	5	4
38. DE	8	2	6
39. OK	7	7	0
40. ID	6	4	2
41. NV	6	5	1
42. WV	5	3	2
43. ME	3	2	1
44. PR	2	2	0
45. MT	1	1	0
46. ND	1	0	1
47. VT	1	0	1
10 YEAR TOTALS:	9,617	6,443	3,174

Appendix F

Month-to-Month Levels of Reported Anti-Semitic Incidents 1980-1988





ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
New Jersey Regional Office • 741 Northfield Ave.
WEST ORANGE, N.J. 07052

MEMORANDUM

To: Jewish Community Leaders

From: New Jersey ADL

Date: October 11, 1988

Subject: Coping with Anti-Semitic Vandalism:
Recommendations for Community Action

New Jersey ranked fourth highest nationally in the number of reported acts of anti-Semitic vandalism in 1987, according to the Anti-Defamation League's Annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents.

The Annual Audit conducted by the ADL indicates that 48 incidents of vandalism were reported in New Jersey in 1986 and 43 incidents in 1987, a drop of 5 incidents. This slight decrease comes in the midst of a 17% National increase in the number of reported incidents.

1987 was a landmark year in battling bias crimes, Attorney General W. Cary Edwards issued a directive which ordered all municipal police to report on a monthly basis through the State Police Uniform Crime Report (UCR) all incidents of racial and religious terrorism. In addition, the Attorney General released Bias Investigation Standards - Policy and Procedures for New Jersey Law Enforcement.

The purpose of these standards is to establish uniform law enforcement procedures for the response to and investigation of bias incidents.

We need your cooperation in sustaining this new state-wide effort to tighten the reign on bias crimes.

Should anti-Semitic vandalism occur in your community, we recommend that you take the following steps.

A. Monitoring Measures

1. Call police, first and foremost, before taking any other actions. Do not disturb the evidence. Be sure of the facts. When you learn of an incident, attempt to determine accurately the who, what, when, and where of the incident.

2. Take photographs of swastikas, graffiti and damage. (Photographs can help police determine whether there is a pattern and whether the same vandals are involved in more than one incident).

3. Remove swastikas and graffiti, but only after the police have inspected.

4. Do not initiate publicity by calling newspapers and other media. If they contact you, respond calmly.

5. Obtain a copy of the "Preliminary Crime or Offense Report" prepared by your local police department to describe the incident. It is important that you send it and a brief narrative of the incident and any photographs to the Anti-Defamation League, 741 Northfield Avenue, West Orange, New Jersey, 07052.

The police department's report and your narrative will enable us to monitor anti-Semitic vandalism and follow-up with New Jersey's law enforcement agencies.

We also call your attention to the following preventative measures which should be taken by synagogues, Federations, and other Jewish institutions, i.e., Jewish Community Centers, Homes for the Aged, educational facilities, etc.:

B. PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

1. Establish a personal relationship with your local police department. Identify those police officials whom you should contact, should an incident occur. Discuss with them the anti-Semitic and racist phenomenon which are of concern to the Jewish community. Urge them to increase their vigilance of Jewish institutions and houses of worship.

2. It would be helpful to initiate dialogue with newspaper personnel on an ongoing basis related to any particular incident. Relate the community's concern. Stress the negative effects on intergroup relations of exaggerated reporting in order to discourage imitative behavior.

3. Re-examine your institution's security arrangements:

   a. Install lights to provide exterior lighting around the building.

   b. Keep lights on every night until after midnight

c. Improve locks on your doors.

d. Safeguard windows where possible.

e. When large public events are scheduled, notify the police department when your program activities begin and end so patrol car can be present when crowds arrive and leave.

f. Hire an off-duty officer to patrol your parking lot when a large meeting is scheduled.

g. Consider the practicability of a locked fence and the installation of an alarm system.

4. The ADL has published a handbook on Security for Community Institutions (Price $2.50) which is available from this office. The handbook, endorsed by NJ State Police Superintendent Col. Clinton Pagano, provides practical step-by-step suggestions for developing a security program for community institutions, and useful suggestions for handling incidents, if and when they should occur.

Your cooperation in implementing these security measures is critically important. Only through our concerted efforts can we expect to prevent and cope with these incidents.

ADL AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
REPORT FORM

Report #_____
Date Submitted _____
Staff Member _____

Regional Office _____

Date of Incident ___/___/___
mo. day yr.

City _____

State _____

1. Type Of Incident:

A. ☐ VANDALISM
(circle) GRAFFITI, ARSON, ARSON-ATTEMPT, BOMBING, BOMBING-ATTEMPT, CEMETERY DESECRATION, OTHER

☐ JEWISH INSTITUTION (name/location)_____

☐ PRIVATE JEWISH-OWNED PROPERTY (name/location)_____

_____

☐ PUBLIC LOCATION_____

Other Details (wording of graffiti, damage estimate, etc.)_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

B. ☐ HARASSMENT, THREAT OR ASSAULT

☐ INSTITUTION (name/location)_____

☐ INDIVIDUAL (name/location)_____
(circle) PHONED, MAILED, VERBAL, PHYSICAL, OTHER

Other Details (wording of threat or slur, injuries, etc.)_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Was incident reported to police? ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Arrests ☐ Yes ☐ No
Names, Ages, Descriptions, Case Status, etc._____

_____

_____

4. Did incident receive media coverage? ☐ Yes ☐ No (attach examples)

5. Community response? Describe:_____

_____

RESEARCH DEPT. USE
Received _____
Included _____
Excluded _____
Pending _____

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL OFFICE
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 ..... (212) 490-2525

REGIONAL OFFICES

ARIZONA
The First Interstate Tower, 3550 North Central Avenue (Suite 914), Phoenix, AZ 85012 ..... (602) 274-0991

ATLANTA (Southeast)
3384 Peachtree Road, NE (Suite 660), Atlanta, GA 30326 ..... (404) 262-3470

BOSTON (New England)
1 Lincoln Plaza, (Suite 301), Boston MA 02111 ..... (617) 330-9696

CHICAGO (Greater Chicago/Wisconsin)
309 West Washington, (Suite 750), Chicago, IL 60606 ..... (312) 782-5080

CLEVELAND (Northern Ohio)
505 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, OH 44113 ..... (216) 579-9600

COLUMBUS (Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky)
529 E. Engler Street, Columbus, OH 49515 ..... (614) 621-0601

CONNECTICUT
419 Whalley Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511 ..... (203) 787-4281

DALLAS (Northwest Texas/Oklahoma)
12800 Hillcrest Road (Suite 219), Dallas, TX 75230 ..... (214) 960-0342

D.C. (D.C./MARYLAND)
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036 ..... (202) 857-6660

DENVER (Mountain States)
300 South Dahlia Street (Suite 202), Denver, CO 80222 ..... (303) 951-7177

DETROIT (Michigan)
4000 Town Center (Suite 420), Southfield, MI 48075-1405 ..... (313) 355-3730

HOUSTON (Southwest)
4211 Southwest Freeway (Suite 101), Houston, TX 77027 ..... (713) 627-3490

LONG ISLAND
98 Cutter Mill Road, (Suite 350 S.), Great Neck, NY 11021 ..... (516) 829-3820

LOS ANGELES (Pacific Southwest)
6505 Wilshire Boulevard (Suite 814), Los Angeles, CA 90048 ..... (213) 655-8205

MIAMI (Florida)
150 SE Second Avenue (Suite 800), Miami, FL 33131 ..... (305) 373-6306

MINNEAPOLIS (JCRC-ADL of Minnesota/the Dakotas)
15 South 9th Street Building, Minneapolis, MN 55402 ..... (612) 338-7816

NEW JERSEY
741 Northfield Avenue, West Orange, NJ 07052 ..... (201) 669-9700

NEW ORLEANS (South Central)
535 Gravier Street (Suite 501), New Orleans, LA 70130 ..... (504) 522-9534

NEW YORK CITY
823 U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017 ..... (212) 490-2525

NEW YORK STATE
Loudon Plaza (Suite 307), 350 Northern Boulevard. Albany, New York 12204 ..... (518) 432-1046

OMAHA (Plains States)
333 South 132 Street, Omaha, NE 68154 ..... (402) 333-1303

ORANGE COUNTY
2700 North Main Street (Suite 500), Santa Ana, CA 92701 ..... (714) 973-4733

PALM BEACH COUNTY
The Commerce Center, 324 Datura Street (Suite 223), West Palm Beach, FL 33401 ..... (407) 832-7144

PHILADELPHIA (Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware)
230 South Broad Street 20th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102 ..... (215) 735-4267

PITTSBURGH (Western Pennsylvania/West Virginia)
1101 Porter Building, 601 Grant Street, Pittsburgh, PA 15219 ..... (412) 471-1050

SAN DIEGO
7851 Mission Center Court (Suite 320), San Diego, CA 92108 ..... (619) 293-3770

SAN FRANCISCO (Central Pacific)
121 Steuart Street, (Suite 401), San Francisco, CA 94105 ..... (415) 546-0200

SEATTLE (Pacific Northwest)
1809 7th Avenue (Suite 1609), Seattle, WA 98101 ..... (206) 624-5750

ST. LOUIS (Missouri/Southern Illinois)
10922 Schuetz Road, St. Louis, MO 63146 ..... (314) 432-6868

TAMPA (Florida West Coast)
5002 Lemon Street (Suite 2300), Tampa, FL 33609 ..... (813) 289-5574

VIRGINIA/NORTH CAROLINA
Suite 326, 6330 Newtown Rd., Norfolk, VA 23502 ..... (804) 455-9002

OVERSEAS OFFICES

JERUSALEM
30 King David Street, Jerusalem, Israel 011-972-2-224-844

PARIS
4 bis Rue de Lota, 75016, Paris, France 011-33-1-45-53-03-22

ROME
Via Romagna 26/7, 00187, Rome, Italy ..... 011-39-06-4741104 or 011-39-06-4742330

CANADA
Cooperative Association with the League for Human Rights of Canadian B'nai B'rith
15 Hove Street, Suite 210, Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3H 4Y8 ..... (416) 633-6227



823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, (212) 490-2525

1913

Our 75th Year

1988

1987-1988 Annual Report
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

Table Of Contents

Our 75th Year

ADL Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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From The National Chairman...



Burton S. Levinson

"To be continued..." In my mind's eye, this phrase concludes my report of the past year's activity of the Anti-Defamation League. It belongs there because it is clear that despite all our accomplishments—and they are many—we are still a long way from the realization of our goal of a just and fair society for all.

If a look back at the past year is any guide to the future, we seem on the threshold of difficult times which will rigorously test the League and the Jewish people.

The nation and the world are changing. We are in the last days of the Reagan administration, if not of the Reagan era. What this portends for Jewish concerns is unpredictable except for the sure knowledge of new and different challenges to the broad spectrum of ADL responsibilities.

There is increasing peril that peace in the Middle East may be sought at a territorial price that Israel cannot pay without jeopardizing its sovereignty and security. In the court of American public opinion, ADL's role as advocate of Israel and interpreter of the issues, in all their complexity, will continue to be indispensable.

So, too, will be the League's monitoring of the impact of *glasnost* and *perestroika* on the Jews of the Soviet Union. Thus far, the effects have been more cosmetic than substantive despite the public relations hoopla about the emigration of a number of refuseniks.

Here at home, we have to come to grips with the implications of the 17 percent increase in acts of anti-Semitic vandalism reported by the League's annual audit, a reversal of a five-year downward trend. This challenge is intensified by the emergence of new hate groups such as the racist Skinheads whose shaven membership is made up of violence-prone bigots, some as young as 12 or 13.

To be continued, also, will be League programs to:

- Keep the Holocaust memory alive as its survivors inexorably pass from our midst;
- Purge the vile equation of Zionism with racism from the annals of the United Nations;
- Build upon decades of progress in interfaith understanding;
- Fight discrimination by defending the merit principle;
- Expand and intensify multicultural programs to immunize oncoming generations against the toxins of prejudice.

Thus, we may finish a year or complete a program, but we cannot end ADL's work. We are embarked on an unending mission to fulfill our nation's democratic heritage in a world of plowshares instead of swords that the prophets envisioned. So, by its very nature, this report is only part of the ADL story. The rest: "To be continued..."



From The National Director. . .



Abraham H. Foxman

If I were asked for one word to sum up the past year for the Anti-Defamation League, that word would be "challenge."

Indeed, throughout its 75-year history, challenge has been the fuel that stoked the fires of ADL, that motivated the agency—both staff and lay persons—to react to crises, to serve wherever needed, to create and implement imaginative programming, to make the agency's voice heard around the world on behalf of the twin causes of justice and freedom.

For me, the first challenge of this hectic year was at once very personal and very emotional. The deep sadness that pervaded the days following the death of my dear friend and mentor, Nathan Perlmutter, blended with feelings of humility and pride as the agency tapped me for the honor and the burden of the national directorship.

Swiftly came the challenges that are routine to this desk. There was the Pope's meeting with the infamous president of Austria, Kurt Waldheim. ADL joined other Jewish groups in letting the Pontiff know that his failure to address the issue of Waldheim's role in the Holocaust was unacceptable.

The plight of Soviet Jews—Gorbachev's declared new policies notwithstanding—continued to challenge the agency and ADL was in the forefront of the historic march on Washington that sent a crystalline message that Jews would not be lulled by the Soviet leader's promises and slick public relations.

The crisis in Israel underlined the necessity for the League's close ties with the Jewish state. An ADL-commissioned poll, taken as the unrest escalated, affirmed America's solid support for Israel and recognition of its military and strategic importance to the United States.

Prejudice has challenged ADL from the days of the League's founding in the aftermath of the Leo Frank trial. Our newest approach, born just three years ago in Boston, teams the agency's resources with the outreach of television and the power of the corporate structure. Called A World of Difference, its success can be measured by the growing list of cities implementing this innovative human relations program.

For me, ADL efforts to keep alive the memory of the Holocaust has always been personally significant. This year, the scope of our activities expanded as did my own following my appointment by the President to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and as cochairman of its annual Days of Remembrance observances.

Black Monday spelled what could have been an awesome challenge to ADL and the entire world of charitable organizations. Thanks to the dedication of League supporters, we have survived this crisis and face the coming decades with optimism and hope.

This report is but a sampling of the day in, day out world of ADL—a never ending struggle to achieve peace and security for Jews and for all people, everywhere. A challenge well met.



Director
Jeffrey P. Sinensky

Civil Rights Committee Chairman
Michael E. Schultz

Legal Affairs Committee Chairman
Meyer Eisenberg

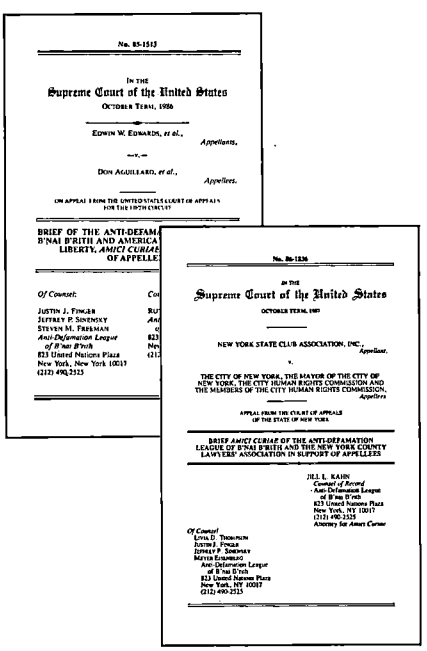
Co-Chairmen
Robert G. Sugarman
Ruth L. Lansner

Fact Finding Committee Chairman
Edward Weiss

Vice-Chairman
Steven Fadem

Civil Rights Area Directors' Liaison
Thomas Homburger

Nazi War Criminals Task Force Liaison
Dale M. Schwartz


No. 85-1513

In the
Supreme Court of the United States
OCTOBER TERM, 1986

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, et al.,
Appellants,
—v.—
DON AGUILLARD, et al.,
Appellees.

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF OF THE ANTI-DEFAM... B'NAI B'RITH AND AMERICA... LIBERTY, *AMICI CURIAE*... OF APPELL...

Of Counsel:
JUSTIN J. FINGER
JEFFREY P. SINENSKY
STEVEN M. FREEMAN
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017
(212) 490-2525

No. 86-1836

In the
Supreme Court of the United States
OCTOBER TERM, 1987

NEW YORK STATE CLUB ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Appellant,
v.
THE CITY OF NEW YORK, THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, THE CITY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THE MEMBERS OF THE CITY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,
Appellees

APPEAL FROM THE COURT OF APPEALS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

BRIEF *AMICI CURIAE* OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH AND THE NEW YORK COUNTY LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION IN SUPPORT OF APPELLEES

JILL L. KAIN
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The Civil Rights Division is ADL's front line in confronting threats to the security of the Jewish community and to the democratic process.

Legal Affairs Department

The year has been a significant one in the church-state area with some notable victories for the cause of separation in cases where ADL filed *amicus* briefs. *In American Jewish Congress v. City of Chicago*, a U.S. Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling that the display of a Nativity scene at Chicago's City Hall was unconstitutional. In December, a district court in Seattle ruled in *Garnett v. Renton School District* that the existence of a student prayer club at the high school was a violation of the state constitution. (The judge's opinion stated that the conclusion had been "persuaded" by ADL's "well organized and cogent" brief.) The case is now on appeal.

In another ADL *amicus* case, the U.S. Supreme Court's December decision in *Karcher v. May* dismissed the case for procedural reasons, thus leaving standing the Third Circuit decision that held New Jersey's moment of silence statute to be unconstitutional.

The holiday season brought a new batch of conflicts over the display of religious symbols on government property. In *ACLU v. Allegheny County*, ADL, as co-counsel with the American Civil Liberties Union, filed a reply brief in an appeal arguing that a Nativity scene at a county courthouse and a menorah at another government building were unconstitutional. Similar arguments were made by ADL against the erection of menorahs on city hall property in *amicus* briefs in *Chabad v. Tampa* and *Chabad v. Sarasota*. In another case brought by Chabad-Lubavitch, *Lieberman v. Florida Department of Transportation*, ADL argued against a Chabad request to put giant menorahs at Florida highway toll plazas.

In a wholly different arena, the Department has filed an *amicus* brief in *Palestine Information Office v. Shultz*, the P.I.O.'s suit challenging the State Department's closing of the organization's Washington office as a violation of its First Amendment rights. ADL's briefasserted that any infringement of rights is outweighed by the compelling interest of preventing international terrorism (i.e., the Palestine Liberation Organization) from gaining a foothold in the U.S.

Fact Finding Department

Concern during the past year has focused largely on the activities of violent right wing extremists and the federal crackdown against them. ADL provided assistance to federal prosecutors in the Nevada trial of leaders of the Identity group known as the Committee of the States; seven members including the group's leader, Colonel William Potter Gale, were convicted of threatening the lives of Internal Revenue Service agents and a judge. The federal civil rights trial in the Alan Berg murder case (ADL had urged federal prosecution after the Denver District Attorney refused to bring murder charges) resulted in convictions of two of the four defendants.

The League provided information to the press on the major trial of hate group leaders (ten charged with seditious conspiracy, four with conspiracy to murder) which began in February in Fort Smith, AR.

The department worked with the McGraw-Hill Book Company and author Tom Martinez in promoting *Brotherhood of Murder*, the inside story of The Order, written by the man who blew the

whistle on that group and served as the key witness against its leaders. (In the book Martinez pays tribute to ADL's central role "in battling bigotry in the U.S.")

The department's report, "Shaved for Battle—Skinheads Target America's Youth," received wide media attention. A report on a Chicago TV station helped to trigger the arrest and indictment of a local anti-Jewish activist in the November 10 (*Kristallnacht*) vandalism against Jewish property. In the spring, the department issued a follow-up survey of Skinhead activity.

The Washington, DC, Fact Finding director continued monitoring the activities and legal difficulties of the LaRouche network, provided vital information about the group to law enforcement agencies and the media, and prepared the report, "LaRouche On Trial: A 1987 Update," analyzing the federal case against Lyndon LaRouche and six of his aides on various charges involving obstruction of justice and credit card fraud.

Research Department

A major department undertaking has been the complete revision and updating of the ADL book, *Hate Groups in America—A Record of Bigotry and Violence*, originally published in 1982. The revision comprised sections on the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazi movement, the Identity "churches," extremist activity in prisons and violence-prone extremist groups such as Aryan Nations and The Order. One section lists recent convictions of hate group figures and another is on counteraction against extremism. Also updated was the handbook, *Extremism on the Right*, providing brief rundowns on the records of major hate activists and organizations.

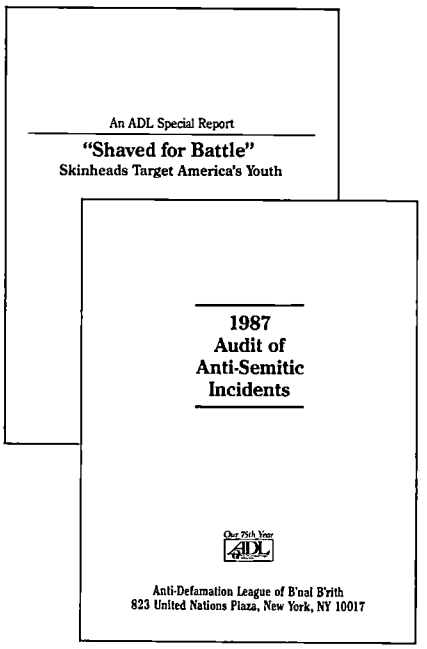
The department's *1987 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents* disclosed that anti-Semitic vandalism increased by 17 percent in 1987 (halting a downward trend of the past six years), largely the result of a dramatic rise of incidents in California. A number of incidents were associated with the activities of neo-Nazi Skinheads.

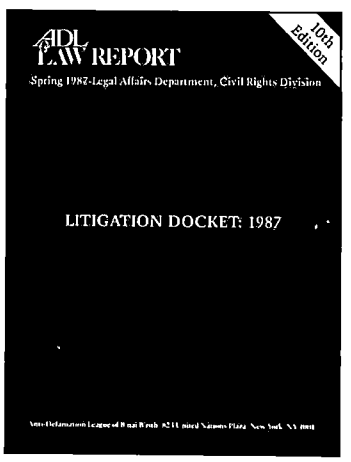
The department contributed to the production of the first issue of ADL's *Law Enforcement Bulletin*, a newsletter providing information on extremist activity to the law enforcement community.

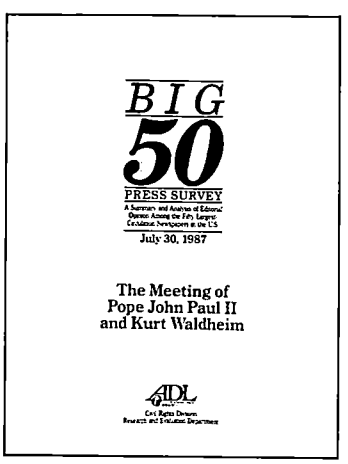
A study of worldwide anti-Semitic incidents was prepared for use in ADL meetings with Pope John Paul 11 and Vatican officials. Also produced were several issues of the Civil Rights Division's "Special Edition," which provides periodic updates on extremist activity and a number of ADL's "Big 50 Press Surveys," dealing with such subjects as the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit, the meeting of the Pope with Kurt Waldheim and the deportation of Karl Linnas to the Soviet Union.

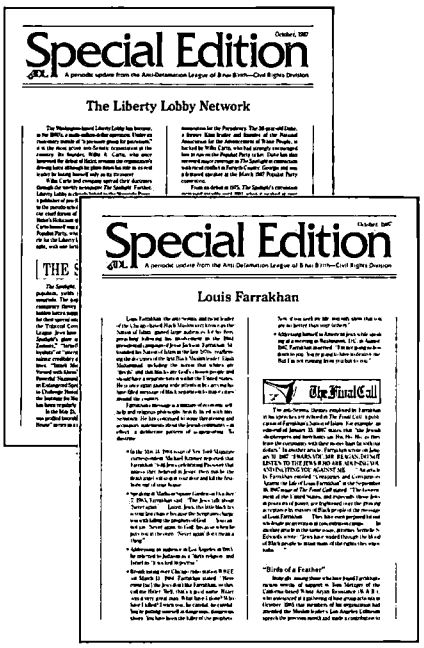
Washington Office

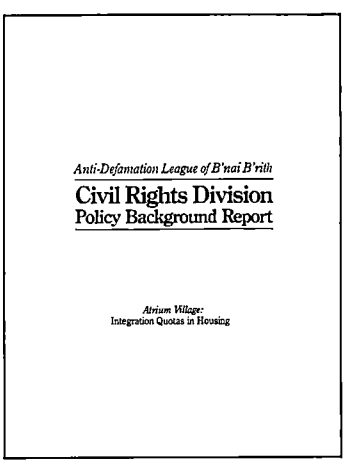
The Washington office worked actively to advance a number of legislative efforts important to the League: redress legislation to compensate Japanese Americans interned during World War II passed both Houses of Congress. The House approved a bill making it a crime to damage or deface religious property. The bills are pending before the Senate. Legislation was adopted permitting members of the armed forces to wear "neat and conservative" religious apparel, including yarmulkes. Congress voted overwhelmingly to override a Presidential veto of legislation overturning the 1985 Grove City Supreme Court decision which had narrowed the

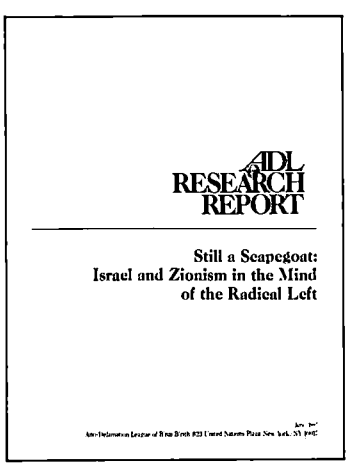












scope of existing civil rights laws barring discrimination in federally funded programs was passed by Congress.

Congress again approved $3 billion in military and economic assistance to Israel and allowed Israel to refinance its debt to the U.S. at a lower rate, resulting in substantial savings to Israel. The office has closely monitored Congressional sentiment on the impact of the disturbances in the Israeli administered territories and the peace process.

The office continued its anti-boycott activity, providing information to the Commerce Department and meeting with corporate representatives regarding boycott compliance. Two missions to Israel were arranged for 12 members of Congress. The office hosted Israeli leaders, arranging meetings for them with important opinion makers and political officials.

Nazi War Criminals Task Force

The Task Force is working with German prosecutors and other officials in continuing attempts to secure the extradition from Syria of Alois Brunner, Adolf Eichmann's assistant, and the most wanted of war criminals. ADL provided the *Chicago Sun-Times* with information leading to a wire service story that received international attention when Brunner was quoted (in a telephone interview with the reporter) as stating that Jews are "human garbage" and that he regretted nothing he had done during World War II.

The Task Force was instrumental in locating Nazi war criminal Josef Schwammberger, now in the process of extradition from Argentina to Stuttgart, West Germany. ADL has found witnesses against Schwammberger as well as others against Alois Brunner.

Through cooperation of the U.S. State Department, the Task Force examined the newly-opened United Nations War Crimes files and is conducting a thorough investigation of the information obtained.

Civil Rights Area Directors

The four area directors have promoted and expedited ADL's agenda across the country:

The Eastern director coordinated a conference on church-state separation, cosponsored by ADL, the Massachusetts Board of Education, the Boston University Law School and the State's Municipalities Association, and attended by school superintendents and principals, city attorneys and mayors.

The Midwest director coordinated the first ADL mission to Israel of law enforcement officials, a program combining high level briefing and valuable exchanges on security matters. On another front, law enforcement officials from three Southern states, meeting in a five-day seminar sponsored by a police academy, heard the Southern area director discuss extremist groups.

The surfacing of violent neo-Nazi Skinhead gangs has kept the directors busy fact-finding and providing pertinent information. In Chicago, the most active Skinhead area, the Midwest director's expertise was tapped by the media including the *Washington Post*, *Time* magazine and Cable News Network. The Western director discussed the Skinhead movement on the TV evening news and popular talk shows and has furnished extensive information to major newspapers.

Intergroup Relations Division

Director
Alan Bayer

Intergroup Relations Committee Chairman
Donald R. Mintz

Campus Affairs Committee Chairman
Herbert Berman

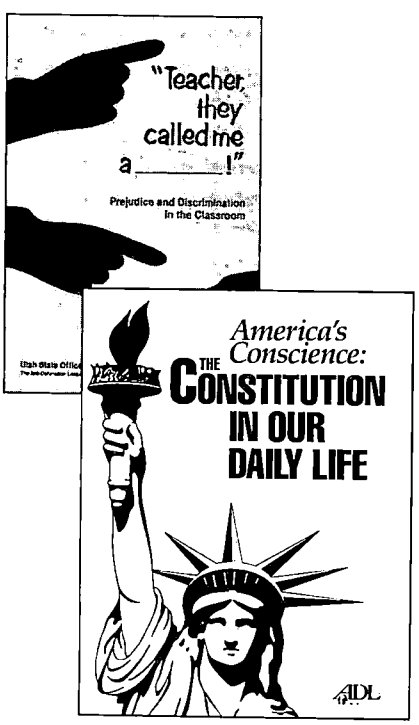
Education Committee Cochairmen
Alvin Rockoff
Sophia Bender

Holocaust Studies Committee Chairman
Nat Kameny

Interfaith Affairs Committee Chairman
Gordon Tucker

Publications Committee Chairman
Jonathan E. Newhouse

TV, Radio & Film Committee Chairman
Manning Rubin



The Intergroup Relations Division works toward achieving greater understanding of Jews, Judaism and Jewish concerns, intergroup harmony and cooperation, the reduction of entrenched prejudice and discrimination and strengthening democracy.

The Intergroup Relations Division's year was particularly productive as new programs were launched and ongoing projects strengthened. The Division continued to emphasize education as its key long-range focus, while creative approaches to working with communal, political, business and cultural institutions helped to build bridges of understanding, tolerance and respect for others.

Education Department

The department produced and distributed two mini-curricula about democracy—"America's Conscience: The Constitution In Our Daily Life" and "Government By The People, Government Upon The People: A Comparison of Democratic and Undemocratic Forms of Government/The U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

A new ADL magazine, *Education and Society*, debuted this spring with an issue on information and teaching strategies on prejudice and discrimination, pluralism and multi-culturalism. Articles were featured by William J. Bennett, U.S. Secretary of Education, and Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

A special ADL Midwest Educational Conference in Chicago on education for a pluralistic America in the next century drew more than 200 educators. Eight State Departments of Education were cosponsors. Nathan Glazer, Harvard University Professor of Sociology, was keynote speaker. Twenty workshops demonstrated ADL's expertise in prejudice reduction and multicultural education.

During the "Dreyfus Affair" exhibit at the Jewish Museum of New York, an ADL curriculum explaining the anti-Semitism of the turn-of-the-century trials of Alfred Dreyfus in France was disseminated to New York City high schools and used in teacher workshops.

During another Jewish Museum exhibit, "The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present," an ADL newspaper format curriculum amplified teacher workshops.

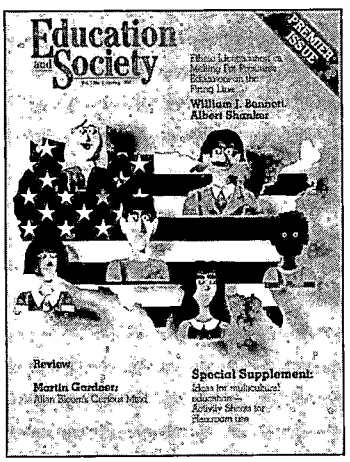
The department cosponsored with the Office of Student Affairs of the New York City Board of Education, a conference on multicultural education and prejudice reduction. ADL films were showcased and League materials distributed.

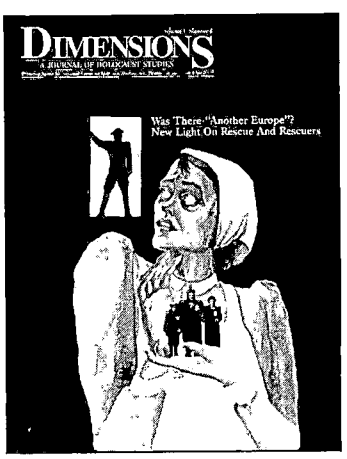
The department served as consultant on multicultural education and prejudice reduction to the U.S. Department of Education, Civil Rights Division, the U.S. Department of Defense, colleges and universities, state and local boards of education and the judiciary.

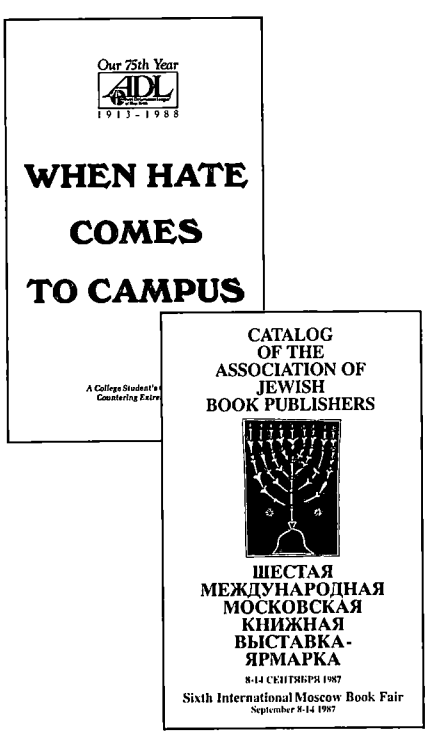
A teacher training program developed in cooperation with the Connecticut regional office offered a series of workshops/seminars on teaching secondary students about prejudice, bigotry and the Holocaust.

Workshops/seminars on prejudice reduction and American democracy were presented for the National Council for the Social Studies, American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, National Associations of Elementary and Secondary School Principals.

A teachers guide, produced jointly by ADL and NBC, prepared for classroom discussions of the NBC-TV mini-series, "The Murder of Mary Phagan," was disseminated







by NBC to high schools throughout the country and included a description of ADL's purpose and programs.

A pamphlet was developed by the department with the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, the Americans United Research Foundation and the National Council on Religion and Public Education to teach about religion in educationally sound yet constitutionally permissible ways.

Interfaith Affairs Department

The director was one of nine worldwide Jewish leaders who met with Pope John Paul II last August in the aftermath of the Jewish community's concern about the Pope's statements after his meeting with Kurt Waldheim and the meeting itself. When, as a result of that conference, ADL agreed to attend the meeting between the Pope and prominent American Jews in Miami in September, the director was a member of ADL's Miami delegation.

The Samuel H. Born Memorial Institute of Jewish-Christian Relations was established to enhance ADL's Christian-Jewish relations programming activities in Latin America. The Institute, in cooperation with the Latin American Bishops Conference and the Latin American Council of Churches, was set up to organize interfaith programs and publish books, journals and other materials on the subject.

ADL and the Polish Bishops Conference held a colloquium in Krakow, Poland, which explored the implementation of Vatican II pronouncements on Jews and Judaism among Polish Catholics as well as the meaning of the Shoah for both faiths. The meeting drew scholars from Israel, England and the U.S.

A new weekly Spanish-language syndicated radio program originating on WJIT in New York hosted by the director spotlighted issues of interest to both the Hispanic and Jewish communities.

ADL, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Graymoor Ecumenical Center jointly prepared a booklet on Catholic-Jewish dialogue in the aftermath of the Pope-Waldheim meeting.

Other important publications included:

- *Face to Face*'s Spring 1988 issue which focused on "Salvation and Redemption in Judaism and Christianity."
- A Manual of Episcopal-Jewish Relations directed to pastors, educators and lay leadership, published in cooperation with the Episcopal Church.
- The director was consultant for guidelines on the presentation of Jews and Judaism for use during Holy Week in Catholic preaching, a publication of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.
- *John Paul II on Jews and Judaism*, a collection of the Pope's statements with a foreword by the department director, published prior to the Pope's visit to Miami and widely distributed there. It has since been translated into Spanish and published in Buenos Aires.

International Center For Holocaust Studies

A new book, *Days of Remembrance*, was produced jointly by the Center and the U.S. Defense Department, to assist members of the armed forces in organizing Holocaust education programs and ceremonies. The 96-page book is being distributed to American military commanders and project officers at military installations and aboard ships around the world.

A new affiliate of the Center, the Foundation to Sustain Righteous Christians has been estab-

lished to recognize non-Jewish rescuers of Nazi victims and to support the needy among them.

Judging is underway for the fifth Bienniel Janusz Korczak Literary Competition, which honors outstanding books for and about children. The contest commemorates the Jewish Polish educator/humanist who headed an orphanage in Poland and accompanied his young charges to their deaths by the Nazis in 1942.

The Center conferred its second Courage to Care Award posthumously on Aristides de Sousa Mendes, a Portuguese consul in southern France in the early 1940s who illegally issued visas to refugees fleeing the Nazis. The third award was presented to Jan Karski during the Center's annual Yom HaShoah ceremony at ADL headquarters. Mr. Karski, a Pole, brought news of the concentration camps to the Polish government-in-exile in London and to American authorities.

A series of Holocaust forums featured Peter Sichrovsky, author of *Born Guilty: Children in Nazi Families*; Hans A. Jacobsen, a West German professor who discussed "The Germans and Their Recent History: The Battle of the Historians"; Tina Strobes and author Leon Wells, who explored the rescuer-rescued relationship, and Rabbi Harold M. Schulweis, founder-chairman of the Foundation to Sustain Righteous Christians, who spoke on the significance of studying about the rescuers.

The Center's magazine, *Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies*, reaches more than 10,000 readers. This year's themes were "Are Memorials Reflecting History?", "Was There 'Another Europe': New Light on Rescued and Rescuers." An expanded edition of the Center's Catalog of Publications and Audio-Visual materials on the Holocaust included 46 new books cited for Merit of Distinction by the Center.

Campus Affairs/Higher Education Department

The department distributed its Guidelines on Campus Extremist Speakers to students, faculty and administrations across the country. The department helped to combat on-campus denigration of Jewish women known as "JAP (Jewish American Princess) baiting." A conference organized in part by ADL's New England regional office at Wellesley College, MA, for New England college administrators outlined strategies against prejudice and discrimination. The director made a presentation on campus anti-Semitism at the annual conference of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators in St. Louis.

The department mobilized support from American and Canadian student and faculty groups and trade unions in a successful effort to defeat an anti-Israel resolution under consideration by Britain's National Union of Students; hosted a leadership development delegation from the Australasian Union of Jewish Students; provided materials to Latin American Jewish students, and cosponsored with the World Union of Jewish Students an exhibition on anti-Semitism during the World Zionist Organization Congress.

Another in the highly regarded ADL Shanik-Fleischer Forum Series at the University of Michigan, a conference on "The Quest for Utopia: Jews in the Political World," featured as speakers New York's Mayor Edward I. Koch, political consultant David Garth and Kansas Congressman Dan Glickman.

The department, the Connecticut regional office and the University of Hartford cosponsored an international colloquium on "Comparative Constitutions" which attracted scholars and government officials from the U.S., Austria, Barbados, Great Britain, Israel, West Germany and the United Nations Secretariat.

A program entitled "Campus Media and Minorities," cosponsored by ADL and the City University of New York, was televised and made available for national distribution.

An academic symposium, "The Coming of Age of American Jewry" was cosponsored by ADL, B'nai Zion, Queens College, NY, and the City University of New York Center for Jewish Studies. Another ADL-Queens College event, the annual Herbert and Daisy Berman lecture on "Orthodoxy Faces Modernity," featured Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, chancellor of Bar-Ilan University in Israel.

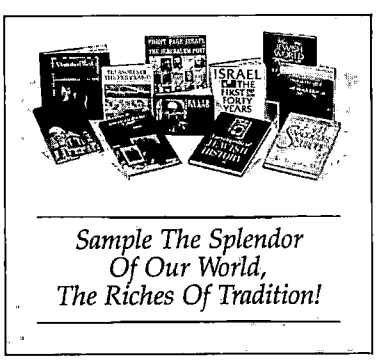
The department cosponsored the annual Interreligious Campus Ministry Seminars in Israel for Christian campus clergy; hosted a mission to Israel for editors of college and university newspapers, and participated in a trip to the Jewish state for graduate students in the U.S from the People's Republic of China. The department continued to be the primary sponsor of *The National Jewish Law Review*.

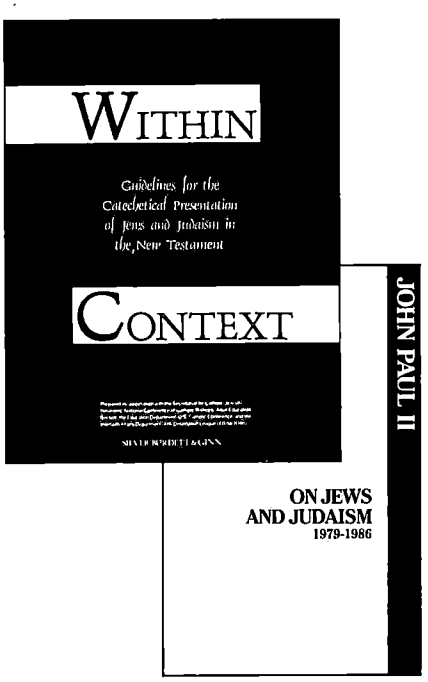
Television, Radio And Film Department

ADL's 75th anniversary was the focus of much of the department's activities. A 20-minute documentary on ADL's history and its impact on the nation included interviews with church leaders, elected officials and individuals associated with ADL over the years. Designed for use beyond the anniversary year, the produc-









tion was made available on film and video cassette.

Among new films produced were "A Gift of Sight," a documentary about an Israeli opthalmologist who is helping to cure blindness in Liberia, and "The Sabbath," for use by parochial schools and other Christian groups.

The ADL Shanik-Fleischer Forum lectures at the University of Michigan generated a series of video cassettes exploring Jewish contributions to Western civilization which are available to high schools, colleges and community groups.

A videotape of highlights from the 1987 National Commission meeting has been used by regional offices to orient new lay leadership. The 12-part "American Story" filmstrip series has been transferred to videotape for wider availability.

Numerous new titles have been added to the audio-visual library, one of the world's largest collections devoted to human relations. Some of the new titles are winners of ADL Dore Schary Awards, named for ADL's late national chairman and given annually to college and university students for outstanding film and video productions on human relations themes.

Publications Department

The 1987-88 *Memo and Datebook*—"Frozen in Time"—focused on the League's founding year—1913—and its diverse personalities and news events, including the Leo Frank case, as well as fads and fashions of that time.

ADL's four-color poster—"Israel's First 40 Years"—a tribute to the Jewish State's 40th anniversary, featured photos of events and people important in Israel's history.

"The Living Constitution," 16 posters, depicted historical events in American history to mark the Bicentennial of the Constitution.

Approximately 100 new titles were added to ADL's new *Human Relations Catalog*. Among them were:

- "Teacher They Called Me A_____!" containing 69 classroom teaching activities dealing with prejudice and discrimination.
- *Concerning The Jews*, an ADL special edition of Mark Twain's remarkable insights into the Jewish people.
- A special ADL paperback edition of *The Silent And The Damned*, a dramatic account of the Leo Frank case.

ADL's three traveling exhibits —*Jewish Life In America*, *Ethnic Images In Advertising* and *Ethnic Images In The Comics* (the latter two cosponsored by the Balch Institute of Philadelphia)—continued to tour the U.S.

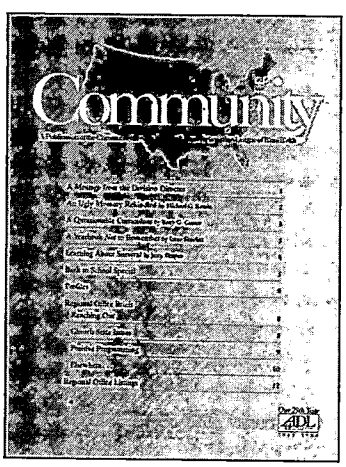
Special Projects

An ADL-produced catalog on books of Jewish interest was distributed by the Association of Jewish Book Publishers at the Sixth International Moscow Book Fair. More than 18,000 were distributed with color posters including a four-year Jewish calendar and description of the holidays.

The director helped to plan and participated in two conferences which focused on the plight of Jews displaced from Arab countries. The gathering of the Association of Jews from Libya brought hundreds of Libyan Jews to New York from Italy, Israel, Europe and the United States. The Third International Conference of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries in Washington, DC, also explored the problems of Jews remaining in those countries.

Community Service Division

Director
Charney V. Bromberg
Field Services Director
Sol Kolack
Community Service Committee Chairman
David Strassler
Vice Chairmen
Lawrence Atler
Daniel Ginsberg
Stewart Lockman
Sherwin Newar



The Community Service Division supervises and coordinates the League's coast-to-coast network of 31 regional offices and serves as a two-way conduit conveying grass roots concerns and opinions to ADL headquarters and national issues to the local communities.

The Community Service Division encompasses all areas of ADL's work and continues to serve as the agency's front line in communities from coast to coast.

During this past year, two issues of international sigificance required instant response from regional offices. The December 6 rally for oppressed Soviet Jews the day prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington found countless regional directors and chairpersons leading delegations to the nation's capital as well as generating statements and proclamations from governors and state legislatures to champion the cause. Despite severe time-constraints, 36 governors issued proclamations, several joined the delegations and others made presentations on airport tarmacs as groups left for the March. These events underscored the quick reaction and mobilization ability of regional offices as well as their close working relationships with the highest elected officials in their states.

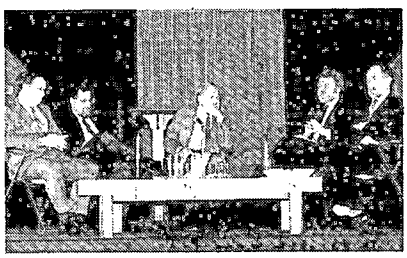
Regional offices reacted to local nightly news broadcasts and print media distortions of Israel's difficult role in attempting to quell disturbances in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by providing the information to present a balanced perspective. Across the country, letters to editors and Op-Ed pieces by regional directors and lay leaders corrected inaccurate and inadequate stories, editorials and cartoons. Regional staffs provided background papers and arranged for Israeli spokesmen to meet with editorial staffs of key local media outlets and community opinion molders.

Recognizing an escalation of bias-related violence in this country, the Division created a special subcommittee to review the problems and recommend specific activities and programs to reduce tensions and polarization and plan for long-range change.

An integral part of that long-range imperative has been the spread of ADL's unique and extraordinarily effective "A World of Difference" program to more and more cities. ADL's outreach, through this program, numbers millions of television viewers, hundreds of thousands of students and teachers. The impact on the educational system and the total community is unprecedented. "A World of Difference" is making a difference in how Americans view, understand and respect the differences among their neighbors and is adding a new level of visibility, authority and moral leadership to ADL's name.

Regional offices continued helping victims of discrimination to redress grievances, responded to increased anti-Semitic incidents and vandalism, reached out to ethnic and racial groups to establish new coalitions and dialogue opportunities, disseminated the League's prejudice-reduction materials to educators and administrators, worked with church leaders and teachers of a variety of religious bodies, conducted fact-finding and monitoring of extremist groups, kept close contact with elected officials, provided local media with ADL views on issues of Jewish concern and arranged special missions to Israel for a variety of opinion molders.

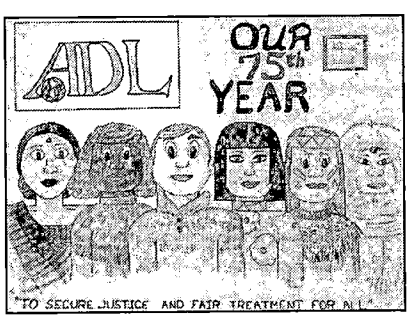
The Community Service Division worked closely with the Development Division in raising funds to finance ADL programs and projects and with the Leadership Division to attract new generations of potential leadership.



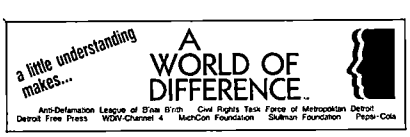
At a Los Angeles forum examining the media's role in America's public opinion of Israel, l. to r., Norman Kempster, Los Angeles Times; Ze'ev Chafets, author; Edwin C. Newman, NBC anchorman and moderator; Wolf Blitzer, Jerusalem Post, and Lawrence K. Grossman, NBC News president



Alabama's Governor Guy Hunt signs a proclamation supporting freedom for Soviet Jews



An entry in Atlanta's ADL 75th Anniversary poster contest



Bumper sticker used in Detroit

Arizona
The First Interstate Tower
3550 North Central Avenue, Suite 914
Phoenix, AZ 85012

Central Pacific
121 Steuart Street, Suite 401
San Francisco, CA 94105

Connecticut
419 Whalley Avenue
New Haven, CT 06511

DC/Maryland
1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036

Eastern Pennsylvania/ Delaware
230 South Broad Street, 20th Floor
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Florida
150 SE 2nd Avenue, Suite 800
Miami, FL 33131

Florida West Coast
5002 Lemon Street, Suite 2300
Tampa, FL 33609

Greater Chicago/Wisconsin
309 West Washington, Suite 750
Chicago, IL 60606

Jewish Community Relations Council-ADL of Minnesota/ The Dakotas
15 South 9th Street Building
Minneapolis, MN 55402

Long Island
98 Cutter Mill Road
Great Neck, NY 11021

Michigan
4000 Town Center, Suite 420
Southfield, MI 48075

Missouri/Southern Illinois
10922 Schuetz Road
St. Louis, MO 63146

Mountain States
300 South Dahlia Street, Suite 202
Denver, CO 80222

New England
1 Lincoln Plaza, Suite 301
Boston, MA 02111

New Jersey
513 West Mount Pleasant Avenue
Livingston, NJ 07039

New York City
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

New York State
Loudon Plaza, Suite 307
350 Northern Boulevard
Albany, NY 12204

North Carolina/Virginia
6330 Newtown Road, Suite 326
Norfolk, VA 23502

Northern Ohio
505 Terminal Tower
Cleveland, OH 44113

Northwest Texas/Oklahoma
12800 Hillcrest Road, Suite 219
Dallas, TX 75230

Ohio/Kentucky/Indiana
1175 College Avenue
Columbus, OH 43209

Orange County
2700 North Maine Street, Suite 500
Santa Ana, CA 92701

Pacific Northwest
1809 7th Avenue, Suite 1609
Seattle, WA 98101

Pacific Southwest
6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 814
Los Angeles, CA 90048

Palm Beach County
The Commerce Center
324 Datura Street, Suite 223
West Palm Beach, FL 33401

Plains States
333 South 132nd Street
Omaha, NE 68154

San Diego
7851 Mission Center Court, Suite 320
San Diego, CA 92108

South Central
535 Gravier Street, Suite 501
New Orleans, LA 70130

Southeast
3384 Peachtree Road NE, Suite 660
Atlanta, GA 30326

Southwest
4211 Southwest Freeway, Suite 101
Houston, TX 77027

Western Pennsylvania/ West Virginia
1101 Porter Building
601 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15219

International Affairs Division

Associate Director
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International Affairs Committee Chairman
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Vice Chairmen
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Meyer Eisenberg
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Lucille Kantor
Donald R. Mintz

European Affairs Committee Chairman
Barry March

Latin American Affairs Committee Chairman
I. Barry Mehler

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Sydney Jarkow

Middle Eastern Affairs Committee Chairman
Irving Shapiro

Cochairman
Robert G. Sugarman





ADL Congressional missions to Israel — with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, above, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, below

ADL's ambassador to foreign lands, the International Affairs Division monitors and analyzes events and trends affecting Jews abroad, and represents the overseas concerns of American Jews.

Middle Eastern Affairs Department

The disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza beginning in December became the focal point of the department's activities. As it did during the war in Lebanon, the department stepped up its informational programs, developed new approaches and coordinated with the rest of the agency to put the events into perspective.

The missions program brought two Congressional groups to Israel for a firsthand look at the situation. A public opinion poll conducted for ADL of American attitudes in the wake of the disturbances indicated that overall support for Israel had not eroded. Department reports on the history of Gaza, on the impact of media coverage and on the question of American Jewish responsibility toward Israel appeared in newspapers across the country as Op-Ed articles and letters to the editor.

As part of its ongoing Eugene Warner Middle East Lecture Series, the department brought the Judge Advocate General of the Israel Defense Forces to the U.S. where he spoke to legal, political and media representatives on the legal issues surrounding Israel's response to the rioting. Leading Israeli politicians such as Dan Meridor, Ehud Olmert and Mordechai Gur addressed ADL as well as other Jewish community leaders.

The department continued to oversee ADL's Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Foundation programs to educate the public on terrorism. Included were a news conference in Washington, DC; a book presenting data and analysis on worldwide terrorist activities; an award to the British government for exposing and resisting Syrian support for terrorism, and a conference in Washington on Islamic fundamentalism.

Efforts continued to combat Japan's support of the Arab boycott of Israel. For the first time there were signs of Japanese responsiveness: trade missions were exchanged with Israel, Japan increased its trade with the Jewish state and Mitsubishi decided to open a distributorship there.

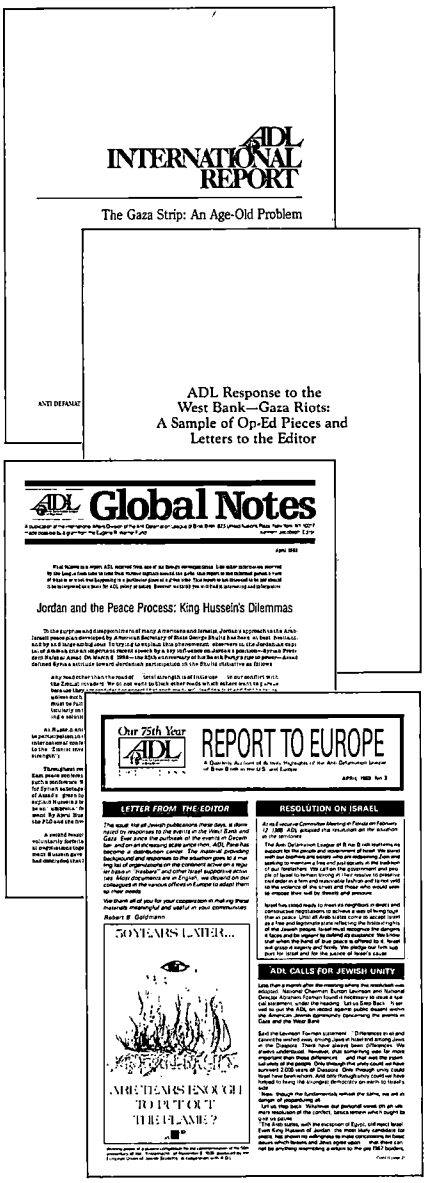
The department's Global Notes series dealt with a range of subjects relating to the Middle East; a volume on Israel's relations with the developing world was completed and a new edition of the *ADL Handbook on Israel* was produced in cooperation with the Israel office.

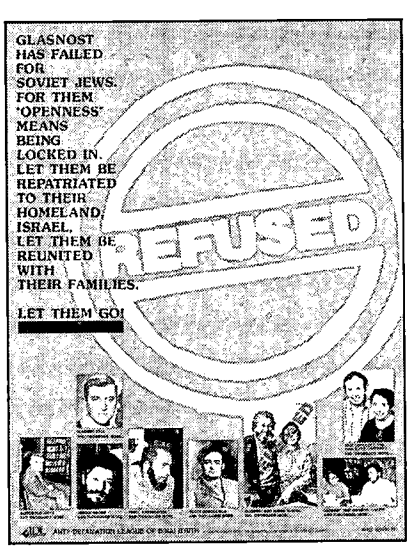
Israel Office

Israeli governmental, military and political leadership, the press and academic institutions increasingly called on ADL for information concerning American Jewry and U.S. policy toward Israel. ADL efforts to help redress the onslaught of criticism against Israel during the disturbances in Gaza and the West Bank were warmly welcomed by the Israeli public.

The missions to Israel program included a group of U.S. police chiefs, who focused on Israel's antiterror actions; the fourth group of retired U.S. military officers; women's and Black leadership delegations; 22 university newspaper editors and three Congressional study missions, bringing the number of U.S. Congressmen visiting Israel under ADL auspices to more than 100.

ADL cosponsored with the Israel Forum the first International Jewish Parliamentarian Conference, held at the Knesset in Jan-





uary. The group, consisting of some 35 Jewish parliamentarians (including seven U.S. Congressmen), deliberated on the problems of Jewish communities in distress (e.g., the U.S.S.R., Ethiopia), the Middle East peace process and the move to establish a constitution in Israel.

The office has given unprecedented attention to increasing understanding between American Jewry and Israel during the last year. A part of this effort was bringing a delegation of Israeli journalists to the U.S. where they spent two weeks learning about the American Jewish community and its multi-issue agenda. The group visited ADL regional offices as well as national headquarters in New York and the Washington, DC, office.

ADL's Israel interreligious affairs director stepped up efforts to allay religious-secular disputes and extremist influences. With the cooperation of the U.S. Embassy and the Ministry of Education, the ADL "World of Difference Program" is being adapted in part for Israeli audiences.

In addition to the already mentioned *New ADL Handbook on Israel* and "Global Notes" reports, publications and research projects produced in Israel or in cooperation with the Middle Eastern Affairs Department included *The Jerusalem Handbook*, reports on India and UNESCO's attempts to ostracize Israel, and updates on Japan and South Korea's economic boycotts of Israel. A Boycott Information Center has been established to work in concert with the agency's anti-boycott efforts in the U.S.

European Affairs Department

Advocacy on behalf of Soviet Jewry continued to dominate the department's agenda, climaxed by participation in the December 1987 March on Washington which drew more than 250,000 people. To promote the march, the International Affairs Division in cooperation with the Community Service Division, generated proclamations by 36 state governors on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

ADL published a poster focusing on the new Soviet policy of "openness" as it pertains to Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate. Thousands were disseminated throughout the country and were prominently displayed during the march on Washington.

Campaigns on behalf of Soviet Jewish refuseniks included letter-writing, telephone and telegraphic support. Regional offices were urged to involve local women's groups to encourage organizational efforts in Russia known as Soviet Jewish Women Against Refusal.

The department assisted the Dutch Center for Information and Documentation on Israel to conduct and publish a survey of anti-Semitic incidents in the Netherlands; disseminated numerous reports from ADL's European operations, including one about the right wing extremist French movement *Front Nationale* and its leader, Jean-Marie LePen; helped to organize the Third International Conference of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries in Washington, DC, and monitored and publicized the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union fomented by the Pamyat organization.

Paris Office

The Paris office helped to coordinate the efforts of several West European Jewish organizations on behalf of a resolution in the European Parliament terming the United Nations' "Zionism is racism" declaration as "unacceptable." It was adopted 190-1, with 3 abstentions.

ADL-Paris monitored and reported on the trial of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie in Lyon. It also focused on the endeavors of

pro-Nazi pseudo-historians to revise history and wipe the death camps from its pages. When France's right wing presidential candidate Jean-Marie LePen said that the gas chambers were merely "a detail" of World War II, ADL-Paris responded in an Op-Ed article in *The International Herald Tribune.*

ADL became a partner of CRIF, France's Jewish umbrella organization, in issuing a biweekly review of U.S., West European and Israeli media, the only regular source of up-to-date political information affecting Jewry and Israel in the Francophone world. In addition, the office began a quarterly newsletter in both French and English, going to a mailing list of close to 1,000 in Western Europe.

In Spain, contacts were initiated with governmental and intellectual institutions preparing for the observance of the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews in 1992.

Rome Office

The Rome office served as an important line of direct communication with the Vatican. For example, the sale of anti-Semitic materials in the bookstore of the Shrine Church of the Virgin Mary of Czestochowa, Poland, ceased after the Papal office was informed of the matter by ADL. The Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews halted the publication and distribution of a vicious anti-Semitic publication "Chiesia Viva" by a church in Brescia, Italy, following similar ADL action.

The office helped to organize a major colloquium on Polish-Jewish relations in Krakow in April, an event that had the active support of Pope John Paul II as well as Cardinal Francizek Macharski of Krakow.

The office worked with the Austrian Ministry of Education on ways to increase effective teaching about the Holocaust in secondary schools.

ADL's study of anti-Semitism in West Germany indicated a great desire by that country's citizens to "lay the past to rest," to turn away, not wanting to know more. Plans are underway to involve the government in an educational effort to effect changes in all sectors of the population.

Latin American Affairs Department

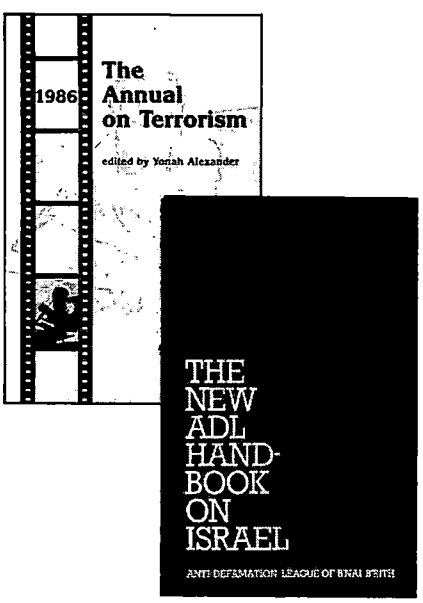
The year-old ADL Jarkow Institute for Latin America enabled the department to establish a computerized data base at ADL national headquarters in New York which lists anti-Semites, extremist groups and publications in Latin America. This will form the core of a computer network linking Jewish human rights offices in various Latin American capitals in order to coordinate efforts on behalf of the Jewish communities.

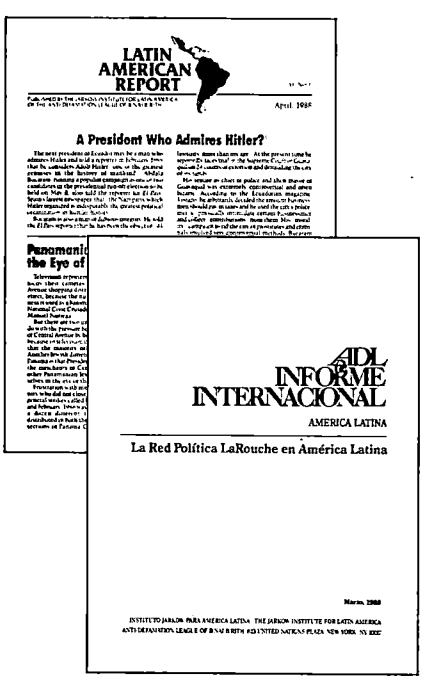
The Institute published in both English and Spanish a report on *The LaRouche Network in Latin America*. Spanish-language editions of various ADL publications, books and news releases were published and distributed. The quarterly *Latin American Report*, in a new printed format, was offered by subscription to university libraries in response to increasing requests.

Also under the aegis of the Institute, seven human rights professionals from four Latin American countries completed a week-long intensive training program in New York and Washington.

Dr. Cesar Angeloz, designated as Argentina President Raul Alfonsin's choice as the party's presidential candidate next year, met with leaders of national Jewish organizations at ADL's headquarters in New York. A delegation of Justicialist politicians, led by Governor Nestor Perl, was similarly feted.

ADL provided information on Nazi war criminal Josef Schwammberger to D.A.I.A., the representative body of Argentine Jewry, and sent President Alfonsin the names of three other Nazis believed to be in Argentina, urging their arrest. The department continued efforts to bring to justice Nazis who found haven in Costa Rica, Paraguay and Venezuela.





Development Division

Director
Sheldon Fliegelman

Development Chairman
Jerome B. Homer

Society of Fellows Chairman
Robert R. Nathan

New York Appeal General Chairman
Edgar M. Bronfman

Treasurer
Theodore H. Silbert

Trade and Industries Chairman
Frederick Gash

Community Development Chairman
Paul Grossinger

Chicago Appeal General Chairman
Charles F. Kriser

Women's Division National Chairman
Simmy Levey

Associate National Chairman
Carrie Bock

Development National Chairman
Mildred Levine

General Chairman
Eleanor Fields

Advisory Board Chairman
Phyllis Ruddy



The Development Division mobilizes financial support for the League by conducting the annual ADL Appeal.

ADL's supporters in this Diamond Jubilee year included many of America's most highly esteemed leaders in the public and private sectors across the country who gave new meaning to the word caring.

Gala events generated by enthusiastic participation plus innovative use of such time-tested techniques as direct mail and souvenir journals strengthened the Division's traditional base, opening up new avenues of financial support.



Among the most noteworthy events:

- The America's Democratic Legacy Award Dinner, a particularly festive event in New York, paid tribute to Lee A. Iacocca, chairman of the board of directors and chief executive officer of Chrysler Corporation. Donald J. Trump was the dinner chairman.

  Among those honoring Mr. Iacocca were James L. Hoge, publisher of the *New York Daily News*; Albert Vitale, chairman of the board, Bantam Books; George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees; Edward L. Hennessey, chairman and chief executive officer, Allied Signal Corporation; John F. McGillicuddy, chairman of the board, Manufacturers Hanover Bank, and the Rev. William J. Byron, president, Catholic University of America.
- The International Humanitarian Awards Dinner honored Henry-Louis Vuitton, president, the Louis Vuitton Supervisory Council; Henry Racamier, president of the Strategic Committee and executive vice president of the board, LVMH Moet Hennessy-Louis Vuitton; and Otto Von Habsburg, noted historian and last of the royal Habsburg line. Jonathan E. Newhouse, publisher of *Details*, was chairman of the event.
- The dinner-dance for James Wood, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P Supermarkets), with 2,600 tickets sold, was the most successful event that ADL has held in New York. Governor Mario M. Cuomo hailed Mr. Wood, winner of the agency's David Karin Human Relations Award, as "a wholehearted, compassionate man contributing much to our country and our culture."

• An overflow crowd established a new fund raising record at the Inaugural Dinner in Palm Beach. Edgar M. Bronfman, chairman and chief executive officer of the Seagram Company Ltd. and Joseph E. Seagram and Son, and chairman of ADL's New York Appeal, received the League's Distinguished Leadership Award. Mr. Bronfman shared the Inaugural spotlight with Babbette and William Wolff, dedicated ADL volunteers, who were the recipients of the agency's Haym Salomon Award.
• The Chicago tribute to veteran ADL leader Bernard Nath which launched the Diamond Jubilee celebration year. The dinner was a highlight of the National Executive Committee meeting in October.
• The American Heritage Award Dinner feted John A. Bogardus, Jr., chairman of the board, Alexander and Alexander.

The vitality of ADL's substantive interfaith programs was demonstrated time after time at Appeal events planned and executed by the agency's network of regional offices. Celebrating religious harmony in Los Angeles was a dinner tribute to Sister Marie Madeline, president and chief executive officer, St. John's Hospital and Health Center. The co-chairmen were William A. Wilson, former Ambassador to the Vatican, and Robert Campion, chairman and chief executive officer, Lear Siegler.

Although the Division experienced aftershocks of the Wall Street crash, it continued to forge ahead to cement the agency's sound financial structure and assure the perpetuity of ADL's programs and activities in behalf of the Jewish community.



Edgar A. Bronfman



New York Governor Mario Cuomo



Lee A. Iacocca



Our 75th Year

ADL

FELLOWSHIP

The Publication of the Society of Fellows of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith — *Fall, 1987*

75 Years of ADL Leadership

by Burton S. Levinson

New National Director Appointed . . . . . as We Begin Our Next 75 Years.

At ADL Events



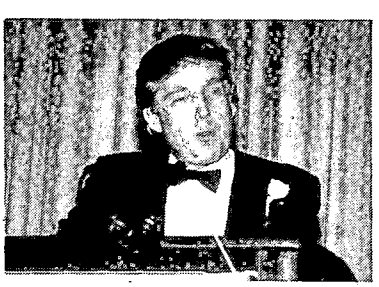
George P. Shultz
U.S. Secretary of State



Linda Lavin
Tony Award winning actress



The late Chicago Mayor
Harold T. Washington



Donald Trump

Director
Lynne Ianniello

Communications Committee Chairman
Allan B. Margolis

The Communications Division is the voice of the Anti-Defamation League, projecting the agency's policies, programs and concerns to the League's own constituency, to the Jewish community and the general public at large, to civic and government leaders, and to opinion molders in the media and all segments of society.

ADL's 75th anniversary year continues to find the agency in the forefront of Jewish community spokesmen. In addition to responsibility for delivering the League's message to the Jewish and general public through the media and ADL publications, the Division, via its Art Department, serviced the printing needs of the entire agency from stationery to the anniversary logo, magazines and books.

Opinions of ADL leaders and agency background materials were sought by and appeared in the media both here and abroad during the year in such stories as the unrest in the West Bank and Gaza; the Pope John Paul II-Kurt Waldheim meeting and, in its aftermath, the meetings with the Pope in Rome and then in Miami to seek better understanding between the Vatican and the Jewish community; activities of hate groups in America; the increase in anti-Semitic vandalism after a five-year downward trend, and the records of accused Nazi war criminals living in this country and in Latin America.

The saddest time for ADL—the death of Nathan Perlmutter, the first ADL national director to die in office—was headlined in newspaper articles and on radio and television broadcasts in every state across the nation and in countries around the world as the media recorded the accomplishments of this remarkable leader and man. The following week, headlines again focused on the agency with the appointment as national director of Abraham H. Foxman, who had worked so closely with Mr. Perlmutter.

Thousands of clippings from newspapers and magazines across the U.S. gave testimony to the attention given to ADL news releases, letters to editors, Op-Ed articles and statements on the agency's broad gamut of domestic and international concerns. In addition to the Division's efforts to initiate stories, the media—in recognition of ADL's reliability and its expertise on a myriad of subjects—sought us out. Television reporters did on-site interviews with agency leaders and ADL experts were guests on local and



Report: 'Skinheads' spark race problems

By Fred Anklam Jr.
USA TODAY

A new form of violence is threatening USA cities, the Anti-Defamation League reported Thursday.

Shaven-headed youths in loosely knit groups are roaming city streets causing racial problems, the ADL said in its report, "Shaved for Battle."

The gangs, with total membership in the hundreds, have become increasingly violent.

Police in cities named in the report acknowledge isolated problems with "skinheads" but downplay organized threats.

The ADL's Justin Finger dis-

out from under rocks and into the sunlight . . . is one of the best methods of eliminating that type of activity," he said.

The ADL is worried the growing involvement in skinhead gangs — such as Romantic Violence in Chicago and the White American Skin Heads in Cincinnati — provides recruitment pools for the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party.

Orlando, Fla., police Sgt. Mike Holloway said skinheads caused some problems last year — including a minor run-in with a black gang.

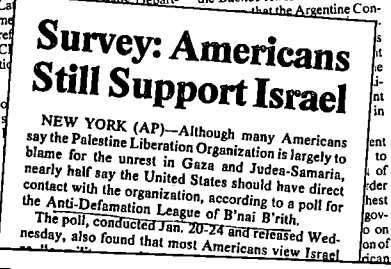
But when the "real hard-core, criminal element types"



Report details growth of Latin neo-Nazi network

NEW YORK– Neo-Nazi penetration of Latin America is increasing, according to the current issue of *Latin American Report*, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In making the report public, Morton M. Rosenthal, director of ADL's La[illegible] Depart-

Among positive developments cited in the report was the election– for the first time in Argentine history– of a Jew as a provincial governor. Nestor Perl, Justicialista (Peronist) Party candidate, won the governorship of Chubut province. An editorial in the *Buenos Aires Herald* noted, that the Argentine Con-



Survey: Americans Still Support Israel

NEW YORK (AP)—Although many Americans say the Palestine Liberation Organization is largely to blame for the unrest in Gaza and Judea-Samaria, nearly half say the United States should have direct contact with the organization, according to a poll for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The poll, conducted Jan. 20-24 and released Wednesday, also found that most Americans view Israel



Jack Lemmon Returns To Television Drama

By ELEANOR BLAU

A two-part NBC show featuring Jack Lemmon as a Governor whose conscience is tested will re-create a landmark case that made headlines more than 70 years ago.

It is the story of Leo M. Frank (played by Peter Gallagher), a Jewish businessman from Brooklyn who was lynched near Atlanta in 1915 for a murder he denied committing.

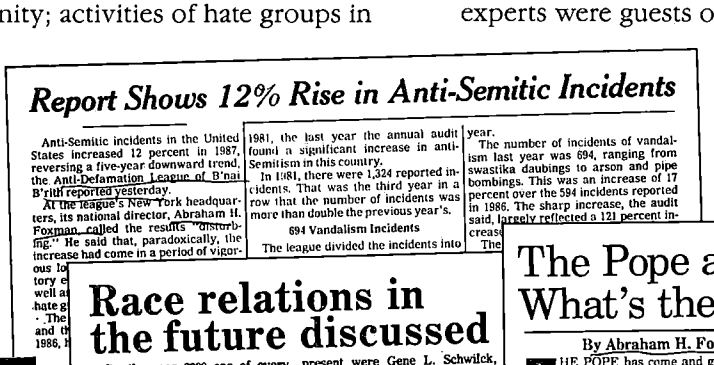
"In some ways," Mr. Lemmon said, Mr. Frank's highly publicized trial was "the most important in this country in this century. It resurrected the Ku Klux Klan. And it gave rise to the Anti-Defamation League."

George Stevens Jr., the producer and co-writer

Mary Phagan" were not familiar with either dramatization, Mr. Stevens said. He and the director, Billy Hale, conceived the film in 1982, shortly before the case broke into the news once again.

A man who had been an office boy in the factory said he had seen a janitor carrying the body but had not spoken out at the time because the janitor had threatened him.

Then, in 1986, Georgia pardoned Mr. Frank, accepting arguments by the Anti-Defamation League and other organizations that they should not have to prove Mr. Frank's inno-



Report Shows 12% Rise in Anti-Semitic Incidents

Anti-Semitic incidents in the United States increased 12 percent in 1987, reversing a five-year downward trend, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported yesterday.

At the league's New York headquarters, its national director, Abraham H. Foxman, called the results "disturbing." He said that, paradoxically, the increase had come in a period of vigor-

1981, the last year the annual audit found a significant increase in anti-Semitism in this country.

In 1981, there were 1,324 reported incidents. That was the third year in a row that the number of incidents was more than double the previous year's.

694 Vandalism Incidents

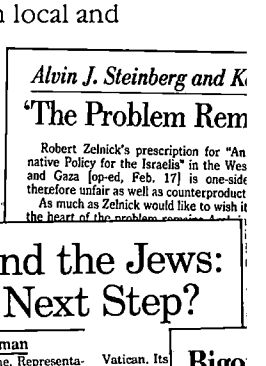
The league divided the incidents into

year.

The number of incidents of vandalism last year was 694, ranging from swastika daubings to arson and pipe bombings. This was an increase of 17 percent over the 594 incidents reported in 1986. The sharp increase, the audit said, largely reflected a 121 percent in-

creas

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Alvin J. Steinberg and K

'The Problem Rem

Robert Zelnick's prescription for "An native Policy for the Israelis" in the Wes and Gaza [op-ed, Feb. 17] is one-side therefore unfair as well as counterproduct

As much as Zelnick would like to wish it the heart of the problem remains Arab



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

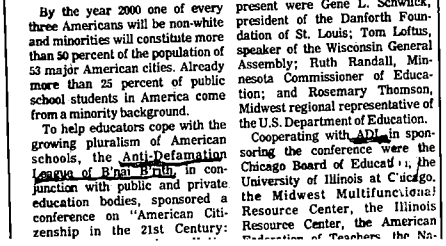
The World Atlas of Junketeers

A. Oahu, Hawaii. Seven members of Congress joined 29 of their Asian and European counterparts in the sun of Hawaii for the Third Pacific Caucus of Atlantic and Pacific Parliamentarians. Sponsored by the Atlantic Council and the Pacific Forum, the agenda—to no one's surprise—was Atlantic-Pacific cooperation. It was assumed they agreed that there should be more cooperation.

B. Rancho Mirage, Calif. Every year the To-

G. Tel Aviv, Israel. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has persuaded one-quarter of the House of Representatives to go with them to Israel. Last week, even as bullets flew across the Gaza Strip, 12 more members made the tour.

H. Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. Hoping to track down "the fullest possible accounting of MIA's and POW's in Vietnam," three members of a special congressional task force traveled to Southeast Asia.



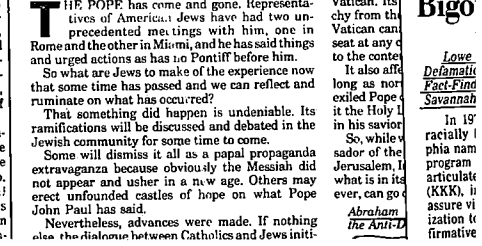
Race relations in the future discussed

By the year 2000 one of every three Americans will be non-white and minorities will constitute more than 50 percent of the population of 53 major American cities. Already more than 25 percent of public school students in America come from a minority background.

To help educators cope with the growing pluralism of American schools, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in conjunction with public and private education bodies, sponsored a conference on "American Citizenship in the 21st Century:

present were Gene L. Schwilck, president of the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis; Tom Loftus, speaker of the Wisconsin General Assembly; Ruth Randall, Minnesota Commissioner of Education; and Rosemary Thomson, Midwest regional representative of the U.S. Department of Education.

Cooperating with ADL in sponsoring the conference were the Chicago Board of Educat[illegible], the University of Illinois at Chicago, the Midwest Multifunctional Resource Center, the Illinois Resource Center, the American



The Pope and the Jews: What's the Next Step?

By Abraham H. Foxman

THE POPE has come and gone. Representatives of American Jews have had two unprecedented meetings with him, one in Rome and the other in Miami, and he has said things and urged actions as has no Pontiff before him.

So what are Jews to make of the experience now that some time has passed and we can reflect and ruminate on what has occurred?

That something did happen is undeniable. Its ramifications will be discussed and debated in the Jewish community for some time to come.

Some will dismiss it all as a papal propaganda extravaganza because obviously the Messiah did not appear and usher in a new age. Others may erect unfounded castles of hope on what Pope John Paul has said.

Nevertheless, advances were made. If nothing

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network radio and TV news broadcasts, talk and interview programs.

The Division initiated a weekly radio program on the Spanish-language New York area station WJIT, "Nuestro Encuentro," hosted by the director of ADL's Interfaith Affairs Department. The Division also initiated contacts with NBC-TV network officials in New York tying ADL in with the NBC miniseries, "The Murder of Mary Phagan"—the result of which was an ADL-developed lesson-plan on the Leo Frank case disseminated by NBC to high schools throughout the country for use in social studies classrooms. The lesson-plan included a description of ADL's activities as provided to NBC by the Division.

The Advertising Task Force, part of the Communications Committee and comprised of leading experts in the advertising field, was responsible for creating two advertisements in behalf of Soviet Jewry, one, in September, headlined "How Can a Nation That Fought Hitler Do Anything Less Than Free Its Jews?" Another, in December, timed for Mikhail Gorbachev's Summit visit to Washington, headlined "Let Your Voice Be Heard By Gorbachev At The Summit—Come To The December Mobilization In Washington." Both ads were placed in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

The following is an overview of the Division's principal components—Publicity, Art Department and *ADL Bulletin*.

Publicity

ADL news releases covered a wide range of agency concerns and activities and, where appropriate, were coordinated with regional offices for simultaneous distribution and local emphasis. The League reached not only the general press, national news magazines, radio and television networks, but the special interest media as well—including trade press and the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Black and Hispanic communities here and abroad.

Among ADL stories receiving wide media coverage were:

- The results of a poll, commissioned by the agency as the West Bank and Gaza unrest escalated, which showed no erosion in the American people's "bedrock support" for Israel or their view of the Jewish state as a military and strategic asset to the U.S.
- Two hate group reports on the activities of 71 racist and anti-Semitic organizations active in the U.S. today, their more than 50 publications which regularly spread bigotry, and the federal crackdown on the criminal activities of these far right extremists.
- The "Shaved for Battle" Skinhead report on gangs of shaven-headed youths wearing neo-Nazi insignia and preaching violence against Blacks, Jews and other minorities, and an update several months later.
- Presentation of the Joseph Prize for Human Rights to U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz.
- The League's news conference with experts on terrorism, held in Washington, DC.
- The news conference for 20 American Black leaders returning from their ADL-sponsored 10-day visit to Israel.
- ADL's reactions to Pope John Paul II's meeting with and his statements to Kurt Waldheim.
- Interviews with ADL participants in first the conference in Rome between the Pope and nine Jewish leaders, and later the Pope's meeting in Miami with prominent Jews.
- ADL's annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents which noted a significant increase in 1987 after a five-year downward trend.
- ADL's praise of a Federal appeals court decision overruling a lower court decision in Tennessee that allowed fundamentalists to remove their children from public schools because they considered some textbooks to be objectionable.



)bson
ıb Intransigence'
es toward Israel: "Make gains at Israel's
e without ever doing the one thing Israel
: negotiate for peace" is the constant Arab
ıg each period of history, there has been
ent Arab excuse for not negotiating, but
been constant.
Steinberg is a member of the national
e committee of the Anti-Defamation
of B'nai B'rith. Kenneth Jacobson is the
director of Middle Eastern affairs.

ADL National Chairman Addresses The Israel Situation
'Partial Picture Not Equal To Whole'
By CHRIS ROMOSER
Daily News Staff Writer
The national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith s
yesterday that he believes the world me
has not
r in its coverage of the m
g used to quell Palestin
pied territories.
each for the ADL's ann
ve committee meeting, B
, national chairman si
of the picture is not alw
whole.
ing, Levinson said he believes journalists are looking chiefly for information and quotations that buttress pre-conceived beliefs.
"In the last few weeks," Levinson said, "I

ADL Offers Rebuttals On Each of Points
Six Illusions About Middle East Confuse Thinking of Washington
NEW YORK—Six "illusions" about the Middle East are influencing foreign policy decisions in Washington and other Free World capitals, according to an Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith analys
The analysis, published as an ADL "International Report" under the direction of Abraham Foxman, national director of the League, was prepared by Jerome Bakst, research director for the agency.
countering the Soviet threat in the area..."
•Illusion No. 4—That the West Bank/Arab Palestinian "entity" would assure a steady flow of Arab oil, presumably at lower prices, to the United States, Japan and Western Europe.
because

ıtertainment is bad practice
Lowe
:tor of the Anti-
l B'rith National
He is a native of
■A lone Klansman seeking to start a new chapter in New York City received invitations from every major local radio talk show.
The key differenc
the 1970s is that spo
longer need to seek ou
shows; bigotry, it has
good entertainment.
Americans harbor th
them candidates for th
trary, most Americans
of these organization
sion and radio progr
dropout from a
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ıd other race-re-

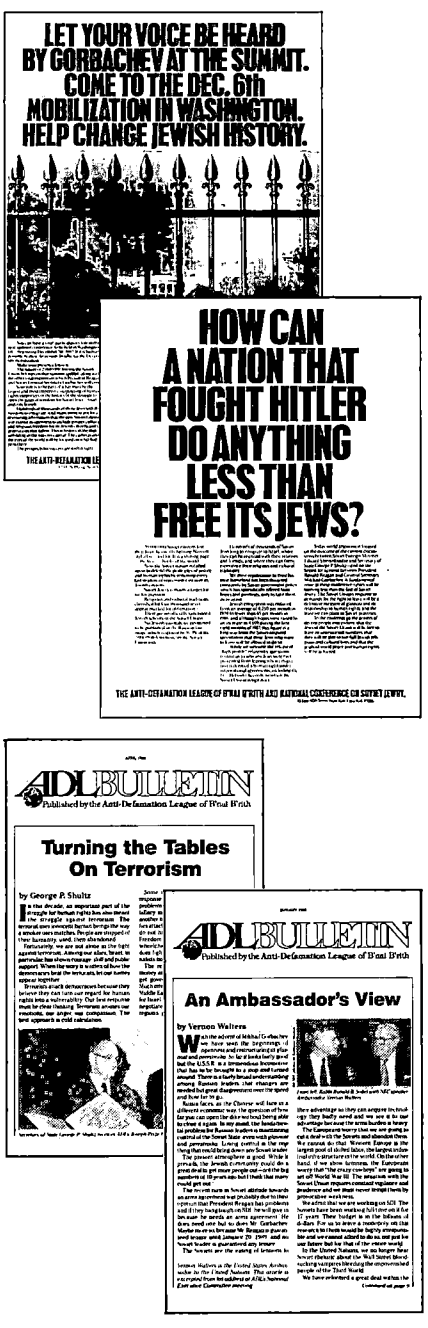
Anti-Semitism Charges Lead To Delay on Religion Prize
By PETER STEINFELS
In March, after Dr. Khan was announced as the winner of the Templeton Prize, the Anti-Defamation League called attention to a 1985 letter from Dr. Khan published in The Spotlight, a
npleton Prize
n have post-
the $369,000
rses that this
nullah Khan,
year-old sec-
orld Muslim
month to re-
Defamation
rotested that
The winner's activities come

LIGA ANTI-DIFAMACION DE LA B'NAI B'RITH
Miami, Florida - La significación del encuentro del Papa con líderes judíos en Miami "fue el propio encuentro", según los dirigentes de la Liga Anti-Difamación (LAD) de la B'nai B'rith, quienes agregaron que "del calor de los pasados pocos meses puede espe-
rarse que venga una nueva luz".
Burton S. Levinson, Presidente Nacional de la LAD, y Abraham H. Foxman, Director Nacional de la Liga, dijeron que "ahora la tarea es estimular, acelerar y profundizar las relaciones judeo-católicas con el objetivo de resolver

FILE ON SEIZED NAZI RECOUNTS HORRORS
Argentina, Holding Suspect, Sees Survivors' Accounts
By RALPH BLUMENTHAL
An elderly Austrian arrested this month on a remote ranch in Argentina has emerged as one of the most brutal commandants of the Nazi labor camps, according to Austrian police files now made public.
The postwar documents from Austrian police files and Mr. Schwammberger's SS file in West German archives were collected over the years by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Interest in them grew after Mr. Schwammberger's capture, and copies were made available last week by Efraim Zuroff, director of the League's Nazi war criminals task force.
Escaped Detention After War
The police records show that Mr. Schwammberger, carrying false papers in the name of an army sergeant, was initially arrested on a tip in Innsbruck, Austria, in the French occupation zone on July 19, 1945. He escaped with two other suspected war criminals from the Oradour detention camp, near Schwaz, during the night of Jan. 2-3, 1948. It is not clear how

• The revelations on the LaRouche network's activities and connections in Latin America.
• ADL's criticism of the planned presentation of the prestigious Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion to the secretary general of the World Muslim Congress, a group with a long history of anti-Semitism.

Other ADL stories included:
• The presentation of ADL's America's Democratic Legacy Award to Lee A. Iacocca.
• Commendation of the State Department efforts which closed the Palestine Liberation Office in Washington, DC, because, as ADL had said in a letter to Secretary Shultz, its continued operation was contrary to American interests.
• ADL's comments on the adoption of federal legislation, called for by the agency, which would permit Jewish military personnel to wear yarmulkes while in uniform.
• Condemnation of rightist French presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen's reference to Nazi gas chambers as "a detail" in the history of World War II.
• The announcement by General Mills that it was changing the design on its Count Chocula cereal boxes after ADL, which had received complaints, pointed out that the illustration depicted the Count's medallion as a Star of David.
• ADL's protest to the Indian government over remarks by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that "Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English and France to the French."
• ADL's request to a U.S. Appeals Court to overturn National Labor Relations Board certification of a union as a bargaining agent for a Montana company after anti-Semitic slurs were made at the union's election rally.
• The League's protests at the exclusion of the City of Jerusalem from a World Conference of Historical Cities held in Kyoto, Japan.
• ADL's criticism of an ABC World News Tonight television broadcast for "making a mockery of journalistic responsibility" when it compared Israel to South Africa in connection with the disturbances in Gaza and the West Bank.
• ADL's protest to the president of NBC News on its telecast of an offensive and slanted program about Israel, "Six Days Plus 20 Years: A Dream is Dying."



Art Department

The six-artist department, using free-lancers when necessary, continued to work under the pressures of tight deadlines and an extraordinary workload to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of the agency. *Education and Society*, a new ADL magazine, and *Law Enforcement Bulletin* were added to the regular materials designed and produced by the department, including the *ADL Bulletin*, *Dimensions*, *Face to Face*, the *Human Relations Materials Catalogue*, this *Annual Report*, *Purpose and Program*, *Fellowship*, special reports, Development Division invitations, the 75th Anniversary logo and tablepiece, journals, promotional brochures and awards. A production manager was added to the department and improved procedures were instituted to facilitate the work schedule. In-house computerized typesetting and other technological equipment continued to save the agency both time and money.

ADL Bulletin

Among the distinguished authors of articles in ADL's national publication this past year were statesmen, educators, sociologists and theologians. Bulletin articles brought to the more than 125,000 people who receive it—including members of Congress, government and community leaders, journalists and other opinion makers—clear, concise reports and analyses of some of the most important issues and concerns of the Jewish community worldwide.

The reach of the publication went far beyond its subscribers as articles were reprinted in newspapers and magazines in this country and overseas. In addition, specially prepared ads in the ADL Bulletin helped sell agency materials and publications, and increased participation in the various campaigns of the ADL Foundation.

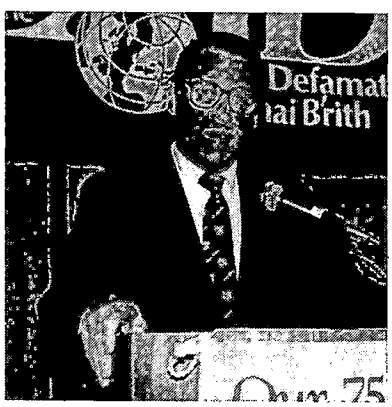
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Leadership Committee Chairman
Michael Nachman

Planning Committee Chairman
Alvin J. Steinberg

Nominating Committee Chairman
Seymour Graubard



CIA Director William H. Webster



Senator Carl Levin

As the seedbed for ADL continuity, the Leadership Division seeks out and develops national lay leaders through special seminars and programmatic activities.

The Leadership Division continued to handle functions related to the organization and servicing of ADL's lay constituency.

With its primary aim of recognizing and involving new people in the League's activities, the Division served as a bridge between the national leadership and the regional office structure. Working closely with regional directors, the Division provided information and meeting opportunities for upcoming leaders throughout the country, hosting seminars, parlor meetings and conferences. In addition, periodic mailings provided updates on ADL national agenda items.

The tenth National Leadership Conference took place in March in Washington, DC, attracting a record number of first time participants. The group met with key senators and congressmen, political analysts and attended on-site briefings at the White House, the Capitol and the State Department. Among the highlights were major speeches by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Central Intelligence Agency director William H. Webster.

As administrative secretariat to ADL's National Commission, the Division organized and planned the agenda and participation in the National Executive Committee sessions in Chicago last October and in Palm Beach in February, and the annual National Commission meeting in New York City.

In addition, the Division coordinated arrangements for the fourth annual Benjamin R. Epstein Memorial Lecture, which honors the memory of the late national director, who served from 1947 to 1979. This year's lecture was presented by Congressman Stephen Solarz.

The Division was again responsible for coordinating ADL's missions to Israel program. During the year, mission participants included U.S. Congressmen, women in government and leadership positions, Black community leaders and law enforcement personnel.

The Division also serviced and staffed the Planning and the Nominating Committees and was responsible for maintaining contacts with lay leadership concerning the League's organizational structure.



Participants in the annual National Leadership Conference in Washington, DC.

Administration Division

Administration Committee Chairman
Leslie Davis

Audit Committee Chairman
Howard P. Berkowitz

Budget Committee Chairman
Michael A. Berenson

Personnel Committee Chairman
Robert H. Naftaly



"Hands on" computer instruction



Glaucoma testing program



Meetings and Banquets staff confers

Blending the skills of ADL specialists with modern technology, the Administration Division oversees the agency's internal operations, assists in the development and control of the League's budget, manages its fiscal assets, supervises personnel, and handles all matters relating to the management and maintenance of its physical plant.

The Division's responsibilities through departments dealing with Accounting, Reproduction and Mail, Warehouse, Meetings and Conferences, Human Resource Services, Contributor Records, Security, Word Processing and Purchasing again grew in concert with the needs of the agency and a new department, Data Processing, has been added.

ADL staff continued to participate in the Human Resource Services' "Wellness Program," including hypertension testing and control, stop smoking clinics, cancer detection, weight reduction and instruction in cardiopulmonary resuscitation at ADL's national headquarters and similar programs in the regional offices. A major program to curtail smoking in ADL's national headquarters has been developed with the participation of staff.

The League approved an improved pension plan and life insurance program which eliminated employee contributions while holding agency costs to their current level. In addition, a new Flexible Benefit Plan for health costs was introduced, offering tax savings to employees.

Word processors and computer technology, once exclusively located in the national headquarters' Word Processing Center, proliferated to every national division and regional office. Facsimile transmission equipment has been added to offices to facilitate efficient communications.

An 18-month evaluation process resulted in new software and a new computer housed on our premises to serve our financial management and fund raising needs.

The League's computerized typesetting program, operated in cooperation with the Art Department of ADL's Communications Division, resulted in substantial savings in time and money in the production of all ADL printed materials—from stationery to publications and enhanced the visual quality of our materials.

The Meetings and Conferences Department continued to assist regional offices in negotiating with hotels for the placement of major local events, resulting in substantial savings because of the League's combined purchasing power. Consolidating all ADL travel arrangements again saved money through mass purchase of services and utilizing the most economical fares available. The department's major responsibility, handling all physical arrangements for League fund raising dinners, institutes and meetings grew as did the number of functions held.

Security of ADL's staff and headquarters building remained a prime priority with intensified training of personnel and maintenance of special equipment such as that used for bomb detection. The Security staff worked cooperatively with New York law enforcement agencies and fire safety officials to assure protection for headquarters employees and was responsible for security at all national meetings.

Anti-Defamation League Foundation

ADL Foundation Committee
President
Maxwell E. Greenberg
Treasurer
Howard P. Berkowitz
Secretary
Emily Fisher Landau
Planned Gifts Committee
Chairman
Charles Goldring

The ADL Foundation seeks to acquire endowment funds to provide for capital development, serve as a reserve for emergencies, special projects and studies and assure the agency's continuity. A non-profit corporation, the ADL Foundation encourages and administers endowments, bequests and long-range philanthropy, sets up estate and tax planning instruments, manages restricted funds, gifts in kind, real estate holdings and legacies.

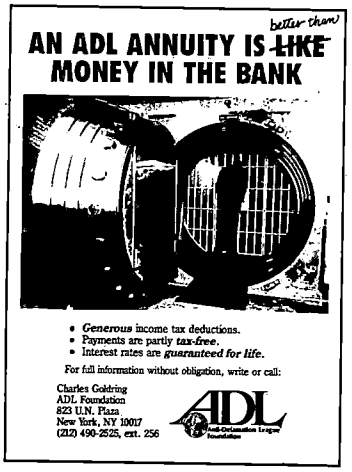
The Foundation's Legacy and Endowment program continued to provide donor recognition and initiated regional planned gift committees. Its quarterly publication, *Capital Ideas*, continued to attract new readers. Indicative of its contents were articles on changes in the tax law and their impact on charitable giving, the importance of updating wills, tax-free trusts, and suggestions on reducing estate tax liabilities. Each issue reminded potential donors to contact the Foundation for guidance on these matters and philanthropic giving to the League.

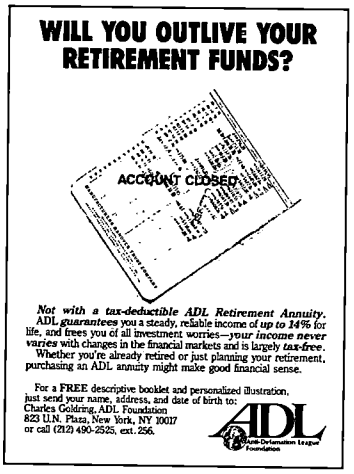
Foundation advertisements appearing in each issue of the *ADL Bulletin* provided a steady stream of responses and inquiries which were handled by Foundation staff and local volunteers. The advertisements were replicated in regional office newsletters.

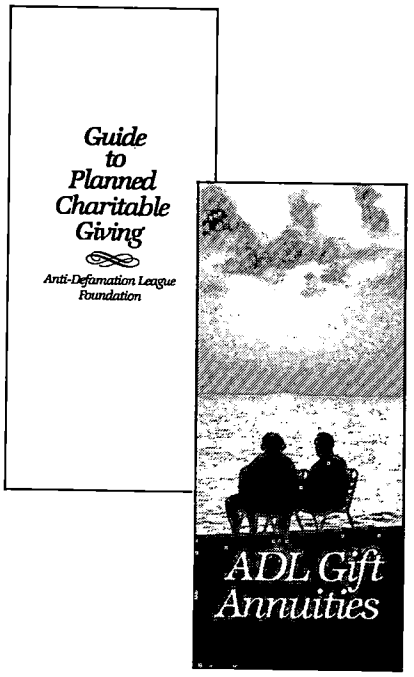
Two new programs, the Million-O program and the Diamond Circle, allow leveraged supplemental gifts to ADL through the purchase of zero coupon bonds.

The conference facilities of the Foundation's principal asset, the building at 823 United Nations Plaza, attracted many of the area's prestigious organizations for meetings, conferences, negotiations and diplomatic functions. While most of the building serves as headquarters for ADL and offices of B'nai B'rith International, B'nai B'rith Women and B'nai B'rith District No. 1, the remaining 75,000 square feet continued to be rented to other not-for-profit organizations as well as business and professional firms.









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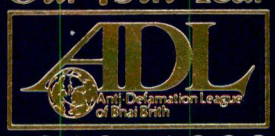
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Our 75th Year



1913 - 1988

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

ADL Mission Participants

Burton S. Levinson

Burton S. Levinson is national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Deeply involved in the struggle to liberate Soviet Jewry, he is a past national chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and a member of the International Presidium for Soviet Jewry.

A member of the Executive Committee of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), he also serves on the Board of Directors of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc., and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS).

He has represented the interests and concerns of the American Jewish community on trips to the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, W. Germany and several nations in Latin America, and has met with foreign heads of State. In this country, he has met with President Reagan, former President Jimmy Carter and other important government officials.

He is the senior partner in the Beverly Hills, CA, law firm of Levinson and Lieberman, Inc. He and his wife, Anita, reside in Encino, CA.

Abraham Foxman

Abraham Foxman is national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In that capacity and during his almost 10 years as associate national director, Mr. Foxman has criss-crossed the globe, including Israel, the Vatican, the U.S.S.R., western Europe, Rumania, Poland, Ethiopia, Australia and Africa, in the quest for the safety and security of world Jewry, and has frequently met with American elected and appointed officials on issues of domestic concern.

Mr. Foxman earned a B.A. degree in political science from the City College of City University of New York, from which he graduated with honors in history. He received his Juris Doctor degree from New York University School of Law and is a member of the New York State Bar. In addition to English, Hebrew and Yiddish, he speaks Polish and Russian.

Mr. Foxman, whose parents survived ghettos and concentration camps, is an authority on the Holocaust and Jewish resistance to the Nazis, a subject about which he has written extensively.

Mr. Foxman is a member of the President's United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

Levinson

Burton S. Levinson
National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Burton S. Levinson was elected national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at the 1986 meeting of the agency's National Commission. He was named to the post after many years of distinguished service as chairman of the agency's National Executive Committee and its Latin American Affairs, Community Service and National Development Committees.

Deeply involved in the struggle to liberate Soviet Jewry, he is a past national chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and a member of the International Presidium for Soviet Jewry.

A member of the Executive Committee of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), he also serves on the Boards of Directors of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc. and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS).

In his local community, Mr. Levinson is a vice president and member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, an officer of the Federation's Community Relations Committee and a past chairman of the Community Relations Committee for the San Fernando Valley.

He has represented the interests and concerns of the American Jewish community on trips to the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, W. Germany and several nations in Latin America and has met with such foreign heads of nations as the Presidents of Chile and Mexico. In this country, he has met with President Reagan,

former President Jimmy Carter and other important government officials.

A magna cum laude graduate of Southwestern University, Mr. Levinson has written and lectured on real estate, taught contract law at the College of Law of the University of San Fernando Valley and served on the law trial advocacy faculty of Hastings College.

He is the senior partner in the Beverly Hills, CA, law firm of Levinson and Lieberman, Inc. He and his wife, Anita, reside in Encino, CA. They are the parents of two adult children.

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Our 75th Year

ADL Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

1913 - 1988

Bio
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, has had a wide range of experience with the agency. An attorney by training, he joined ADL in 1965 as assistant director of the Law Department. Three years later he became head of the Middle Eastern Affairs Department, a post he held until 1973 when he was named to the position of director of national leadership.

Mr. Foxman was named associate national director in 1978 and became national director in July 1987.

In his almost 10 years as associate national director, Mr. Foxman has criss-crossed the globe, including Israel, the Vatican, the U.S.S.R., western Europe, Rumania, Poland, Ethiopia, Australia and Africa, in the quest for the safety and security of world Jewry, and has frequently met with American elected and appointed officials on issues of domestic concern.

A graduate of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, Brooklyn, NY, Mr. Foxman earned a B.A. degree in political science from the City College of City University of New York, from which he graduated with honors in history and was awarded the University's history medal for his thesis, "Vilna -- Story of a Ghetto, 1941-1945." He received his Juris Doctor degree from New York University School of Law and is a member of the New York State

(more)

Bar. He has done graduate work in advanced Judaic studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary and in international economics at The New School for Social Research. In addition to English, Hebrew and Yiddish, he speaks Polish and Russian.

Mr. Foxman, whose parents survived ghettos and concentration camps, is an authority on the Holocaust and Jewish resistance to the Nazis. His writings on these themes include contributions to the Enclycopedia Judaica and chapters in four books -- They Fought Back, Anthology of Holocaust Literature, The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe and Society on Trial.

Born in Poland in 1940, Mr. Foxman was saved from the Holocaust as an infant by a Polish Catholic nursemaid who claimed him as her own. He had been left in her care by his parents prior to their imprisonment by the Nazis. Baptized and raised as a Catholic during his early childhood, he is today an observant Jew.

He was reunited with his parents after a lengthy custody battle with the former nursemaid, who had come to love him as her own, and arrived in the United States in 1950. His father lost six members of his family in the Holocaust; his mother lost eight.

Mr. Foxman is a member of the President's United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the Advisory Council to the New York City Holocaust Memorial Commission and the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. He is vice president of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

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