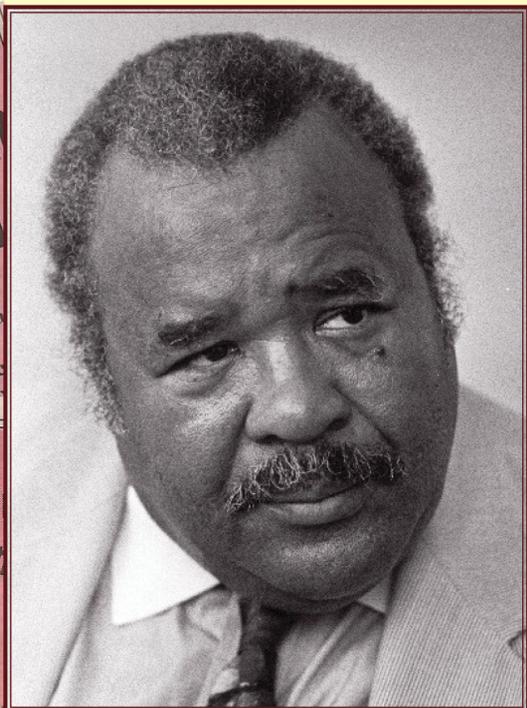


Wilbert Tatum's War on the ADL

Guest Editorial
The ADL: Spying on a Black American
By GERALD HORNE
Defamation League of B'nai B'rith



Editorial
The Anti-Defamation League: Blacks outraged as Jews defend the indefensible
By WILBERT A. TATUM
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief
Two letters came today, one, a copy of a letter being sent to the District Attorney Morgenthau by the Committee To Defend the Media Offensive To African People (CEMOTAP), the other from a private citizen who identifies himself as L. Ginsberg of Manhattan. Both of the letters address the subject of the ADL. CEMOTAP's letter addressed the ADL's role in the Rosenberg case.

Editorial
Anti Defamation League Continuing march to self-destruction under current leadership
By WILBERT A. TATUM
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief

Guest Editorial
ADL falsifies history
Brenner reviews 'Jew Hatred As History'
Editor's Note: STOCKHOLM—July 7 The ADL has seen fit to publish what would appear on its face to be a learned treatise. Instead, the so-called report is rife with innuendo, misstatement of fact, and propaganda.

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

Editorial
The ADL must be probed by government: There is no other way to clear or condemn it
By WILBERT A. TATUM
Publisher, Editor-in-Chief
STOCKHOLM, MAY 5—At the very moment that the late Jeff Goldberger, a reporter for the Jewish Daily Forward (formerly the Jewish Daily) were desecrating the Jewish cemetery in Skogskyrkogarden (Forest Cemetery) in little more than six months. The cemetery, turned, broken and cracked; a picture of decay, appear in the newspaper with the names of deceased and cemetery workers. The stones have been forcibly removed from their graves and put the stones back. The stones were overturned this time. I view this as an escalation of the anti-Semitism.

Editorial
The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs
For decades, the ADL has run a...

Editorial
The ADL: Need for a wartime consigliere; bring your warriors and your scholars when you 'mess withe' Lennie Brenner
As the controversy continues in San Francisco and Los Angeles over the alleged participation of the Anti-Defamation League in a "spy operation" that has tar-



Abraham Foxman

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

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By **WILBERT A. TATUM**
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief
An incredible story of pique, selfishness, egotism, grandizement, race-hatred, egomania, and grandizement, as well as wholesale lying and deceptions to constitute the fabric upon which the ADL has attempted to extricate itself from the mess it has run and paid for a "spying operation" targeting 12,000 American citizens and organizations, including the NAACP, the New Alliance Party, the Black United Front, and Arab-American groups for years.

Guest Editorial
The ADL: Spying on a Black American
By **GERALD HORNE**
Why would the anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith spy on me?
After all I am one of the few African American

Editorial
The Anti-Defamation League
Blacks outraged as Jews defend the indefensible
By **WILBERT A. TATUM**
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I came today, one, a copy of a letter being sent to Attorney General Ramsey Morgenthau by The Committee To End The Offensive To African People (CEMOTAP), a private citizen who identifies himself as [redacted] of Manhattan. Both of the letters address the ADL. CEMOTAP's letter addresses the [redacted] [redacted] in Los Angeles, San

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"When the Lord shall raise up coloured historians in succeeding generations, to present the crimes of this nation, to the then gazing world, the Holy Ghost will make them do justice..."

—David Walker, 1829

"Someday, when the history of this time is being written, WLIB and the Amsterdam News will serve as the only reliable guide to researchers as they begin to put together an accurate political and social history of this time."

—Wilbert A. Tatum, 1993

Guest Editorial
ADL falsifies history
Brenner reviews 'Jew Hatred As His'
Editor's Note: STOCKHOLM — July 7 The ADL has published what would appear on its face to be a learned treatise. Instead, the so-called report is rife with innuendo, misstatements, just plain inaccuracies and a typical revisionist view of history. We run Lenni Brenner's response as a "Guest Editorial," which points out in genuine scholarly form through example how the ADL has used the report format as a propaganda tool to attack those who had the temerity to go up against them on any issue. The ADL matter and probably more accurately, the raw courage. We have space for that response, for we do not believe that the White House or New York will do it because it has been so in concert with that organization, even when it has done harm and even more responsible for reports that clearly falsify and propagandize the facts of our time, both foreign and domestic.

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The ADL: Need for a wartime consigliere; bring your warriors and your scholars when you 'mess withe' Lennie Brenner
As the controversy continues in San Francisco and Los Angeles over the alleged participation of the Anti-Defamation League in a "spy operation" that has gained some "500 political

Editorial
The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs
By **ABDEEN JABARA**
For decades, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has run a private nationwide spy network — a systematic, long-term, professionally organized political espionage operation involving infiltrators, money laundering, code names, and other not unusual for private

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"Dismantle the ADL: The Anti-Defamation League's record of racist counterinsurgency and espionage" (2022), by The Mapping Project



The Jewish Attack on Wilbert Tatum and the New York Amsterdam News

In March 1993, news broke that the 80-year-old Jewish “civil rights” organization Anti-Defamation League was actually a den of spies and not a “civil rights” organization at all. Under its leader Abraham Foxman the ADL had spied on some 12,000 or more individuals and 950 organizations and it sold that illegally gathered information to the apartheid government of South Africa, among others. Organizations targeted by the ADL included Arab-American, Palestinian, Native American groups; African National Congress (of South Africa), NAACP, the Nation of Islam; Black Student Organizations, American Muslim Mission, and Black Studies Departments; *even* Jewish Defense League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Greenpeace were on Foxman’s secret spy lists.

Most major news outlets tried to bury the shocking reality that this illustrious Jewish institution was actually in the business of destroying civil rights. It had made itself a more efficient FBI and clandestinely continued J. Edgar Hoover’s notorious COINTEL-PRO operation. Only one major newspaper took the ADL and its enablers to task—the *New York Amsterdam News*. The *Amsterdam News* was founded in 1909 as a Black-owned and -operated institution, covering news of Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and the emerging NAACP. By the 1960s, it had become the premier newspaper covering progressive Black movements, including those led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and The Most Honorable Elijah Muhammad. In 1996, Mr. **Wilbert Arnold “Bill” Tatum** (23 January 1933 – 26 February 2009) became its sole owner and publisher.

The ADL spy revelation in April of 1993 happened at a time when several major issues concerning Blacks and Jews were exploding. Black academics Drs. Leonard Jeffries and Tony Martin came under Jewish attack for revealing the extensive Jewish role in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The ADL was holding secret celebrations with its employees and supporters, where “blue-eyed teenagers” in white gloves were “suddenly transformed into Black-faced modern minstrels.” Dr. Khallid Muhammad’s Kean College lecture on the same topic created a firestorm. A major protest in Crown Heights in Brooklyn ensued after a Jewish driver struck and killed a young Black boy. **The Hon-**

orable Minister Louis Farrakhan organized the largest gathering in the history of America, the 1995 **Million Man March**. All these BLACK issues drew extreme negativity from white Jews—and all of it was covered in the pages of the *Amsterdam News*.

Throughout the 1990s Mr. Tatum and the *Amsterdam News* were attacked for effectively covering these and many other Black issues and ideas, some of which conflicted with the “Jewish” point of view. The corrupt Jewish mayor of New York Ed Koch labeled the paper “an anti-Semitic rag,” before his defeat by David Dinkins in 1989. There was a concerted and scurrilous effort on the part of New York’s Jewish-dominated news media outlets to target and destroy the *Amsterdam News*.

In true Hooveresque fashion Anti-Defamation League leader Abraham Foxman often coordinated the “Jewish” sniper attacks, but Tatum continued to boldly cover the ADL espionage story extensively with a series of front-page editorials. He characterized the Jewish attacks: ***“[T] he two most prominent Black media outlets in New York, if not in the country...were systematically demonized and ‘anti-Semitized’ by virtually all of the important electronic and print media in town. It happened because we had recognized a truth, had begun to tell it, and thus had to be destroyed.”***

Wilbert A. Tatum died, age 76, on 26 February 2009 from multiple organ failure while traveling with his wife in Croatia. This is a collection of Wilbert Tatum’s key editorials and other coverage of the *Amsterdam News*’ War on the ADL.



Editor’s Note (2024): For this publication minor errors of punctuation and spelling common to periodicals were corrected. All unbracketed ellipses were in the original text. The editorials by Mr. Tatum and the articles by other writers are listed in chronological order as they appeared in the *New York Amsterdam News*. The photographs and images herein have been obtained from internet sources and are used under Section 107 of the Copyright Act of 1976, where allowance is made for ‘fair use’ for purposes such as criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching, scholarship, and research.

The Anti-Defamation League: A spy operation against whom, and for what?

(17 April 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Someone must take on the Anti-Defamation League, for left unchecked this organization under its current leadership could destroy what is left of the fragile fabric of race relations in this city and nation. It is apparent that no one in the liberal, moderate or left White press is prepared to criticize the ADL and its excesses...fundamentally. Since this must be done for our survival and seeing no one else in leadership coming forth, it might as well be now and it might as well be me.

Word comes once more from San Francisco and Los Angeles that offices of the ADL (Anti-Defamation League) have been raided and records confiscated. There is every indication, according to *The Los Angeles Times* and *The San Francisco Examiner*, that a “spy network” exists in the ADL that has over several decades fostered “a nationwide intelligence network accused of keeping files on 950 political groups, newspapers and labor unions.”

It is apparent that no one in the liberal, moderate or left White press is prepared to criticize the ADL and its excesses... fundamentally.

It is alleged, too, that there is evidence to support a thesis long held by Black organizations and individuals in this country who have been victims of smears by the ADL in their so-called “surveys” and “reports” targeting organizations and individuals with whom they do not agree with the tarbrush of anti-Semitism; and that the ADL “main-



tains undercover operatives to gather political intelligence in at least seven major cities, including New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.”

This is frightening stuff. To think that the ADL, as personified by Abraham Foxman, its national director, and Kenneth Bialkin, a prominent attorney and sometime spokesperson for the ADL, have been participants and/or architects of a spy organization that has infiltrated such organizations as the NAACP, churches, social organizations and political parties leaves me numb. For the ADL was there with Blacks and Jews when the New York Black/Jewish coalition was formed. The ADL was there in the basement of Automation House [a conference center for labor-management and

community-city disputes] when Blacks and Jews together, at the urging of those from the ADL, begged Blacks to assemble at Madison Square Garden to denounce Farrakhan prior to his coming to New York to speak at the Garden. The ADL has been there for almost every negotiation for Black civil rights and civil liberties mounted, whether with the federal government or local and state governments where discrimination and civil liberties suits have been filed. The ADL has been there as financier and/or friend of the court. Evidence points to the possibility that they were spying on Black people even then. The truth is that naive Black leaders or informants placed in Black organizations by the ADL invited the organization in, and they proceeded to take over the organization's negotiations or destroy them if they did not agree.

For years Black political leaders have been targeted by the ADL.

Even the mildest criticism of Jews or Israel was met by the ADL with cries of anti-Semitism. The charges became so widespread and so unreasonable that most Blacks simply ignored the charges, classified the ADL leaders as zealots and nuts and went on with their lives. We found it curious, the wanton attacks on so many Blacks by the ADL that were sometimes as vicious as anything can be, juxtaposed against their mild chastising of Ronald Reagan when he went to Bitburg to place a wreath at tombs of the SS Waffen, thus doing honor to those responsible for the Holocaust; or the ADL's strange reaction to Secretary [James] Baker of the Bush administration when he was reported as saying, "F-k the Jews."

The truth is that naive Black leaders or informants placed in Black organizations by the ADL invited the organization in, and they proceeded to take over the organization's negotiations or destroy them if they did not agree.

Unfortunately for us, we had believed that these were aberrations. How could it be that an organization that has participated with us so long be suddenly so rabidly against us? Then, as if Moses had brought the sacred tablets down from on high, an accident of history saw the publisher of this newspaper [Mr. Tatum] named co-publisher and editor-in-chief of America's oldest and certainly one of the largest newspapers in America, *The New York Post*. He was named to the posts by Abraham Hirschfeld, a Jew who had a reputation of being a philanthropist, supporter of Jewish causes, and a sound businessman who happened to be 200 millions of dollars worth of rich. With the naming of Tatum, Hirschfeld suddenly became an "anti-Semite, a self-hating Jew, a slobbering old fool and a nut case!" What a difference a day makes.

Then something truly remarkable occurred. The ADL provided (possibly from their spy organization in New York) much of the material to their compatriots at *The New York*

Post used in the infamous March 16, 1993, edition that excoriated Tatum and Hirschfeld, thus leaving them, they thought, mortally wounded. What the ADL-supported edition really did was to reveal the racism, criminality, irresponsibility and rabidly anti-Black attitudes of those who run, edit, write for and read *The New York Post*. Even more, those who are and have been most racist signed their names to articles about Tatum and Hirschfeld that they had created from whole cloth, while those articles that may have had a kernel of truth were so selectively edited and written as to make of them propaganda tracts as well.

How wonderful it is to have the enemies of Black people who are most influential and most powerful confess their racism in a major newspaper and sign their names as well. There is little more that a beleaguered people can ask for beyond knowing who his enemy is, where he lives and works, and what can be expected of them. The Black people of the world owe *The New York Post* a debt of gratitude, for it would have taken years, if not decades, to find out who must be put on our "enemies list." And it will not be secret, as was Richard Nixon's. They named themselves, and they prompted most of the White media in New York, including all of the television and most of the radio stations, to expose their not-too-soft underbelly of Black hatred.

Even the mildest criticism of Jews or Israel was met by the ADL with cries of anti-Semitism. The charges became so widespread and so unreasonable that most Blacks simply ignored the charges, classified the ADL leaders as zealots and nuts and went on with their lives.

Most of the ADL thing raises more questions than it answers. What is the connection between the ADL and *The New York Post*? Are some of the paid writers there who have a reputation for being more or less liberals and who have personal access to Black politicians and leaders paid informants of the ADL? This

applies to other daily newspapers as well. Who are the Blacks who may be providing information to the ADL? This applies to other daily newspapers as well. Who are the Blacks who may be providing information to the ADL who may lead or have prominent positions in Black, Latino, radical or other organizations? These questions must be answered, for a season of paranoia that is justified has set in, and every Black who is a member of any Black or White organization must watch their words and measure them carefully lest they be accused of "high crimes and misdemeanors." Already, Dr. Lenore Fulani and Dr. Fred Newman have learned that they as well as the New Alliance Party were targets of the ADL. Clearly, the *Amsterdam News* and its publisher have been. Therefore it is incumbent upon the FBI, The State Bureau of Investigation, the intelligence divisions of the New York City Police Department, the five district attorneys of the

counties of New York to promptly begin formal investigations of the ADL. They must have the strongest possible backing from Mayor Dinkins, President Clinton and Governor Cuomo, who may find themselves in the “files” of the ADL as well.



Nat Hentoff



Eric Breindel



Edwin Diamond



Joe Klein



Pete Hamill



Jack Newfield

Perhaps an investigation will reveal who is behind and who paid for the assaults on Black media that appeared in *New York Magazine*, written by Ed Diamond, an instructor in journalism at New York University, as well as Joe Klein, recently of *New York Magazine* and now with a major weekly news magazine. He is also a political commentator for WCBS News as well as the panelists on “Sunday Edition” with Jim Jensen and Marcia Kramer.

Who or what is behind Eric Breindel, Jack Newfield, Frederick Dicker and others who have systematically tried to destroy the *Amsterdam News*, WLIB, Don King and Mike Tyson? And what of Pete Hamill, Charles Carillo and so many more?

Finally, the 501 C3 not-for-profit status of the ADL must be challenged, for it is inconceivable that our tax dollars have been used by the ADL to support covert activities designed to destroy Black people and our institutions.

Stay tuned. Although this story has been reluctantly and not so thoroughly covered by the White press—out of fear of retribution, we suppose—truth has a way of finding the light. We await that light, while we begin to charge the batteries.

Story of ADL's 'nationwide political spy operation' continues to unfold. Most of nation shocked by revelation

(24 April 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

There can be no question that the shocking allegation that the Anti-Defamation League has been spying for years on organizations such as the NAACP, New Alliance Party, Ku Klux Klan, Greenpeace, the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Black United Fund, Operation Rescue, the board of directors of public television station KQED, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* newspaper, at least 12,000 individuals nationwide, and still counting, as well as organizations and individuals yet to be named in New York and the east coast, leaves us numbed and chilled.

For this organization, the granddaddy of all civil rights organizations in this United States, has been the model for anti-defamation organizations formed by Christians, Arabs, Muslims and Shintos throughout the world. With this allegation against the ADL as a spy operation, much of the good that it must have done over the years in its non-spy capacity must be questioned and discounted.

For while it was serving as a model, by all accounts available to us, it was spying on organizations that it was ostensibly helping. Organizations such as the NAACP welcomed this help, for the ADL was a strong, well-funded, Jewish-run and respected organization that seemed to wish to be of help to Blacks wishing to enter the mainstream of American life. They were welcomed into our organizations and into our lives. It is unthinkable to suggest that these "friends" have betrayed us, as well as so many more. Yet, the investigations by competent authorities in Los Angeles and San Francisco suggest that they have done precisely that, up to and including selling illegally gathered information on organizations and individuals to the apartheid government of South Africa.

This knowledge is too much to bear, for every contact that any of us have ever had with this organization, every conversation we have ever had with their leaders, every cooperative venture that we have ever embarked upon must be examined in a new light while we hold our breath, control our anger, frustration, rage and disappointment until we are certain that the ADL has done that which they have been accused of doing.

That day should not be long in coming. Former congressman Paul N. "Pete" Mc-

They were welcomed into our organizations and into our lives. It is unthinkable to suggest that these "friends" have betrayed us, as well as so many more. Yet, the investigations by competent authorities in Los Angeles and San Francisco suggest that they have done precisely that...

Closkey has filed a class action suit complaining of an “Invasion of Privacy” against the “Anti-Defamation League, Richard Hirschhaut, Roy Bullock, Thomas Gerard, and [JOHN] DOES one through two hundred.” Such suits are likely to be filed in New York as well as other cities on the East Coast. It is certain that the New Alliance Party and the Black United Fund will file suit. It is also certain that the *Amsterdam News* has asked for investigation of the ADL in New York, especially in view of the scurrilous “information” provided to the staff of the *New York Post* used in the infamous edition of the *Post* published on March 16, 1993. There will be many more suits and investigations of this, the most powerful, and possibly most destructive Jewish organization in America, for they seem to have spied on everybody.

Perhaps this whole thing can be summed up by a Black writer who does not wish for an identity to be revealed at this point:

“It’s truly tragic; so many people have been hurt, defamed by an organization that is supposed to be against defamation. What tragic irony that an organization ostensibly dedicated to anti-defamation of other people should have so long played an indefensible role in so terribly damaging others.”

But the biggest question of all: Why the silence in the New York media, print and electronic (and I suppose also in Washington and the northeast in general). When one of the country’s most important organizations is accused of participation over a period of decades in a “nationwide political spy operation,” that’s news! Why isn’t it being treated as such? This is truly horrendous.

During one of the most inflammatory weeks of the Crown Heights disturbances, ADL elected to project a report (Gabe Pressman, NBC reporting) charging Black people with being anti-Semitic. At such a time! Where is the press now that the same organization is reported as having spied on the NAACP for years!? What are the implications for African-Americans of ADL’s tie-in with police agencies and South Africa? Notice the tie-in with a lawyer [Abraham Foxman, ADL National Director] who fronted for the spy operations and his tie-in in turn with the appointment of federal judges. What are the implications of the access of the police to the driver’s licenses with physical descriptions of individuals? How can the private records of people be protected against unauthorized access to them by the police or any other agents of the state? I believe this matter should be referred to the Justice Department, specifically to Attorney General Janet Reno and the Office of Civil Rights. These are overwhelming questions that must be answered by liberal Jews most of all. Indeed, why?



Abraham Foxman



Roy Bullock



Tom Gerard



Jonathan Greenblatt

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL Spy Master

In 1993, documents uncovered by the *Memphis Appeal* proved that over a century ago the Jewish founder of the NAACP, **Joel Spingarn**, was spying on Black members of the new organization for the U.S. military—an egregious betrayal of trust that marked the beginnings of an *American Mossad*.

In the 1940's the ADL was sending Black undercover agents into the meetings of the Nation of Islam and instigated the arrest of 82 innocent Muslims in Chicago in 1942. In the 1950s the ADL hired a Jewish FBI agent named **Milton Ellerin** to expand its espionage operation. At the time the FBI was under the direction of **J. Edgar Hoover**, who was running its infamous COINTELPRO program which spied on and murdered Black leaders. Among its most important operatives was the FBI's first Jewish assistant director and "chief of investigative operations" **Alex Rosen**, who authored many of the secret COINTELPRO documents.

Abraham H. Foxman became the national director of the Anti-Defamation League in 1987 until 2015 and Jewish spying on Blacks reached a massive new level. Under Foxman's leadership ADL agents **Tom Gerard** and **Roy Bullock** were caught spying on more than 12,000 individuals and 950 organizations. The ADL then sold that illegally gathered information to the apartheid government of South Africa, among other racist regimes.

Some of the Black organizations targeted by Foxman's ADL were the African National Congress (of South Africa), the NAACP, the Nation of Islam, and Black Studies Departments and Black Student Organizations. Others included Arab-American, Palestinian, Native American groups; even the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Greenpeace were on Foxman's secret spy lists.

When the ADL was caught in this illegal operation in 1993 Blacks were outraged. It so offended **Wilbert Tatum** that he began a campaign in the *Amsterdam News* to expose the ADL and its allies.



Joel Spingarn



Milton Ellerin



Alex Rosen

**The ADL must be probed by government:
There is no other way to clear or condemn it**

(8 May 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

At the very moment when Abe Foxman was describing this writer as an anti-Semite to Jeff Goldberg, a reporter for the respected *Forward* (formerly the *Jewish Daily Forward*), genuine anti-Semites were desecrating the Jewish section of Stockholm's Skogskyrkogarden (Forest Cemetery) for the second time in little more than six months. Headstones were overturned, broken and cracked; and once more pictures appear in the newspaper with family members of the deceased and cemetery workers trying to rearrange the graves and put the stones back into place, for they have been forcibly removed from their concrete moorings. 124 stones were overturned this time. There were many before, but officials

There is no reason for us to believe that spokespersons for the ADL are even capable of telling the truth.

view this as an escalation on the part of neo-nazis and racists, and say that this kind of repetition suggests this criminal behavior may be a part of an initiation ritual for young nazis, skinheads and racists. This, in the most advanced and liberal nation on earth, with only 15,000 Jews and hardly any Blacks at all. At the very moment policemen in Stockholm were receiving reports about young hoodlums on mopeds and in a car scouting the cemetery,

the ADL was providing distorted information to the *Village Voice's* Robert Friedman that they had gathered through their "spy operation" to use to discredit, divide and coerce Blacks in New York City as well as to destabilize some of our most respected institutions.

Among those targeted were Louis Clayton Jones, lawyer and activist; his brother, William Jones, the dynamic and outspoken pastor of Bethany Baptist Church in Brooklyn; Percy Sutton, chairman emeritus of the ICBC Corporation; Bayard Rustin (now deceased), former executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Bill Tatum, publisher of the *Amsterdam News*; the Black United Fund; and the Harlem Commonwealth Council.

This piece of garbage, with the provocative but trite headline "Strange Bedfellows," was a part of a larger story written by Friedman about the Anti-Defamation League that appears on the front page of this week's edition of the *Voice*, called "The Anti Defamation League Is

There is a possible connection between the ADL and information passed on to the White regime in South Africa that may have contributed to the death of the assassinated Black leader Chris Hani.

Spying on You.” While the story is well researched and occasionally apologetic for the behavior of the ADL, little new has been added to what we already know, with one exception: There are international spying allegations. Particularly, there is a possible connection between the ADL and information passed on to the White regime in South Africa that may have contributed to the death of the assassinated Black leader Chris Hani.



The *Voice* piece follows the *Amsterdam News'* by several weeks, and the *Voice* has not yet taken an editorial position on the need for an investigation; nor has any other newspaper except the *Amsterdam News*. While Abraham Foxman freely admits that there is “information gathering” going on, he insists that the ADL “does not spy” and that they do not condone or reward such illegal activity. To pay someone \$185,000 just to “gather” legal information, as the ADL suggests that it has done, is to stretch credulity beyond its breaking point; and to suggest, too, that they were “gathering information for everybody” is to further expand the tissue of lies and cover-ups that the ADL has been engaged in for a long, long time. There is no reason for us to believe that spokespersons for the ADL are even capable of telling the truth.

Our immediate concern is for the Black community in New York and what the ADL may have done in terms of propaganda, illegal spying, paid network of informants, etc., to exacerbate tensions over the [Dr. Leonard] Jeffries’ case and the Crown Heights affair between Blacks and Jews in this city...and why.

For the past several years, Black leaders have been targeted, maliciously prosecuted, misreported, maligned and often forced from office or their jobs. What role has the ADL played, overtly as well as covertly, in the more than 1,000 reported cases of harassment of Black public officials nationally?

And what of White media and the Jewish press? What role has the ADL with, say, *The New York Times*, where there sits an “ADL nationalist,” Abe Rosenthal, who uses his column as a bludgeon to intimidate outspoken Black leaders by directly accusing them of being anti-Semites.

There certainly was a role played by the ADL and the *New York Times* in bringing Jesse Jackson down. Did the *Times*, Abe Rosenthal, and the ADL work in concert to discredit Jackson and keep the anti-Semitic charge against him alive so many months and years after he had apologized?

For the past several years, Black leaders have been targeted, maliciously prosecuted, misreported, maligned and often forced from office or their jobs. What role has the ADL played, overtly as well as covertly, in the more than 1,000 reported cases of harassment of Black public officials nationally?

And are there journalists in major media, print and electronic, who are working both sides of the streets? The ADL's side as well as the side of their respective companies? And are they being paid by their companies and the ADL for destabilizing the Black community by what they write and the way they write it, what they say and the way they say it?

Finally, what about the journalists in New York City who constantly pound the Black community and accuse this beleaguered group of citizens of being anti-Semites?

A few writers and reporters come to mind immediately who seem to delight in scapegoating the Black community over any issue, just so long as that issue could be construed as having the seeds of destruction for any Black/Jewish alliance. They are: **Joe Klein, Jack Newfield, Michael Kramer, Ed Diamond, Jim Sleeper, Nat Hentoff, Frederick Dicker, Pete Hamill, Mike Pearl, David Seifman, Mark Kalech, Eric Breindel, Deborah Orin, Colin Miner, Mark Kriegel, Mel Jaffe, Jim Nolan, Charles Carillo** and **Jim Jensen**—especially in view of the roles they played putting out and commenting on the ADL-inspired *New York Post* edition of March 16.

The question here is, who among these have connections to the ADL? Are any of them on the payroll of the ADL? And what shared information system, if any, is being used by these writers when they go about doing hatchet jobs on anyone who happens to be Black, in government or out? Are these writers connected in some way to the Anti-Defamation League? If so, are their employers aware the ADL has paid journalists in the past and is probably paying them now?

New York's ADL must be investigated, if only to put these questions to rest, for if there are sinister connections between these writers, the organs for which they work, and the ADL, Black people are in real jeopardy, and so is the nation.

Finally, to have spied on Black people and to have attempted to stigmatize and destabilize 30 million American citizens is unforgivable. Even if Mr. [Robert M.] Morgenthau's office [Manhattan District Attorney's Office] doesn't see the need for an investigation now, trust us, he will, just as surely as night will follow day. This goes for every other level of government as well, including the need for a congressional investigation of an organization that has spent so much of the taxpayers' money through its not-for-profit arm.

We are at risk in America just so long as the ADL spends its time investigating us rather than the real anti-Semites who are expanding their numbers and influence, especially in Europe. With a very liberal and open-door immigration policy for Whites in America, it is only a matter of a short time before the neo-nazis, skinheads and racists will have crossed the pond that we call the Atlantic and join their American brothers who are well on their way from the West and Middle West to destroy both of us after we've finished savaging each other. If one believes that White skin or money will save any of us from racist destruction, just refer to the lessons provided by recent history.

Anti-Defamation League: Terror for our time

(15 May 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

STOCKHOLM, May 11 – In the 100-odd year history of the ADL, the word “terror” was never, ever a part of the lexicon describing any of their activities. Since the exposure of an alleged spy network funded by the ADL and stretching into the far reaches of illegal snooping that is said to have become an international espionage network, terror seems more the description of far too many of their activities.



From the allegation of involvement in some fashion in the Jonathan Jay Pollard case [in photo; Pollard, a Jew, is an American citizen and a former naval intelligence employee with an exceptionally high security clearance, who was tried and convicted of spying for Israel and stealing volumes of intelligence secrets and passing these on to the State of Israel through the Israeli secret service organization, MOSSAD], to the sale of illegally obtained information on Americans active in the anti-apartheid movement, to the racist White government of South Africa, the skirts and hands of the ADL appear to be totally unclean.

That is why it is so amazing that *Forward* reports that this “controversy” pits Abe Foxman against Bill Tatum, as if it were some personal matter that can be resolved by a false charge of anti-Semitism that has no substance; nor is it related to fact. Can the ADL possibly believe that Blacks or Jews can be sucked in by that kind of “flackery”?

There was a time when the ADL could project and promote this kind of smear overkill and get away with it. The organization was perceived to be of such vital importance to the American-Jewish community and to Israel. Their reported excesses, including espionage, character assassination and extreme right-wing political activities, went unchallenged. All this has begun to change. Although major Jewish organizations are rallying around the ADL, they do so while holding their noses, for they know better than anyone else why they refuse to speak out, even in the face of seeing the ADL employ the same kind of guilt by association, the big lie and veiled threats used at the height of the era of McCarthyism that resulted in the censure, firing and career destruction of so many Jews in academia, the film industry, the labor movement, as well as federal, state and local governments.

It is perhaps useful to quote from a letter published in the *Los Angeles Times* on March 26 of this year, signed by Sami Odeh, a close relative of the murdered Alex Odeh, an Arab American leader on the West Coast who was killed, it is alleged, by the terrorist **Jewish Defense League** by a bomb in 1985.

Mr. Odeh wrote: “The ADL’s systematic gathering of data on law-abiding American citizens for the purpose of selling it to racist regimes in Israel and South Africa is spying, and as such it is an illegal act that must be punished...it is true that extremists of all backgrounds represent a potential danger to our society. I ought to know. Jewish extremists blew up my brother and the building that housed his office in Santa Ana in 1985. The true danger to our democracy is organizations such as the ADL that conduct illegal activities on a regular basis and seek to inhibit our freedoms and constitutional rights.”

We begin, then, to understand why an organization such as the ADL left untouched and unchallenged can become a force for evil, using such ridiculous excuses for the alleged espionage as “we were being helpful to the United States government.”

Spying on America? Selling illegally obtained personal information to the racist regime in South Africa? Helpful to the United States? To what fool does the ADL expect to sell that version of the Brooklyn Bridge? Indeed!

The *Forward* suggests that the *Amsterdam News* has “declared war” on the ADL. Nothing could be further from the truth. What we have done is to demand that the ADL come clean about its covert activities that have already served to harm so many.

Without a thorough investigation of the organization in New York, the ADL will run amok as the loose cannon that it is, exploding in our faces, doing great injury while bringing profound sorrow to those of us who knew the inherent danger and refused to speak out anyway.

No, we will not allow the ADL, or Foxman, to draw us into a personal name-calling feud that will serve to obfuscate the real issue—that the ADL is alleged to be conducting illegal spy operations in the United States and perhaps abroad in order to obtain information, in the manner of J. Edgar Hoover’s “secret” personal information gathering system, that was used to intimidate, threaten or destroy human beings with whom he did not agree.

We cannot allow the ADL to do that here.

Spying on America? Selling illegally obtained personal information to the racist regime in South Africa? Helpful to the United States? To what fool does the ADL expect to sell that version of the Brooklyn Bridge? Indeed!

The Anti-Defamation League: Blacks outraged as Jews defend the indefensible

(22 May 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

Two letters came today, one, a copy of a letter being sent to New York District Attorney Robert Morgenthau by The Committee To Eliminate Media Offensive To African People (CEMOTAP), another from a private citizen who identifies himself as Arthur Ginsberg of Manhattan. Both of the letters address the subject of the ADL. CEMOTAP's letter addresses the real issues being raised by those in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York and elsewhere who believe that they have been victimized by the Anti-Defamation League...by those who believe that the alleged illegal, covert "fact finding operations" set up by the ADL using paid informants of questionable integrity to spy on organizations and individuals with which they do not agree politically and otherwise thus putting them (the victims) in jeopardy.

The information collected was often stolen, traded or bought from corrupt law enforcement and government officials, without regard for the accuracy of that information, much of it personal, thus protected by the confidentiality laws of the various states, or so it would seem. The information, by now a dossier, would be sold to or shared with a foreign power, journalists who were on the payroll of the ADL or news organizations and journalists with which they had a special relationship. The information has been used to smear, discredit, intimidate, coerce, silence and destroy individuals, organizations and movements. The modus operandi of the ADL, if found to be as sinister and callous as it is being described by those who have sued, will make Joe McCarthy and the "ism" that bears his name look amateurish by comparison, especially the ADL's passion, so like McCarthy's (making a Communist when none could be found), and repeating the lie so often and so loud that reputations are ruined, businesses destroyed and organizations devastated. These are only a few of the reasons that CEMOTAP has written the following letter:

The modus operandi of the ADL, if found to be as sinister and callous as it is being described by those who have sued, will make Joe McCarthy and the "ism" that bears his name look amateurish by comparison...

CEMOTAP Letter

Dear District Attorney Morgenthau:

On behalf of the Committee to Eliminate Media Offensive To African People (CEMOTAP), we request that you investigate the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York.

According to written reports emanating from the San Francisco Police Department, the San Francisco Sheriff's Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other law enforcement agencies, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has used paid unlicensed investigators called fact-finders to illegally invade the privacy of citizens residing within your jurisdiction. These fact-finders reported to Irwin Suall, the head fact-finder of the New York ADL. Some of the laws that appear to have been violated involve illegal wiretaps, illegal possession of assorted documents such as phony drivers licenses, death certificates and passports, failing to maintain proper tax records for full-time employees, and misuse of their organizational status as a religious and nonprofit organization. We are sure that a person of your legal background and qualification can find as many violations of New York City's laws as the San Francisco police found of San Francisco's laws should you investigate.

Lest you underestimate the urgency of this request, let us inform you that these fact-finders are also alleged to have sold personal information relating to persons residing within your jurisdiction to the South African Government and the South African Intelligence Service. Both these entities are infamous for human rights violations, up to and including murder. One of the activists residing outside your jurisdiction about whom such information was sold, anti-apartheid activist Chris Hani, was recently murdered. Another anti-apartheid activist, Elombe Brath, who resides within your jurisdiction, reported on radio station WLIB that his name, address and apartment number were sold by operatives of the ADL to the South African Government. He also expressed concern that such information has allegedly been used in the past by that government to send letter bombs to persons of whose anti-apartheid activities they objected.

We consider this a life-and-death matter and hope that you will immediately inform us of your appropriate action.

James C. McIntosh, M.D., Co-chairman

On the other hand, the letter defending what the ADL is alleged to be doing is a pitiful effort to defend the indefensible, laced with anger, vituperation and veiled threats. Of the letters we have received, this is typical while being less offensive than the rest—in a word, printable:

Arthur Ginsberg Letter

To “Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News” [the ellipses throughout are in the original].

Dear Editor:

The hatefulness being spewed by you and other so-called Black “leaders”...the likes of Farrakhan, Carson, Cokely, Maddox, Mason, Jeffries and the like, to note just a few, engenders a counter-hate that threatens to undermine the development of a more civil society in the U.S.

It is pathetic and tragic that Blacks should be at war with Jews, who were clearly the most dedicated and devoted and forthcoming advocates and supporters of Martin Luther King's Civil Rights Movement. Were [Michael] Schwerner, [Andrew] Goodman, [Jack] Greenberg...to cite just a few...trying to “take over Black institutions from the inside”?

Jews regard the greatest threat to their sanctity in this country to originate in the Black community. The pogrom in Crown Heights, which involved a rampaging mob of Blacks assaulting Jews and killing a totally innocent one in cold blood has not happened anywhere before Nazi Germany, and not to deplore it is criminal, obscene...and stupidly self-defeating. The next pogrom against Blacks will be regarded with the same attitude...you brought it upon yourself, and who cares?

To consider Foxman, a Holocaust survivor, as Nazi-like displays an ignorance and insensitivity to history and a distorted sense of logic.

You seem to ignore that every White who hates Blacks also hates Jews and now Jews have new enemies...many Blacks, and Blacks will have few sympathizers and supporters with this hate message, which disgusts everyone. Smarten up, Tatum!

Arthur Ginsberg

And there it is. The Ginsberg letter is clear! If it represents the thinking of the vast majority of Jews in this country, then both Blacks and Jews are in for a time of sorrow. Given what we know of the ADL, much of it from personal experience, the Ginsberg letter represents the kind of paranoid thinking that the ADL, through its excesses, has succeeded in promoting, including the description of the tragedy of Crown Heights as a pogrom.

Pogrom, according to *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Encyclopedic Dictionary*, means “An organized and often officially instigated local massacre, esp. one directed against the Jews.” With two unfortunate deaths: a rabbi, who was murdered, and a Black child accidentally slain, with an ensuing riot in which no one was slain and few hospitalized, Crown Heights just cannot be legitimately described as a pogrom, although it is clear that the ADL has encouraged that kind of thinking on the parts of far too many Jews who believe, as Mr. Ginsberg, that this is precisely what happened there.

For this and so much more, the ADL has to answer. With the capture, arrest and indictment of Tom Gerard, an informer and spy for the ADL who reported to Roy Bullock, who claimed to be an art dealer while working for the ADL, it is expected that Bullock will be indicted as well.

According to an article that appears in the May 31 edition of respected *Nation* magazine, penned by Alexander Cockburn, “There have been fears that political pressure might squelch the case against the Anti-Defamation League spies being built by the San Francisco district attorney, Arlo Smith. But the *San Francisco Examiner* for May 11 carried a story by Dennis Opatrny and Scott Winokur reporting that top officials of the ADL are ‘the ultimate targets of the San Francisco district attorney’s domestic spying investigation. Such officials include the ADL’s New York-based director of research, Irwin Sull. Meanwhile, the ADL’s strategy is to link critics of its spy operation with neo-Nazis and with the World Trade Center bombers.’”

None of the New York columnists, editorial writers, or magazine writers who glory in writing articles about anti-Semitism in the Black Community, have dared utter a single word about or against the ADL, as if these frightening allegations did not exist.

Although we believe that we are victims of the spy and smear operation of the ADL, among so many more organizations and individuals in New York, we do not believe that the ADL has a prayer of using its strategy to dismiss us by calling us neo-Nazis or WTC bombers, although we would not be all that surprised if they tried to do so now.

Although there is much activity on the West Coast and many complaints filed on the East Coast, to our knowledge no full-scale investigation has been mounted by the district attorney, the state attorney general, or the New York City Police Department. There are

reports that the FBI has been in touch with some people who believe that they have been targets of the ADL.

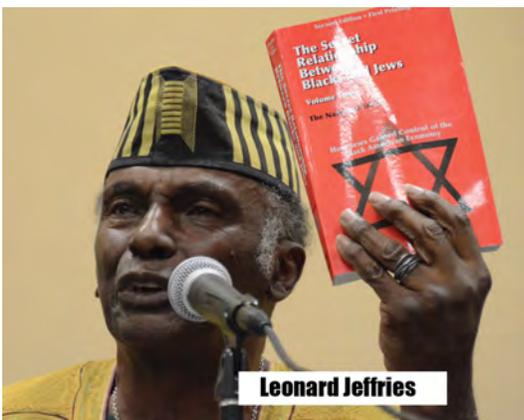
The New York City press corps, electronic and print, has seemed to back away from this story that is “taking legs” everywhere else. The story has been buried, headlines misleading, pointing away from, rather than toward, ADL involvement. None of the New York columnists, editorial writers, or magazine writers who glory in writing articles about anti-Semitism in the Black Community, have dared utter a single word about or against the ADL, as if these frightening allegations did not exist. They are still preoccupied with trying to destroy Len Jeffries’ constitutional right to speak his mind. Those journalists, many of them named in a prior editorial here, have no right to criticize anyone if they continue to ignore one of the most important stories of our time, the investigation of the Anti-Defamation League and its alleged “spy operation.”

Boston professor hails Jeffries victory

(22 May 1993)

Herb Boyd, New York Amsterdam News

[NOTE: Historians **Drs. Leonard Jeffries** and **Tony Martin** were attacked for teaching the fact of Jewish involvement in Black slavery. Both used the Nation of Islam book *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews* to document their positions. Dr. Jeffries was illegally removed from his position at City College of New York and sued the college. He won the suit and was awarded \$400,000 and lawyer’s fees.]



“There must be no more easy victories for the Jews,” Professor Tony Martin asserted. “In fact, there should be no more victories for the Jews, period.”

A round of lusty applause mixed with cries of “Teach! Teach!” erupted from hundreds of people attending a Friday evening forum at Harriet Tubman School in Harlem.

Martin, a noted scholar and an instructor at Wellesley College in Boston, was in the middle of a speech in which he soundly denounced the Jewish organizations who have vilified him for using a text published by the Nation of Islam.

That book, *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, Martin contended, “corrects a number of falsifications and clearly documents the Jewish involvement, not only in African slavery, but in the extermination of Native Americans as well. According to the book—and all the data is taken from Jewish scholars—75 percent of Jewish households in the 1830s owned slaves.”



Martin said that two of the largest shipments of slaves to the United States occurred on ships owned by Jews. Nor was this heinous crime incidental, he charged. “Jews have waged a struggle against us over the last several decades,” Martin continued, “and since they cannot control us from within, as they attempted to do during the civil rights period, they are determined to destroy us from without.”

The embattled professor, who is widely acclaimed for his extensive scholarship on Marcus Garvey and the Garvey movement, said that he was not about to wilt under the attacks from Jewish organizations who have appealed to the college to terminate him.

“Dr. Jeffries’ recent victory is an indication that they cannot win,” said Martin, commenting on Dr. Leonard Jeffries’ successful suit against City College, which last year stripped him of his Black studies chair. “And I will be victorious too!”

Dr. Jeffries, along with Professor John Henrik Clarke, Viola Plummer of the December 12th Movement, Marcus Garvey Jr., Robert Harris and Elombe Brath of the sponsoring Patrice Lumumba Coalition, strongly supported Martin’s claim for academic freedom.

“We are on a victorious path,” Jeffries announced, “we must unite as an African people. The reason I was successful is because I had a splendid legal team and the community behind me. That’s why they are afraid of me.”

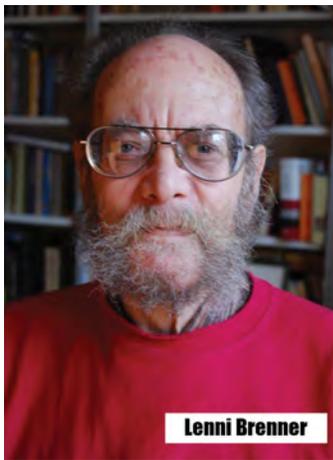
Plummer said she was not at the rally to defend Professor Martin. “We are not here to defend anyone—we’re on the offensive!” she assailed.

The ADL: Need for a wartime consigliere; bring your warriors and your scholars when you 'mess with' Lenni Brenner

(29 May 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

[NOTE: Lenni Brenner, contributing writer for the *New York Amsterdam News*, was born into an Orthodox Jewish family in 1937. In the 1960s, Brenner was a prominent Civil Rights Movement activist and vocal opponent of the Vietnam War. Since the 1980s, his activism has focused on anti-Zionism.]



As the controversy continues in San Francisco and Los Angeles over the alleged participation of the Anti-Defamation League in a “spy operation” that has targeted some “500 political and ethnic groups and an estimated 10,000 individuals,” according to the *San Francisco Chronicle* of May 8, 1993, the national director of the ADL, who has been on the West Coast directing the defense of the oldest and largest Jewish civil rights organization in the United States, is apparently losing his composure...in a word, his “cool.” Abraham Foxman, the director, is not intellectually or emotionally

equipped to deal effectively and dispassionately with serious allegations against the organization that, if proved to be true, could serve to destroy it by rendering suspect all of its programs, no matter what good they may have done. In responding to a statement made by former U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey, who is the lawyer who filed the suit in San Francisco for 10 people who say that [Roy] Bullock, [Tom] Gerard and the ADL invaded their privacy, Foxman said that the (San Francisco district attorney’s) probe of the ADL is supported by “bastards” who are “anti-Semitic, undemocratic and anti-American.”

To suggest that those who have been offended by the idea that they have been spied on by an organization that did it without sanction of law (at least we hope that this is so), and to attempt to use the cloak of democracy and super red-blooded Americanism to bolster their case rather than an opening of their books and records so that truth can be approached, is not only terminally dumb but an

Abraham Foxman, the director, is not intellectually or emotionally equipped to deal effectively and dispassionately with serious allegations against the organization that, if proved to be true, could serve to destroy it by rendering suspect all of its programs, no matter what good they may have done.

exercise in futility as well. Foxman does not realize that his organization is under intense scrutiny not only by those who believe that they are or have been targets, but by thinking Jews who realize the implications of each supported allegation of wrongdoing lodged against the ADL will further erode the credibility of an organization that once boasted that it spoke for the Jews of America. A tall order indeed, and entirely possible. If this is so, however, we would suggest that the ADL is in deep trouble; and to use an analogy found in the Puzo film *The Godfather*, the ADL is at war and Abe Foxman is not a wartime consigliere.



Irwin Suall

On another front, *Amsterdam News* writer Lenni Brenner—who happens to be Jewish, a fine writer and an acknowledged scholar—has been consistently attacked and investigated by the ADL. As a matter of fact, the ADL was so concerned about the truths that he told the *Amsterdam* that Irwin Suall, the chief of the “fact finder” unit at the ADL, now under scrutiny by law enforcement for his alleged leadership of the “spy operation,”

saw fit to call Mr. Brenner a virtual anti-Semite (whatever that is).

In defense of himself, what he has written in the *Amsterdam News*, and the publisher, Mr. Brenner offered the following letter to the *Forward*, arguably the most responsible Jewish newspaper in this city:

Your May 7 issue presented an ingenious new definition of anti-Semitism (“Black Newspaper Publisher Declares War on ADL Chief”). A publisher, Wilbert Tatum, is an anti-Semite, not because he doesn’t publish Jews, but because he does. However, he didn’t realize that he had to get approval from the Jewish Pope, Pope Irwin XXIII, as to which Jews he is allowed to publish, so he published the wrong Jew: “Mr. Tatum...is considered suspect in some Jewish circles for providing a platform for the views of the radical writer Lenni Brenner.”

My first *Amsterdam News* article was an August 31, 1991, background-er on the Lubavitchers. Fred Dicker of the *New York Post* denounced me on September 9: “According to the Anti-Defamation League’s Irwin Suall... the article’s author, Lenni Brenner, is ‘a left-wing extremist who is so virulently anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and anti-American Jewry as to be virtually anti-Semitic himself.’”

Mr. Dicker complained that I described Menachem Schneerson as “an old gray-bearded rabbi, the ultimate stereotype of a Jew.” And I called the

Lubavitchers' "basic document," Shneur Zalman's "Ha Tanya," "the ultimate in theological hatred."

I wrote the *New York Post*, defending myself. Mr. Tatum, concerned that perhaps I had written something anti-Semitic, asked for my letter. When he saw that Messrs. Suall and Dicker maligned me, he ran it as part of an *Amsterdam News* editorial, defending me. Here is what I said on my part (*Amsterdam News*, September 14, 1991): What I really wrote was that "In every election, the politicians rush to have their picture taken with Schneerson, an old gray-bearded rabbi, the ultimate stereotype of a Jew. In other words they use him as a photo-op because to them, not me, he is the symbol of the Jews." I clearly said that, "In the real world, beyond the demagoguery of the two-party hacks, most Jews despise the Lubavitchers."



Frederick Dicker

Many Jewish sociologists have dealt with the fact that today's Jews are the richest ethnic or religious group in the United States; that 24 of our 73 billionaires are Jews; and that 60% of the non-institutional campaign funds of the Democratic Party, our ruling party, came from rich Jews.

I then cite directly from "Ha Tanya," written by the founder of the sect in 1796. Unlike Jews, who have good and evil in their souls, "The souls of the nations of the world, however, emanate from the other, unclean husks which contain no good whatever, as is written in 'Etz Chayim,' Portal 49, ch. 3, that all the good that the nations do, is done from selfish motives. So the Gemara comments on the verse, 'the kindness of the nations is sin.'"

The crude attack on me, and my emphatic response to it, legitimized my writing for the *Amsterdam News*. At any rate, I then

called Mr. Suall directly and asked him how he could call me an anti-Semite. We had known each other since the 1950s, when I was a young member of, and he was the national secretary of the Socialist Party. His answer deserves recording: "Jews have been persecuted for thousands of years, and all you can talk about is rich Jews."

So, I write about rich Jews? So does the *Forward*. Many Jewish sociologists have dealt with the fact that today's Jews are the richest ethnic or

religious group in the United States; that 24 of our 73 billionaires are Jews; and that 60% of the non-institutional campaign funds of the Democratic Party, our ruling party, came from rich Jews. These realities have deep implications for both the U.S. and the Jews, and cry out for analysis. Moreover, it eludes me how talking about rich Jews can be thought anti-Semitic. Indeed, doesn't Proverbs 28:11 instruct us that "The rich man is wise in his own conceit; but the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out"?

For the record, I call myself a Jew and so does the world. But ideologically I'm a Saul turned into a Paul, a Trotskyist, therefore an internationalist. As such, I have no obligatory loyalty to either the Jews or America. My only allegiance is to the oppressed, exploited, insulted and injured of our earth.

If any say nay to this, let them put up a Times Square billboard: "Lenni Brenner is virtually anti-Semitic." Let them do it and be damned!

Lenni Brenner, New York, N.Y.

(Reprinted with permission from the May 21 edition of the *Forward*.)

Mr. Brenner, of whom we are justifiably proud for sticking to his principles in spite of severe criticism from the "mishpah'hah," persevere no matter what criticism comes from a Jewish community terrified because its emperor, the ADL, just may not have any clothes.

The Anti-Defamation League: What they did with fear

(5 June 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

From all over now the letters come. The calls are incessant, and I am being stopped on the street or in the subway or at a meeting or concert. The message is crystal clear: "Thank you for doing what we were afraid to do. Thank you for saying what we were afraid to say. Thank you for having the courage to stick it out no matter what they did to you. Thank you for leading us. Please don't stop now, for there are others who will follow your lead after you wipe away the fear. The ADL must answer for intimidating so many of us for so many years."

The words and the sentiment were there, not necessarily in that order, but far more intense and emotional. In a meeting called for something else by many of the wise and older men and women in the Black community, the question was raised as to whom or what was being targeted by the Anti-Defamation League for surveillance in the Black community. There was no hesitation as they said, almost in chorus, ***"All of us and everybody and everything that ever meant anything to the real struggle for liberation of Black people in America. We knew that we had been infiltrated. We knew that they were there. We knew that there was an attempt to control from within by using 'contributions' as a sweetener or a cudgel based upon what agenda was being promoted at the time. Oh yes, we knew, and we were powerless to do anything about it, for they controlled our access to almost everything."***

Then there was silence as some few spoke in turn, relating incidents that they had witnessed where plans and strategies having to do with our very survival during critical times in our struggle for liberation were revealed to those who did not wish our movement well, very often before the ink was dry on a document and before a strategy could be announced. After the silence and the musing and the talk, this sentiment remained: Thank God somebody is doing it. Thank God that someone is trying to relieve us from this yoke of fear.

And what is this fear? It is the fear that comes from not knowing what is going on in your life. It is the fear of being watched or overheard or talked about, or being maneuvered into positions and situations not of your own making by propaganda. It is to be haunted and hounded as an anti-Semite, as was Jesse Jackson, for years following his "Hymietown" comment, and a string of abject apologies as a Democratic National Committee Convention speaker following his first run for the Democratic Nomination for president in 1984 up to and through his appearance and another apology at a meet-

ing of the World Jewish Congress in Brussels in 1992, to a meeting of the New York Board of Rabbis in 1992, at which Jackson was the featured speaker. Jesse's apologies, as sincere as they were, have never been fully accepted; for there is that hardcore center of Jews in America, led by the ADL, that will neither forgive nor forget Jesse's words. To them he has been, is and always will be an anti-Semite. Be reminded that these are the same people, led by the ADL, who found it in their hearts to forgive President Ronald Reagan for going to Bitburg to lay a wreath at the tomb of the SS Waffen; and who found it worthy of only casual comment that Secretary Baker, of the Bush administra-

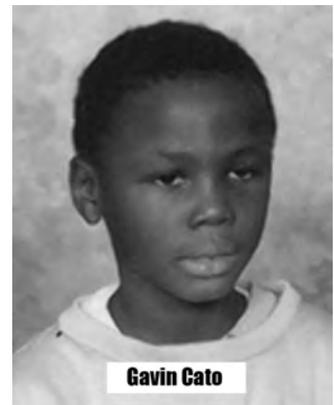
tion, had found it necessary, as reported by one of the favorite sons of the ADL, Ed Koch, that the Jews be made love to in an unloving manner.



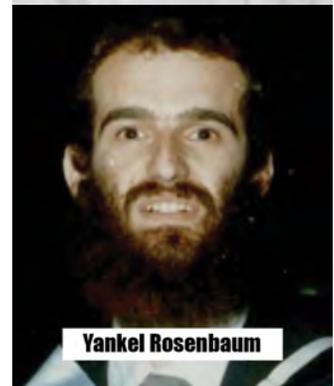
Kenneth Stern

None of this really stops here. Blacks have been targeted by the ADL for some time. We will have to revisit so many things now that appeared before to be accidents of history, happenstance or just bad luck. We will have to look again at the report of the ADL on "The Liberators," and their successful effort to get a program which could have meant so much to Black-Jewish relations off the air based upon

specious scholarship and research by one Kenneth Stern, who may or may not be one of the ADL's "fact-finders" of the Irwin Suall genre. We must currently visit the Rudolph Giuliani campaign for mayor, as he resurrects "pogrom" as a definition for the unrest in Crown Heights following the unfortunate deaths of little Gavin Cato and rabbinical student Yankel Rosenbaum. We must look at the charges of anti-Semitism being hurled at so many Blacks running for office or who are currently office holders at media targets of the ADL: public radio in California, Washington, Boston and New York, WLIB—all Pacifica stations, especially WBAI in New York; the *Amsterdam News*, and Black newspapers in general; the role of the ADL, if any, in bringing Rupert Murdoch back to the *New York Post*, and their connection with journalists there, especially Eric Briendel, Jack Newfield and Frederic Dicker, journalists who have figured prominently in anti-Black smear campaigns in the *Post*. We must look at why FAIR [Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting] was targeted by the ADL. It is an organization run primarily by non-African-Americans who wish to do as its name implies, assure fairness and accuracy in reporting.



Gavin Cato



Yankel Rosenbaum

The *New York Times* saw fit to devote 3/5ths of a page to the Anti-Defamation League and the controversy in which it is now embroiled with articles by Dennis King and Chip

Berlet, journalists who have at one time or another worked with and/or for the League, and Abraham Foxman, who is national director of the Anti-Defamation League, whose vicious threats and actions against those who dare criticize him or the ADL have made him an object of ridicule and scorn rather than a leader who should be taken seriously. More the pity for the national viability and credibility of the ADL, for having a national leader who speaks before engaging his brain is a danger without measure. A cursory reading of the articles in the op ed section of the *Times* of Friday, May 28, 1993 (page A-29), suggests that even the *Times* has been forced to sit up and take notice of a national story that has hardly seen the light of day in the *Times*, except for non-investigative rehashes and a Sunday article of three or four weeks ago which was buried and which carried a misleading headline, by accident or design we cannot ascertain.

Finally, for this week there is an example of the lengths to which an ill-prepared and frightened leader will go to divert attention from the real issue (whether or not there is and has been a spy operation in the ADL targeting a segment of the American population while suggesting that something or someone else is to blame for its state of misfortune). Foxman illustrates as well as epitomizes this in his response to questions put to him by reporter Al Ellenberg of *The Jerusalem Report*, an English-language magazine published in Israel on June 3, 1993:

A number of New York Jewish leaders argue that Tatum himself has used the *Amsterdam News*, with its circulation of 40,000 and estimated readership of 250,000, to fuel racial tensions in the city. They point particularly to his enthusiastic support for Leonard Jeffries, the City College Black studies professor who has contended, among other things, that Jews played a prominent role in the slave trade. (In May a federal court upheld Jeffries's contention that his dismissal as department head was a violation of his right of free speech. The university plans to appeal.)

Tatum's most acerbic critic has been Abe Foxman, director of the Anti-Defamation League, who publicly assailed Tatum in August 1991 for running a headline over a story about the Crown Heights riots which read: "Many Blacks, No Jews Arrested in Crown Heights."

"That report came from the police," Tatum says. "Foxman is attacking me for printing the truth." It was, of course, also true that there were no reported instances of Jews rioting against Blacks, a nicety Tatum ignores.

The running firefight between Tatum and Foxman has escalated into full-scale war following allegations reported in the *Village Voice*, a left-wing New York weekly, that the ADL ran a spy ring in California, infiltrat-

ing liberal, left-wing and civil rights groups. Tatum has written signed, front-page editorials suggesting that the ADL has been engaging in “terror” tactics and has become a “force for evil.” Foxman, in turn, says that Tatum’s attacks on the ADL “mirror classical anti-Semitic imagery.”

Tatum asserts that his criticism[s] of Jews “are done lovingly” and should be taken as “the truth from a friend.” In an open letter “to friends of Bill Tatum” that Foxman is planning to publish, Foxman writes: “Bill Tatum is quick to flaunt the ‘some of my best friends are Jewish’ line whenever he is charged with bigotry, insensitivity or irresponsibility. But a stadium full of best friends cannot camouflage what Bill Tatum has been saying and writing.”

Abe Foxman, no matter how hard he tries, no matter how much he screams, no matter how much of his \$32 million taxpayer-supported budget he is willing to squander, will not be able to turn this sorry story of the ADL into a Tatum–Foxman feud. Neither Foxman nor I loom important enough for that kind of diversion to work. Therefore the ADL, its board and supporters must pull their heads out of the sand and realize that something has happened that can destroy the organization, that over time has tried to do some good... that the organization must come to understand, as did the hero in the comic strip Pogo when he said, “We have seen the enemy and he is us.” Indeed, the ADL has an enemy within who never intended to be, but one who simply cannot help himself, for he has been allowed to get away with too much for too long and finds now that his playing of the anti-Semite card no longer works, for he has used and abused this most powerful instrument inappropriately without regard for the truth or for the people against whom it was used as an instrument of control or silencer, for no one believes that he [they] could withstand the charge of anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, the antics of the ADL leave an open question as to the effectiveness of that charge now.

Abe Foxman, no matter how hard he tries, no matter how much he screams, no matter how much of his \$32 million taxpayer-supported budget he is willing to squander, will not be able to turn this sorry story of the ADL into a Tatum–Foxman feud.

EDITOR'S NOTE (2024):

It is UNPRECEDENTED that a newspaper publisher would give open access in his forum to an open combatant that attacked and slandered him and the Black community and committed unconstitutional, criminal actions against American citizens. The reader should note that throughout ADL's "Responses" are multiple falsehoods, evasions, deceptions. SEE the addendum at the end of of this document titled "The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs," wherein the multitudinous lies of the ADL are further exposed and debunked.

ADL's incredible response to AmNews editorials

(12 June 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Since April 17, 1993, the *Amsterdam News* has published a series of signed, front-page editorials about the Anti-Defamation League. These editorials were based upon information appearing in scores of newspapers, radio programs, television news programs, a suit filed in San Francisco as well as from organizations and individuals who believe they have been targets, or victims if you will, of the ADL, of an alleged "spy network" funded by the ADL that uses paid informants to gather data, legally and illegally, that is used at the discretion of the League to intimidate, silence, smear and destroy any organization or individual that has been critical, even mildly and constructively critical, of Jews in general and the Jewish State of Israel in particular.

Since the series began, there have been attacks in the media on this newspaper as well as its publisher of such a personal nature as to defy reason. There have been attacks on other institutions and individuals by the ADL and its director, Abraham Foxman, but none of them have reached the fever pitch, the frenzy, the uncontrolled and rabid hatred that is exhibited when Foxman or his minions refer to the *Amsterdam News* or Wilbert Tatum.

The allegations against the ADL are legion. They are said to have spied on left-wing Jewish organizations and Jews who work for peace in the Middle East; the NAACP, the Black United Fund, the New Alliance Party, a number of individuals in the United States that may be 12,000 or 20,000 based upon which of the estimates from law enforcement one believes; dozens of Arab and Arab American organizations in and out of the country; the African National Congress, and the Anti-Apartheid organizations supporting the cause of freedom in South Africa; publicly funded radio stations in many cities in the nation as

well as commercial, Black-owned radio stations such as WLIB-AM in New York and other stations in the Inner City Broadcasting family, and of course, the *Amsterdam News*.

This newspaper has demanded that the ADL in New York be investigated by Attorney General Robert Abrams, the State Divisions of Investigation, the IRS, District Attorney Robert Morgenthau and any other investigative arm of government, including the FBI. At this writing, there is no indication that such an investigation has started in New York. We urge the investigations for the good of the ADL, for if it continues to resist investigation by issuing one press release after another, declaring piously that they have done nothing wrong and claiming persecution rather than opening their books and records to the authorities that could clear them of allegations that have now spread worldwide, their 80 years of service to humanity could go for naught. It is a price that is little enough to pay for the return of an organization's good name, and we urge the ADL to welcome such an investigation. We hope that they will.



Robert Morgenthau



Robert Abrams

The League has by misuse so weakened the charge of anti-Semitism in terms of the charge's effectiveness as to reduce it to the level of the charge of racism that is hurled by everyone and everybody these days; thus it has come to mean nothing. That is the danger that is now faced by those who have used and abused this once most powerful phrase.

In the real world, though, the ADL has mounted one of the most extensive propaganda campaigns this country has ever seen: Target their critics, and finding anti-Semitism in words and deeds of their legitimate critics where none was intended and none exists, the League has by misuse so weakened the charge of anti-Semitism in terms of the charge's effectiveness as to reduce it to the level of the charge of racism that is hurled by everyone and everybody these days; thus it has come to mean nothing. That is the danger that is now faced by those who have used and abused this once most powerful phrase.

In attacking the *Amsterdam News*, this writer and other news media in a tract prepared recently and dated June 1993, the ADL seeks to "analyze" and refute reports, editorials and columns seen and read on *ABC Evening News*, *CNN Headline News*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *The Village Voice* and the *Amsterdam News*. The report, called "Media Analysis," and sub-titled "ADL and the American Jewish Community Under Attack," seeks to refute everything that has been reported about the allegations of "spying." To read their hysterical and inept response to what has been published in the *Amsterdam News* is to see a great power crumble in a paroxysmal rendition of "J'accuse," or

“I Accuse,” blaming everyone except themselves for the misfortune they are now experiencing that was caused by the overzealousness, excessiveness and arrogance wrought by their own hand.

The ADL has reprinted in full the first five front-page editorials appearing in the *Amsterdam News* and suggests that the commentary that follows them, in response, is an analysis. With the exception of being sophomoric and hateful, sprinkled with charges of anti-Semitism and demagoguery, the response is simply an inaccurate, bully-pulpit sort of diatribe designed to inflame those in the Jewish community who have decided to “circle their wagons” around the ADL no matter what truth is revealed about their activities.

With the exception of being sophomoric and hateful, sprinkled with charges of anti-Semitism and demagoguery, the [ADL] response is simply an inaccurate, bully-pulpit sort of diatribe designed to inflame those in the Jewish community who have decided to “circle their wagons” around the ADL no matter what truth is revealed about their activities.

Since we have been accused of accusing by the ADL, we take this opportunity, as we have so many times, to allow our pages to be used by those who falsely accuse us knowing full well that our readers are smart enough, sophisticated enough and know us well enough over our nine decades in business to distinguish fact from fiction and pure hatred from love. In a verbatim transcript that appears below, curiously called “Wilbert Tatum’s War Against The ADL,” we

offer the ADL space to confront the newspaper and the editor they hold in such disdain. We do not believe that any other newspaper in America would do this. We do it only because we believe it fair to do so, and because we do not believe that the ADL’s distribution of this document will ever be done in such a way as to reach the vast majority of people of color. For those of our readers who would wish to have the [copies] of the editorials to which the ADL refers, please send a self-addressed, first-class stamped envelope to ADL Editorials, the *Amsterdam News*, 2340 Frederick Douglas Blvd., New York, NY 10027.

At some future date, as space permits, we will respond to their response while asking why the ADL chose to single out one of the two Black newspapers that dared report what they are alleged to have done and its editor, claiming they had declared war, while at the same time being deathly afraid to offend the White Press. Strange? No? Who would have ever thought that we were important enough for all this, or is there another agenda?

The ADL response to the *Amsterdam News* appears below [...]:

Wilbert Tatum's War Against the ADL: A Response

4/17/93 The Amsterdam News: "Someone must take on the Anti-Defamation League, for left unchecked this organization under its current leadership could destroy what is left of the fragile fabric of race relations in this city and nation....Since this must be done for our survival and seeing no one else in leadership coming forth, it might as well be now and it might as well be me."

RESPONSE: This battle cry—the introduction to a series of front-page editorials in the *AmNews* attacking ADL—typifies the shameless demagoguery that Tatum has used to smear the League. His frenzied and apocalyptic rush to judgment defies reasonable discourse.

ADL absolutely rejects, at any rate, any contention that its activities threaten Blacks and Black-White or Black-Jewish relations. On the contrary, defending the rights of Blacks and Jews and fostering harmony between the two communities have exemplified ADL's long history and are at the heart of the League's mission.

"Word comes once more from San Francisco and Los Angeles that offices of the ADL (Anti-Defamation League) have been raided and records confiscated."

RESPONSE: ADL's two offices were "raided"—in the sense that search warrants were executed on these offices despite the League's efforts to cooperate with authorities—on only one occasion (April 8). One earlier search was conducted with the assistance of ADL officials.

"There is every indication, according to The Los Angeles Times and The San Francisco Examiner, that a 'spy network' exists in the ADL that has over several decades fostered 'a nationwide intelligence network accused of keeping files on 950 political groups, newspapers and labor unions.'"

RESPONSE: Treating the reckless speculation of certain press accounts as evidence, Tatum displays his own disregard for accuracy and fairness. No charges have been filed against ADL in the San Francisco investigation. The figure he cites includes not only ADL records but also material seized from the files of Roy Bullock and Tom Gerard, two other subjects of the investigation. Moreover, ADL's records have remained under court seal since their removal. These facts can hardly be twisted to demonstrate "every indication" of ADL misdoings, but Tatum tries nonetheless.

Tatum additionally quotes from an uncited source—a tactic he engages frequently to add emphasis and a sham objectivity to his distortions.

“To think that the ADL...has infiltrated such organizations as the NAACP, churches, social organizations and political parties leaves me numb.”

RESPONSE: In addition to its self-righteous bombast, Tatum’s musing is false and malicious. While he doesn’t indicate which “social organizations” ADL purportedly “infiltrated,” the fact is that ADL has used undercover sources to collect information only about groups that have a covert and violent nature. The League has never investigated the NAACP or in any illegal manner “infiltrated” a political party. Most dismayingly, the notion that ADL has in some unspecified fashion infiltrated churches—a complete fabrication—invokes the historic anti-Semitic notion that Jews seek to subvert Christianity.

“The ADL has been there for almost every negotiation for Black civil rights and civil liberties...Evidence points to the possibility that they were spying on Black people even then.

“The truth is that naive Black leaders or informants placed in Black organizations by the ADL invited the organization in, and they proceeded to take over the organization’s negotiations or destroy them if they did not agree.

“For years Black political leaders have been targeted by the ADL.”

RESPONSE: The “truth” is that this passage is absurd. The suggestion that all of ADL’s contributions to the civil rights struggle have been merely a cover to infiltrate and subvert Black organizations is outrageous. The idea that Tatum actually believes what he’s saying strains credulity.

ADL monitors and counters the statements of public figures—regardless of their race, religion or ethnicity—when they engage in anti-Semitism, racism or violent extremism.

“We found it curious, the wanton attacks on so many Blacks by the ADL that were sometimes as vicious as anything can be, juxtaposed against their mild chastising of Ronald Reagan when he went to Bitburg...or the ADL’s strange reaction to Secretary Baker of the Bush administration when he was reported as saying, ‘F--k the Jews.’”

RESPONSE: ADL has never engaged in wanton attacks on Blacks—unsurprisingly, Tatum fails to cite a single example.

When President Reagan visited Bitburg, ADL issued no fewer than seven press releases regarding the trip. The League stated publicly that it was “appalled” by Reagan’s actions, calling them “an Offense against our tradition and all those who died.” ADL

does not consider this response to be “mild chastising.”

Regarding “ADL’s strange reaction” to former Secretary of State James Baker’s allegedly derogatory remarks regarding Jews, one point is clear: ADL uses a much more rigorous evidentiary standard than Tatum when evaluating possible instances of defamation. The League asked Baker to respond publicly to media reports of his remarks, which could not be proved. In a letter to ADL, Baker denied making them.

“How could it be that an organization that has participated with us so long be suddenly so rabidly against us?”

RESPONSE: Tatum seems to be elucidating an imagined history, and not a consistent one.

Whereas earlier (see point five above) Tatum suggested a long-time ADL conspiracy to undermine the Black community, he now posits an equally imaginary sudden and “rabid” reversal. Given ADL’s long history of participation and leadership in the civil rights movement, it should be needless to assert that ADL is not now and never has been “against” Blacks; the charge is preposterous and defamatory.

“Then something truly remarkable occurred. The ADL provided (possibly from their spy organization in New York) much of the material to their compatriots at The New York Post used in the infamous March 16, 1993, edition that excoriated Tatum and Hirschfeld...What the ADL-supported edition really did was to reveal the racism...of those who run, edit, write for and read The New York Post.”

RESPONSE: ADL does not employ, work with, or work for anyone at *The New York Post*. For the paper’s March 16 edition, the *Post*’s staff excerpted a long passage regarding Tatum and the *AmNews* from the ADL’s June 1992 report, “The Anti-Semitism of Black Demagogues and Extremists.” This report is a public document, and was widely disseminated in the media at the time of its publication. ADL had no role in the *Post*’s decision to excerpt it. To label the edition “ADL-supported” is baseless and misleading.

“Most of the ADL thing raises more questions than it answers. What is the connection between ADL and The New York Post? Are some of the paid writers there who have a reputation for being more or less liberals and who have personal access to Black politicians and leaders paid informants of the ADL? This applies to other daily newspapers as well....Who are the blacks who may be providing information to the ADL who may lead or have prominent positions in Black, Latino, radical or other organizations? These questions must be answered, for a season of paranoia that is justified has set in, and every Black who is a member of any Black or

White organization must watch their words..."

RESPONSE: Tatum's introductory display of concern for the "fragile fabric of race relations" is belied here by these recklessly divisive, bull-in-a-china-shop ravings. As indicated above (point 8), ADL has no professional affiliation with the *Post*—nor with any newspaper. ADL does not solicit covert information from leaders of Black, Latino or radical organizations.

The suggestion that the League conducts a Black-on-Black espionage operation is not only fantastic, it promotes prejudice against Jews—by engaging traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes of unseen Jewish power—and mistrust among Blacks, who must be on guard against possible turncoats in their own community.

Tatum urges a federal and state investigation of ADL, one which "must have the strongest possible backing from Mayor Dinkins, President Clinton and Governor Cuomo, who may find themselves in the 'files' of the ADL as well."

RESPONSE: In fact, Tatum is correct: ADL does collect information about Dinkins, Cuomo, and President Clinton—just as we do about any subject we deem of interest and relevance, including Abe Foxman. While Tatum lends the word "files" a phony ominousness by setting it in parentheses [*sic*], the fact is that nearly all of ADL's collected information comprises news clippings, magazine articles, books and other public documents. Maintaining files of such materials—as any business, journalist and civil rights organization does—is not spying.

"Perhaps an investigation will reveal who is behind and who paid for the assaults on Black media that appeared in and others who have systematically tried to destroy the Amsterdam News, WLIB, Don King and Mike Tyson? And what of Pete Hamill, Charles Carillo and so many more?"

RESPONSE: These insinuations of a secret and powerful Jewish conspiracy are disgraceful. Tatum's remarks suggest the methods and tone to a boilerplate racist or extremist conspiracy tract.

"Finally, the 501 C3 not-for-profit status of the ADL must be challenged, for it is inconceivable that our tax dollars have been used by the ADL to support covert activities designed to destroy Black people and our institutions."

RESPONSE: In general terms, ADL's 501 (C)(3) tax-exempt status means merely that the League does not pay income tax and that contributions are tax-deductible. Tax-exempt status has nothing to do with how federal, state or local tax income is spent: no one's tax dollars are funding ADL.

EDITOR'S NOTE (2024):

The above ADL claim that “no one’s tax dollars are funding ADL,” is debunked in the Nation of Islam lawsuit against the ADL (<https://noi.org/noivadl/>):

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Civil Action No. 1:23-cv-09110
JURY DEMANDED

MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN and
THE NATION OF ISLAM,

Plaintiffs,

v.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE,
JONATHAN GREENBLATT, individually,
and in his official capacity as CEO and National
Director of the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE,
SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER, and RABBI
ABRAHAM COOPER, individually and in his
official capacity as Director of Global Social Action
Agenda for the SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER,

Defendants.

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Justification #5 – Solicited Funds Directly from the OMB

442. Another clear and convincing illustration of Defendant ADL’s functioning as a quasi-governmental entity is its remarks regarding the need to be financially supported by the federal government and then its ability to make a direct solicitation of funds to the OMB.

443. In those same congressional remarks on February 4, 2021, Defendant Greenblatt, on behalf of Defendant ADL, stated:

We do not yet have adequate resources. The Biden administration has given us some very encouraging signals and said they will make it a priority, but now we really need an integrated federal strategy across the Executive branch. Mr. Congressman, we also need State and local governments to make sure they are also resourcing to the threat. (Exhibit DD-3)

444. The astounding level of financial support Defendant ADL actually received from the federal government removes all doubt as to its status as a quasi-governmental entity.

Nothing ADL does or has ever done has been designed to destroy Black people and institutions[.] The statement is incredible and probably disingenuous.

4/24/93 The Amsterdam News: “...the shocking allegation that the Anti-Defamation League has been spying for years on organizations such as the NAACP, New Alliance Party, Ku Klux Klan, Greenpeace, the Arab-American [stet] Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Black United Fund, Operation Rescue, the board of directors of public television station KQED, the San Francisco Bay Guardian newspaper, 12,000 individuals nationwide, and still counting.”

RESPONSE: ADL has never investigated the NAACP, Greenpeace, the Black United Fund, Operation Rescue, KQED, or the *Bay Guardian*.

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee has exercised its right to issue statements that are profoundly hostile toward Israel; ADL has in turn exercised its own right to publicize these statements and to refute them.

The New Alliance Party has from its origin been tainted by anti-Semitism, as documented on several occasions by ADL.

The Ku Klux Klan is a complex of organizations generated by violent racial hatred and the desire to undermine democratic institutions. Because of information that ADL collects, the activities of groups like the Klan, neo-Nazis, skinheads and other extremists have been exposed and counteracted. The League has helped put violent bigots in jail. Would Tatum have us turn our backs on this fight?

The “12,000” figure Tatum cites seems to be of his own devising; it reflects, broadly, a failure to distinguish between ADL materials and files seized from other subjects of the investigation (as noted in point three).

“With this allegation against the ADL as a spy operation, much of the good that it must have done over the years in its non-spy capacity must be questioned and discounted.”

RESPONSE: This is vintage Tatum. He does not appear to understand the meaning of “allegation.” No legal judgments have been rendered, no charges have even been filed—yet for Tatum, ADL’s work must be “discounted.” The ADL’s guilt is *a priori*, by Tatum’s lights, and even as he continues to refer to “allegations,” he argues as if allegations were ipso facto proof.

In this way, whenever Tatum chooses to add his own wild allegations—which are plentiful and by their nature demand no evidence—he has at once established further proofs of ADL’s misdeeds.

“...the Amsterdam News has asked for investigation of ADL in New York, especially in view of the scurrilous ‘information’ provided to the staff of the New York Post used in the infamous edition of the Post published on March 16, 1993.”

RESPONSE: As noted in point 8 above, the *Post* chose on March 16 to reprint part of a June 1992 ADL report already in its possession. While ADL National Director Abe Foxman was interviewed for the edition, ADL did not provide the paper with any new information regarding Tatum or the *Am News*.

“There will be many more suits and investigations of this, the most powerful, and possibly most destructive Jewish organization in America, for they seem to have spied on everybody.”

RESPONSE: This is pure cant. Tatum is like a spoiled child who screams whatever comes into his mind. He likely realizes, as children do, that tantrums attract attention.

“Perhaps this whole thing can be summed up by a Black writer who does not wish for an identity to be revealed at this point:

“It’s truly tragic; so many people have been hurt, defamed by an organization that is supposed to be against defamation. What tragic irony that an organization ostensibly dedicated to anti-defamation of other people should have so long played an indefensible role in so terribly damaging others.”

RESPONSE: The tragedy here is Tatum's McCarthyism: marshaling entirely false accusations as if they were evidence. There is no evidence to support any part of this anonymous defamation.

“During one of the most inflammatory weeks of the Crown Heights disturbances, ADL elected to project a report (Gabe Pressman, NBC reporting) charging Black people with being anti-Semitic. At such a time!”



RESPONSE: Tatum's demagoguery and hypocrisy are timeless. Obviously, ADL rejects the notion which again engages historic anti-Semitic stereotypes—that the League or Jews in general secretly manipulate the media, and that whenever ADL chooses it can direct supposed pawns like Gabe Pressman to smear others.

Additionally, while ADL certainly does not believe that Blacks or any other racial or ethnic groups are inherently prejudiced against Jews, it was hardly misleading to characterize as anti-Semitic groups of black youth chanting “Heil Hitler!” and “Kill the Jews” during the Crown Heights uprising.

EDITOR'S NOTE (2024):

This “Heil Hitler” claim has never been proven and is patently false. It is a well-known trick of the ADL to claim that Hitler is a hero of Blacks, using nonsensical charges like this. It is also reminiscent of the 1913 trial of the child rapist and murderer Leo Frank, the godfather of the ADL. For over a century Jews claimed that an “anti-Semitic mob” chanted “Hang the Jew” in the courtroom, before serious scholars debunked the claim and proved that “anti-Semitism” was not a factor in Frank's conviction.

Tatum's pious reproof—“at such a time!”—is shameless: he published a blatantly inflammatory article during the most violent period of Crown Heights rioting, under the incendiary headline, “Many Blacks, No Jews Arrested in Crown Heights.” He has no credibility as a responsible journalist.

“What are the implications for African-Americans of ADL's tie-in with police agencies and South Africa?”

RESPONSE: The implication for African-Americans of ADL's [c]ooperation with law enforcement is that the country is becoming a safer place to be an African-American. ADL is not “tied-in” or in any way affiliated with South Africa.

“Notice the tie-in with a lawyer who fronted for the spy operations and his tie-in [in] turn with the appointment of federal judges.”

RESPONSE: With his typical lack of integrity, Tatum is simply attempting to insinuate some sort of conspiracy without bothering to provide any details or evidence. As Tatum undoubtedly knows, details and evidence would expose his contrivances.

“What are the implications of the access of the police to the driver’s licenses with physical descriptions of individuals? How can the private records of people be protected against unauthorized access to them by the police or any other agents of the state?...These are overwhelming questions that must be answered by liberal Jews most of all. Indeed, why?”

RESPONSE: This passage has a starkly anti-Semitic suggestion. Why should “liberal Jews,” more than any other group, have to address questions regarding access to private records by agents of the state? To imply that “liberal Jews,” along with ADL, are somehow responsible for possible law enforcement abuses is to follow error with racism.

With respect to questions about information from motor vehicle records, ADL has repeatedly stated that it has cooperated with the authorities in their investigation of this matter.

5/1/93 The Amsterdam News: Tatum published three letters from the New York-based organizations requesting a probe of ADL’s activities. The groups comprised the Black United Fund (BUF), the New Alliance Party (NAP), and *The Amsterdam News* itself.

“In the Black United Fund’s letter to Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morg[e]nthau, BUF president Kermit Eady wrote: ‘You need to know that over the last four months, Caucasians driving vehicles with dark windows—like something out of a ‘spy movie’—have been seen on numerous occasions taking pictures of the Black United Fund’s property from many different angles here on Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Blvd. between 133rd and 134th Streets. While it may not be proven that these people were part of the ADL, however, we can easily assume the association based on the current exposure of the illegal activities of the ACLU.’”

RESPONSE: Eady can assume that a frog has wings—that doesn’t make it so. Eady only proves that Tatum has no monopoly on the McCarthyite rhetoric by which assumption and suspicion function as proof.

There has been no exposure of ADL’s “illegal activities.” ADL has not been charged with any illegalities. ADL has not investigated the Black United Fund.

In NAP's letter to Mayor Dinkins, Lenora Fulani wrote: "Investigative materials just made public in San Francisco confirm wide cooperation between local police, the FBI and the Anti-Defamation League...This network's information was passed to, among others, the South African government.

"I called upon you to appoint an independent prosecution and investigative team to examine the ADL/NYPD/FBI spying network in New York."

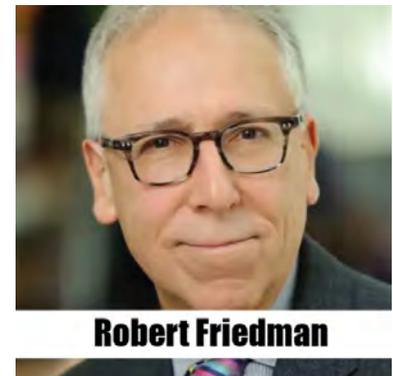
RESPONSE: ADL has never passed information to the South African government.

There is no "ADL/NYPD/FBI spying network"—except in the imagination of Fulani and those whose minds are likewise sodden with conspiracy fantasies.

In a letter to James Fox of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tatum wrote: "We believe too that the scurrilous material contained in the pages of the infamous New York Post edition of March 16, 1993, was based upon false information provided to The Post by the ADL that may have been illegally obtained."

RESPONSE: Again, the "scurrilous material" to which Tatum refers is an excerpt from a June 1992 ADL report that was disseminated in the media at the time of its release. In the year since, nothing in the report has been shown to be "false" or inaccurate. Moreover, all of the report's information was clearly attributed to public sources: none of it was "illegally obtained."

5/8/93 The Amsterdam News: Tatum argues that Robert Friedman's article about ADL in the Village Voice (5/11/93) established "a possible connection between ADL and information passed on to the White regime in South Africa that may have contributed to the death of the assassinated Black leader Chris Hani."



Robert Friedman

RESPONSE: As noted above in point 23, ADL has never passed information to South Africa. We reject any suggestion that the League endorses or is sympathetic to apartheid. The allegation that any ADL activity "contributed to the assassination of Chris Hani" is false and despicable, a grotesque attempt to manipulate the grief and anger arising from Hani's tragic shooting.

"To pay someone \$185,000 just to 'gather' legal information, as the ADL suggests that it has done, is to stretch credulity beyond its breaking

point; and to suggest, too, that they were 'gathering information for everybody' is to further expand the tissue of lies and cover-ups that the ADL has been engaged in for a long, long time. There is no reason for us to believe that spokespersons for the ADL are even capable of telling the truth."

RESPONSE: So much for the basic legal tenet of being innocent until proven guilty. Once more, the facts: ADL has not been charged with lying, covering-up, or anything else. The League has not been charged with any wrong-doing.

The figure Tatum cites is inflated. Even if it were correct, the truth remains essentially unaltered: between 1985 and 1993, ADL paid independent contractor Roy Bullock about \$20,000 yearly. This is hardly an astonishing sum.

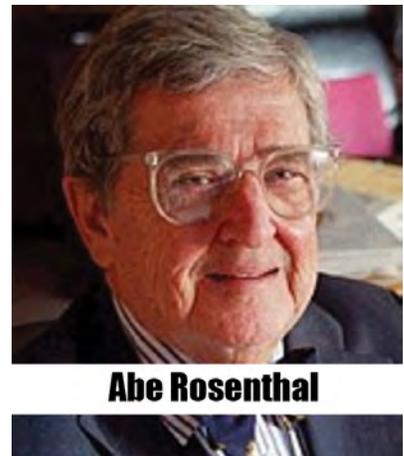
"For the past several years, Black leaders have been targeted, maliciously prosecuted, misrepresented, maligned and often forced from office or their jobs. What role has the ADL played, overtly as well as covertly, in the more than 1,000 cases of harassment of Black public officials nationally?"

RESPONSE: Apart from countering those who exercise such bias, none.

"Did the [New York] Times, Abe Rosenthal, and the ADL work in concert to discredit [Jesse] Jackson and keep the anti-Semitic charge against him alive so many months and years after he had apologized?"

RESPONSE: No. Nor did ADL act independently to do so.

"And are [journalists] being paid by their companies and the ADL for destabilizing the Black community by what they write and the way they write it, what they say and the way they say it?"



Abe Rosenthal

RESPONSE: No.

Tatum lists several New York City journalists, then writes, "Are any of them on the payroll of the ADL?"

RESPONSE: No.

"Are these writers connected in some way to the Anti-Defamation League?"

RESPONSE: We provide information to reporters—as well as to academics, students, and others—if they ask us and we have the material they want. That's it.

“If so, are their employers aware the ADL has paid journalists in the past and is probably paying them now?”

RESPONSE: A lie. ADL has hired freelance writers for various projects, but not working reporters. ADL has not paid journalists in the past, nor are we now doing so.

“Finally, to have spied on Black people and to have attempted to stigmatize and destabilize 30 million American citizens is unforgivable. Even if Mr. Morgenthau's office doesn't see the need for an investigation now, trust us, he will, just as surely as night will follow day.”

RESPONSE: The charges are outrageous. But there comes a point when repeatedly denying outright lies becomes demeaning. By Tatum's lights, technicalities like investigating, filing charges, and conducting a trial might as well be foregone: ADL's guilt is so overwhelming that law is superfluous and probably inconvenient. ADL should lock up shop, its “spies” incarcerated and its racists put out to pasture.

Ultimately, Tatum's objective is just that—ADL's disenfranchisement. To attain it, he has shown himself willing to engage in distortions, fabrications, anti-Semitic insinuations and Jew-baiting, and a motherlode of preposterous and disgraceful demagoguery. He has actively sown suspicion and hostility toward the Jewish community among his predominantly Black readership; he has even fomented suspicion within the Black community itself.

The sad irony of Tatum's war is that since its founding 80 years ago, ADL has worked continually to destigmatize and to stabilize the Black community. ADL learned early on that Jews are only secure as long as all minorities are protected in their rights. Tatum's tirade only helps those who would undermine those rights.

EDITOR'S NOTE (2024):

Foxman's response (above) to Wilbert Tatum and the *Amsterdam News* is purposely deceptive or flagrantly untrue. See the addendum herein titled “The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs,” by Abdeen Jabara, for a recounting of the ADL's crimes.

ADL: But not this week

(3 July 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

STOCKHOLM, June 30 – The media response to the not-yet-issued report on Crown Heights has so overwhelmed the pages of the city's White newspapers and radio and television outlets over the last several days that only the bombing of Baghdad was able to turn those vicious anti-Black diatribes toward the back of the book. So hateful and so wrong and wrong-headed were these accounts based on a report that the governor says that he has not issued and one that his people say has not been leaked that we could think of only one entity in New York that has the kind of network in media in this city that could command what was an organized response to something that did not exist. That is the ADL, whose activities have been followed in this section for the past several weeks, because we have reason to believe that the ADL has been rightfully accused of operating a spy network.

All those appearing in the "Crown Heights: I Was There" edition of today, and who appeared in an ADL report, "The Anti-Semitism of Black Demagogues and Extremists," do not find it difficult to understand why the League is under such scrutiny and is, in fact, in deep trouble even with the once liberal and tolerant Jew who did so much to foster a climate of coalition and who was hounded by the ADL as a self-hating Jew, thus targeted for ostracism in their own community. There is an opportunity now for them to join with others in changing the leadership and direction of the League in order for it to become the kind of democratic institution that it must become if it is to survive.

Therefore we will not talk this week of the Arab group and its constituents who have brought a class-action suit against a police department that it accuses of providing illegal information to the ADL from official sources.

Nor will we speak of the rising tide of criticism of the organization by those who were too intimidated to speak before. We will only say, with some degree of certainty, that the ADL will never be the same again, for it violated the most sacred of all oaths: to tell the truth. The ADL has lied, is lying now and will lie forever more, unless we make it change.

We will only say, with some degree of certainty, that the ADL will never be the same again, for it violated the most sacred of all oaths: to tell the truth. The ADL has lied, is lying now and will lie forever more, unless we make it change.

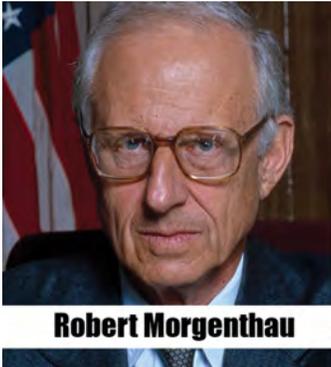
New Alliance Letter to Morgenthau

(10 July 1993)

New York Amsterdam News

Abstract:

Not only did the ADL use illegal means to gather political intelligence, the San Francisco district attorney has also developed evidence indicating that illegal means were used to keep secret ADL's legal as well as its illegal spying. For example, Inspector [Ron] Roth of the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) concluded that Roy Bullock has been an employee of the ADL for many years, but the ADL funneled Bullock's salary through the law firm account of attorney Bruce Hochman. This arrangement appears to violate various tax and labor laws.



Robert Morgenthau

The ADL is also centrally implicated in methods used by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to accomplish unconstitutional political intelligence gathering. After the exposure of shocking FBI interference with First Amendment activities through COINTELPRO and other programs, and similar conduct by state and local law enforcement personnel (e.g. the political intelligence abuses in New York City that led to the consent decree in the Handschu case [*Handschu v. Special Services Division* (Challenging NYPD Surveillance Practices Targeting Political Groups)]), legal guarantees were put into place to prevent reoccurrences. However, law enforcement officials have developed relationships with the ADL and other organizations and operatives that have the effect of circumventing the constitutional guarantees by relying on political spying by the ADL and other “private” organizations.

A separate but related inquiry by the New Alliance Party [NAP] into an unconstitutional investigation of its political activities by the FBI has uncovered how the ADL uses its “private” (tax exempt) resources to produce political intelligence reports that end up in FBI files. Both in 1988 and in 1991–92, the FBI conducted unconstitutional political intelligence investigations of NAP that turned up no evidence of any criminal behavior. However, the pretextual investigations were used by the FBI to incorporate information and reports produced by the ADL into its files. The files, with the ADL political intelligence reports, are circulated to FBI agents and, presumably, other law enforcement agents. The files then can be obtained by journalists and the public through the Freedom of Information Act. The FBI's reliance on the ADL report gives the ADL report an indirect government imprimatur [official approval or license].

ADL accused of being surrogate for the FBI

(17 July 1993)

Lenora Fulani, guest writer, New York Amsterdam News

Investigations by the San Francisco Police Department have provided overwhelming evidence that the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has operated an extensive illegal spying operation which has gathered information on American citizens across the political spectrum—with an ominous concentration on African-American, Arab American, liberal and progressive organizations and individuals. Black media, including the *Amsterdam News*, and Black-led political organizations, such as the New Alliance Party, have been consistently targeted for attack.



The arrest earlier this year of Tom Gerard, a former San Francisco police officer, who had worked closely with Roy Bullcock, an ADL “fact finder,” and the seizure of their computer files have exposed a relationship between the ADL, hundreds of local police departments and the FBI that has existed for decades and extends across the United States and into South Africa, Israel and elsewhere.

Responding to these revelations, U.S. Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA), the chairperson of the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the House Judiciary Committee, has announced plans to investigate “whether the FBI was using private surrogates to collect the information it cannot collect directly.”

Throughout the history of the FBI, a tension has existed between its mandate to provide federal assistance to local law enforcement agencies in combating criminal activity and its work as a national political police force. In its role as political/thought police, the FBI has unconstitutionally spied upon and harassed American citizens solely on the basis of their political views and activities. This government spying and harassment have had a significant impact on the African-American community as it struggled throughout the century for its civil and human rights.

In the late '70s, after the exposure of the FBI's extensive spying on and harassment of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X and the success of its Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) in provoking factions of the Black Panther Party and other radical organizations to engage in internecine warfare, Attorney General Griffin Bell, responding to public pressure, issued guidelines designed to limit the political functions of the FBI. The Bureau was instructed to limit its activities to criminal investigations and to cease spying on individuals and groups exercising their First Amendment

right to participate in the political process.

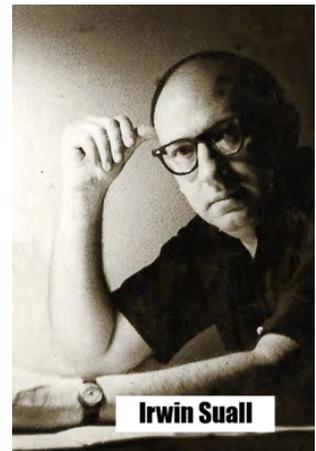
We all know that the FBI has not strictly adhered to these guidelines. In the mid-'80s the Bureau was caught using private infiltrators to spy on the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). After that scandal, the FBI promised Edwards that it would never again spy on organizations exercising their First Amendment rights. Despite that promise, in 1988 the FBI conducted an "investigation" of the New Alliance Party, which I chair, on the obviously bogus premise that members of my Black-led, multi-racial electoral party were "armed and dangerous."

Nonetheless, the attorney general's guidelines have succeeded in making it more difficult for the FBI to directly spy on and harass private citizens holding dissenting views. It has become politically more expedient and effective to leave the bulk of the spying to private organizations. This is where the ADL comes in.

Over the last 15 years a number of privately funded organizations have taken on much of the spying and public harassment of American organizations deemed dangerous to the status quo. Evidence has emerged which indicates that the ADL's "fact-finding" department is part of an informal network of privately funded spying, research and propaganda operations which not only investigate and harass many of the same organizations and individuals, but exchange information with each other, with the FBI and with other branches of law enforcement.

In addition to the ADL, this network of "private surrogates" appears to include Political Research Associates (PRA), a group of leftists funded primarily by major Democratic Party bankrollers, who have spent much of their time since 1987 researching and vilifying the New Alliance Party and the Christic Institute, which spearheaded a major exposé of the Iran/Contra scandal. The network also includes the Cult Awareness Network (CAN), which not only "investigates" but facilitates the forcible kidnapping of members of non-mainstream religions and political organizations and which has developed a new psychological/political language adopted by others in the network to justify their work in the post-Cold War period.

The FBI/ADL connection is by now well documented. In his statements to San Francisco police, Roy Bullock, an ADL "fact finder" for 39 years, admitted that he had been a paid informant of the FBI at the same that he was in the employ of the ADL. According to the March 9, 1993, issue of the *San Francisco Examiner*, "Internal FBI documents and ADL correspondence obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by ADL critics show that the ADL and the FBI worked closely together to investigate fringe groups." And law enforcement sources in California report that **Irwin Suall**, the League's director of "fact-finding," conducted trainings for the FBI at the Bureau's academy in Quantico, Virginia.



The ADL and PRA also appear to have established a cordial working relationship over the years. **Leonard Zakim**, the executive director of the ADL's New England Region, is quoted in the Jan. 22, 1993, edition of *Forward*, a Jewish weekly, praising Chip Berlet, the major researcher at the Cambridge, Massachusetts-based PRA (in photo): "I have found **Chip Berlet** and Political Research Associates to be reliable and knowledgeable on extremists and extremist groups in this area, and the information that Political Research Associates has shared with us has been very useful."



Leonard Zakim

Since the ADL scandal broke, Berlet has been busy attempting to minimize and cover up PRA's work with the League. But his effort to cover his ADL tracks is proving difficult in light of his own statements, such as the one he made to Jane Hunter in the May 11, 1993, issue of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*: "I had quite a cordial professional relationship with the ADL."

Earlier this year Hollis Mosher of Braintree, Massachusetts, identified himself publicly as having provided information to both PRA and the FBI. *Forward* reports: "Mr. Mosher has been useful as a conduit in passing information to watchdog organizations, such as Political Research Associates... and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation." Of the 75-year-old Mosher, whose testimony before a Suffolk County grand jury in 1954 led to the indictment of seven Communist Party functionaries, Berlet told *Forward*, "I respect him professionally."



Chip Berlet

More significantly, a major document in the FBI files on the New Alliance Party was none other than an anti-NAP pamphlet called "Clouds Blur the Rainbow," published in 1987 by PRA that had been written by Berlet. Based on charges that NAP is a cult contained in that document (which was produced after a \$75,000 contribution to PRA was made by Richard Dennis, a Democratic Party high roller who contributed nearly \$250,000 to the Democratic National Committee in 1992), the FBI apparently concluded that NAP was a "political/cult organization using social outreach to recruit support."

The FBI report also quotes from one of the ADL's published attacks on NAP, entitled "The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception," to the effect that NAP is "part Marxist sect, part therapy cult" and "tainted with anti-Semitism." In the wake of the Waco massacre, the danger of being labeled a "cult" by the FBI is self-evident. The FBI now seems to be making its political assessments of non-conformist groups based on apparently coordinated reports from the ADL and PRA.

The psychological/political charge of “cultism” promoted by the ADL, the PRA and the FBI has been popularized primarily by the Cult of Awareness Network (CAN). CAN has played a major role in propagating an atmosphere of intolerance and violence against new, smaller, non-mainstream religions (as well as psychological movements and political groups). It functions as the nexus for individuals and organizations engaged in the promotion, arrangement and justification of illegal, forcible and often violent kidnappings of people who are involved with groups of which CAN does not approve. CAN-associated kidnappers (referred to as “deprogrammers”) make \$5,000 to \$20,000 per job and are infrequently prosecuted because they work to involve the victims’ families in the kidnappings—thus making it unlikely that the victim will prosecute.

A few years ago CAN instigated a police raid on the Northeast Kingdom Community at Island Pond, Vermont. The raid was designed to “rescue” nearly 350 mostly African-American children from the compound of the small Christian commune whose adult members were allegedly committing child abuse. In the days that followed, the state determined that the only abuse that occurred was the raid itself, and all the children were returned.

Tragically, the raid on the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, in April ended up much differently. Here, too, CAN played an active role. A year before the raid, CAN-associated “deprogrammer” Rick Ross arrived in Waco and began targeting Davidians for potential kidnappings. According to Ross, he “consulted with ATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] agents on the Waco sect and told them about the guns in the compound.” During the extended siege, CAN president Patricia Ryan told the *Houston Chronicle* that “[o]fficials should use whatever means necessary to arrest [David] Koresh, including lethal force.”

The language of “cults,” “brainwashing,” “mind control,” “deception” and so on now utilized by the FBI, the ADL, the PRA and other groups seeking to inhibit the First Amendment right of free association derives from the Cult Awareness Network. The 87 charred bodies in Waco provide mute testimony to the fact that the word “cult” has replaced “Communist” as the bogey-man of America’s power-elite. If you wish to deny basic constitutional rights to an organization, just call it a “cult.” The FBI got away with it in Waco—and it is no coincidence that groups deemed dangerous to the establishment are now being painted with the “brainwashing” and “cult” brush.

As Dean M. Kelly, counselor on religious liberty at the National Council of Churches, put it, “This notion of ‘mind control’ is the modern equivalent of the old bugaboo of demon-possession that underlay the tragic history of witch-hunts and justified the burning of hundreds of suspect women.”

Key to all this language (and the anti-democratic activities for which it covers) is the notion that the only conceivable way that a sane person might choose to believe or ad-

here to religious and/or political views outside the narrow perimeters of the mainstream is if they are somehow “deceived.” (In this regard, it’s worth noting that the ADL’s report on the New Alliance Party is subtitled “A Study in Deception.”)

But “deception” is a hopelessly subjective term. After all, one person’s deception is another person’s faith. Perception and deception are two sides of the same coin. Who among us in a democratic society would dare to impose his or her perception as the only true one? Apparently the FBI, the ADL, PRA and CAN.

It is the African-American community which has the most to lose from the activities of the new spy network. We are the permanent “outsiders” of American society, and it is the “outsiders” the FBI/ADL/PRA/CAN are gunning for.

Even the right to deceive is a constitutionally protected right! If it weren’t, almost everyone in the U.S.—from the president on down—would be in jail. Isn’t the free competition of deceptions/perceptions what democracy is all about?

It is the African-American community which has the most to lose from the activities of the new spy network. We are the permanent “outsiders” of American society, and it is the “outsiders” the FBI/ADL/PRA/CAN are gunning for. When the freedom to organize for our liberation is inhibited—be it by race-baiting, red-baiting or cult-baiting—you can be sure the Black community suffers. We need, as we have throughout American history, to take the lead in defending the civil liberties of all people.

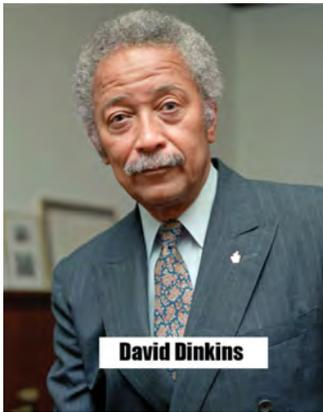
It’s essential that Rep. Edwards follow through with his investigation into the “private surrogates” of the FBI. And it is essential that the Congressional Black Caucus use its political clout to back it up—because the more that the ADL scandal unfolds, the more it becomes clear that the scandal goes way beyond the ADL to the very heart of protecting the Constitution and democracy itself.

The ADL and its supporters: Lapsus Memoria (Or how soon they forget)

(17 July 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

PRAGUE/STOCKHOLM – Mayor David Dinkins (in photo) has returned from Israel, not with the same kind of fanfare, pomp and circumstance with which former Mayor Koch was greeted by the working press when he returned triumphantly from the land of his fathers time after time. Rather, Dinkins returned to New York amidst criticism for having gone there in the first place, as well as criticism in some quarters for coming back. He endured insult and protest from New York Jews who traveled half-way around the world for the express purpose of harassing him. Dinkins endured, too, criticism from the daily press, and particularly much of the Jewish press that assessed his trip as totally political.



While there was acknowledgment in some of the Jewish press of the importance of the mayor's making such a trip, there was damn little praise. Attention was riveted on Crown Heights and the death of Yankel Rosenbaum. We mourn, too, the death of a Black child, Gavin Cato, who was killed so unnecessarily by a reckless driver while playing on a sidewalk. It is hard to find words of regret in the press over the death of the child, although it was his death at the hands of a rabbi, albeit accidental, that precipitated the tragedy of Crown Heights. All this seems to have been forgotten in the rush to convict someone, anyone who happens to be Black, of Rosenbaum's death, and to kill Dinkins off politically for having acted prudently and without favor during a time in which our city could have blown up in a street fight between Blacks and Jews. Dinkins' firm, caring and impartial stand prevented this kind of confrontation.

Although there was mounting pressure and criticism for planning to go to Israel from some of the leadership in the Black Community, Dinkins never wavered in his resolve to make the trip, although it was believed by many Blacks that Dinkins should show as much sensitivity and concern for the anger and frustration of the Black and other minority communities as he had repeatedly demonstrated for the Jewish community, and getting his "teeth kicked in" while doing so.

David Dinkins found himself “between a rock and a hard place,” but that did not affect his decision to go to express his solidarity with the people of Israel. There are those within and without the Black community who disagree with the Dinkins posture, but that is another story.

Clearly, Mayor Dinkins made a trip of conscience rather than a trip of “politics as usual.” The minds of Jews have been poisoned against Blacks and Dinkins by a press corps hell-bent on creating the excitement of confrontation that can be nurtured and exploited when they follow the leads of the likes of those who followed Dinkins to Israel in order to discredit him. Like it or not, it is what the press has done to itself...and to us. The fact is that Dinkins could make a trip to Israel every day until election day in November, and it still wouldn't change the minds of even a handful of Jewish voters in New York. And for those who protested against him in Israel, suggesting he was some kind of anti-Semite, never voted for him in the first place and never intended to. Their thrust is to influence more liberal Jews, the “*mishpocha*,” the family, if you will, by laying a guilt trip on them by saying, in some vague and incomprehensible way, that David Dinkins is responsible for the murder of Yankel Rosenbaum and an event in Crown Heights that they maliciously called a pogrom, knowing such a label would serve to run Jews bananas if they had the slightest belief that it could be so. These were acts of irresponsibility by some segments of the Jewish community and echoed by others who feared that if they did not, they would be classified as self-hating Jews.

Even the most responsible of the newspapers serving the Jewish community has been caught up in such a malaise. The *Forward* has fallen victim to the hysteria attendant to the Crown Heights propaganda opportunity in a mayoral election year. In their attempt to make Dinkins unacceptable to their readers after-citing a number of reasons, arguably warranting different interpretations as to why Jews face a special danger in New York, and without acknowledging a fundamental truth...that all other New Yorkers face the very same peril...the *Forward* concludes, somehow, that the dangers in our city victimize Jews in a special way that is different from the ways in which all other minorities are victimized in New York or other metropolitan areas.

After having set up this specious straw man, the *Forward* goes on to take a broad jump in logic that the most rabid anti-Dinkins stalwart would refuse to take because they would know instinctively that it would not fly. The *Forward* attempts this by stating that all Jews in the city feel a sense of disenfranchisement (and *ipso facto* are not likely to vote for Dinkins again) [but there] “are hard-headed Manhattan liberals watching hizzoner's silence as his cronies at the *Amsterdam News* go on week after week maligning Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League.” The *Forward*, of course, refers to the continuing series of editorials and articles appearing in the *AmNews* since April calling for an investigation of the alleged “spy operation” created and paid for by the ADL with its headquarters in New York, that is under scrutiny in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The

Forward, to its shame and loss of its integrity in matters such as these, has decided to “throw down” with the least wise among them and defend the indefensible, Abraham Foxman, because he is one of their own. That alone is not enough.



Ed Koch

As for Dinkins and his trip and return to America from Israel, we offer documentation of another trip that he took that was equally important as symbols go. It was a trip to Germany in May 1985 sponsored by the World Jewish Congress to protest President Reagan's trip to Bitburg to protest the former president's visiting the cemetery in order to lay a wreath at the tomb of the SS Waffen soldiers killed in World War Two. This writer was invited on the trip and went to lend support. It would be instructive if Mr. Foxman and his supporters at the *Forward* would read and digest the article that appears below so they would know where Dinkins and other Black leaders stood when Jews believed that they needed them, and let them be reminded that at the memorial services held at the White Rose Cemetery and at Dachau in Munich, Dinkins was only the appointed clerk of the City of New York at that time. He had not even been elected borough president, and he certainly had no thought of ever being elected mayor of New York City, defeating Edward I. Koch in the process. Yet he was there because he wanted to be and because it was the right thing to do. So it was with his recent trip to Israel. Only those of conscience and memory of debt would understand.

Anti Defamation League: Continuing March to Self-Destruction Under Current Leadership

(31 July 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

An incredible story of pique, selfishness, self-aggrandizement, race-hatred, egomaniacal pronouncements as well as wholesale lying and deception continues to constitute the fabric upon which the ADL is attempting to extricate itself from the allegations that it has run and paid for a “spying operation” that targeted 12,000 American citizens and almost 1,000 organizations, including the NAACP, Peace Now, the New Alliance Party, the Black United Fund, scores of Arab and Arab-American groups for surveillance over the course of the last score of years. The charges, not yet aired in court, but with

The leadership has decided that the broad brush of yelling anti-Semite every time they do not agree with positions taken by others has played out. Even politically unsophisticated Jews have come to realize this and have quietly begun to take the ADL to task. It is even more apparent in the sophisticated Jewish community, for many of them believe that the ADL has gone too far and the leadership has just about outlived its usefulness.

mounds of incriminating evidence confiscated in legal raids by law enforcement officers on ADL offices and offices of those who have admitted that they provided information for the ADL for pay in Los Angeles and San Francisco, form the basis for the near-hysterical response of ADL leadership to any suggestion that it just might be culpable.

Following the still unsuccessful attempts to quell the controversy and mollify those who contribute to a \$32 million annual budget and \$200,000 yearly salary for the executive director, a direction has been taken by the ADL that is sure to fail. The leadership has decided that the broad brush of yelling anti-Semite every time they do not agree with positions taken by others has played out. Even politically unsophisticated Jews have come to realize this and have quietly begun to take the ADL to task. It is even more apparent in the sophisticated Jewish community, for many of them believe that the ADL has gone too far and the leadership has just about outlived its usefulness.

This cannot be demonstrated more graphically than by reprinting once more charges leveled against the *Amsterdam News* by Abraham Foxman, the League’s director, attempting to use the *Amsterdam News* as its scapegoat by suggesting that the *News* and its publisher are somehow responsible for its many woes and that Black anti-Semitism in America is one of the major reasons for its *raison d’etre*.

Following Foxman’s attacks on the *Amsterdam News* in *The Jerusalem Report*, *The Forward* as well as in speeches and press reports, Abraham Foxman, the flawed leader of the

League, now turns to *The Jewish Week*, and in an article by Stewart Ain (right), in the edition of July 23-29, Foxman attempts to lay blame for the woes of his creation at the feet of the *Amsterdam News*, his euphemism for Black America.

As has been our practice since we first broke the story in New York of ADL spying in California, we have endeavored to reprint, insofar as possible, those articles appearing in journals predominantly read by Jews critical of the *Amsterdam News* and its publisher in which false charges of anti-Semitism are hurled. It is our belief that Blacks know better and that any other Jew or gentile capable of rational thought who has ever read the *Amsterdam* or knows its publisher, knows better too.

As we have said before, Foxman and the ADL have launched an assault on the minds of the people of this nation, pretending, as James Baldwin put it, "that they and the world are things that they and the world are not." There is only one clear choice for the ADL at this juncture: to remove Foxman and those responsible for putting the ADL in such disrepute from office. It is the only way to regain a once glorious reputation.

As an afterthought and a warning to the NAACP, we reprint an article (right) that appeared in the Jewish Telegraph Agency recently.

Understand that we are in complete accord with the aims and purposes as articulated in the article; however, the NAACP must know that it is incumbent upon them to be more than careful now, for to place their trust and confidence in one so erratic and irresponsible as Abraham Foxman is to play a deadly game of cards with one who is not playing with a full deck and who is not wrapped too tight.

The New York
JEWISH WEEK
 THE JEWISH WEEK, JULY 23-29, 1993; ARTICLE BY STEWART AIN

This is also the year that the ADL has been rocked by controversy. The San Francisco district attorney is investigating the organization to determine if it illegally obtained



Abraham Foxman

law enforcement files on individuals and organizations and then used them in the course of its work. Newspaper headlines trumpeted: "ADL Spies for Zion," "ADL has files on good Americans" and "The ADL is spying on you."

Foxman says one newspaper in particular, the *Amsterdam News*, has waged a war against the ADL on its front page since the investigation was revealed even though Foxman and other ADL officials vehemently deny that they have engaged in any illegal activities. In one editorial, the publisher of the weekly for blacks, Wilbert A. Tatum, wrote: "Someone must take on the Anti-Defamation League, for left unchecked this organization under its current leadership could destroy what is left of the fragile fabric of race relations in this city and nation. ... Evidence points to the possibility that they were spying on black people."

Foxman, who has been critical of the *Amsterdam News'* coverage of the 1991 Crown Heights riot, says Tatum's repeated attacks in the newspaper "spew forth classical canards of anti-Semitism."

ADL, NAACP PLAN JOINT TASK FORCE

WASHINGTON, June 27 (JTA) -- The Anti-Defamation League has joined with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in an effort to reduce racial tensions among young Americans.

Spurred by troubling reports of American racial polarization, ADL and NAACP are exploring the creation of a multiracial task force geared toward lessening racial prejudice.

The decision "demonstrates that our two communities are serious about working together to change negative racial attitudes of young Americans before they become ingrained," leaders of the two groups said in a joint statement following a meeting here last Thursday.

ADL National Chairman Abraham Foxman and NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Chavis Jr. said their organizations would work with other groups to develop educational programs on the high school and college levels.

ADL: 'We didn't do it, and we won't do it anymore'

(7 August 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

In the July 30 edition of the *Forward*, as its lead, there appears a story, reported from Washington, D.C., by David Twersky, that boggles the mind. Under an improbable headline, given the outraged and wounded cries of Abraham Foxman, Irwin Suall, and so many others in the leadership of the ADL, there appears an even more bizarre and improbable story:

ADL Considers Deal To End 'Spy' Scandal: Rights Group Maintaining its Innocence

By David Twersky, *Forward*, July 30, 1993

WASHINGTON—Though it denies any wrongdoing, the Anti-Defamation League will agree to make some concessions regarding its information-gathering practices if a deal with the San Francisco district attorney, who is investigating those practices, can be reached.

Under such an agreement, the D.A., Arlo Smith, would drop his investigation of ADL, American Jewry's largest and most powerful defense agency. But the concession by officials at the organization might include an admission that ADL overzealously pursued its fact-finding and research work.

That ADL would consider making such an admission—while at the same time clinging to its categorical denials of wrongdoing—reflects the difficult situation in which the organization finds itself. If ADL allows the San Francisco investigation to progress, it faces a drawn-out investigation that could further erode its once-sterling reputation, not to mention the possibility that officials of the group could face criminal indictments.

Moreover, left unaddressed, ADL's troubles threaten to spread: Police in Los Angeles and Chicago are also investigating possible wrongdoing by ADL police informants. But the decision to settle has drawn fire from within the organization, with support declining in direct proportion to the level of wrongdoing to which the group will be required to admit.

“We’re in discussions to see what it would take to make things neat and satisfy all people and put it to rest,” ADL’s national director Abraham Foxman to the *Forward*. But securing favorable terms of settlement won’t be easy: ADL doesn’t want to own up to too much, and the D.A. doesn’t want to settle for too little.

Following this series of contradictions, wishful thinking, arrogance and “in-your-face-I-dare-you” rhetoric, designed to prop up the morale of the League’s supporters while raising its own believability and credibility curves, there is trotted out for validation a former chairman of the ADL, under whose leadership much of the “spying” is alleged to have taken place.

Kenneth Bialkin, said to be part of the negotiating team trying to pull off a deal with San Francisco D.A. Arlo Smith, shoots himself in the foot when he superciliously pronounces, “There is nothing wrong with what we did. I agreed that the matter should be settled if it can be, to get those people off our backs. But I won’t agree to any confession of fault or admission of wrongdoing.”



Bialkin is a noted New York attorney whose hardlining and right-wing postures have made him somewhat of a legend in circles that admire unyielding arrogance and hubris. His final remark about all this according to the *Forward* report, “Mr. Bialkin said that he backed that plan (to cut a deal) if all ADL had to do was pledge not to obtain police files in the future without any admission of wrongdoing.”

This attitude on the part of the ADL, even after their hands have been caught in a cookie jar that can be corrupt, is incomprehensible. There is no way that D.A. Arlo Smith should even consider a form of plea bargaining with the ADL.

The acts and associations of which the Anti-Defamation League has been accused—spying on innocent Americans and their organizations, corrupting law enforcement personnel, buying or trading personal information about people from these sources that cannot release this information legally; smearing people who are not and have never been anti-Semites with a potent brush of anti-Semitism in order to defeat them politically, or to destroy them socially and economically, and lying in bed with the likes of Tom Gerard, an indicted former San Francisco police officer, and Roy Bullock, who by the ADL’s own admission has been on their payroll for years—are reprehensible.

The very idea of negotiating with them on this issue should be anathema to any institution of law enforcement. But stranger things have happened.

The vaunt displayed and reported about the attitude of the leadership of the ADL, since the spy scandal broke in California newspapers and is almost totally ignored by the New York press, the place from which the “spy operation” was being directed by Irwin Suall [national director of “fact-finding” for the Anti-Defamation League], is little short of amazing. Either there is a power here of which we are not aware, or there is a perverse and illegal value to American law enforcement that they dare not reveal.

Whatever the case, the ADL is under fire and it should be. Perhaps the most telling statement of all was made by an assistant district attorney in San Francisco, according to the *Forward*: “...the D.A.’s office, especially one assistant district attorney, John Dwyer, is committed to pursuing the investigation of the ADL. According to reliable sources in San Francisco, Mr. Dwyer has called the ADL ‘an evil organization’ and said its activities were ‘morally reprehensible’ and that it ‘had to be stopped.’”

There is little reason to doubt that the allegations against the ADL are true, especially if one follows the “spin” that their superb propaganda machine, which has victimized so many innocent Americans, attempts to put on every statement critical of the ADL and of those whom they support.

In order to preserve a vestige of their power, glory and ability to raise money, the ADL must change fundamentally. They must rid the organization of those who have brought them so low, beginning with Abraham Foxman and the whole “fact-finding” unit as it is now constituted and working. Otherwise relegate the organization to where it must go without change—the ash heap of history. No one will continue to accept what the ADL wants everyone to accept as gospel: “We didn’t do anything wrong, but we won’t do it any more.”

Guest Editorial: The ADL: Spying on a Black American

(28 August 1993)

By Dr. Gerald Horne

[Dr. Horne was Professor of History and Black Studies Department Chair at the University of California, Santa Barbara, from 1988 to 1993.]

Why would the anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith spy on me?

After all, I am one of the few African-Americans who has made a habit of writing consistently in condemnation of anti-Semitism. For years I have reviewed books for *Jewish Affairs*, a quarterly publication, where I have spoken out consistently against all forms of anti-Jewish fervor.

More than once I have taken to the pages of the Black press to point out the stark similarities between anti-Black and anti-Jewish bias. More than once this has led to my being criticized sharply by some African-Americans, who feel that I have gone too far.

So, why would I be surveilled?

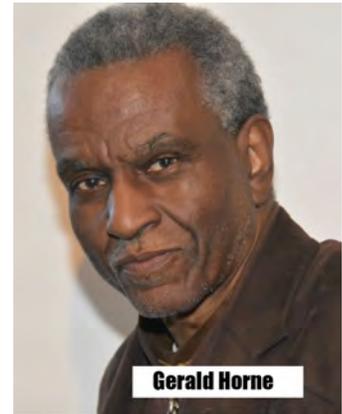
To answer this question requires a brief historical detour.

The Cold War between the USSR and the USA had profound consequences for both Jewish-Americans and African-Americans. Since Washington was seeking to masquerade as a paragon of human rights virtue, it became necessary to curtail some of the more overt and vicious forms of Jim Crow and bigotry. It is no accident that *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court decision that invalidated Jim Crow in education, came in 1954 as the Cold War was at its height.

This fact is well known. What is less obvious is that Jewish-Americans benefited from a similar historical process. Whenever anti-Black racism takes a body blow, anti-Semitism is impacted similarly. When the status of Blacks is lifted, the status of Jews—one of the later entrants in the hallowed halls of what is euphemistically called “the White community”—likewise ascends.

That is not all. The post-war rise in the status of Jewish-Americans came with a price.

It is sometimes forgotten that Zionism, the idea that anti-Semitism cannot be eradicated and, thus, Jewish people require a homeland of their own, was not a majority trend among Jewish-Americans before World War II. It was not only the Holocaust that changed this. The other significant factor that led to the popularity of Zionism among



Jewish-Americans was the Cold War.

The formation of the state of Israel in 1948 also came as the Cold War was being launched, and Israel quickly assumed its present status as Washington's major ally in the region against Arab nationalism and progressive forces generally.

The problem was that Israel, a state founded by a number of utopian socialists and no small amount of progressives, quickly devolved into a Cold War bastion of support for Washington's bellicose policies in the region.

Naturally, this tendency was resisted stoutly by a number of African-Americans who felt that pressing domestic problems of hunger, homelessness and mis-education could not be addressed adequately as long as our tax dollars were going to assist nations like Israel in their vain effort to squash Palestinian nationalism.

Hence, in 1967 the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—the shock troops of the Civil Rights Movement—opposed Israel's war against Arab nations and ran afoul of the ADL. It mattered little that SNCC was a staunch opponent of all forms of bigotry. It mattered little that SNCC's effort to slay the dragon of bias in the Deep South objectively served to undermine anti-Semitism. What mattered for the ADL was that SNCC would take a position that would be viewed with jaundice in Tel Aviv.

Similarly, the ADL would spy on Gerald Horne not because he was soft on anti-Semitism; to the contrary. The ADL would spy on Gerald Horne because he was viewed as being in favor of a Palestinian homeland and in favor of Israel evacuating the Occupied Territories.

But even this explanation, as persuasive as it is, is not sufficient to explain why the ADL—an organization chartered to combat bias and bigotry—would ally with police departments and other forces of the *status quo* who have not evinced a serious interest in fighting discrimination. After all, the ADL also spied on the NAACP and Scott Kraft, a correspondent for the *LA Times*, and others whose position on the Mid-East is either not controversial or unknown.

Obviously a further explanation is necessary.

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'The Liberators': ADL, AJC, PBS, and Channel 13's attempt to rewrite the history of W.W. II: Denying, negating, and diminishing the role of Black Americans

(25 September 1993) Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief

Editor's Note (2024): *The Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II* is a 1992 documentary film co-produced by Bill Miles and Nina Rosenblum and narrated by the actors Louis Gossett Jr. and Denzel Washington. Using interviews, photographs, and diary readings, it tells the story of the primarily black 761st Tank Battalion and 183rd Combat Engineers during World War II, including their experiences of racism in the United States and their involvement in the liberation of Nazi concentration camps. The film was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature.

In San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia and a host of other cities in this nation, angry Americans—Whites, Blacks, Jews, Arabs—are preparing to go into court to stop an alleged “spy operation” and illegal intelligence-gathering operation that is being fronted by informants, paid for and directed by the Anti-Defamation League.

The [ADL's] response to all this, playing hardball to the core, has been essentially the kind of response that major corporations get away with when they produce a drug that causes death, injury or deformity, or when others befoul the environment, creating disaster: “We did nothing wrong and we’re not going to do it anymore!”

The League's response to all this, playing hardball to the core, has been essentially the kind of response that major corporations get away with when they produce a drug that causes death, injury or deformity, or when others befoul the environment, creating disaster: “We did nothing wrong and we’re not going to do it anymore!”

This matter will be on the back burner until the cases on the West Coast are heard within weeks or months. In the meantime, this once respected and still powerful Jewish civil rights organization has the audacity to place itself once more in the center of a controversy that should not be one at all, the decision made by the management of Channel 13, the PBS television outlet in New York City, to withdraw the award-winning documentary “Liberators: Fighting On Two Fronts in World War II” from distribution, due to what is referred to as “factual inaccuracies” that are in dispute. The producers of the film, Nina Rosenblum and Bill Miles, supported by affidavits from both liberators and survivors of the Nazi death camps in question, stand by their story, while “researchers” hired by Channel 13 and the American Jewish Committee, who were not there and whose access to accurate 50-year-old information, except from those who were there, is limited.

The producers of the film, Nina Rosenblum and Bill Miles, supported by affidavits from both liberators and survivors of the Nazi death camps in question, stand by their story, while “researchers” hired by Channel 13 and the American Jewish Committee, who were not there and whose access to accurate 50-year-old information, except from those who were there, is limited.

For they had to depend upon Department of the Army information on Black troops and Black troop movements during a time in American history when the Army could have given less than a damn about what Black troops were doing, except in those instances where the Blacks had excelled, and the biased White chroniclers, even then, were instructed, or took it upon themselves, to diminish the role of the Black soldier, or disappear that record altogether.

An organization such as the ADL, so familiar with attempts to rewrite the history of Jews from the reprehensible "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" to the now-current attempts to revisit Hitler's Germany and find reasons to blame Jews for the Holocaust, or even attempt to rewrite history in such a way as to state blatantly that the Holocaust never happened, must be insane to have [taken this position] without suggesting that they had done independent research, especially in light of the fact that many from the ADL have boasted that they have the best "fact-finding" organization in the world.

Race and liberation

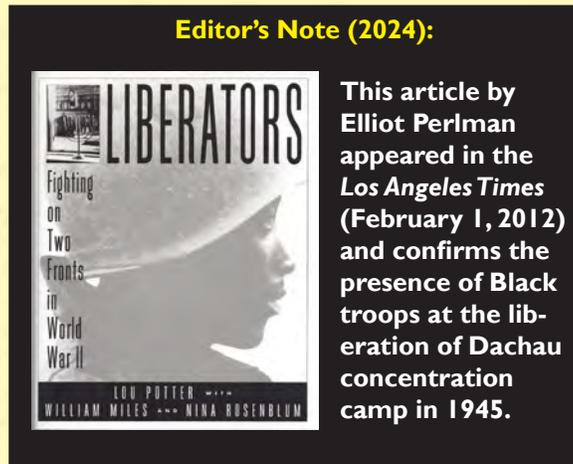
Elliot Perlman

SOME SIX OR seven years ago I happened to see an Academy Award-winning documentary, "The Last Days," directed by James Moll and with Steven Spielberg as executive producer. It was of interest to me because, like the novel I was then writing, it dealt with the Holocaust and tangentially with the role of African American troops in World War II.

In the film, Paul Parks, an African American WWII veteran and civil rights activist, recounts being one of a number of black troops of the then-segregated U.S. Army present at the liberation of Dachau, the first concentration camp the Nazis built and one of the last to be liberated. Although it was not one of the six death camps created specifically for mass murder, many thousands of people died there during the Third Reich. The historical and moral significance of African American troops taking part in the liberation of Dachau was of interest to me.

Subsequently I learned that "The Last Days" and "Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II" — a 1992 PBS documentary that also drew attention to the presence of black troops at Dachau — were roundly attacked either for their unquestioning acceptance of claims by allegedly dishonest black veterans or for allegedly fabricating the story.

I was curious about the motives of each side in this dispute. Why would black veterans say there were black troops present if there were not? There are plenty of examples of the heroism of Af-



Editor's Note (2024):

This article by Elliot Perlman appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (February 1, 2012) and confirms the presence of Black troops at the liberation of Dachau concentration camp in 1945.

rican American soldiers in WWII. It is also generally accepted by historians that the all-black 761st Tank Battalion had taken part in the liberation of a satellite of Mauthausen concentration camp, Gunsckirchen, on May 5, 1945. There was no need to make up a role for black GIs in the liberation of Dachau.

Equally perplexing to me was the vehemence of the deniers. Why would the assertion by black veterans that they had helped liberate Dachau engender a rebuttal so passionate that it seemed to have the hallmarks of a campaign? Could racism be a factor? And, in any event, how do you prove a negative? If a given white veteran, or even a number of them, failed to see any black soldiers at Dachau at the relevant time and then testified honestly to this effect, does that prove that

no black troops were there?

In terms of the evidence, there were black veterans asserting their presence and their role in the liberation of the camp, and there were people who could find no white veteran to say there were any black troops there. Surely, I thought, U.S. military records could clear this up.

Not really. Apparently black outfits were frequently split up and "lent out" to other outfits. The 761st, for example, was often called a "bastard outfit" because it didn't seem to belong to anybody. This meant that often nobody "officially" knew where all of its members were at any given time. Nevertheless, given the controversy the two documentaries had generated, in 2006 I contacted the Army. The result was inconclusive. The U.S. Army Center of Military History reported

that it had no records "to prove or disprove that there were African American units that participated in the liberation of Dachau."

After my novel was published in Australia last year, a reader there contacted me to ask whether there really was, as is portrayed in the novel, a controversy concerning the presence of black troops at the liberation of Dachau. She had grown up hearing her Polish Jewish father tell the family about his liberation from Dachau, and the story always contained his wonderment on seeing a black person for the first time. As soon as was possible I met with the woman, checked her story and interviewed her father.

An initially reluctant interviewee, her Holocaust survivor father did indeed confirm the presence of black troops at the liberation of Dachau. The momentousness of his liberation notwithstanding, he distinctly recalls seeing, and being astonished by the presence of, black soldiers there that day. Coming from a Polish *shtetl*, this man had never seen a black person before.

Thus the accounts of African American veterans, and in particular of the late Paul Parks, are supported by the testimony of at least one Jewish survivor. Is it time to apologize to the Parks family? One wonders whether there are still some people for whom the eyewitness testimonies of an African American veteran and a Polish Jew are not enough proof.

ELLIOT PERLMAN is the author of, most recently, the novel "The Street Sweeper."

The Anti-Defamation League rides again...Over Farrakhan and the Blacks

(2 October 1993)

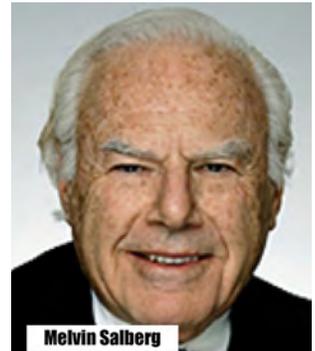
**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

How dare the Anti-Defamation League, with its unclean hands, attempt to bully and frighten the Congressional Black Caucus into backing away from the first attempt in recent memory at unity among those in the Black community whose philosophies and politics may be different but whose goals are the same—the liberation of persons of color everywhere.

In the press release that appears below, we see clearly the beginning of a new campaign of harassment by the ADL of the Congressional Black Caucus members and the leadership of the Black community, represented by Jesse Jackson and Ben Chavis of the NAACP, because they embraced Farrakhan:

ADL and Black Caucus chairman to meet on Farrakhan

NEW YORK, N.Y., Sept. 23 [1993] – The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-MD), will meet to discuss the agency's concerns about the Black Caucus uniting itself with Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam.



In a letter to Rep. Mfume, Melvin Salberg, ADL national chairman, and Abraham H. Foxman, ADL national director, had asked to meet with him to clarify the Caucus' position "before those who thrive on divisiveness" escalate the situation.

"While the Caucus has the right to unite with whomever it pleases," the League leaders stated, "associating with an avowed racist and anti-Semite erodes the moral fiber of your worthy mission."

The League leaders sent Rep. Mfume a copy of the new ADL Special Report entitled "Louis Farrakhan: In His Own Words — 1993," which documents Farrakhan's continuing hostility to Jews. Even though Minister

Farrakhan proclaims he is reaching out to the Jewish community, Salberg and Foxman wrote in their letter, he continues to trumpet racial and religious bigotry. It is not possible, they said, "to separate Farrakhan's message of hope to the Black community from his message of hate to that same audience."

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

This press release and any meeting that may ensue initiates a campaign of intimidation and terror conceived and orchestrated by the ADL that will attempt to force Black leadership back into line, back to a time when Whites chose our leadership for us, back to a time when Black leadership dared not breathe out loud when our leaders were being destroyed.

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We remember with great pain how we reacted at the willful political and personal destruction of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson. We stood by paralyzed with lockjaw, as the U.S. government and our White benefactors whipped Black leaders of their choosing into submission and commanded that they go forth to cool, calm and control the natives. And they did just that.



Of more modern vintage is the legal and personal destruction of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and the propaganda whipping ministered to Jesse Jackson that has compromised his ability to speak out, and so many more.

This "command performance" demanded of Kweisi Mfume has triggered the exposé of another epistle sent to the Black leaders of the 30th Anniversary March on Washington by Rabbi David Saperstein [of] the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. The text of that memorandum follows:

Confidential and Personal

To: Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Bill Lucy, Rev. Jesse Jackson, William Gibson, Rev. Ben Chavis, Lane Kirkland

From: Rabbi David Saperstein

Date: August 13, 1993

cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Lawrence Rubin

We have been looking forward to participating this year in the Anniversary March for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. Our final follow-up letter to hundreds of synagogues and Jewish organizations all over the Eastern seaboard was going to be mailed Monday urging them to send delegations to the March.

In the past 24 hours, however, two major problems have arisen. The first is that I understand that a tentative decision was made yesterday to invite Rev. Louis Farrakhan. I do not need to tell you what a devastating blow this would be to the solidarity of the coalition supporting the March.

While he participated in 1983, that was before all of the blow-up over his extreme statements generally, and his anti-Semitic statements in particular, beginning with his "Judaism is a gutter religion."* For a decade, these problems have escalated. I have enclosed a July 18, 1993 Chicago Sun Times editorial (following a 3-hour interview with him) in which the paper concluded that: "Farrakhan Message is Still Anti-Semitic."

I thought this issue was resolved in 1988 when the decision was made not to invite him.

The controversy over Rev. Farrakhan's participation will overwhelm the entire March. The media's traditional obsession with such controversies, and Black-Jewish tensions particularly (around Rev. Farrakhan above all) will become the major story of the March. The substance of your talks and what the March represents will be totally drowned out. Obviously, all of the Jewish groups (and, I suspect, other groups) will be forced to withdraw from participation in the March.

I have also been informed by March officials that a decision was made to extend invitations to representatives of the Palestinian and Israeli peace delegations to speak. I want to suggest that this too is a major tactical error.

First, we have always agreed to keep the Middle East conflict out of the March in keeping with the position that we would not invite people to participate who would attack other groups participating in the March. The Jewish and Arab American groups had all agreed to this in the past two anniversary marches.

These invitations raise the prospect of the Middle East Palestinian-Israeli conflict being debated publicly at the March in front of the world. Do we really need Israeli speakers talking about PLO and Hezbollah terrorism and Palestinian speakers criticizing Israeli policy on the West Bank at the March. It will split the crowd and force other speakers—including the Arab-American and Jewish groups—to weigh in on the merits of that debate. The problem is further complicated by the fact that it is not only a radical departure from past agreements but a slap in the face to the Jewish community.

A final word on process. During the 20th and 25th Anniversary Marches, I was fully in the loop in the development of the platform and program. I am exceedingly disappointed, considering how closely I have worked with all of you over the years and how strongly you must have known the Jewish community would react to these decisions, that these decisions were not only made without my participation and ability to share my community's concerns, but without even courtesy of prior consultation. This feels like a major breach of good faith.

Please reach me at my office, 202-387-XXXX, or my home, 202-363-XXXX, any time that is convenient for you to discuss this further.

*This is a bold face lie. The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan never said this or used any similar language.

We have no idea how our leaders initially reacted to the memo that appears above. We only know that Farrakhan did not appear at the 30th Anniversary March on Washington. The others did.

What with the latest attack by the ADL on the Nation of Islam, a decision has been made by Minister Farrakhan to take the battle that has been drawn to the Anti-Defamation League where it lives.

On Tuesday evening, September 28, a phalanx of NOI's Fruit of Islam assembled at the corner of Third Avenue and 46th Street in Manhattan, led by Minister Conrad Muhammad, leader of Mosque No. 7 in Harlem.

In orderly march toward ADL headquarters at 46th and First Avenue, they were met by police and steered back to Third Avenue. The intent had been to distribute literature at or near ADL headquarters that included the letter that appears above with a leaflet that has this text: "Farrakhan's Absence Proof of Jews' Power and Domination Over Black Leadership!! Jewish Rabbi Accuses Black Leadership of Making Decision on Farrakhan Without His Participation and Prior Consultation."

At times the "uniform" of the FOI, dark clothing and hat, white shirt and black bow tie, coupled with an awesome silence, and a precision that was almost military, led one to believe that this was a "serious" demonstration over a wrong that was not only perceived but real.

There is no telling at this writing how the meeting will go with Mfume and the ADL. We know that Black America will never be the same again, following the expression of unity and solidarity of our leadership at the Congressional Black Caucus.

We do not know what the reaction of the larger Black community will be after there is widespread knowledge of what appears to be a "control" over Black leadership by those who were once considered our most reliable allies in the larger community.

In the clearest message to Black leadership, the Congressional Black Caucus, and to Black America in general, the *New York Times* spoke for the majority when in its editorial of September 25, 1993, "The Black Caucus Gets Mugged," there was issued a warning in no uncertain terms to all of us:

ANOTHER VOICE: New York Times

The Black Caucus gets mugged

In the days ahead, the Congressional Black Caucus may find itself in an advantageous position. With Congress riven with discord over NAFTA, the economy and other issues, the Black Caucus counts 39 votes in the House, and 1 in a Senate that often produces squeaker votes.

But the Black Caucus' chairman, Kweisi Mfume, D-Md., seems not to understand the uses of power. When Mfume embraced Louis Farrakhan last week in Washington, he temporarily lost the savvy he has shown while legislating, and behaved like a novice. Mfume was had. So was the Black Caucus.

The occasion for this mugging was the Caucus' annual legislative meeting, specifically a panel on race and politics at the Washington Convention Center. The participants included Mfume, Farrakhan, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Benjamin Chavis of the NAACP. Farrakhan's presence was an invitation to trouble, given his previous anti-Semitic railings and especially his description of Judaism as "a gutter religion."

Mfume declared a detente between the caucus and the Black Muslims, among others. "No longer will we allow people to divide us," he said, adding that such a union

was needed to bring about "change." Some say Mfume, who only recently abandoned radical for mainstream politics, was "caught up in the moment" and broached the issue without consulting the caucus.

Perhaps. But his conduct suggests a misconception about what constitutes genuine leadership and whence its power flows. The members of the Black Caucus were given mandates and missions by the voters who sent them to Washington. They have a real political foundation of voters who expect "change," all right, but expect it in legislation that will benefit them.

It's reasonable for the caucus to reach out. But Mfume and his duly elected colleagues needn't be threatened or guilt-tripped into sharing platforms with people without portfolio, who would soon drop from sight if the press ceased to cover them — or if the Black Caucus ceased to invite them to conferences.

Mfume diluted his hard-won authority of office by extending it to a freelance rhetorician well known as a hater. The caucus gets only bad karma and negative publicity in return. That's a political mugging, pure and simple.

The chairman of the Black Caucus ought to know better. Perhaps his membership can teach him. The warning and the not-too-veiled threats were clear: ***Do what we tell you to do or else. Choose your own leaders only with our prior consultation and approval. And stop that nonsense of unifying. Don't you understand***

that we have so infiltrated your ranks that you cannot make a move without our knowledge? And more importantly, you need money to support your habit of protest and rhetoric. It is no longer available to you until this unity idea of yours is killed.

Those are no one's words in particular. It is a shared sentiment of those who believe that they hold our fate in their hands.

Black America must be prepared now to put that sentiment to a test. We have gone too far now, the 33 million of us, to have anyone tell us who our leaders are. The gauntlet has now been put down. It is up to us to challenge and overcome it.

Police block Muslim march on ADL, stop handouts of rabbi's secret memo: Amsterdam News Exclusive

(2 October 1993)

J. Zamgba Browne and Cathy Connors, reporters, New York Amsterdam News

Reactions to the new structure of the nation's Black leadership, which now has added the Nation of Islam to its inner circle, have come from pockets of influence who have been largely in proximate solidarity with the continuing struggles of African-Americans in this country.

That the Congressional Black Caucus has included the Nation of Islam's **Minister Louis Farrakhan** to its levels of national power has caused an outcry from the Jewish leadership which has been there all along.

In addition to an editorial in the *New York Times* last Saturday which castigates Baltimore Congressman Kweisi Mfume for announcing the solidarity with Farrakhan, the Anti-Defamation League has sought a meeting with the outspoken Congressman, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

As the *Amsterdam News* goes to press, it was learned that the Mfume meeting with the Anti-Defamation League will be held this week. Brian Morton, Mfume's press secretary, was reluctant to discuss the ADL letter of request to the congress member for the meeting.

Morton went on to tell this newspaper that there have been no changes in attitude, posture, philosophy or strategy by members of the Congressional Black Caucus because of the inclusion of Minister Farrakhan.

However, Morton did reveal that the press release announcing the meeting, issued by the ADL, came to Mfume as a surprise; it had been their desire to have a quiet, unpublished meeting.

Since the ADL has announced the meeting across the country without the congressman's advice and consent, any attempt now to keep the meeting "quiet" is virtually impossible.

In other action, Muslims and police officers appeared to have been engaging in a strategic chess game Tuesday evening in Mid-Manhattan. The Muslims would make a move, and the police immediately a counter move, and vice versa.

The game between the Boys in Blue and the bow-tied-clad Muslims seemed to be over a secret memorandum sent last August to Dr. Martin Luther King's widow, Coretta Scott King, by Rabbi David Saperstein, a prominent Jewish leader.

The one-page memo—also sent to the Revs. Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Chavis and Walter Fauntroy, union leader Bill Lucy, William Gibson, NAACP board chair, and AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland—called on the leaders to block Minister Louis Farrakhan from speaking at the Anniversary March for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom in D.C.



A top Farrakhan aide, Minister Conrad Muhammad, who led the group of about 100 Muslim brothers to Mid-Manhattan last Tuesday, said his intention was to expose a conspiracy by Jews to control the nation's Black leadership by circulating copies of Rabbi Saperstein's secret memo.

Minister Muhammad also intended to drop off a few copies of the memo at Anti-Defamation League headquarters on First Avenue and 46th Street, a stone's throw from the United Nations. Muhammad and his flock met with stiff resistance from the police.

The officers cited a city ordinance which forbids any demonstration or big gathering near the United Nations headquarters while the world body is in session. That was when the strategic chess game started.

Minister Muhammad decided to march his men to the corner of Second Avenue and 46th Street via 42nd Street. They were followed by police who called for reinforcements. At 46th Street the Muslims were told they couldn't circulate Rabbi Saperstein's memo from that location. Then it was back to 42nd Street and Third Avenue, where Minister Muhammad had originally assembled his men for the march to the ADL headquarters. Again the Muslims were told by the cops to keep moving. Then it was on to Fifth Avenue via 42nd Street. The wild goose chase continued until approximately 9 p.m.

Meanwhile, the ordinance cited by the cops was confirmed at One Police Plaza by spokesperson Merri Pearsall. She said the department designed two areas for demonstrations near the U.N.—at Dag Hammarskjold Park, 47th Street and First Avenue, and in Ralph Bunche Park nearby.

In addition to Rabbi Saperstein's secret memo, the Muslims also distributed copies of a letter from ADL national director Abraham H. Foxman to Dr. David Ramage Jr., chair of the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions based in Chicago, threatening to withdraw support.

"It is with genuine disappointment that we must advise you of our withdrawal as a co-sponsor of the 1993 Parliament of World's Religions. We cannot continue as a sponsor of a conference that, while committed in principle to interreligious understanding, harmony and respect, tonight features a major presentation by Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam.

"Since ADL has fought anti-Semitism and racism for over 80 years, our continued role is incompatible with a presentation by one who has so relentlessly attacked one religious group and so consistently promoted divisiveness along racial lines."

Meanwhile, Rabbi Saperstein's confidential memorandum (reprinted in Mr. Tatum's front-page editorial) to Mrs. King, Walter Fauntroy, Bill Lucy, Jesse Jackson, William Gibson, Benjamin Chavis, and Lane Kirkland is being distributed to the nation's civil rights organizations and to African-American communities around the world.

Farrakhan's Rally a Gesture of Peace

(16 October 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Chief of Staff of the Nation of Islam, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, speaks to the *Amsterdam News* publisher about Farrakhan, the decision to come to New York and the relationship with Jews, at Sylvia's [Restaurant] on October 7.

Last week our newspaper got a call from the Nation of Islam telling us that a decision had been made by Minister Farrakhan to come to New York and hold a meeting of followers in Yankee Stadium, just a few days before the general election in which an incumbent Black mayor, who is a Democrat, finds himself pitted against a Republican-Liberal conservative challenger in a race that is, at this writing, a statistical dead-heat.

In requesting this interview with the chief of staff, we believed that our readers deserved to know the thinking of the Nation in making its decision and what their position is on the possibility of changing the tenor of relationships between Blacks and Jews.

Wilbert A. Tatum: Welcome to New York. What is your other title?

Leonard Muhammad: My official title is the Chief of Staff.

...



Leonard Farrakhan

Tatum: ... You are on a mission. I would like for you to articulate for me what that mission is and how important that mission is to the Nation and what that mission, whatever it is, portends for Black America?

Muhammad: Well first of all, we have been attempting to give a positive message to our people nationally. You know that Minister Farrakhan, when he started the Nation, he was silent for about seven years, I believe, before he would speak in the public or at least to the press, and after the March on Washington in '83, he decided that he would once again speak in the public as opposed [to] just to gatherings of Muslims only. Since then, he has been doing that across the country and has been very effective in changing the lives of thousands of our people and helping them to see the value of self and helping them to see that all is not lost, and that there is hope.

So as a result, he's gone to every major city of this country. As you know, he was here in New York at Madison Square Garden, but since then there has been an outcry from the public here that Minister Farrakhan should come during these very serious and troubled times and try and influence our people here in a positive direction. We have been trying now for about four or five years to get a venue. Unfortunately, Minister Farrakhan's appeal is such that most of the places here would not be large enough for us to really promote it and advertise it and the large venues have not been made available to us for the last five years or so, even though we have tried on a number of occasions to rent these places.

Tatum: Now, you've said that you are here on a particular mission and that the Nation has not been able to find a place that is large enough over the course of the last five years (to hold a rally); and that those large enough have been denied you?

Muhammad: Right, the ones that are large enough, they have denied us...

Tatum: You are talking about 25,000 people or so aren't you, or more?

Muhammad: At least, we really do need at this point at least 25,000 or 30,000 in order to bring Minister Farrakhan in because that's the kind of appeal that Allah's bless-

ed him to have now among our people.

Tatum: Well, what have you tried here in New York? Would you describe what you mean by a critical time. Has it to do with the upcoming election for mayor of the city? Does it have to do with what's going on in Somalia? Does it have to do with the most recent attacks on the [M]inister in the press of America, or is it in fact all of the above?

Muhammad: Well no! Minister Farrakhan has recently written a book called *A Torchlight For America*, and in that book he has offered to the leadership and the government of America solutions to the problems of America, especially the cities. He's offered in that book a solution to the race problem, [and] to the problem that is happening with the schools; and right now, unfortunately, Minister Farrakhan says that America is dying from an internal rot—internal rot meaning that no foreign power, at this point, will be able to affect America's future, but what will happen is that she will definitely be affected by this internal rot that has to do with drugs, violence, immorality; basically a result of unemployment and hopelessness on the part of the people.

Minister Farrakhan is a man of real and meaningful hope and he offers concrete solutions for our people and they have accepted these solutions by the thousands across America. So why should he not come to New York if he has been in Atlanta, Georgia, or in Los Angeles, or in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C.? The people of New York deserve the opportunity to hear this message as well as our brothers and sisters in the other cities that I mentioned.

Tatum: Well, understanding precisely what you are saying, who has informed Minister Farrakhan that he cannot come to New York or should not come to New York or that his money is not good enough to rent something here in the city? Could you give me those answers *seriatim* [sequentially]?

Muhammad: Well, basically, we are hoping that in 1993 that it will be different now that people would have seen that Minister Farrakhan's message has grown in spite of the criticisms that have been leveled at him. We are hoping that there will not be an outcry from detractors, and that Minister Farrakhan will be treated well and his rights fully respected by the citizens as well as the officials of New York.

Tatum: Are you focusing on a particular group now or a particular person who you know for a fact is making it impossible for the [M]inister to come, or is it a fact that you are now negotiating for a place?

Muhammad: We, in fact, have come to terms with the stadium. At this point we are waiting for the ink to dry on the contract that we expect to execute.

• • •

Tatum: ...There has been some talk in the Black community and certainly without the Black community...Eric Adams is here and has been privy to that...of some people who are mighty concerned that if the [M]inister comes to New York City, October 30, a few days before the election, that it might effect Dinkins' chances of winning the election as the 107th mayor of New York City. Is that of concern to the Nation, Minister Farrakhan, and you personally, or do you believe the suggestions are scare tactics?

Muhammad: I would hope that that wouldn't be the case. As a matter of fact, the only way that that could negatively [a]ffect the mayor's campaign is if there is the existence of the kind of racism and discrimination and domination that the Nation of Islam has been told by certain officials does not exist in New York. So since it doesn't exist, then there shouldn't be a problem.

Tatum: You use the word 'domination.' Would you spell that out for me? Domination by whom? Or are you relating this to something that has just happened recently? A letter sent to the Congressional Black Caucus member, Mfume, as well as Reverend Lowery, Coretta Scott King, Jesse Jackson and a couple of others whose names I can't recall right now, who are leaders in the Black community, who were responsible for putting together the last March on Washington that was held in August? This letter was sent by a Rabbi Saperstein, who has been long active in the Civil Rights Movement, and who has direct contact with most of the reform Jewish congregations in America. Is this what you are referring to, backed up by the change of heart, obviously someone on that committee, after receiving the letter from Rabbi Saperstein, decided that the Minister would not be invited to speak at the March on Washington? That was kept a secret. And somehow there was a leak from Coretta Scott King's office. The Nation of Islam got the letter and they made it available to the press of America.

Then came the Congressional Black Caucus and it was the Reverend Ben Chavis of the NAACP who also received the letter, who stood up and said "We made an error, we made a mistake." The [M]inister spoke eloquently at the Caucus. As a matter of fact, that particular section of his speech is being played up and down the streets of this nation by people who wish to hear that message. What is your reaction Mr. Minister, Mr. Chief of Staff, to the revelation, first of all? Then too the meeting that was more or less demanded of Mr. Mfume, his meeting, his announcement that I characterized as "thank you but no thank you" to those who met with him and the real torturous times that many people, both Blacks and Jews, are going through trying to determine how or if the situation can be resolved? I know it's a long question, but I wanted to lay it out because this is what people want to know.

Muhammad: Well, let me say first of all that there is no question that the Saperstein letter is a disgrace and an insult not only to Black leadership but to Black people, and I believe that Mr. Saperstein and those Jewish people that stand with him should apolo-

gize to the Black community and to those leaders for ever writing such a letter in the first place. Because as you know, Mr. Tatum, whenever the Jewish people feel that they have been insulted or disrespected, they always call for retractions, repudiations and apologies. So where is the outcry from the Black community that the Jewish community apologize for this letter that was written to our leadership concerning the March on Washington. I would like to use your paper to call for such an apology from the Jewish community.

Tatum: Are you calling for the apology now?

Muhammad: I am in fact calling for the apology. I think that they should apologize.

Tatum: And they should apologize to whom?

Muhammad: They should apologize to every leader whose name was on the letter and to the Black community who believe in those leaders and respect those leaders.

Tatum: What you are calling for is another agenda. You are calling for another time. You are calling for another place. You are saying in effect, Mr. Chief of Staff, no more....That Black leaders are going to be asked to stand where their rhetoric is. We are talking, Mr. Chief of Staff, about fear and sickness and trembling and death. We are talking about the possibility of economic sanctions. We are talking about losing jobs. We are talking about a full court press on Black leadership, in my words rather than yours, to call to account those who have over the years directed the activities of Black leaders without the people knowing that these activities were being directed.

Muhammad: If Mr. Chavis can say that it was a mistake and an error to not allow Minister Farrakhan to speak at the March, the reason why the error was made was because of the Saperstein letter. So if he can say it was an error and he apologizes, then where is the apology coming from the Jews? I mean I think it should go all the way back to the origin.

Tatum: Who should make the apology? Is it Mr. Saperstein? Is it the reform Jewish congregations? Is it the orthodox Jewish congregations? Is it the leadership of the ADL, the AJC, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith? Who makes the apology?

Muhammad: I think Mr. Saperstein should apologize and those that stand with him who encouraged him to write such a lie. I think that those Jewish groups who say that the letter did not represent them should say that publicly and say they are disassociating themselves [from] such a letter. Again, [this] is the same thing that they ask Black people to do even though they are not involved in something, they always ask them to opionate on it and give their view concerning it. And I think that they should be, since they understand how these things work, then they all should be saying to Black people we do not think that the Saperstein letter represented the best interests of [the] Black–Jewish relationship, not in 1993.

Tatum: Then that raises another question. You have said this would adversely impact, if there was not an apology coming, that this would adversely impact the state of Black–Jewish relations in this country. In the view of the *Amsterdam News*, the relationship has never been lower than it is now. Are you saying this would be desirable and this would be the purpose of the Nation of Islam that there should be a more cordial relationship between Blacks and Jews, including members of the Nation of Islam?

Muhammad: I think that current Jewish leadership doesn't really represent the thinking of most Jews. I think they have the luxury of the reputation and the name behind their organizations and they use that to suggest that they represent the thinking of most Jews. I don't believe that to be the case.

Tatum: Well, do you think the leaders that were represented in the photograph at the Congressional Black Caucus represent the thinking of Black America? Minister Farrakhan was included in that. Is this a proper reflection of the leadership of Black America?

Muhammad: Well, let me say it this way. I think that each one of our leaders have a role to play in the leadership of our people and those that are trying and have made progress in the past for our people, we love them and we honor and we respect them. But that doesn't mean that their leadership is going to be perfect. I believe in accountability of leadership. So what we are attempting to do through raising the issue of the Saperstein letter is to give the Jews and the Black leadership time to correct themselves. Give them the opportunity to correct themselves and set a new course for a better relationship with Jews, which we believe there will be.

There will be a relationship with Jews. However, it has to be redefined. What is anti-Semitic has to be redefined. Anti-Semitism basically right now is defined by Jewish people as 'anyone who disagrees with what we [Jews] want and what our [the Jews'] purpose is.' And that is not a proper definition of anti-Semitism.

Tatum: If you were to define for the Nation of Islam what anti-Semitism is, what would it be? If you were to define for the Congressional Black Caucus what racism is, how would you define it? As succinctly as you can or as verbose as you wish, define them for us. What you have called for is a redefining. A redefinition of terms. But in order for our readers to understand, I must know what is at bottom. What's the bottom line here, because I take from what you have said here that the Nation of Islam has absolutely no problem with relationships with Jews.

Muhammad: Absolutely. As a matter of fact ...

Tatum: Articulate that for me because in everything that you read now, it is being said that no matter what you do, no matter what you say, you are still anti-Semitic. So define for me if you will.

Muhammad: Anti-Semitism—first of all let me say that the Nation of Islam is not anti-Semitic, neither is our leader, the Honorable Louis Farrakhan. The Jewish people are not the only Semites on the planet, that's the first thing that needs to be understood. The Muslim people are Semitic people; there are many Jews that are people of color, that are Semitic people. This term that is thrown around is now, in my judgment, could be properly referred to as a method to dominate and control people because no one wants such an ugly term applied to them. And it's actually now used as a weapon of control and domination, and our people need to understand that; and based on the Jewish people's, *some* Jewish people's, definition of anti-Semitism, we need to determine whether or not we need to frown or smile.

Editor's Note (2024): At the request of the supporters of incumbent mayoral candidate Dinkins, Minister Farrakhan chose not to hold the meeting.

AmNews' ADL Exposé Leads by 7 Months

(23 October 1993)

Cathy Connors, reporter, New York Amsterdam News

The crusading *Washington Post* newspaper on Tuesday, Oct. 19, published its first exposé of the Anti-Defamation League's intelligence-gathering system, a probe continuing in San Francisco since April of this year. The *Amsterdam News* initiated its own exploration on April 19, and its investigation continues to appear each week.

In front-page editorials written by Wilbert A. Tatum, this paper's publisher and editor-in-chief, the *Amsterdam News* became the first newspaper in New York City to confront the issue of intelligence gathering which has come before San Francisco's district attorney. The *Amsterdam News* kept pace with the investigation and uncovered a reservoir of material relating to this explosive issue.

The ADL, a wing of B'nai B'rith, has enjoyed a long, prolific reputation as a civil rights supporter during the 1960s and 1970s.

However, police investigators in San Francisco stumbled upon a Bay Area art dealer who collected more than *objets d'art*.

A box of reports found by police in his office revealed that the dealer, Roy H. Bullcock, was only one individual tied to an intricate secret, deeply *sub rosa* spying network. Targets were the KKK, Skinheads, Arab-Americans, African-Americans and anyone or

any organization that seemed merely tinged with anti-Israel sentiment.

According to the *Washington Post* article, even librarians seeking information for materials (books, pamphlets, brochures) which might relate to the Middle East, for example, were treated to undercover surveillance by the ADL, their lives made miserable by the process.

The *Washington Post* also mentions expensive, free trips to Israel for its undercover agents. There were accounts of celebrations when one of their “suspects” received poor press notices or wound up in prison, as did the political gadfly Lyndon LaRouche Jr. when he ran afoul of the law in 1988 and was convicted of conspiracy and mail fraud. The *Post* article contends that ADL had collected information on LaRouche, thus bearing out the suspicion that ADL operates a spy network parallel with official law enforcement organizations—the police, FBI, and CIA, for example—which are restricted by law from assembling information about political or racial opinions.

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the ADL, is quoted in the *Washington Post* as saying that his operation “is not above the law.”

This election wasn't won: It was stolen and bought

(13 November 1993)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News



Now that the election is over and Mr. Giuliani has become mayor, only the residue of anger remains. It is an anger within us that is deep and palpable; one that eats at our very vitals not unlike a cancer metastasizing and spreading through the blood and lymph systems of the body past the door of life after which there is no return.

The anger cannot be assuaged by empty words and staged gestures of conciliation. Nor can it be mitigated in the least by the smiling photos we see of Calvin Butts, Evelyn King, Roy Innis, Charles Rangel or the Rev. Doctor Brandon peering out through the pages of the *New York Times* in a suggested coming together after the noble battle has been waged and the victor returns to the scene of his conquest bearing alms for those who conspired with him and an olive branch with thorns and nothing more to the vanquished.

We must remember this: The election was stolen. There are those among us who say

that it is our fault...*mea culpa...mea culpa, ad infinitum*, and perhaps a very small piece of that is true.

We did not come out in the numbers that were necessary in order to win. That explanation and excuse, having been made and noted, must be put aside as exhibit one and juxtaposed against a much larger reality.

That is the reality of White media in this town in conspiracy or not deciding that there would no longer be a Black mayor even before Dinkins was elected to his first term.

The nonsense about the inner-city stock transaction, and the portrayal of Dinkins as an “empty suit,” a “fiscal illiterate,” “weak” and somehow “corrupt,” made his first months in office almost unbearable.

There was no “honeymoon,” as the boys in the media like to put it. There was not that period of grace accorded lesser lights as they came to office and got their “sea legs.”

It was an immediate assault, often untrue, misstated, overstated or not stated at all of his every day designed to inflame Whites and Jews and to undermine the confidence that Blacks had over time developed in him. Often so subtle as to go unnoticed by our naked eye, or deemed to be a “mistake” or an attempt at “sensationalism at the expense of the mayor” who was, after all, “fair game,” this media assault, as if orchestrated, continued and escalated until Dinkins was defeated. If Dinkins saw it coming, he never acknowledged it, even to himself, except in those very rare moments when he could not bear it any longer and mildly lashed out at a reporter, a station or a newspaper.

There are those who would ask, “Where is your proof that all that you say is true?” Be assured that it is there. Not neatly tied up with string, but in daily reports on WLIB radio, and weekly reports in the pages of the *Amsterdam News*, the two most prominent Black media outlets in New York, if not in the country, that were systematically demonized and “anti-Semitized” by virtually all of the important electronic and print media in town. It happened because we had recognized a truth, had begun to tell it, and thus had to be destroyed. The various organs that are a part of the White journalist community that posture themselves as monitors of the press to insure fairness did not fall asleep at the wheel. They chose not to comment on all this because they feared retaliation in the form of withdrawal of funding. **Someday, when the history of this time is being written, WLIB and the *Amsterdam News* will serve as the only reliable**

The two most prominent Black media outlets in New York, if not in the country...were systematically demonized and “anti-Semitized” by virtually all of the important electronic and print media in town. It happened because we had recognized a truth, had begun to tell it, and thus had to be destroyed.

guide to researchers as they begin to put together an accurate political and social history of this time.

Giuliani was a tool, and still is, of forces so powerful and so sinister that it is no small wonder that the New York White press with four daily newspapers, 87 weeklies and monthlies, as well as 92 radio stations within earshot, reacted positively toward Giuliani and his “message.” Even the PBS system is not exempt from this charge, with the possible exception of the Pacifica system, most notably WBAI.

Very often in terms of media, it is more important to know what has been left unsaid, unreported or underreported in order to accurately assess what it represents. Two illustrations are presented here.

One: the Anti-Defamation League spy network alleged to be headquartered in and operating out of New York City is a story that we have been reporting since April 9 of this year and that has hardly seen the light of day in the daily presses of New York City, and which has certainly not been seriously explored, investigated or criticized.

Two: A report in the *New York Observer* of Nov. 1, by Joe Conason, “The Ghost of Mengele Haunts Rudy’s Firm,” that could have made all the difference in terms of the outcome of this past mayoral race, particularly with the Jewish vote, had media decided to exploit the Mengele–Giuliani connection as they had the fictional connection of Farrakhan–Dinkins–Jackson, with its “gutter religion,” “Hymietown” overtones and the Crown Heights–Dinkins as anti-Semite pogrom which was equally fictional. The lead in that story says more than any words that we can write about what major White media did not do:

Should a lawyer who runs for public office be held accountable for unsavory clients represented by his colleagues? Perhaps not—unless he has made a campaign out of appealing to the fears of Jewish voters about the Crown Heights “pogrom,” Louis Farrakhan’s aborted appearance at Yankee Stadium, and the threat of “neo-Nazis” and “skinheads.”

In the case of Rudolph Giuliani, there is the specter of a real, notorious Nazi whose family business in Germany was represented for years by a member of Anderson Kill Olick & Oshinsky, the law firm where the Republican-Liberal mayoral hopeful has been earning six figures as a partner since 1990. The ghost is that of the late Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz SS doctor whose horrific experimental tortures of concentration camp inmates

In the case of Rudolph Giuliani, there is the specter of a real, notorious Nazi whose family business in Germany was represented for years by a member of Anderson Kill Olick & Oshinsky, the law firm where the Republican-Liberal mayoral hopeful has been earning six figures as a partner since 1990.

and selection of victims for the gas chamber made him the most wanted Nazi criminal of the postwar era. The problem that Mr. Giuliani has not addressed is that the genocidal killer's family firm, Karl Mengele & Sons, can be found on the 1992 "Matters List" of clients represented by Anderson Kill, as *New York Newsday* first reported on Sept. 27.

Perhaps this issue seems as old as a crumbling newsclip. Mengele, after all, is believed to have died in 1979 in Brazil, after having cheated justice for three decades, thanks largely to the constant assistance of his family and its business, which manufactures farm equipment. But his victims remain unavenged, and the Mengele family apparently remains unmoved by his crimes to this day. According to a 1992 report by the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations on its hunt for Mengele, officials of the firm and family members "all refused to cooperate with O.S.I. in this investigation."

In a postscript, that report also said: "Throughout his postwar life, Josef Mengele (in photo) was protected and supported, both financially and emotionally, by his family and by the family-owned company that has long been the dominant enterprise in Guenzburg, West Germany."

His family helped the notorious killer to escape to South America in 1949, telling U.S. authorities that he was dead at the same time that they had purchased a false passport to assist his flight. He later served as a representative of the company in South America.

The overwhelming question is: Why didn't the Jews of this city, indeed the nation, respond to this story as they had everything negative written about Jackson, Farrakhan, Mfume, Sharpton, Jefferson or Daughtry? Considering that this story was already known, where were Jim Sleeper, Eric Briendel, John Taylor, Mimoo Southgate, Dorothy Rabinowitz, Marcia Kramer, Jim Jensen, Gabe Pressman, Mike Kramer, Joe Klein and on and on and on?

They were always there with exposed fangs and extended claws whenever a Black leader opened his or her mouth, even in mild criticism of Jews and the policies of the Jewish state. Are they part of the larger reality of what happened on November 2? **Only history and some fine investigative reporting will answer this. But it will be known.**

We are then only left with this: The election was stolen with the most sophisticated subliminal communication devices ever employed in a local election in this country

We have a long tough road to travel as a people. What we have learned in campaign '93 is that we must travel it alone. There is no longer the illusion that there is any party or any group still with us, or if they really ever were. That knowledge alone is a victory of sorts.

with the advice, consent and participation of White media. As we move forward from this place in an attempt to make sense out of all that has happened, remember that the *New York Times* opined that “racism” was the major factor overriding the Dinkins loss. We accept that assessment because we believe that they ought to know, for they set the stage for the Dinkins loss in their news and editorial pages, notwithstanding the fact that they endorsed him. And it was not an accident of history. We are not impressed by Mr. Giuliani’s tooling around in an attempt to make some Black friends while buying others. He has no choice. He has been elected, and now he must govern. He cannot govern without almost 50 percent of the population that voted against him.

In the *New York Times* of Nov. 10 the campaign manager of Christie Whitman, governor-elect of New Jersey, admitted that her campaign had “made payments to Black ministers and Democratic Party workers in exchange for promises not to rally votes for Gov. Jim Florio in the final stages of the New Jersey gubernatorial race.”

We wonder who the traitors will be in the Black and Democratic circles of New York, for we cannot believe that Giuliani was more moral than Christie Whitman.

We have a long tough road to travel as a people. What we have learned in campaign '93 is that we must travel it alone. There is no longer the illusion that there is any party or any group still with us, or if they really ever were. That knowledge alone is a victory of sorts.

Editor's Note (2024):

In December 2021, two Black Georgia election workers, Ruby Freeman and Wandrea Moss, sued Giuliani for defamation, after Giuliani falsely accused them of manipulating vote tallies. He has accused them of “passing around USB ports as if they were vials of heroin or cocaine” and engaging in “surreptitious illegal activity,” charges which subjected them to a barrage of racist threats and harrassment.

On December 15, 2023, the federal jury ordered Giuliani to pay \$148 million to Freeman and Moss, including \$75 million in punitive damages, after which he filed for bankruptcy.

Another lawsuit filed by a Giuliani

employee accused him of sexual assault and wage theft. Noelle Dunphy claimed that during one of his “alcohol-drenched rants” Giuliani made comments about “freakin Arabs’ and Jews,” and implied that Jewish penises were inferior due to “natural selection.”

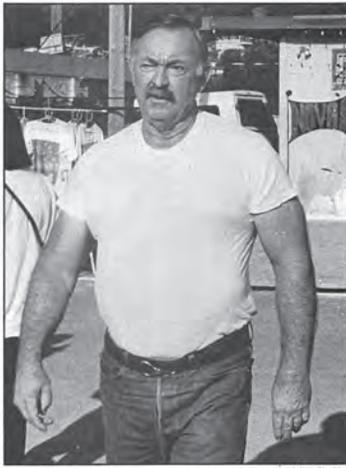
She also alleged that Giuliani, an attorney for former President Donald Trump, mocked Jewish people for observing the holiday of Passover, quoting him thus: “Jews want to go through their freaking Passover all the time, man oh man....Get over the Passover. It was like 3,000 years ago. The Red Sea parted, big deal. It’s not the first time that happened.”

D.A. cuts deal with A.D.L.: \$75,000 fine to be paid into 'anti-bias' fund

(20 November 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

The San Francisco District Attorney, Arlo Smith, has cut a deal with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, thus bringing to an end the possibility of criminal indictment of the organization for spying on other organizations and individuals in San Francisco and Los Angeles. While many civil suits are still pending in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and others contemplated in New York, the organization reached a political accommodation with the San Francisco District Attorney, thus preventing the criminal prosecution to go to trial. For the payment, or fine of \$75,000, that the League urged be used to support anti-bias efforts, they were able to stop cold an investigation and prosecution that could have totally undermined the effectiveness of this oldest and most powerful Jewish civil rights organization in America. With an annual budget of \$32 million, it is also the best funded of any like organization.



Roy Bullock

With the settlement, D.A. Smith rids himself of the most volatile “hot potato” of his own political career, and leaves the door open for hundreds of individual and organization suits against the ADL, many of them already filed. None has yet come to trial.

Roy Bullock, the alleged “contact man” for the ADL, denied wrongdoing, as did the ADL, but agreed to a permanent injunction against both parties that states that they will not spy anymore. In other words each party denied spying, but paid a fine of \$75,000 and agreed not to spy anymore.

Victims of the alleged spy operations were outraged at the settlement, calling it a “betrayal” and a “political compromise” as did James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute in Washington, D.C., who intends to urge further pursuit of the civil remedy.

For all intents and purposes, the ADL has won the first round. Courts in many cities will determine the outcome of trials that are sure to come with juries that do not have to respond to political pressure.

The *Amsterdam News* will continue to follow this story.

Editorial: Farrakhan Came: the Stop The Killing Crusade has begun

(25 December 1993)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

The honorable leader of the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan, has come to New York City and has left, leaving in his wake at least 10,000 Black men who volunteered to participate and to be of help in his Stop The Killing Crusade. This sentiment is perhaps the most helpful expression of intent by any leader in our town who has more than the rhetoric to move us off the dime of empty promises by public officials, law enforcement types and aspiring fascists toward coping with a problem that no one else has been able to solve.

There is no question that the work of the Nation in the ghettos and the prisons of this country has met with stunning, even spectacular, success. A series of successes that



came even though the unarmed followers of Mr. Farrakhan had to overcome organized crime, corrupt police departments, hostile media, frightened clergy and incompetent government in order to save Black people from the scourge of narcotics-inspired violence and murder imposed upon us by the greed of those institutions and individuals who walk away with most of the \$300 billion that annually flows into the coffers of those who control this illegal and genocidal trade.

By this we mean the money launderers, ship and airplane owners, investment brokers, money lenders, speculators, clearing house banks, CIA, INS and U.S. military personnel who all profit from these adventures in the death trade. At the very top of these pyramids sit no Blacks at all. With the people of this city so desperate to find even a beginning to the solution of this problem that has practically destroyed this city and makes the suburbs less and less attractive, and more and more vulnerable to the same kind of fate, we believed that intelligent New Yorkers would put aside differences and disagree-

ments till another day, while we began to work with anyone who had a reasonable idea as to how to stop the killing. Alas, this was not to be! When Farrakhan scheduled an appearance for Oct. 30 in Yankee Stadium, the New York City press corps went ballistic, dredging up every story, false or not, that could be used to discredit Farrakhan.

Even the Dinkins' campaign handlers developed a nervous condition, and sent word through emissaries that it was their belief that an appearance by Farrakhan in New York just before the election would be harmful to the effort to reelect Mr. Dinkins.



It was Mr. Farrakhan's decision to postpone the trip here in favor of unity with the Black elected officials and leaders who had approached him. Farrakhan did not come and Mr. Dinkins lost the election. We will never know whether or not there is a connection between the two. The Nation had to pay a premium for Jacob Javits Center where the meeting was held, and it required the running of interference by Black public officials for them to secure the facility. Charlie Rangel and Al Vann helped most, and they will never be sorry that they did. For what Mr. Farrakhan demonstrated without even trying is that there are Black men in this city from every socioeconomic grouping who want to hear something about ourselves other than what major media has tagged us with: "Animals, muggers, thieves, murderers, rapists, charlatans, sluts, whores, freaks, faggots and criminals."

Yes, this is what our children grow up with as they watch our doomsday box called television, and read our obituaries, even before we die, in the news pages and sports pages and entertainment pages in most White-owned media. It is astonishing to media and a miracle to us that we have survived, no matter what they have done to willfully destroy our will and ability to live. In spite of all this, almost 25,000 people showed up at Javits Center. With the possible exception of what pitifully little Black press there is, there was little notice of the coming of Farrakhan. He was virtually blacked out (forgive the pun) by White media, because, we must assume, they wished to negatively affect the size of the turnout so that they could say afterwards in their leads that: "Farrakhan showed up for a meeting and nobody came." This, of course, was not the case, and the few White reporters that were in the hall on Saturday, Dec. 18, could not seem to be able to understand how a crowd of this size in New York City could gather without legions of policemen and riot control equipment, especially, they could not bring themselves to say,

“a crowd of Black males.” Yet, there were hardly any policemen in view. There were no incidents, before, during or after. That is the way of the Nation of Islam.

There was some negative publicity about Farrakhan's coming, while the Stop The Killing message was virtually ignored: White media saw fit to trot out an organization called the New York Civil Rights Coalition, that has no standing in the Black community, and that has as its titular leader one Michael Meyers, who would hardly have been known by any of [the] Blacks at the rally representing a cross-section of Black New York. It is a pity that leaders are still being created for and foisted upon us. Although few



Black political leaders showed up for the meeting, Farrakhan said that he understood and that besides, they were having a meeting in Brooklyn at which a letter was being drafted to the mayor-elect, voicing their many concerns about the transition, and the paucity of appointments of Blacks to his administration.

The die is cast in the Stop The Killing crusade. It will be carried forth by the many chapters of the Nation of Islam, with the support (we hope) of other Black institutions, religious and otherwise. Differences must be put aside, and Minister Farrakhan made it clear that it was not his intent to recruit adherents, but to save Black people from the destruction with the help of other Black people, for it was clear that help would come from no other source.

What is amazing is that all of the gentlemen who have cried out for an end to the killing and violence, and whose efforts have failed miserably even in the White communities of the city, failed to respond to the call. Are we to assume that peace can be negotiated by the Jewish and Palestinian states, the United States and Somalia, Bosnia and everybody else while we cannot get our act together in New York to stop the wanton killing of almost 2,500 people every year in our five boroughs? If we cannot do this together, it cannot be done and the killing will only escalate further, and race relations will simply deteriorate to the point of no return.

Are we all, as New Yorkers, insane, or what? Minister Farrakhan has come to New York to help us to stop the killing. The NAACP and its executive director, Rev. Ben Chavis, have responded, to the call. Are White New Yorkers and White media so vested in their dollar interests in exploiting murder and selling dope that they do not see it in the best interests of all of us that we join together to stop the killing? We hope not. But given the response so far, we wonder. Welcome, once more, Minister Farrakhan.

Farrakhan came, saw, and conquered

(25 December 1993)

by Joe Walker

Nation of Islam Chief **Minister Louis Farrakhan**'s homecoming to New York City last Saturday was a triumph. He came, he saw and he conquered. The compassionate, dynamic and energetic 60-year-old Bronx-born African-American leader offered the followers of the Nation of Islam and himself as a vanguard in a war on crime and dope, and a campaign for financial and spiritual development in our communities.



It was not a pompous offer. It was a historic development. It could result in an unprecedented decisive and divine process. The Muslims are not proposing that they be the generals and we be the troops, or that they be the chiefs and we be the warriors. They are suggesting the building of a real alliance of African-Americans of various religions and ideologies in the struggle for our betterment and safety.

Additionally, the Muslims pledge “not to abuse the truth, love, confidence and understanding” achieved in coalition-building. Here is an offer that should not be turned down and the over 25,000 people (a representative cross-section of Black New York—bankers, corporate managers, professionals, para-profession-

als, high school and college students and dropouts, and the jobless) who overflowed the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center Dec. 18 seemed to concur.

Thousands of the men present signed cards to join the campaign to “make our community decent for our women, children and the elderly.” Also, Farrakhan called for a stepped-up assault on White supremacy, assailing its many forms. He charged that the current setting of traps for Black mayors and congressmen was because “their grip on power was challenging White supremacy.” He said that “the guiding principle of this world is that White folk must stay on top at all costs.” He noted the efforts “to crush

Black entrepreneurs who go too far, Black artists who get too smart and Black leaders who don't speak what (the powers that be) like."

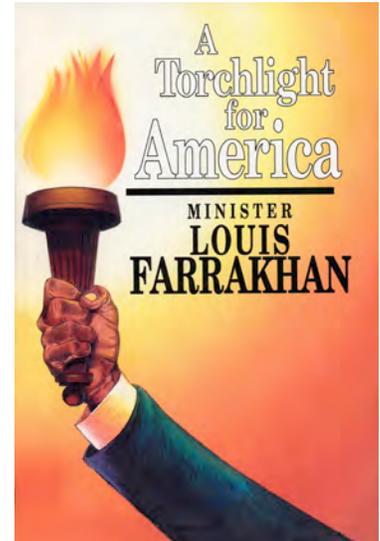
In his first-ever book, *A Torchlight for America*, Farrakhan presents many sound ideas for remedying the United States' social, educational, economic and racial crises. Princeton University professor Cornel West (author of the bestseller *Race Matters*) says, "To all those deeply concerned about poverty and cultural decay in America, (Farrakhan's) book is a call for dialogue."

In the book, as in his speech at the Javits Center, Farrakhan observes that, "Instead of looking honestly at the problems and coming up with solutions that would give America a future, the leadership lies to the American people and scapegoats the poor and the defenseless..." His economic ideas include debt and deficit reduction legislation; ways to cut the military, welfare and criminal justice system budgets; a right to work policy; an urban employment strategy that involves retraining programs; street safety facilitated by the Nation of Islam and local gangs; and ceding manufacturing to the cities.

The book represents Minister Farrakhan's appeal to the whole society, which is divided along the lines of race, class, sex and political party, to come together and iron out its problems through truthful dialogue. Can all of this happen? Me thinks so. Farrakhan is ideally equipped because of background, knowledge, understanding and skills to be the key facilitator.

He is an ace organizer and a moving persuader, with the heart of a lion and the persistence of a beaver. On matters of principle and faith, Farrakhan has the stubbornness of a mule, thanks totally to his grasp of the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Farrakhan was a protégé of Malcolm X. He has tremendous rapport with common folk and the rank and file, the Congressional Black Caucus, the new NAACP, third world heads of state and leaders, Black journalists and others. There are so many reasons to recommend Minister Louis Farrakhan for the role that he is willing to perform and countless other reasons why Black New York and African-America must get involved in this struggle and movement.

(From 1968–1977 Joe Walker was New York and United Nations bureau chief of *Bilalian News*, and its predecessor *Muhammad Speaks*.)



**An invitation to the Jews; an appeal to all of us to stop the killing:
FARRAKHAN: AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW**

(8 January 1994)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: Conducted December 20, 1993

Wilbert A. Tatum (WAT): This is a special part of the interview with Minister Farrakhan. I have said to Minister Farrakhan that I am taking this particular section of the tape to one of the most powerful Jewish leaders in America with whom I have talked about the Minister, and about [M]inister Farrakhan's coming to New York and that is to stop the violence.

WAT: I shared with them the fact that I had been in prisons where you and your organizations have operated through the Imams in prison and what happens to the young men and women who go there and who come out, going to the Nation or not, who become useful members of our society.

As I wrote in my editorial of Dec. 18, prisons have failed; our politicians have failed; politics has failed; law enforcement has failed...everything that has been attempted has failed. The only track record of success I know is yours...that you ought to be given the opportunity, and your organization, to go about what you want to do in this country in an organized fashion unimpeded by the policemen or the narcotics addicts and dealers in order to make it work.

There are some conditions. I do not know precisely what they are. But I will spell out for you what my understanding is. My understanding, Mr. Minister, is that it ostensibly goes back to the remark you are alleged to have made about "gutter religion," "dirty religion," whatever; and the references that you made, or that you are alleged to have made, to Hitler as a great man, albeit "a wickedly great man." Are you willing to look at statements alleged to have been made eight years or more ago and reexamine them and have dialogue with leaders of the Jewish community about what must take place if America is to survive; and how you feel today about those statements that have been made, or another denial if you never made them? Mr. Minister can you respond to this?

Minister Louis Farrakhan (MLF): I know exactly what I said. I know exactly why I said what I said. That I would be more than happy to sit with any responsible

As I wrote in my editorial of Dec. 18, prisons have failed; our politicians have failed; politics has failed; law enforcement has failed...everything that has been attempted has failed. The only track record of success I know is yours...

Jewish leader to discuss anything that I have said; and not only discuss it, but to defend it with truth. That if anything that I have said is false, then I will apologize for a false statement, but if what I have said is truth and truth hurts, then I cannot apologize for any pain that the truth causes...for truth only hurts the guilty.

WAT: So you are saying in essence here that there is no question in your mind as to what you said, but if you sit down with someone...a leader...responsible in the Jewish community...if what you have said is not the truth, you will apologize.

MLF: Yes. Of course!

WAT: Let us suppose for a moment—and this is speculation on my part now—that there cannot be an acceptance of your truth and we still have this American problem to deal with. And when I say the American problem, not one that we imposed or you imposed, but one that was imposed by those who are in the business of making billions of dollars off the misery of Americans, both Black and White, who are in the narcotics trade. Is this, and as you said on Saturday (at the Javits Center), what could destroy a nation? Are there overriding factors here and compensations that can be made for misunderstanding, or anything else, that could bring forces together? Are there now compensating factors or are there necessities that could lead to compromises of any form against those wounds?... Because when leaders get together...when they get together...they do many things. Among those is compromise. I do not wish you to go further than you...

I have lived in this world for 60 years and I am going to be the winner. I don't have to compromise with a damn soul over what I say is right, 'cause ain't nobody more powerful to me than God. And I bow down only to Him. I do not have to compromise with Jewish leaders, government leaders, world leaders. I bow down to nothing but God and truth. And if we can't sit down and talk like men, don't come to me about no compromise and no compensation. For what?

MLF: Just let me say this very frankly: I cannot compromise one atom's weight of truth...

WAT: I'm not asking you to do that. I'm saying that if that is a requisite...

MLF: Listen! Listen! Listen to me very carefully now. I don't like the statement "your truth." Truth is truth. Our perception of the truth may be different, but I refuse to accept from any leader that I have my truth and you have yours. Truth is truth and it can be proved with no limit of time; and therefore, your perception of it may be different from mine, and mine from yours; but we have to be clear on what is truth; otherwise we can't do justice by one another.

I cannot...and I want to make this clear...it ain't even worth it to me. I have lived in this world for 60 years and I am going to be the winner. I don't have to compromise with

a damn soul over what I say is right, 'cause ain't nobody more powerful to me than God. And I bow down only to Him. I do not have to compromise with Jewish leaders, government leaders, world leaders. I bow down to nothing but God and truth. And if we can't sit down and talk like men, don't come to me about no compromise and no compensation. For what?

WAT: Mr. Minister...I appreciate...

MLF: It angers me...

WAT: I understand...

MLF: Because I cannot...I want the world to know... and you can print this all over the world, man!

WAT: Mr. Minister, listen...

MLF: I will never...listen to my words now!

WAT: But I would like to...

MLF: I will never bow down to nothing that I see is manipulating me so that they can go back and tell their people that Farrakhan bowed down. Hell no! We can scrap all dialogue! To hell with it all! I'll go on with my God, and I'll be the winner in the end; but I will never, never agree to that kind of madness. Never!

WAT: Mr. Minister...You do understand that I did not ask you to agree to anything. What I posed for you here was my understanding of that which I had been asked. While this will be printed...that which I will say next will be printed. I would never expect you to compromise truth in any form...

MLF: I can't...

WAT: And I am very happy that you reacted in this way because now it is there. It is all on the table...

MLF: I want it to be clear for the record...

WAT: And that is why I wanted to be here to do it (this interview) myself so that the record would be clear.

MLF: I appreciate it, sir...

WAT: May I? It will be authentic because it comes from me. And when I say it comes from me, I want you to understand that this tape will not be tampered with. We will do it verbatim. Having said that, is there a willingness on your part to meet with, as you said before, responsible Jewish leaders to determine whether or not what has happened over the past can be brought to an end, as Jesse Jackson seems to have brought, what his dif-

said, "So if you will stand up and repudiate the Jewish scholars that we quoted as liars against the Jewish people, then I will cast that book down." I haven't heard a mumbling word.

ferences were, to an end, for whatever reason, to see if the program that you articulated so well on Saturday last can move forward on a scale that will be most meaningful?

MLF: I would agree to sit down and talk with any Jewish leaders who would be willing to sit down and talk with me with no preconditions. I have said to rabbis in Chicago...and I am not a proud man...if you can show me where I am in error, I'm not too proud to apologize. But the burden is, you have to show me; and I'm willing to listen. That is the only thing that I can pledge. But preconditions, for instance...I was given preconditions in Chicago by certain rabbis...that "I had to have a track record of good words and deeds over a protracted period of time before they would change," in essence, toward me.



Second, I would have to renounce the book, *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, which was researched by the research department of the Nation of Islam, as false and a great calumny against the Jewish people. And third, they told me that they wanted me to go down in history as a friend of the Jewish people, for history was not kind to any who have been unfriendly to the Jews. And then they asked me to comment. These are my words: As they said they needed a history on me, I said we need a history on you. To try to make this thing one-sided like Farrakhan is the wicked man.

When I responded to their attacks on me, I did not attack them, I responded to their attacks on me. I didn't mention Hitler. They

called me a Black Hitler, and I took umbrage at their remarks. So I said you're telling me that I've got to build a track record, meaning like Jesse? Jesse hasn't breached the gap between himself and the Jews. He's constantly apologizing and trying to do nice things, and running all over the world to make it right with them. And it's not right yet. Farrakhan don't intend to do this. Never! I'm a man, brother. God has made me a man, and I don't see nothing on this earth of power that I should crawl to. Nothing!

Therefore, when we sit down as men and as equals...I do not come begging, because I do not need Jewish acceptance to be who and what I am. I've got God's acceptance, and that's sufficient for me. So I told them, "Yes, I would repudiate the book tonight"... because I do not wish to have any falsehood attached to my name...but, I said, "We didn't write any book. We researched what was in Jewish libraries." I said, "So if you

will stand up and repudiate the Jewish scholars that we quoted as liars against the Jewish people, then I will cast that book down." I haven't heard a mumbling word.

And I told them I want to be your friend. That's why I am here. But if to be your friend means I've got to compromise truth, then yours is a friendship I don't need and yours is a friendship I don't want. I would rather go down in history as the friend of God and I don't give a damn who don't like me, as long as God is with me, I'm the winner.

And I told them, "You can come against me," and your powerful friend that you're gonna take this to. He and all his friends can come down on me...but I'm telling you, Mr. Tatum, in the privacy of this room, or wherever this tape may go, I will be the winner, and all of my enemies, Black and White, you will see them at my foot as it's written of me in the Book...

WAT: Mr. Minister! May I ask you one question?...

MLF: I'm angry now...Because I see what, uh...peace means. They have terms for peace. We got terms for peace. You don't impose your peace terms on me because you don't have enough power to impose your peace terms on me. And I will not try to impose any peace terms on any leader of the Jewish community that I talk to. But if you're civil and you're a man, and if you're truthful, then let's sit down and cut the truth up. No preconditions! I don't want to be your friend if I've got to compromise truth. I don't want to be the friend of a Black man, a White man or no man if I've got to compromise the principles of truth. That's my stand, Mr. Tatum.

WAT: Well, I understand your...

MLF: And I'm very firm, and I'm telling you I will die on this. But I will never, ever bow down to these powers that have made my people bow down and crawl. Where they look so powerful in the presence of their Black people; but when they get in the presence of White people, they crawl around like little puppy dogs. You will never see me do that in the presence of the most powerful king on the earth. But when they see me, they'll know they're looking at a real man for the first time in their life. I'm through with this. I've got to go.

WAT: Mr. Minister. May I hold you for a moment.

MLF: Yeah!

WAT: What you have said is very powerful. What you have said is accurate. What I would like to know now is...I want to have your permission now to do this verbatim, because it is the kind of truth that must be told and that must be heard, because I have not heard this story before about the rabbi in Chicago. Was it published?

MLF: Yes, I published it.

WAT: I did not see it. It has not been published here (New York).

MLF: And I gave it to the Baltimore Jewish paper [*Baltimore Jewish Times*?].

WAT: It has not appeared in New York insofar as I know.

MLF: And I reacted the same way.

WAT: May I publish this verbatim?

MLF: Yes...

WAT: Because you see, Mr. Minister...and this is all part of it...I needed to come here to hear you in person about everything.

MLF: My dear brother, if I may close with this please? You see...They act as though they're the only ones hurting. I'm supposed to be some inhuman being. I don't get hurt. But every writer that writes condemning me...that's painful, but I live through it. What I represent is Black suffering. I don't own Hollywood. Who depicted Black people? Who writes the books? Who writes the plays, the songs that make us look less than human? Do you mean to tell me that Jews have never done any evil to Black people? And if I point it out,



Amsterdam News readers write and write

Farrakhan was right!

Editor's note: The following letter to the editor by Lennie Brenner, a frequent contributor to the Amsterdam News, is important not only because it gives lie to the work of Harold Brackman in particulars where Blacks are concerned, but it exposes as well much of the moral corruption of those who control the editorial and letters to the editor pages of the New York Times. We challenge the Times to examine Mr. Brackman's thesis and come up with any conclusion that could support Brackman's charges in this particular.

Dear Editor:
Many *AmNews* readers have seen a letter in the February 14 *Times* by Harold Brackman. He said that Louis Farrakhan claims that Brackman's 1977 PhD thesis "proves that the rabbis who compiled the Talmud 'invented' racism by concocting the so-called 'Ham myth.'" According to Brackman, "None of my conclusions correspond to this vicious libel... The fateful linkage between slave status and Black skin as a part of a divine curse was first made centuries later by Islamic writers."

It is amazing that anyone could lie about what he wrote in a book that sits in the libraries for all to check! For here is what Brackman actually wrote in *The Ebb and Flow of Conflict: A History of Black-Jewish Relations through 1900*.

"The opening centuries of the Christian era constituted an interregnum in the native African

record of historical achievement separating Cush's era of ancient prominence from the medieval accomplishments of the great Negro states of the Sudan. These same centuries formed the seedbed of rabbinic Judaism. And this fateful coincidence goes far toward explaining why they also formed such fertile soil for the growth of Jewish lore demeaning the Negro. The most famous of these anti-Negro legends cluster about Ham and Noah's Cursing of Canaan... (T)here is no denying that the Babylonian Talmud was the first source to read a Negrophobic content into the episode by stressing Canaan's fraternal connections with Cush... (T)he Talmudic glosses of the episode added the stigma of blackness to the fate of enslavement that Noah predicted for Ham's progeny." (pp. 79-81)

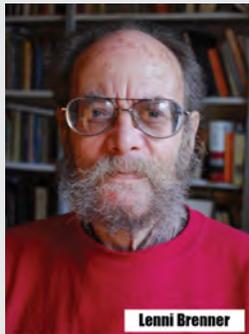
"None of my conclusions," says Brackman, now, "correspond" to Farrakhan's "vicious libel." And, besides, he now writes, those conclusions were "based on English translations." In 1977, Brackman gave an "important" Talmudic "version of the myth":

"According to it, Ham is told by his outraged father that, because you have abused me in the darkness of the night, your children shall be born Black and ugly; because you have twisted your head to cause me embarrassment, they shall have kinky hair and red eyes; because your lips jested at my expense, theirs shall go naked with their shamefully elongated male members exposed for all to see." (p. 81)

Brackman cited a standard English-language Jewish scholarly source for this rabbinical wonderfulness, and it is ridiculous to think that it reads any better in the original.

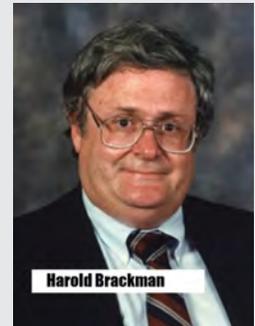
Frankly, the White letters staff at the *Times* hates Farrakhan. Since Brackman was dumping on him, they never thought to check Brackman out. But now the paper is in a terrible fix. Either they explain why they ran Brackman's contemporary fakery, or the *Times* stands discredited in the eyes of an outraged Black community...

Lennie Brenner



Lennie Brenner

**New York
Amsterdam News
February 19, 1994**



Harold Brackman

NEW YORK Amsterdam News
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does that mean that I hate Jews? Is there no pain on our side? Were they involved in the slave trade? Yes, they were...and to the extent that they were involved, somebody has to bring them to account. And I believe that has fallen on me.

WAT: Did you know? And you did say, "Yes they were involved..."

MLF: Yes, they were involved in the slave trade...

WAT: And that they "must be brought to account...?"

MLF: Brought to account for this...

WAT: And the person that must bring them to account is you?



MLF: No. I said that it seems like the person that is to bring them to account on this is myself. They have never admitted until recently that they were involved in the slave trade. They put it on the Arabs, but they have never come out publicly until we published that book and said they were involved. But they said it's only two percent, but not to the extent to which their own writers say they were involved. You can print this.

WAT: My final question, Mr. Minister. As I listen to you carefully...you know.

MLF: Excuse me O brother. I'm a little tired, and when you're tired, you don't have the patience, you know...I'll take this last question, but I'm saying that to apologize to you, because my anger is not directed at you.

WAT: I understand that.

MLF: But it is directed at what is behind you. Go right ahead.

WAT: Let me...I did not understand that...what is behind me!

MLF: Meaning, sir, you know, you have represented to me here not just your desire to ask me pointed questions. But you have represented to me a conversation with a very powerful, unnamed Jewish person...

WAT: I will give you the name...

MLF: I don't want a name...it is irrelevant to me...because they ain't powerful as far as I am concerned. But when you represent him, the unseen person who wants to know, through you, would I be willing to do a, b, or c, and these are some of the conditions...I don't know them all, but these are some. Then you are not representing yourself, you are representing that person when you speak to me of conditions.

WAT: I beg to differ, Mr. Minister. Let me tell you...and...

MLF: Maybe I misunderstood.

WAT: ...So as not to spoil our relationship. For an altogether different purpose we had a meeting and I told the person in question, who is the head of a very powerful Jewish organization, that I was supporting your coming to New York with your message no matter what anybody said...or no matter what happened to me as a consequence thereof. And then I asked a question. I said because it is so important, why isn't it possible for Mr. Farrakhan to get together with Jewish leaders? These were the answers that I got. So I do not come to you as a messenger. What I wanted was for my newspaper to articulate what you had to say. Perhaps that makes a difference...

MLF: Well, tell them...it does make a difference...

WAT: Because whether they will hear it...they will hear it, or see it in my newspaper before anybody hears it, because it must be done in this particular way. And if there is anything on this tape, anything, that after your listening to it, that you feel is not an appropriate reaction to the questions that I asked, then you have the opportunity to tell me so.

MLF: No, there isn't an inappropriate reaction. I have no question about that. Do you think that it is inappropriate?

WAT: No. I just wanted it to be clear. [...]

MLF: But I am angry at the thought that I hear from that source that Farrakhan has to bend. You know...is he willing to bend? Is he willing to compromise any? Well, in all negotiations there is compromise. We know that. But what is it that you compromise? Do you compromise? Do you compromise principles? What do you compromise to bring about a friendly and a better relationship with me and you? For instance, if I have said or done something that is inappropriate, false, unjust...there's no compromise there. I have to make amends for that. That's the righteous thing to do. I don't compromise wrong. If I'm wrong, Mr. Tatum, I have to stand and be accused, recognize my wrong, repent for my wrong and make atonement for my wrong. That's the righteous thing to do. But to compromise truth...and they know like I know what the truth is vis a vis the relationship between Blacks and Jews. We know the truth. And I can't let nobody get away with fudging—saying your truth or my truth. Unh, unh baby. We've got to deal with what the truth is.

WAT: A single truth?

MLF: Not a single truth. I'm talking about the truth...we're talking specifically now of the relationship that has been between Blacks and Jews. We're going to deal with that truth. And if we can agree on that truth...not my perception or his perception...but what the truth is—and then how we perceive it. From that, you can see where justice lies. If, as

the rabbi said to me, "You have your truth and I have mine..." I stopped him right there.

WAT: I see the reaction now. Okay?

MLF: Because it's similar.

WAT: Yes, I see.

MLF: Because they all say the same thing. See, you know...I'm listening to you but I'm listening to the conversation that I wasn't privy to.

WAT: Right.

MLF: So, that rabbi said that, "Well, you have your truth and I have mine." I said, well, we're going to have to agree on what the truth is. You might have your perception and your perception may be different from mine, but we're going to have to agree on what the truth is, otherwise there is no sense in continuing because there can't be justice unless we can agree on what the truth is, because justice follows truth.

So anyway, Mr. Tatum, you know, I'm hurting. I'm hurting for Reverend Jackson, because I see my brother having done everything he could. He went to Russia pleading for the freedom of Jews and brought Jews home. He goes to Bitburg and places and lays wreaths (What was meant is where President Reagan laid wreaths). See? He went to Brussels to their big conference and they told him that was nice. Go take it to Brooklyn. He comes back to Harlem and he goes to the Apollo Theater and a movie is presented on what Blacks and Jews did together when the Blacks were the first ones to get to the death camps and open the gates and free the Jews that were there, so there's this kind of relationship. Jesse was responsible for that. He has shown them in every way that, "I'm sorry for what I did" and they always... "Too little...too late."

WAT: Is there hope, then, Mr. Minister?

MLF: Yes, there's hope. But there's no hope whatsoever when you go to a man and you have no strength or power backing you, you can't back a powerful man down with just truth, and you're weak! He will crush you with his so-called power and force you to bow. The difference with us is we're not looking to the Jew for a damned dime. They've been working since nine years to stop me from eating. But I eat and I live as good as any man...because they can't get a ladder to go up to heaven to cut my blessings off. And that's why when I sit down with them (I can say) I don't owe you nothing. I ain't asking you for nothing. I don't need your money. I'm a man, damn it! My leader didn't make me a punk. He made me a man! And that is

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what Black men need, and this is what bothers me, Mr. Tatum.

I saw Mr. Johnson in Chicago...a good man. I'm talking about Mr. Johnson of Johnson Products. I saw when we went to that man with a potential deal worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to make product for us, the Jews threatened him, saying "We will not distribute your product." And because he knew that they could hurt him, he said "Mr. Farrakhan, We can't make your product." And I said, "Mr. Johnson, let's circle the wagons and fight, because they're going to make an example of you, sir." I said, "You gave a million dollars to Rev. Schuller. You backed Jesse. You back all these people. Call them now...and let's stand and fight." He said, "No."

He brought the president of Independence Bank to me and he was the chairman of the board, and I took the \$5 million that [Moammar] Gadhafi loaned me and I put it in a Black bank at less interest, and that man came to me and said, "Please take the money out of my bank." So you see, Mr. Tatum, I'm hurting all down inside because these are our giants, but in the presence of White people they're ants. And I heard Don King come to my table and say that the man at Time Warner said, "You are an ant, and I am an elephant...and we'll crush this ant." This is the way they deal with Black people who seem so powerful. They've got all this damn money, but they're not men. And I'll be damned if I'll let anybody make me less than a man because you think you've got money. You think you've got power. Come against me and I'll show you where power is. I'm through with this. I'm your brother, and I love you and I'm through with this.

WAT: My final question, Mr. Minister. And incidentally, thank you for your candor, and thank you ever more for your anger—for in that anger you expressed some truths that few of us get an opportunity to hear, because most of us are so guarded in what we say that we choose not to use words that might offend. I am glad that you spoke in the manner in which you spoke.

Now the program that you articulated on Saturday last, "Stop The Violence," you laid out the fact that various and sundry mosques from all over the country would be working with local leaders in order to go into the schools, the streets and the churches...the apartment buildings...wherever people were, you had to find them where they were, in the prisons or anywhere else, in order to stop the violence. As you see the organization of that stemming from the Nation itself, how do you intend to incorporate the various and sundry community organizations and churches so that this can be made real in our community?

MLF: As you know, when we asked all the Black men in that audience, which was predominantly Black male, if they would be willing to be disciplined, if they would be willing to unite with me and then let us go and discipline our community, I said if you're willing, just stand! and over 10,000 men stood. The first step...and you know, they're Christians. Not all of them are Muslims. And I said we're not trying to change your faith because we want to inculcate universal principles that will discipline our lives so

that we might be a moral force to turn our communities around. So within the next few weeks I'm coming back. I've asked the Minister (Conrad) if we could find a place large enough...possibly the Armory...that could hold those 10,000, and we will call them out. In the meantime I wanted to meet with Rev. [Calvin] Butts and other responsible community leaders because this is something that each of us should have input into; and if these men will accept the training that will make them more responsive and responsible, then we can go block by block and each church that is in this block or that block can take a certain section.

But it is the men of every church and organization that have to win the love and respect of our women by making the streets and the schools safe for the babies that we father. So if it is successful in New York, Mr. Tatum, then we believe (that) New York again will set the model for the country. And we will go into the major cities of America calling on the Black men to stand. Because what the media sees is the destructive men of our community. But the media and the community have not seen those vast...the majority of Black men...who are sick of the destruction and who would like to be a part of that which is organized to exercise a moral force and discipline over our community.

WAT: How shall one deal with the narcotics distributors...the ones that bring it into the country?...the banks that launder the money? How shall we deal with the police departments, such as in the *French Connection*...as soon as they have the narcotics in hand, they start distributing the narcotics putting another substance where the narcotics were? (In the police property room.) Almost 300 million dollars worth of cocaine was captured here in New York recently, and some sage posed the question: "How soon will that be out on the streets again?" How do we deal with that? With the Muslims? With the 10,000 volunteers in New York City alone?

MLF: You know, if you don't have an appetite for a thing it can be displayed in all the stores in which you go. You don't want it. You won't buy it!

WAT: You're talking behavior now.

MLF: We have to change the behavioral pattern of our people and fill the void created by the need for drugs with something that can fill the void. And as I said on Saturday, that the drug is necessary. That's why the people are calling for it. But the brain is capable of producing what the body needs to give it comfort and solace during times of trauma and stress. But when you have an inordinate amount of stress and trauma, then the brain cannot produce what it needs in sufficient quantity, so then the body is calling for something.

And then enter the drug merchant. Whether it is over-the-counter prescription [drugs] or drugs that are illegal drugs, what is the drug to do? The person with inordinate stress wants to calm down, so they give you a valium. And if you are depressed,

they give you [a] drug to give you an upper...something to enliven you. If you have pain, they give you a pain killer. All of that is within the human being. And so how do you replace that? And what I was trying to show on Saturday is why it is that the Muslims are in this same environment and under the same inordinate stress, but we do not call for a drink...we do not call for drugs. We don't call for anti-depressants or uppers or downers. What is it about us?

And it is something about the Word, and the power that is contained in the Word of God and that when it is in you and you internalize it, it gives the brain the power to produce for the body all that you need to go through this inordinate period of trauma and stress. So, if we can impart a Word, that Word to these 10,000 that is found both in the Bible and in the Qur'an, but it is not just the Word, but it is the proper explanation of the Word that releases the power that is bound up in the Word.

And that is where we, as religious people, are failing, because we are not teaching the people; we're entertaining them. And so when they go out of the church, they are no better off than when they came in. But they feel better because the choir sang great and the minister whooped a little bit. But what the people thirst and hunger for is knowledge...a greater knowledge, and if we can help share this with the pastors and they share it with their congregation and we share it with the people, then the people don't need guns. Then the next step is to disarm. You know, I had to be very careful when you said disarm...

The Hon. Elijah Muhammad asked us to disarm and we did... and with God you don't need guns, because that power is a protective power in your life.

Look at the condition of America and our community today. Isn't that enough? Doesn't that make you want to use every resource you have to straighten that out? We can talk about where we differ later. Let's heal the nation and heal the people.

WAT: Uh huh.

MLF: ...Because in your situation as a person who is alone, but not really alone...but sometimes you feel alone...so you have a pistol. You can go to a gun store, and you can buy and you have a permit to carry it, and so if you are a responsible human being, you can have a pistol. So now, our community...The Hon. Elijah Muhammad asked us to disarm and we did...and with God you don't need guns, because that power is a protective power in your life. Well now I said to them on Saturday that, "Well, if you don't have God, you're going to need to have something to get by in this world, so you've picked up the gun."

But then I tried to show them where they used the gun to destroy the members of their own families. Because they're not balanced. So we've really got to disarm our people. And if you disarm them, can you make them strong and keep the enemy at bay from slaughtering them, while you disarm them? That's the

delicate balance, 'cause I don't want to sound like an Uncle Tom, telling them from an Uncle Tom's perspective to get rid of your arms so that it makes them more vulnerable to police attack and mob attack. But if you have God and you are organized and have built a brotherhood, then the power of your organization is bigger than the power of your gun.

So, that's what we want to show the young men; and if we can do that in Harlem with the help of all these good forces...the paper, the radio...to get these young men out, and you come and everyone comes and looks and sees how they respond in the first step, and then we chart the second step and the third step. And then, let's work it. And I believe that we can bring some semblance of sanity back to our community.

And then there is an economic component. But when you organize 10,000 men, and they form what is called a brotherhood, then you can form a cooperative right behind it. You know, you can pool your monies and begin to buy this and that, and set up this and that. But it all comes from organizing people and showing them how to pool their resources. So these are steps and phases because the economic component is absolutely necessary in order to give them money that they need to survive without selling drugs, or getting involved in criminal behavior.

I hope that you'll forgive me if anything that I have said has been offensive. I didn't mean it.

WAT: Not to me. You gave me exactly what needed to be said. If there are those who do not wish to hear it, that is not my problem.

MLF: Thank you. You got it directly from me. So if they read it and they are angry about it, well I can't help that. But I am willing to sit and talk, but under no condition will I accept preconditions to dialogue, except two human beings who see that there is something bigger in the salvation of a country and a community, both White and Black, that is suffering. If that's not big enough to bring us to a table to sit down like intelligent, civilized men. Then that is the precondition: Look at the condition of America and our community today. Isn't that enough? Doesn't that make you want to use every resource you have to straighten that out? We can talk about where we differ later. Let's heal the nation and heal the people.

WAT: Thank you, Mister Minister.

MLF: God bless.

Farrakhan returns to New York: Stop the Killing Campaign begun with 10,000 Black men.

(29 January 1994)

New York Amsterdam News

Minister Louis Farrakhan returned to New York to begin what he promised that the Nation of Islam would do—begin the training and process that would help to Stop the Violence in the Black communities of New York City.

At the 369th Regiment Armory in Harlem of an evening that was deliciously Spring-like at forty degrees Fahrenheit, so different from the sub-zero windchill factor-weather that had hung over the Big Apple for so many days threatening disaster prior to his coming, Farrakhan spoke to the faithful: those 10,000 Black men in the Armory, with thousands more outside. Most of them were volunteers who had stood up at the Jacob Javits Center on December 18th when the Minister issued the call for Black men to join with him in the crusade to eliminate narcotics and the Black-on-Black crime that has become endemic in our communities.

T rue to form, the media picked up on statements made by the discredited ADL and their equally discredited spokesman, Abe Foxman of ADL Spy Network fame, who went on the offensive demanding that Farrakhan denounce Minister [Khalid] Muhammad.

As could have been expected, the White media did not address what they were startled by: that more than 10,000 Black men showed up, and that they were clean, sober and employed, and seeking to do something positive. Rather the attention of the media was riveted to the intemperate words of Minister Khallid Abdul Muhammad, spoken more than two months ago at Kean College in Union, New Jersey. They were hoping that Minister Farrakhan would denounce Minister Khallid and the words he spoke.

The speech, before an audience of about 130 people, most of them Black, was a diatribe of hate directed at Jews, Blacks, Whites, and everyone else it seems who did not agree with him and his peculiar brand of demagoguery.

His remarks were clearly anti-Semitic, anti-American Black Leadership, anti-White, anti-Black and -White South African and anti-humankind. He should not have been taken seriously. Yet he was, and a story that surfaced near Thanksgiving Day last year has taken legs and is now the topic in reams of newsprint all over America.

This focus by both print and electronic media on the remarks of Minister Khallid, rather than the 10,000 Black males of the Stop The Violence crusade, was calculated as Minister Farrakhan suggests, to drive a wedge between segments of the Black commu-

nity, and to prevent a success for the Nation. There is fear that the anti-violence crusade just might work if left to its own devices, and that the Nation just might be given credit for doing something that religion, politics, preachers, politicians and the whole criminal justice system has failed to do.

True to form, the media picked up on statements made by the discredited ADL and their equally discredited spokesman, Abe Foxman of ADL Spy Network fame, who went on the offensive demanding that Farrakhan denounce Minister Muhammad. This former onslaught with a full-page ad in the *New York Times* a few days before Minister Farrakhan's scheduled meeting with the 10,000 volunteers.

In his more than two-hour address, Minister Farrakhan did not do the bidding of Mr. Foxman. He stayed with the issue of crime in the Black community, and that was exactly the way that it should have been.

The question remains as to whether or not Minister Farrakhan will address that which was surely an incendiary, divisive and uncalled for outpouring of rhetoric calculated, too, to hurt and demean a particular group of people, specifically the Jews—with the same kind of hurtful rhetoric that we, as Blacks, have been and still are subjected to.

Given the lengthy interview with Minister Farrakhan on December 20, 1993, that appeared in these pages in the issue of January 8, 1994, in which he reached out to the leadership of the Jewish community for a coming together and a meeting without preconditions, the minister would be less than helpful to his mission if he refused to address Minister Khallid's remarks at Kean College, no matter how painful.

With the Nation standing on the threshold of almost universal acceptance in the Black community with the launching of its Stop the Violence program, it would be suicidal to give anyone or any organization, whose aim it is to destroy this crusade of Black people, the match with which to light the fires of destruction.

We believe that Minister Farrakhan is wiser than that. We believe that he will deal with Minister Khallid and his remarks in his own fashion and on a timetable that is not dictated to him by the media, other Black leaders or the ADL.

There are many in our community who do not understand why so many of our leaders have come down so harshly on Minister Khallid Abdul Muhammad and his remarks. To them we say, trust that they are right in doing so, no matter what their private motivations. Minister Khallid was wrong and clearly out of step with the vast majority of Blacks in New York. Until the matter of Kean College is behind Minister Farrakhan, it will be almost impossible for him to forge the kind of coalition that will make the 10,000 come to life and begin to rescue our people from the drug and crime holocaust that is upon us, and that was engineered by immoral, avaricious and privileged American men.

Jesse, is it worth it?

(5 February 1994)

Lenora Fulani, guest writer for New York Amsterdam News

In 1986, when I was an independent candidate for Governor of New York, the Anti-Defamation League accused me of being an anti-Semite and challenged the entire political establishment—including Governor Mario Cuomo—to disassociate themselves from me.

The widely publicized and false accusation prompted hundreds of death threats made by the Jewish Defense League and the Jewish Defense Organization.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, presumably the country's leading political spokesperson for Black empowerment, said nothing in my defense. He offered no criticism of the ADL's blatantly divisive attack. Nor did he criticize the ADL when it published so-called "research reports" which vilified Black leaders as Minister Louis Farrakhan, Reverend Al Sharpton and myself.

Nor did he speak out when the ADL's sinister spying network was exposed for targeting Black activists and selling its information to the South African government.

While the ADL has completely discredited itself in the eyes of—not just the Black community—but all fair-minded people, Reverend Jackson has chosen this moment to join forces with the ADL to take advantage of what is fundamentally an internal Nation of Islam matter.

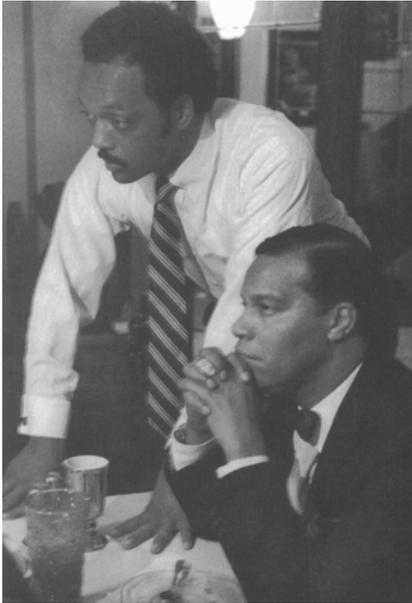
Reverend Jackson and the ADL have used the opportunity of Minister Khallid Abdul Muhammad's speech at Kean College last November to pursue their own political agendas at the expense of already tense Black/Jewish relations.

It is widely acknowledged that Minister Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, has been reaching out to mainstream Black leaders—including members of the Congressional Black Caucus—and to the Jewish community. Why, then, in this situation, didn't Rev. Jackson respond positively to Farrakhan's overtures and reach out to him? No serious attempt was made by Rev. Jackson or the ADL to pursue a dialogue with the Minister on this issue, although he has made public and private overtures that clearly indicate his willingness to participate in such discussions.

Indeed, a serious response to his overtures would entail acting respectfully rather than

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provocatively when controversial situations—such as the one engendered by Minister Khallid’s talk—arise. Instead, the ADL, Reverend Jackson and company obviously couldn’t wait for the chance to try to embarrass the Nation of Islam. In doing so, they have acted destructively to widen the existing breach between the African-American and Jewish communities, rather than to narrow it.



Black/Jewish relations are at such a low level precisely because the ADL and Rev. Jackson have united in an opportunistic common cause. The ADL’s objective is to destroy independent Black leadership. That’s why it has spent millions of dollars to “investigate” and malign militant Black leaders, including Farrakhan, Al Sharpton and myself. When the 1984 controversy erupted over the Jackson/Farrakhan relationship in the midst of Reverend Jackson’s presidential campaign, Minister Farrakhan gave Jesse Jackson all the room he needed to deal with the Democratic Party. The Minister made no public admonition of Jackson out of respect for his position, despite the fact that Jackson caved in to the pressure to repudiate him. Now, it is ten years later and Jesse Jackson is well aware that Black Demo-

crats are losing credibility and elective office, and that a broad independent movement is coming into its own around the country. He has seized the opportunity to strike a blow at the Black independents in an effort to salvage the value of his political stock in the Democratic Party by playing along with the most racist elements in the Jewish community.

According to the *New York Times*, Rev. Jackson said that if it was true—as it had been reported—that students in the audience at the Kean College talk applauded Minister Khalid’s speech, their response was “sick and misguided.” If the students did respond in this way, then it is Rev. Jackson and other Black leaders who must take responsibility for it. After all, it is their failure to stand up for the Black community against the forces of racism that has led our young people to feel abandoned by the official Black leadership. That is what makes the African-American community, and youth in particular, angry and vulnerable. The official Black leadership can’t have it both ways: If you capitulate to the racists, Black youth will look elsewhere for leadership.

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Jackson’s demand that Farrakhan in essence turn Khallid in to the ADL is just like his instruction to Black youth to turn their sisters and brothers over to the authorities. This

is not a way to promote self-respect or self-empowerment for Black people. It is designed to help Jesse Jackson further his own career at the expense of the Black community.

Blacks and Jews will never come to the table in any kind of meaningful way if our relationship continues to be brokered—and broken—by the opportunism of the ADL and Reverend Jackson.

Editorial: Farrakhan's futile attempt to get White America to listen

(12 February 1994)

New York Amsterdam News

It really didn't matter to the White press corps of America what Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam had to say about his lieutenant, Minister Khallid Abdul Muhammad, by way of admonishing him for making such an incredibly stupid and racist speech at Kean College in Madison, N.J., last November.

No matter what he said, and no matter what he did, an accurate analysis, or a fair one, was not in the cards.

The gatekeepers of the fourth estate in America had decided beforehand, and in no uncertain terms, that Farrakhan could not walk away from this debacle with his credibility or his "Stop the Killing" mission intact—no matter what he said or did about Minister Khallid.

Minister Farrakhan took on the *Times*, the ADL, and condemned Minister Khallid by saying that "I have warned my brother and Minister Khallid several times about his manner of representing the truth.

The gatekeepers of the fourth estate in America had decided beforehand, and in no uncertain terms, that Farrakhan could not walk away from this debacle with his credibility or his "Stop the Killing" mission intact—no matter what he said or did about Minister Khallid.

"I have told him that he is not representing himself, and that one day if he is not careful he might find himself clashing with me and the public, and that would not serve our best interests or the interest of our people, but would serve the interests of our enemies. I therefore have dismissed Minister Khallid from his post(s) as minister, representative and national assistant until he demonstrates that he is willing to conform to the manner of representing Allah, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad...his truth, his guidance, and his aim and his purpose for us in America, in a manner that would be pleasing to Allah, his messenger, myself, and the Nation.

“However, Brother Khallid is still a member of the Nation of Islam and has accepted my discipline. Brother Khallid’s remarks, no matter what is thought of them, are not the real issue. I must repeat that. Brother Khallid’s remarks, no matter what is thought of them, are not the real issue.

“Those remarks, spoken to a small audience of less than 150 persons, are almost two months old. The Anti-Defamation League chose to give the remarks, lifted from Brother Khallid’s speech, a national and international platform in a full-page paid advertisement in the *New York Times*. What was their aim and purpose?

“Their aim was and is to destroy the reputation and character of Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam [held] by the Black church, or by White people of good will.

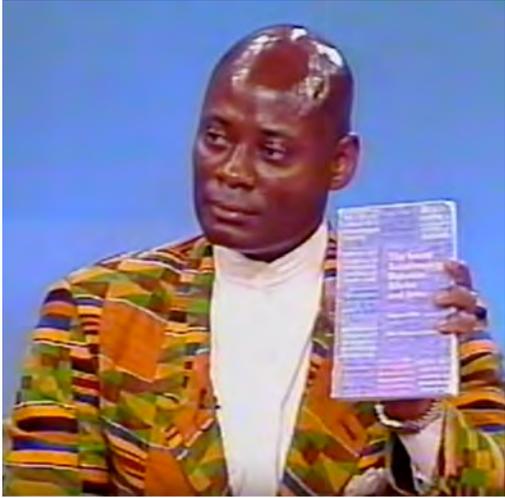
“They desire that no institution, civic or governmental, recognize or praise Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam for the work that we’re doing in reforming our people.”

In view of the events that are transpiring, a summit meeting of Black leaders that may or may not take place based upon the degree of punishment and economic reprisal the Anti-Defamation League is prepared to unleash, to mete out to those more or less independent Black leaders who believe that the ADL exploited an isolated incident as further proof that Blacks are anti-Semites in a sordid and shameful continuation of their effort to undermine Blacks in every arena while ducking any confrontation with those who are described as “real White people,” the gentiles and the “goyim” by Black ghetto residents, no matter what they do, what they say or where they do or say it.

The truth is that from the bully pulpit of the ADL, the Blacks in this country, in addition to being used as fund-raising devices and whipping-boy tools, serve to make unsuspecting Jews believe that their oldest civil rights organization is on the cutting edge of exposing bigots and anti-Semites; when, in fact, the ADL is an anachronism that serves to harm Jews profoundly in America as well as in the rest of the world. While most Jews are afraid to say it, the ADL is a dangerous organization.

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As for Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam and this current controversy, the Messenger of the Nation has dealt with it effectively by dismissing Khallid and denouncing the intemperate remarks that he made as “repugnant,” among other characterizations. In spite of all this, Minister Farrakhan’s credibility with the White press seemed to hinge on what he meant when he intimated that Minister Khallid had cited “truths.”



With the exception of C-SPAN, no other media outlet, as far as we know, broadcast the question-and-answer period following Farrakhan’s opening remarks at the press conference in Washington last week.

Had they done so, they would have heard the minister respond to an NBC reporter who had asked, in essence, “Is it the truth in your view that Black people in this country or around the world have a legitimate gripe with Jewish people, Catholic people, White people?” Farrakhan’s response was, simply, “That most certainly is the truth,” to applause and

cheering from those gathered at the press conference. Farrakhan expanded upon this remark by saying,

“My brother Khallid spoke a lot of truth...and the truth that he spoke from the Bible and Qur’an I am in agreement with.

“The truth that he spoke of the [D]ivine [T]eachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad concerning the nature of the two people, Black and White, I agree with.

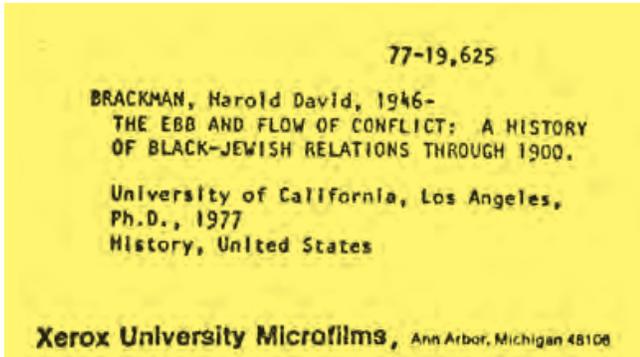
“The truth of this book, which was the discussion, or the subject matter, *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, I agree with. I have in my possession some quotes from this book that state that Jewish people—not only gentiles, not only Arabs, but Jewish people—were prominent in the slave trade... And by the way, this book is not written by the Nation of Islam. These quotes are from eminent Jewish rabbis and scholars, none of whom are considered anti-Semitic.

“They have said that Jews were slaveholders in Curaçao, in Surinam and Barbados (and) throughout the Caribbean.

“They said that Jewish slaveholders used to cut off the hand of those that fought for freedom and gave it to others, or sell it to others. They

[Jewish scholars] said it...we didn't say it. They said it.

“If Brother Khallid had just quoted from the book, nobody would have been able to condemn him, or call him anti-Semitic. ...[L]isten...[...T]he

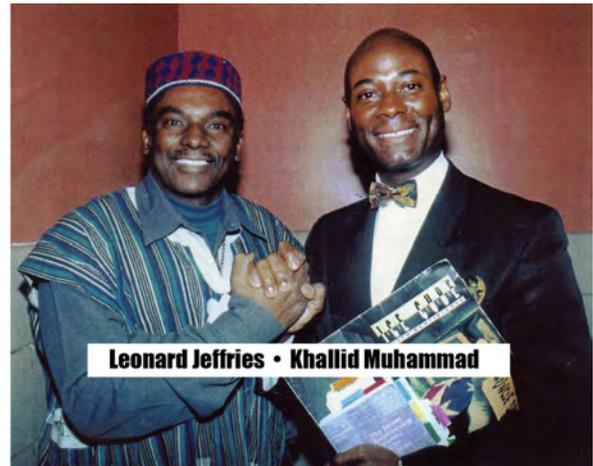


same man that the Simon Wiesenthal Center used to try to trash this book, a Dr. Harold Brackman, we have that man's doctoral dissertation, which is unpublished, but in his doctoral dissertation he agrees with everything that we said in this book...and he also went further to say that the Jewish Talmudic schol-

ars were the ones who invented the myth of the 'curse of Ham' that all of these Black people all over the world who are Christians have suffered the mental anguish of believing that we are Black because of some divine curse. Yes, we have an argument—a strong argument.

“Now, we have a strong argument with Catholics. I'm not trying to be ugly, but the ugly truth is that neither the popes nor the church spoke out in our defense when we were being lynched and burned and hung; they didn't speak out.

“Yes, we have a gripe with White people in general, because Whites in general are the beneficiaries of the wealth of our slave labor that has been, that has been kept back from us by fraud. Yes, we have a gripe with the United States government, because the government used our tax dollars to spy on Black leaders and organizations to turn one against the other, to assassinate a strong spokesperson, to upset our desire for progress, to destroy our leaders like Marcus Garvey, Noble Drew Ali, Martin Luther King Jr.—all of the leaders that spoke out boldly for us. Yes, we have a gripe.



“I am not bitter, or hateful; but I must speak truth. Brother Khallid reflects the anger, the hurt and the pain of Black people who suffer injustice all over this planet, and that pain is compounded by the frustration

that we are unable to change the circumstances of our lives. But as a representative of divine truth, he must not let anger, bitterness or hatred poison the speaking of the [W]ord of God."

That was a verbatim response from Minister Farrakhan when he was asked to explain what he meant by the "truth" of what Minister Khallid had said. This was not seen on the vast majority of the television screens or heard on radio stations or read in the newspapers of this nation.

American journalists, especially those in attendance at the Farrakhan press conference last week, did not convey the fact that the minister did, in fact, address what he meant by truth in what journalists later described as his two-faced approach to chastising Khallid. This was totally untrue.

That press corps is now far less credible than Farrakhan, and the New York press corps far less credible than that, for they saw, heard, ignored or pretended (it seems) that the question-and-answer session following the press conference never happened.

Like or believe what Farrakhan said or not in explanation of some of the remarks made by Minister Khallid. Fortunately, Farrakhan sourced almost everything in an historical or biblical context. Therefore it is a matter of what scholar one chooses to interpret "the truth."

Given the climate of fear in the Black academic community following the Jeffries speech, and the climate of terror on other campuses where Black academics have tried to use ***The Secret Relationship Between Blacks & Jews*** as part of their course study; these brave souls found it perilous to them after the Anti-Defamation League went after them, tried to get them fired, demoted or removed from department chairs.

It is surprising that any Black scholar or leader is speaking up at all. But they are and will continue to do so, in spite of the fact that the several paragraphs of the Farrakhan response were not deemed fit to print by the newspapers of this nation, especially those in New York.

The final and probably most overwhelming question is: Why hasn't the White press applauded Minister Farrakhan's efforts to stop the violence...to stop the killing. Could it just be true that they are not in favor of it? We wait for an intelligent answer.

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FARRAKHAN LIVES!: NAACP Gives Farrakhan Good Review

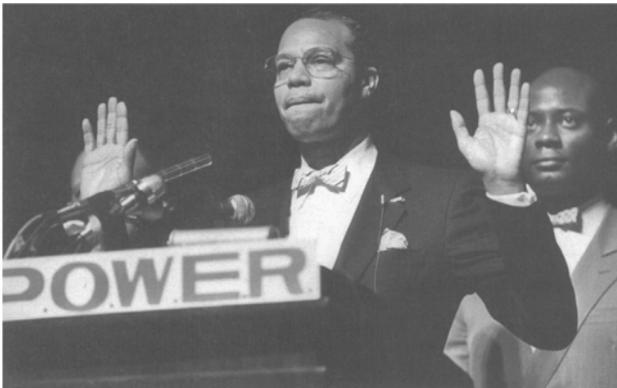
(12 February 1994)

J. Zamgba Browne, reporter, New York Amsterdam News

Minister Louis Farrakhan Monday got a big boost from the NAACP. The civil rights organization said it was satisfied with disciplinary action he took against one of his aides, Khallid Abdul Muhammad, who was accused of making anti-Semitic remarks against Jews and the pope.

NAACP Executive Director Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. said he believed Farrakhan when the minister declared in a public statement that he is neither anti-Semitic nor racist. At the same time the civil rights leaders had some words of advice for White leaders.

“The NAACP calls on them to vigorously condemn, now and in the future, bigoted and racist remarks and actions directed against African-Americans and Jewish-Americans by White politicians, academics, corporate leaders and various public figures in the same way that Black leaders have repudiated Khallid Muhammad’s outrageous remarks.”



Meanwhile, Chavis reiterated a call he made nearly a year ago for a summit meeting of African-American leaders. He said Farrakhan’s renewed pledge to participate in such a meeting is welcomed by the NAACP.

According to Chavis, the summit will not focus on a single issue, but rather a myriad of life and death problems that are currently impacting on the quality of life [of] the African-American community.

Back to the Farrakhan controversy, the Anti-Defamation League said it is disappointed that Chavis and the NAACP are prepared to believe that the Muslim leader is neither anti-Semitic nor racist. “What greater proof than his endorsement of what was said do we require to conclude that the leader of the Nation of Islam has not changed his profoundly repugnant racist and anti-Semitic beliefs,” the ADL noted in a written statement.

The ADL continued that to move forward and past this divisive episode, “we need to focus clearly on the injustice and inequity that derives from racism and bigotry in all its forms. We must unconditionally reject and repudiate all attempts to destroy our democratic society and deny people basic rights.”

In addition to the NAACP, Farrakhan was also praised by the National Council on Islamic Affairs for the action he took against Muhammad. "Farrakhan was wise to dismiss Khallid Abdul Muhammad, whose remarks violated the spirit of Islam and the standards of good taste," said spokesman Dr. M.T. Mehdi.

However, he pointed out that Farrakhan did not dismiss Muhammad because of any pressure on him, but of his own common sense that the remarks of his aide were "ugly, vile, repugnant, malicious and mean in spirit."

But Mehdi noted that if Muhammad was referring to the fact that the ADL was spying on Americans and organizations, that the ADL and other Jewish groups use [the] charge of anti-Semitism as a device to silence criticism of Israel or individual Jews, Farrakhan was correct.

"If he was also referring to the fact that there has been White racism in this country and in South Africa and that Blacks resent, hate and despise these ugly facts...Farrakhan was correct and fair," Mehdi declared.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said the denunciation by Rev. Jesse Jackson and other Black leaders of the "repulsive, racist and anti-Semitic remarks" of Muhammad will have "a positive effect on the repair and renewal of Black-Jewish relations."

Editor's Note (2024):

The children of Malcolm X have now filed a \$100 million lawsuit accusing the United States government of murdering their father in 1965. Eyewitness to the killing, Mustafa Hassan, has asserted that the shooter was working with law enforcement. The two other men who were convicted of the assassination — Muhammad Aziz and Khalil Islam — were exonerated and received a \$10 million settlement from New York City in 2022.

Muslims hit back with \$4.4 billion suit

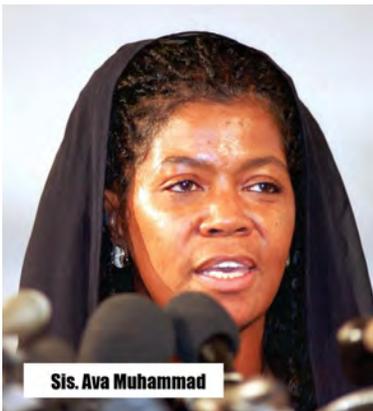
(19 March 1994)

Herb Boyd, New York Amsterdam News

A trio of events encircled the Nation of Islam Tuesday when Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam filed a \$4.4 billion libel suit against the *New York Post* at the Manhattan Supreme Court. But the Muslims received two strikes later in the day.

The ADL closed the group out of a meeting, and funds may be withdrawn from the Nation of Islam's program if a bill passes in Congress.

"We have just filed a damage suit for defamation against the *New York Post*, its agents and officers, for a March 12 story concerning the death of Malcolm X. In that story the *New York Post* lifted excerpts from an interview between Betty Shabazz and Gabe Pressman," Ava Muhammad, a Chicago lawyer representing the Nation of Islam, said outside the court building during a press conference.



"The *New York Post* maliciously, deliberately and unlawfully characterized the language from that interview as an accusation that Minister Louis Farrakhan is guilty of the murder of Malcolm X," Ms. Muhammad continued.

Ms. Muhammad said the charges were not only patent lies, but also placed Minister Farrakhan in immediate danger and subjected him to an indictment for a felony.

She said that the claims are damaging to the character and reputation of Minister Farrakhan. "But even more important than this," Ms. Muhammad said, "we are seeking to protect the 40-plus million descendants of slaves in America whose hope for liberation and upliftment depends upon the ability of Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam to engage in our mission of the redemption of our people."

Post writer Jack Newfield, who authored the article, and the paper's owner, Rupert Murdoch, were both also named in the suit. Betty Shabazz was not included in the suit, "because she was manipulated by the media," Ms. Muhammad said.

Abdul Arif Muhammad, a local attorney, explained the reason why the lawsuit was so large. "Some of you may think the figure is astronomical," he began, "but when you add the harm of 430 years or more of pain and suffering of Black people in this country, and the destruction of our leaders...this amount is not nearly enough, but we have to give you some idea of the gravity and seriousness of this matter and the attack on our leader."

The *New York Post*, which has a certain number of days to respond to the suit, released a prepared statement standing by their story.

In a later development, Minster Conrad Muhammad and Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, chief of staff for the Nation of Islam, led a contingent of Muslims and supporters to the World Financial Center, to protest a meeting between the Oppenheimer Company and a representative of the Anti-Defamation League.

When the group was informed that the meeting was private and open only to Oppenheimer personnel, Mr. Muhammad demanded to see a spokesperson for the company. "How can they conduct a meeting up there talking about Minister Louis Farrakhan with the ADL and not give us a chance to express ourselves?" Mr. Muhammad told the security officers. "Here is a company which enslaves our people in the diamond mines of South Africa, and they have the audacity to hold a meeting here without inviting us. This is an outrageous insult."



According to an inter-office memo at Oppenheimer, Stuart Tauber, director of development for the ADL, was the scheduled guest speaker. Among the topics to be discussed was "Louis Farrakhan and his message of hate."

The Nation of Islam is also being hit by a congressman who is seeking to cut off federal funds earmarked for the NOI. Rep. Peter King of Long Island is expected to introduce a bill on Wednesday that would allow the Department of Housing and Urban Development to refuse contracts to individuals and groups that practice hate.

King said he drafted the bill after learning that firms run by the NOI members receive HUD money to operate security details at public housing projects in various cities around the country.

Is Blacks and Jews Crisis a Diversionary Tactic to Prevent True Black Unity?

(26 March 1994)

By Herb Boyd, New York Amsterdam News

Aside from the Tonya Harding episode and [the Whitewater scandal], no issue has commanded the media's attention like the rift between Blacks and Jews, or more accurately, the turmoil engendered by the Nation of Islam and the Anti-Defamation League.

To provide more light than heat on this simmering debate, the African and Caribbean Resource Center assembled a panel of Blacks and Jews to discuss the differences last Saturday at the House of the Lord Church in Brooklyn.

For the most part it succeeded, with the best moments occurring after the moderator, Playthell Benjamin, and scholar-activist Gerald Horne placed Black-Jewish relations within a proper historical context. Benjamin was far more entertaining than enlightening, touching on his personal association with Jews before reading portions of an essay to be published in the *Village Voice*.

While Benjamin cited the impressions of several noted historians and sociologists on the relations between Blacks and Jews, there was no indication where he stood on the issue. He did recall his hatred of Jews after working with them, but ended his anecdotes with the comment that "radical Jewish intellectuals are my favorite Whites."

Professor Horne, as Don Rojas would do later, limited his remarks to the subject at hand, the discord between the NAACP and the ADL. Toward the end of his account, which stretched from the relativity of Jewish involvement in the slave trade to the spying charges brought against the ADL, Horne chided Michael Meyers, who is disturbed by the meetings between the NAACP and the NOI, "but says nothing about the NAACP meeting with the ADL," Horne asserted.

Mark Ellis, a radical Jewish theologian, offered a persuasive argument on behalf of Black Americans and their narrative of the oppressed. Among the five points he made was support for Tony Martin's struggle against Jewish attacks at Wellesley College, and a rebuke of the Jewish notion of innocence and assimilation. "The Jews in America are White and Christian," he observed, "and they have lost the battle against assimilation."

Don Rojas, director of communications for the NAACP, began his remarks by dispelling the myth that Blacks and Jews are equal. "Jews make up about three percent of the population," he noted, "while African-Americans make up 14 percent. The Jewish community is overwhelmingly middle- and upper-class, and the Black community is primarily working class.

“There is a significant but not a predominant representation of Jews in the U.S. ruling class, and there are no Blacks in the ruling class. Thirty percent of America’s billionaires are Jewish; there are no Black billionaires.”

Rojas said that while Jews have been able to withstand the latest cyclical crisis of U.S. capitalism, African-Americans have experienced a steady unemployment rate of 15 to 20 percent nationally for the last 10 years.

“There are 10 Jewish senators in Washington; only one is Black,” Rojas continued. “I could go [on] citing a litany of facts, not anti-Semitic, opinionated facts, indicating the vast disparity and imbalance in wealth and power between Blacks and Jews, but the more important point is that Jewish power and privilege is not the primary cause of Black disempowerment. It is a contributing factor, but it is not the genesis of Black suffering. Although some Jews are blatantly racist and some Blacks blatantly anti-Semitic, the fact is that the majority of Jews in America benefit from the privileges and advantages afforded to them because of their white skin.”

As for his position on the tension between the NAACP and the ADL, Rojas insisted that the Black leadership summit planned for the spring, which the ADL has denounced because of an invitation extended to Minister Louis Farrakhan, is still on schedule.

“And if we can sit down to the table with the ADL, as we have done,” Rojas said, “why can’t we sit down with the Nation of Islam? We will not dictate who they can talk to and we will not be dictated to.”

Mimi Rosenberg, a self-described secularist and internationalist, said she was sick and tired of the whole squabble between Blacks and Jews. “Does it really deserve all this attention?” she asked. “What we need to do,” she said after summarizing her coming of age as a young Jewish girl from Brooklyn during the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle for community control in the ’60s, “is to talk about an agenda that will bring about social change.”

All of the interest in the recent controversy by the *New York Times*, the *Village Voice* and other media owned by Jews, she said, was to divert the possibility of Black unity. “They are there to split and destroy the movement,” she concluded.

Farrakhan's Message Espouses a Humanitarian Approach to Race

(2 April 1994)

Herb Boyd, Special to the Amsterdam News

A day after a rousing speech on Monday evening at Kean College in New Jersey, Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam was in New York City as a guest on Dr. Lenora Fulani's cable TV show.

In a wide-ranging interview with Fulani and her co-host, Dr. Fred Newman, Farrakhan touched on a number of controversial issues that continue to swirl around him and the Nation of Islam. But if there were a recurring theme, it was the need for Blacks and Jews to set aside their differences and work together.

"Jews have some of the most brilliant people on earth in their community," Farrakhan said. "They have scholars and talented people who possess magnificent knowledge, and they should be respected. Our talent in the Black community needs developing. And if we ever develop a proper working relationship with each other, we could turn this city around, if not the world."

His most pointed remarks were reserved for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which he accused of misrepresenting the larger Jewish community. "The ADL," he asserted, "is a loser, and Jews should not allow it to represent them." Farrakhan promised to expose the roots of the ADL and "its deceitful purpose" at a future date.

Here are a few of the comments he made on Fulani's show and during a subsequent press conference:

"The more the media attacks me and tries to beat me down, the stronger my following becomes."

"How dare they (the ADL) tell the NAACP who they can and cannot meet with. We don't tell them who they should meet with, and we should not allow them to tell us. And the summit will go on, and I plan to be there...."

"My sitting down here with Dr. Newman is the first time I have sat down with a Jew since all the controversy began."

When asked about the action by some Jewish members of Congress to cut off federal funds allocated to the Nation of Islam's security service, Farrakhan was furious.

"Jews are not the only people who pay taxes in this country," he bristled. "Black people pay plenty of taxes, and they should be entitled to get some of it back in services. And don't forget all the back wages they owe us from slavery, when our ancestors worked

for nothing.”

He said he had not decided on whether to attend the Seventh Pan-African Congress, scheduled for next week in Uganda. But he did promise to continue to meet with Black men throughout the country.

“And I am coming back to Harlem,” he laughed, “and this time it’s going to be a meeting for women only. Let’s see what they say about that.”

At the close of his press conference, Farrakhan reiterated his hope that this appearance in New York City would begin a new round of good relations with the Jewish community.

“I want this dialogue to be the beginning of something meaningful for Blacks and Jews for the rest of this year and into the next,” he concluded.

Sharpton says Black Leaders Share Agreement on Issues

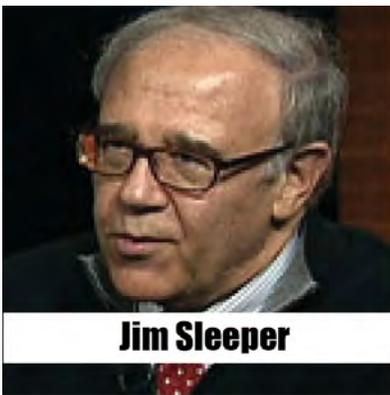
(2 July 1994)

Herb Boyd, writer for the New York Amsterdam News

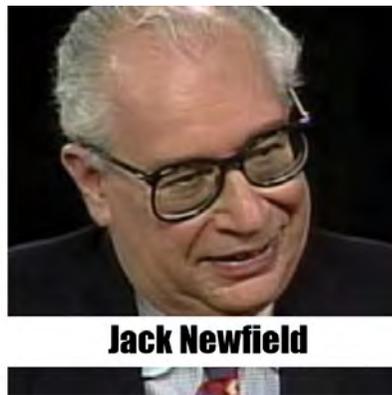
Recent articles by Jack Newfield in the *New York Post* and Jim Sleeper in the *Daily News* seem bent on creating turmoil in the ranks of Black leadership, but Rev. Al Sharpton, targeted by both writers, told the *AmNews* that there is no such division between Rev. Jesse Jackson and Minister Louis Farrakhan.

“What people fail to realize is that Jesse and I both come out of the King movement,” Sharpton said in a phone interview Tuesday morning. “This is no secret. And just because we come from the King movement, and Farrakhan from the Nation of Islam, does not mean there is any conflict between us. In fact, as the recent summit indicates, we are talking to each other now more than ever.”

Sharpton also laid to rest the rumor a resolution was raised to denounce the Anti-Defamation League during closed sessions at the summit last week. “We did not attack the ADL,” Sharpton explained, “Newfield did. There was some discussion about a possible resolution during pre-summit discussions, but it was quickly squashed. Our decision was to accentuate the positive and push for unity.”



Jim Sleeper



Jack Newfield

And his position on Rep. Major Owens and Eric Adams, who is seeking to unseat the Brooklyn-based congressman? “I have made it clear that I will talk to both candidates, and I will not be intimidated into making a decision as to whom I will support,” said Sharpton, whose bid to unseat Senator Daniel Moynihan is gathering steam.

It has been rumored that Sharpton will endorse Owens.

In reference to the summit, Sharpton said that he and Ron Daniels, head of the Center for Constitutional Rights, and activist-commentator Bob Law are planning a follow-up regional summit. “This is something that was discussed at the summit,” said Sharpton, “and we feel it is a necessary action if we are to make some substantive gains toward social, political and economic empowerment.”

The Leadership Summit and its foes

(16 July 1994)

Lenni Brenner, contributing writer for the New York Amsterdam News

The National African-American Leadership Summit has come and gone. As it was a first meeting, with modest pretensions, it left little rhetoric behind it. But that lack was more than made up for by the hysterical outcries generated by its opponents in the Jewish establishment and in the millionaire-owned media.

Ben Chavis, the executive director of the NAACP, has condemned Khallid Muhammad's anti-Semitic Kean College speech, in the wake of the Anti-Defamation League's ad exposing it. But he infuriated the ADL and other establishment honchos when he invited Minister Louis Farrakhan to the Summit, after Farrakhan repudiated Khallid's ravings. Chavis further antagonized the White power structure in April when he met in Detroit with Leonard Jeffries, Lenora Fulani and other nationalist and leftist figures. The last thing Wall Street wants is a Black united front, of all ideological currents necessary, determined to solve the crisis wracking their community by "any means necessary."

For months before the Summit, *Commentary*, the organ of the American Jewish Committee, and the *Forward*, the most influential Jewish community weekly in the country, ran articles denouncing Chavis and trumpeting every opposing voice within the NAACP and the Black community.



Abe Rosenthal

Then the *New York Times Magazine* chimed in with a June 12 article, as the Summit was going on. Was Chavis' policy "A bridge too far?" He was risking "the support of the organization's moderate core."

Next, on June 14, *Times* op-ed columnist Abe Rosenthal went off like a car alarm: "The argument Mr. Chavis uses—the popularity of the bigot-in-chief—is the very reason not to invite him. It was the argument used by the German elite when they saw Hitler's popularity, cowered before it and tried to profit from it."

This is a grotesque equation. Germany's Christian capitalists backed Hitler because they wanted him to crush the unions and the left. Chavis, on the contrary, wants the support of the AFL-CIO and is accused of soliciting the support of the left. The German capitalists had a prior history of anti-Semitism; the NAACP has a rabbi on its national board. And Farrakhan is no Hitler. When did the Nazi ever say anything like what Farrakhan said on Lenora Fulani's TV talk-show, on April 16 and 19?:

“Hating people because of their Jewishness...this is entirely wrong, of course, evil....Nor do you have one incident of a follower of Elijah Muhammad under my leadership harming one hair on the head of a Jewish man, woman, boy or girl....If the two communities ever found a proper working relationship, I believe we could go a long way to turning...the world around if we did it in righteousness.”

Whatever Farrakhan might have said in the past, that is what he is saying today. To be sure, there are blatant anti-Semites in the Nation of Islam. Aside from Khallid Muhammad, there is, amongst others, Abdul Allah Muhammad, a regular columnist in *The Final Call*, Farrakhan's paper. Did you know that the ADL is “the organization which created and controlled liquor bootlegging during prohibition and controls the drug trade today?” That is what he wrote in the March 16 issue, and he has spewed out anti-Jewish stupidities in many of his recent columns.

Editor's Note (2024):

Bro. Abdul Allah Muhammad is likely referring to a recently published article by Dr. Robert Rockaway titled “Hoodlum Hero: The Jewish Gangster as Defender of His People, 1919-1949,” which appeared in the respected journal *American Jewish History* (vol. 82, 1994). Rockaway shows that the ADL gratefully accepted donations from Jewish gangsters and thugs such as Cleveland bootlegger Moe Dalitz, who received the ADL's Torch of Liberty award in “deep appreciation” for his financial contributions.

Hoodlum Hero: The Jewish Gangster as Defender of His People, 1919–1949

ROBERT A. ROCKAWAY

After the First World War, Jewish Gangsters became major figures in the American underworld and played prominent roles in the creation and extension of organized crime in the United States. During Prohibition fifty percent of the leading bootleggers were Jews, and Jewish criminals financed and directed much of the nation's narcotics traffic. Jews also dominated illicit activities in a number of America's largest cities, including Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, New York, and Philadelphia.¹

The activities and visibility of these men embarrassed and alarmed the Jewish community, which feared an increase in anti-Semitism. At the same time, a number of these mobsters, quietly and without publicity, defended and assisted the Jewish community. Despite their aversion to these “black sheep of Israel,” many ordinary Jews appreciated the gangster's protection, whereas communal leaders accepted and sometimes even solicited their aid.²

Farrakhan knows that anti-Semitism can never unite the Black community. But because he has hitherto been a political talker, not an activist, he still tolerates the ranters within his movement. If all you are doing is talking, th[e]n it doesn't matter what you or your associates say, because the talk doesn't go anywhere. Now that he is genuinely involved in building a broad coalition, he will inevitably have to silence his in-house crazies because the opponents of Black unity will certainly use their trash mouthing not only against him, but against the entire united front.

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that he hasn't yet shut them up, he isn't preaching anti-Semitism to the public, and he didn't advocate it during the Summit. Given this, there is no basis for Rosenthal to howl that Chavis was accommodating anti-Semitism.

The *Times* followed up with a June 16 editorial dump on the Summit. It focused on the fact that "Black elected officials avoided the meeting in droves." Al Sharpton, who was there, says "They didn't come because they were afraid of being demonized by the media, and they don't see themselves as accountable to their constituents." Beyond that, they knew the conference was an implicit condemnation of themselves. If they had consistently mobilized their Black communities over the years, there wouldn't have been a need for this meeting.

They are the Black element most susceptible to Jewish establishment pressure. Many have Jewish constituents. And most Black politicians are Democrats. They know the *Times* reported that 60 percent of the campaign funds Clinton took in from individuals came from rich Jews. In some municipalities an even higher percentage of their party's funds come from Jews, notably realtors. But the Summit was a success even though only two congressional representatives and the mayor of Baltimore showed up. Dead fishes always go with the tide and now some of the hacks are saying they will attend the next session in August. They fear that they will have to answer to their Black voters in November if they don't at least show up.

The September 17 *Forward* had no less than three pieces on the NAACP, including an editorial: "The newspaper photograph of a liberal Jew, Michael Lerner of *Tikkun* magazine, picketing the latest meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adds an important dimension to the understanding of the current crisis....The sense of betrayal is felt more keenly among those who have been engaged with the civil rights process for many years."

Tikkun was published in California, and when Lerner moved here the media prompt-

A ccording to the June 7, 1993, issue of *Time* magazine, West and Lerner received a \$100,000 advance to do a book on Black-Jewish tensions. Surely the publisher never dreamed that the philo-Semitic West would end up meeting with Farrakhan and that the philo-Black Lerner would wind up picketing Farrakhan and West.

ly told us that a great Jewish liberal was to grace us with his presence. But now that he is here, New York's political intelligentsia divides between those who think he is just a fanatic and those who feel the psychologist needs a psychiatrist.

His book, *The Socialism of Fools: Anti-Semitism on the Left*, is a screed against "self-loathing" Jews: "Nowhere has that self-loathing been more acute than in the rash of 'humor' and aggression against so-called Jewish American Princesses.... That it is Jewish men and...women who tell these jokes...is a dramatic demonstration of the degree to which self-loathing permeates Jewish consciousness in the Diaspora."

Someday the great Jewish liberal is liable to encounter a great Jewish comedian, and if he keeps babbling this way, he may end up needing the urgent services of a great Jewish dentist. But that is if Cornel West doesn't do him in first. He provided a jacket blurb for Lerner's book and an article of his from *Tikkun* was excerpted in *Jew on the Brain*, an "answer" to the Nation of Islam's *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*.

Professor West became a teacher's pet of the establishment, constantly cited as a responsible Black advocate of the good ol' Black-Jewish alliance. But West is a leader of the Democratic Socialists of America, and he had to attend the Summit if he was to retain credibility as a Black radical. So the June 13 *Times* had a photo of West trying to convince Lerner that "we are in no way embracing or endorsing other leaders. We are inviting them to the table for dialogue." Lerner was unconvinced and continued to picket.

West is correct. Coalitions consist of people who work together on some unifying points while disagreeing on others. A coalition member doesn't endorse anything said by another member, especially if it is said independently of their common front. But West's problem with Lerner doesn't stop there. According to the June 7, 1993, issue of *Time* magazine, West and Lerner received a \$100,000 advance to do a book on Black-Jewish tensions. Surely the publisher never dreamed that the philo-Semitic West would end up meeting with Farrakhan and that the philo-Black Lerner would wind up picketing Farrakhan and West. At any rate, continued intimacy between West and this bitter-end enemy of Black unity is difficult to envisage.

Jack Newfield and Jim Sleeper have also piped up. They come out of the same "democratic socialist" milieu as West and are just as pale pink. In real life politics, they rush towards our corrupt capitalist political system like hogs go for garbage. But they think themselves the world's greatest moralists. Truthfully, the only difference between them is that Newfield is sure that he will go to heaven and sit by the right hand of God, whereas Sleeper knows that he is God.

Newfield's June 16 *Post* column sought to create a split in the new Summit. According to him, there were two factions, the black hats, Farrakhan and Chavis, and the white hats, Jackson and Sharpton. In Newfield's telling, Jackson and Sharpton really came to

the gathering to fight Farrakhan over the question of coalitions with Jews, gays, whites, etc. So, suddenly, for one day, Sharpton became a *Post* saint. Except that Al says that none of this is real. "The Summit was a success. The article just tried to use us as an axe against Chavis."

Newfield claims that "the Farrakhan-Chavis faction proposed a resolution, to be made public, condemning the Anti-Defamation League for attacking the Black community and trying to select Black leaders." In fact, there was no resolution, only a brief conversation between a few people. Lou Meyers, formerly a lawyer for the Nation, and now with the NAACP, suggested that there be such a resolution. But Jackson felt that the press spin-doctors would make it look as if condemning the ADL was the main accomplishment of the conference, and the proposal died a peaceful death, only to be resurrected by Newfield, magnified into one of "the two sharpest debates of the Summit."

Of course there would have been nothing improper if such a resolution was either proposed or passed. Newfield might not know it, but even the sparrows in the streets say that, yes, indeed, the ADL has been trying to create a tame Black movement. However, Jackson was undoubtedly correct. The meeting wasn't about the ADL or Jews. But that is what the media would have said about it. In fact, according to Sharpton, "other than reference to the pickets outside, nothing about Jews came up."

This reality demonstrates the back-asswards nature of the ADL's thinking. Did they seriously believe that Farrakhan was going to present some kind of anti-Jewish scheme to such a broad Black gathering? In the real world, the weakness of 'Black anti-Semitism' is evident in the certainty that such a proposal could never get the support of West and Jackson and Sharpton and, of course, Chavis.

Sleeper's June 19 [*New York Daily News*] column was, in effect, a rejection of Newfield's image of Sharpton as genuinely differing from Farrakhan. Implicit in his assault on Sharpton is a repudiation of the Summit for also "doing the Farrakhan twist." Of course Sleeper has no Black organizational alternative to the Summit, nor do any of its critics. The *Forward* says that "new coalitions will form and new leaders will arise, unpoisoned by the stench...of anti-Semitism." But it is hard to think of where any Black force could arise that could outflank a front including both the NAACP and the Nation of Islam.

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Indeed, it can be said that the ADL & Co. have suffered a major defeat. They will keep on trying, but they can't stop Black unity. However, that doesn't mean that unity will occur. Talking about unity isn't unity. That can only be based on a serious program that has the support of the masses and is organizationally based on those masses.

will occur. Talking about unity isn't unity. That can only be based on a serious program that has the support of the masses and is organizationally based on those masses. As of now, there is a Summit of the chattering class. The need is for a public, democratic, one-person-one-vote convention where the leaders must compete for the votes of the working class, the broadest sector of the Black community.

Clearly any such program must be primarily a demand on Washington to spend many billions on jobs, education, housing, et al. But Clinton isn't going to give anyone penny one unless he is convinced of two things: 1) The movement has serious plans for a series of street demonstrations until it gets its demands and, 2) He has to pay a political consequence if he doesn't fulfill its program.

There have been any number of Black marches on Washington, including the 30th anniversary commemoration of the "I have a dream" 1963 march. Yet none obtained anything of consequence. That is because Washington pols ask themselves one practical question about all demonstrators: If we don't give the beggars what they want, what will they do to hurt us? If the Summiteers organize a march to Washington and Clinton knows that the Black community will still vote Democratic, even if he doesn't give it anything, he will not give it anything. In short, the new slogan must be 'by every means necessary.'

In any event, the ADL will remain the implacable opponent of Black unity. It is the sworn foe of affirmative action quotas, going so far as to say, in the words of Nathan Perlmutter, its former national director, that "quotas in favor of one group, by definition, means quotas against another group. That's the very essence of the Nuremberg Laws." To equate quotas on the part of the American government and/or other predominantly White institutions in favor of minorities and women with Nazi Germany's laws against its Jewish minority is nothing more than racist madness in a 'Jewish' guise.

But this is not to say that it is impossible for a united Black front to get Jewish support. It can if it looks beyond the establishment. The bulk of Jewish youth have nothing to do with any Jewish organization. If the Summit comes up with a practical program for a top-to-bottom reordering of American society and it takes that program to the campuses, tens of thousands of young Jews will go right by the ADL and its Hillel youth group and eagerly join in the struggle.

(Lenni Brenner is a scholar who happens to be Jewish, an author and social activist.)

The NAACP: He who pays the Piper

(16 July 1994)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

For as long as anyone can remember, we have believed that the NAACP was a wholly owned subsidiary of those forces in America that wished to control the behavior and politics of our people.

Foolishly, we accepted this because we refused to believe that we could support such a large organization and have it compete effectively against those longer-established, better-funded and politically correct organizations led by Whites and Jews who we believed to have greater power, more and better access, and certainly more money to buy Black leaders and political party favors.

The beginning of the end of that came with the emergence of Benjamin Hooks, who began the painful process of weaning the NAACP from money sources which had been generous in the past but were demanding more and more from us in their insistence that we follow this party line or that and denounce on cue any Black who dared question a program or policy that they were against or support an initiative that they did not favor or a political candidate whom they did not own and support, especially those who were Black.

After Hooks decided that he had to leave before he was pushed, a fluke and a coup took place in the NAACP. Jesse Jackson was rejected, and Ben Chavis, an ex-con, avowed militant and determined young man, emerged as leader.

The NAACP has not been the same since. With the invitation to Minister Louis Farrakhan to participate in the 30th anniversary of the March On Washington as well as invitations to participate in Black summits, the NAACP has become the target of the ADL, *New York Times*, A.M. Rosenthal and other major Jewish organizations, with help from some Blacks within and outside the organization who seek leadership roles and personal financial gain by joining with those whose agenda is to control or destroy the NAACP and any kind of Black independence movement along with it.

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To Chavis' everlasting credit, he has rejected the counsel of those who fear that we cannot put enough money together to help ourselves. The success of the Black church gives absolute lie to that assertion.

If there are those who wish to support the NAACP and its work who are not a part of the Black community, let them understand that they buy nothing but a tax deduction and the work of an organization determined to make life better for all of us. If they do not understand that, let them keep their blood money in their own pockets and buy whatever else they can with it nationally or internationally.

Keep it up, Mr. Chavis. Most of us in the Black world support you and understand the consequences, particularly financially, if Jews and others walk away because they cannot control. It is a risk that we must take, no matter how painful!

Jews, more than any other group, have to understand, indeed appreciate this stance, for has it not been their view that the U. S. government has no business interfering with the internal policies of Israel no matter how much money it gives to protect, defend and feed a nation that could have perished otherwise? Black Americans are now and have always been a part of that support.

Let others understand this and act accordingly! No one else will ever call our tune again!

The media beating up on Jesse Jackson again

(31 December 1994)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Have you seen those amusing *New York Times* commercials on TV? They're wickedly clever and slightly unsettling. One has Rush Limbaugh in the back of a cab (a cab some of us, like former Mayor David Dinkins, and State Senator David Paterson, for example can't get—but that's another story), reading the *Times*. The voice-over says not everyone wants to read the *Times* for information on the U.N. Security Council—some like the entertainment section, then Limbaugh shows himself from behind the paper and says, "Though I find their reviews to be rather opinionated."

Then there's one with Henry Kissinger behind his desk in a lavish office musing about always wanting to be a sportscaster, but not being able to lose his New York accent.

Then there's Jesse Jackson. The camera pans in on a man sitting in an airport behind a full-out *Times*. He lowers the paper and has been reading the real estate section. Then

he says, "I'd like something on Pennsylvania Avenue, white, with pillars."

Cute, effective, intelligent, but some people seem to be red at the thought. In the last week, there have been several anti-Jesse Jackson articles showing up here and there. One, in the *Daily News*, by George Rush, maintains that Moammar Gadhafi gave Jesse Jackson, or offered to give him, \$3 million if Jesse would interview him on his cable show, "Both Sides."

Using Gadhafi

Rush cites as his source *Playboy* magazine contributing editor Morgan Strong. Strong cites as his informant British industrialist Roland Rowland, who is supposed to be on the inside with Gadhafi.

Strong claims that Jesse Jackson needs money in order to run for president in 1996. (Oh oh, up pops the devil!) Jackson denies the allegations as "not even remotely true." Jackson did maintain, according to the article, that he approached Libyan diplomats to arrange an interview with Gadhafi.

The article by George Rush raised the Pan Am bombing of flight 103, which the U.S. blamed on Libya. The issue was raised repeatedly throughout the article. Strong also hinted that he had been threatened in connection with digging into who bombed flight 103. Then the paper had the ugliest photo of Jesse Jackson they could find. A hatchet job?

To politically aware Blacks, Gadhafi is not the bogeyman the media would make him out to be. American politics suffers from selective righteous indignation.

The real point of the piece, however, seems to be an attempt to begin, now, to undermine any aspirations Jackson has for the presidency in '96.

Michigan for Jackson

Remember, the entire state of Michigan, which is 80 percent White, voted for Jesse Jackson. He came in ahead of a lot of White men, much to their chagrin.

In a perhaps unrelated article, Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League announced that remarks made by Jesse Jackson concerning the Christian Coalition were "inappropriate." In a letter to Jackson, Foxman stated that the ADL had issued a report last summer expressing their agency's "serious concerns regarding the religious Right on a variety of subjects—including church/state issues, tolerance and a pluralist society," but Foxman maintained "nothing about the movement (the religious Right) would justify comparing it to such evil institutions as Nazi Germany or apartheid South Africa."

Foxman went on to instruct Jackson that "The Christian Coalition has every right to participate in politics" and they have "raised legitimate questions about values in soci-

ety.” Foxman maintained that Jackson’s denunciation of the Christian Coalition as comparable to Nazis and to the apartheid government in South Africa was “highly inappropriate, inaccurate and highly divisive.” The article appeared in the weekly *Jewish Press*.

Facts and fiction

In that same Dec. 16 issue of the *Jewish Press*, Professor Howard L. Adelson had an article accusing Jackson of having a history of bigotry with regard to Jews. The article went on to dig up both facts and fiction concerning Jackson, including his “Hymietown” remarks, and also maintaining that Jackson was overheard talking to Walter Fauntroy, a Black Congressional delegate, on a plane flight from Atlanta to Washington and that Jackson told Fauntroy, “I don’t care what you say, you just can’t trust the Jews.” Fauntroy responded, “No you can’t.” The conversation was overheard by a reporter named Victor Gold. Adelson went on to soundly spank Jews who invited Jackson to speak in their synagogues, paying him big fees, accusing them of “indescribable disgrace.”



All this now. Why? All the man said was he dreamed of living in a white house on Pennsylvania Avenue. Geez!

The article, saturated with bile and venom, also attacked WLIB as Black Hate Radio, and attacked Al Sharpton as a classic example of bigotry in New York and who has also spoken violently against the Jews. But the main target was Jesse Jackson.

Another voice: Black–Jewish relations

(10 June 1995)

Lenni Brenner, contributing writer for the New York Amsterdam News

It is said that more nonsense has been written about Jews than any other topic. Given how long people have been writing about Jews, this is doubtlessly true. And since Black–Jewish relations have become a staple American theme, new records for stupidity have been set. For now, Michael Lerner and Cornel West are the reigning champs in this strange literary-political division.

Lerner is a believing Jew and Zionist, West a Christian and a democratic socialist. But neither demonstrates the slightest knowledge of the background of their political or theological movements.

Lerner tells us that when he grew up, the rabbi of his “own synagogue” was Joachim Prinz. “Eventually he became one of the ten convenors of the March on Washington in 1963.” Sounds good. But what he doesn’t tell us is that his rabbi had an infamous history. I interviewed Prinz in 1981 for my book *Zionism and the Age of the Dictators* because he had been a Zionist leader in Germany when Hitler came to power in 1933. He wrote an infamous book, *Wer Juden?*, in 1934. To Prinz the Jew was made up of “misplacement, of queerness, of exhibitionism, inferiority, arrogance, self-deceit, sophisticated love of truth, hate...rootless cosmopolitan.” The rabbi believed an accommodation between Nazism and the Jews was possible: “Parliament and democracy are increasingly shattered...the concept and reality of the nation and the volk is gaining, to our happiness.”

In all probability, Prinz never discussed his Berlin ravings with anyone here until I confronted him. But Lerner would have discovered his rabbi’s past if he had done any serious research into Zionist history.

West is no better. He tells us that at 17 he “was already a Democratic Socialist...I had already been very influenced by Michael Harrington.” He is an honorary co-chair of Democratic Socialists of America, founded by Harrington. What West doesn’t tell us is that Harrington wrote an autobiography, *Fragments of the Century*, in 1973. He told of how the Soviets organized a youth festival in 1959 and of his desire to go there and heckle it. The CIA organized an anti-Communist delegation: “They enlisted the aid of Gloria Steinem...I stumbled on the CIA front.” He claims he told Steinem’s front that he “would accept an airline ticket from them only if I could go on my own, completely independent of their organization and with the explicit understanding that I would attack American capitalism....The offer of help was withdrawn forthwith, and I paid my own way.”

However, Steinem now sits next to West as a DSA co-chair. And every year the Chicago DSA gives out a Debs-Thomas award. Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas were Socialist Party presidential candidates. But the Feb. 22, 1967 *New York Times* exposed Thomas as taking \$1 million in CIA cash.

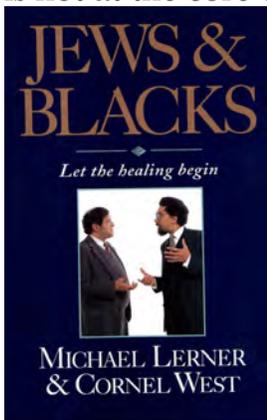
I don’t accuse West or DSA of presently taking CIA cash. In these budget-cutting times the CIA doesn’t have to give money to an outfit that, of its own free will, puts a CIA collaborator on its board of co-chairs and gives awards in the name of another collaborator. It patronized Democratic Socialism in the ’50s and ’60s because it needed a lightning rod to draw youths away from the hard left, and that is what DSA does today. It is a fifth leg on the Democratic Party donkey. DSA and West supported Clinton in 1992.

While Harrington was in the SP, he came under the influence of its national secretary, Irwin Suall, now the chief fact-finder, that is, head spy, of the Anti-Defamation League. Harrington began to call himself “a Jew from Irish grandparents.” He boasted

of DSA's international affiliation with the Israeli Labor Party, the administrators of the Zionist torture state. Given this background, it is hardly a surprise that its Black chair should have rushed into print, in Lerner's *Tikkun* magazine, to denounce the Nation of Islam's book, *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*.

Then Ben Chavis organized a Black Leadership Summit, including Farrakhan, and the Jewish establishment sought to destroy it. Since the Black masses know they need unity, West had to attend if he was to retain his credibility. But who showed up to picket the conference for including Farrakhan? None other than his co-author, Michael Lerner.

Naturally their differences over Farrakhan are an important topic in their book. West defends Farrakhan for being invited, given his following in the community, while Lerner "believe(s) that Louis Farrakhan is a radically evil person who has hatred at the core of his being." West "doesn't think that's true. Anti-Semitism is one integral element in his attempt to account for Black social misery. But this hatred of Jews, or of White persons, is not at the core of his being."



West's defense of the summit is correct as far as it goes, but it is essentially unpolitical. The conference happened, in spite of the ADL and Lerner, yet Farrakhan made no effort to inject an anti-Semitic note into the gathering. This is the real answer to these opponents of Black unity. Anti-Semitism can never be the basis for such unity, and this is proved, not by excluding Farrakhan from such discussions but by including him!

Lerner concedes that Black anti-Semitism is not any grave danger to Jews today. But, hey! What about "someday in the future, when the ruling elites...have decided that the way to maintain power is to manipulate anti-Semitic sentiment amongst both Blacks and Whites to deflect their anger against the system." Then, "this guy can play the role, being a representative of Black outrage at Jews." In his introduction to the book, Lerner says, "I play with various paranoid fantasies of what might happen to Jews in America should Black anti-Semitism become a deeper and more pervasive reality." Later he says that he is "not saying that I believe this will happen, only that these kinds of paranoid fantasies are not totally crazy. They emerge out of an historical experience of oppression." Frankly, it is hard to say if Lerner is totally crazy or merely being stupid, but in either case, several of his misconceptions converge here.

He believes that the country is still run by WASPs: "Jews have been put into an intermediate position, in between the ruling elite who own the major economic institutions and the American majority...they can be taken out and subjected to popular rage when the economic system is collapsing."

Since he doesn't understand the present, his image of the future is based on the past, and not even the American past. His scenario is loosely based on Germany's experience. But Hitler could come to power there because of its deep tradition of anti-Semitism among the gentile upper and middle classes and the peasantry.

Every poll in today's America shows that anti-Semitism is sharply declining in every class. We Jews are 2.5 percent of the population, but Jews are 9 percent of the Senate (all voted in by gentiles), two out of nine on the Supreme Court. There are four Jews on the cabinet.

There are 22 Jews among the country's 79 billionaires. Not one sane person believes that a single one of them was "put" into the charmed circle of capitalism by the "ruling elite." This cockeyed notion exists in Michael Lerner's head and nowhere else. But Jews are welcome in all industries, including those that excluded them decades ago. Socially Jewish and gentile capitalists completely cohabitate in the art world, which is the cultural center of capitalism. And they are increasingly intermarrying. Jackie Kennedy was living with a Jew when she died. Nobody cared.

The list of Jewish presidents at the elite universities is now huge. In fact, the way that you determine that a school is indeed a major institution is by noting the percentage of Jewish professors. The presence of Jews in our academic and intellectual life is so taken for granted that the youth of the gentile capitalist and middle classes, who would be essential for any fascist movement, would see anti-Semitism as the flat-earth theory that it is.

The notion that the Black community could be manipulated into playing a Hitlerian role vis-a-vis Jews is well and truly paranoid. Every Black knows that if the rights of Jews, almost exclusively white, are violated, then they are next into the abyss. Lerner simply allows the Holocaust, which he obviously hasn't studied, to be his excuse for giving paranoia free reign, instead of analyzing contemporary capitalist America.

The idea that the Jewish rich are some kind of second-string capitalist team is fantastic. Like many Jews of his generation, his core image of the Jews is based on a bygone reality when many Jews were poor, persecuted and progressive. Today the three P's don't apply. So he composes future-music wherein the Jews will again be persecuted, compelling them to again become progressive, thus returning to their natural, indeed God-given wonderfulness.

America is one of the world's most religious countries. Because of the First Amendment, religious strife has been minimal, hence there has been little societal pressure to examine religion. The U.S. also has a feeble history of Marxist politics, thus there has been no important atheist current in our mass political life. While atheists can be found in every corner of the country, they are only found in significant proportions among

the intelligentsia. As Jews make up a significant element of the educated, many of these scoffers are of Jewish background. This has severely limited Lerner's influence among Jews because—to be blunt—he is a fanatic. West isn't quite as much of a nonstop pious ranter, but they fully agree in seeing religion as central to their world views.

According to Lerner, "Human beings are...charged to be partners with God in the process of changing the world...the most frequently repeated injunctions of Torah are variations on the following theme: 'When you come into your land, do not oppress the stranger. Remember that you were strangers in the land of Egypt.'"

West "became Christian" when he was "seven or eight...I accepted the theology of the Black Baptist Church...It was love, I think, that was the most attractive thing about Jesus. It seemed to me the most attractive way of being in the world, and as real to me as this table." Later he gives us a slightly more adult perspective: "I'm only defending a certain prophetic conception of the faith that usually exists on the margins of Christian institutions."

Their God works in mysterious ways. Don't you know that if they were alive today that the prophets of Israel and the king of the Jews would be registered Democrats? After all, says Lerner, "The Democratic Party" is "the only force in America that provides a counterbalance to the ruling elite's ability to just trounce on everybody's interests without any restraints whatsoever."

Of course, there are a few problems with the party, namely, that it has a long history of crimes. West reminds us to "look at Johnson's or Robert Kennedy's F.B.I. dossier on King. There is not a history of Democrats being less prone to repression when they saw fit."

Let's follow this. Lerner is a Jew, West is a Christian, and both act according to the tenets of their faiths. They both vote Democrat. The Democratic Party is as crooked as a dog's hind leg. Therefore, voting for a party of rogues is the only pious way to go. Get it?

I don't get it. You can talk all day about "not oppress(ing) the stranger" and about "love." Eventually people will want an earthly example of your theological goodness. But no one's religion is any better than their politics. Liberal [Lerner] and West give us the same ol' liberal, same ol' vote for the lesser evil, only they are covering up their shamelessness with blasphemy in the name of religion, exactly like the rightwing Christians they abhor.

Fortunately, there are answers to their crap from the Bible they profess to believe in but don't begin to understand. Permit an atheist to remind Lerner, the certain heir to the Hebrew prophets, of Proverbs 26:11: "As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly." And let us remind the Christian professor of religion that Peter 2:22 adds that "the sow that was washed goes to her wallowing in the mire."

There are many things that should be said regarding Black–Jewish relations, but to do so within a review of such an utterly useless book would only give it [*Jews and Blacks: Let the Healing Begin*] an importance it doesn't merit.

Peace in Israel and Peace in America Now

(11 November 1995)

Wilbur A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

An opinion piece appears in this newspaper today that is a tribute to the slain Prime Minister of the State of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, by Congressman Charles B. Rangel from Harlem. We endorse his warm and moving words as we share the grief of the decent people of Israel who mourn with Mrs. Leah Rabin the loss of her husband and “best friend.”

Yet, at this moment of grief and triumph for one of the smaller nations in the world, we cannot help but wonder where Israel goes from here. With peace firmly within her grasp, and with the “leaders” of the world assembling at her doorstep to mourn and pay tribute, there was hardly a Black or Asian face to be seen amongst those that the television cameras rested on in the first ranks, or that the *New York Times* identified as being there. Whether this was by accident or design, it sent a jarring visual message to the people of more than half the world, several hundred million of them being on the continent that the Israelis and sub-Saharan Africans share. The message was simple. Blacks and Asians were not among those who have been anointed as leaders of the world. Whatever happened here is likely to come back to haunt in some of the most subtle ways, and that is a pity.

The message was simple. Blacks and Asians were not among those who have been anointed as leaders of the world. Whatever happened here is likely to come back to haunt in some of the most subtle ways, and that is a pity.

The most instructive and compelling of all the words spoken at the funeral and shortly thereafter came from King Hussein of Jordan. Defying a Palestinian ban on going to Jerusalem since it became a divided city almost thirty years ago, he said, “Let us allow our voices to rise in the commitment for peace...Cross over the divide. Establish a dialog. Get to know one another...come together, work together.”

The granddaughter of the Rabins, Noa Ben Artzi, touched the world and left so many crying when she said, “How can you console a nation when grandmother does not stop weeping,” followed by what seemed to be such an odd way to describe a relation-

ship between a child and a seemingly acerbic warrior, “None knew the softness of your caress as had I.” The viewer then knew why the Hebrew word *Sabra* was used so often to describe Yitzhak Rabin, for it literally means one born in Israel, and one who is, like the cactus, tough and thorny on the outside, and sweet and gentle on the inside.

Following the funeral by only a day, there was an extraordinary interview on ABC with the widow of the assassinated prime minister, Leah Rabin. She probably came closest to recognizing why she had lost her husband and why there must be a sea change in the attitudes of a significant percentage of the Israeli population, specifically Benjamin Netanyahu and the Likud party that he leads, if there is ever to be a lasting peace. Fully composed and almost poetic in her denunciation of those who “created the climate” that led to the assassination of her husband, she pointed her finger squarely at Netanyahu, and said that “They (Likud members) were very, very violent in their expressions: ‘We are selling the country down the drain.’ ‘There will be no Israel after this peace agreement’—I mean this was wild.”

She recalled further that on the day before Rabin was murdered, just outside their home in Tel Aviv, extremists, following a pattern of Friday demonstrations there, hounded and harassed them as they tried to enter their home. “They said to me,” she said, “Just wait. A year from now in Kings of Israel square, we will kill you both.”

Chilling? Yes! Prophetic? Yes! But next year came on the following day. Did Netanyahu and his openly ambitious quest to become prime minister of Israel by playing on the fears of the most vulnerable settlers and religious zealots contribute significantly to the climate that killed Rabin?

Yes! He chose to divide a nation, but probably succeeded in bringing it closer together, quite unintentionally, of course. For man cannot write this script.

This tragedy should provide an object lesson for those in America who are using hate to divide the country and hate to divide Black and white, Black and Jew. The same hatred that led to the assassination of Rabin in Israel exists in America, and particularly in New York. If we refuse to get together here, we will experience the same kind of tragedy here in the same or different forms. That is why we share with our readers two letters from the Anti-Defamation League dated two days before the Rabin assassination, but received afterwards. The letters, mean-spirited and intemperate, suggest falsely that a perfectly legitimate observation by a media

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columnist in the Oct. 21 edition is the policy of the newspaper, and further that a paid ad by Dr. Fred Newman, himself a Jew, was somehow so cleverly done that Blacks, our readers particularly, did not have the mental capacity to understand right from wrong, good from evil. Or so the letter suggested, as if the ADL and Foxman had to remind us of the evils of the Holocaust and instruct us as to who the legitimate and responsible leaders of the Jewish community are. We reject the implication in the letter that we are not smart enough to figure this all out for ourselves.

Prime Minister Rabin is dead. Shimon Peres, whose vision has supported the efforts of the international organization begun in Israel called Peace Now, is superbly equipped to bring peace to the Middle East with equal partners such as Arafat, Hussein and Mubarak. Peace Now was founded in 1978 by 348 reserve officers of the Israel Defense Forces. Their American counterpart scheduled a gala dinner at the Essex House for Wednesday, Nov. 8 prior to the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in honor of Abba Eban, the Israeli diplomat, scholar and avid supporter of Peace Now. In light of the tragedy the dinner became a memorial to Rabin as well.

We, that is Jews and Blacks in America, need our own Peace Now, in order for us to deal fairly and effectively with each other, without one side or the other trying to dictate to each other who the players or the leaders will be. We must choose our own sides and our own agendas.

The Israelis came to terms with the idea of peace because they had to do it if their children and the children of Palestine were ever to grow up in a land without war.

As far-fetched as it must seem, the same is true of the opposing factions in America.

As we implore the spirit of Prime Minister Rabin to rest in peace, we assure him that for our part, his death will not have been in vain.

Anti-Defamation League attacks pledge of money to Nation of Islam by Gadhafi, seeks Justice Department intervention

(3 February 1996)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Once more the Anti-Defamation League makes an effort to discredit Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam and frighten hell out of the American Jews who would contribute to their cause, just so long as an “enemy” can be identified in America, preferably one that has little power nationally, that can be successfully posited as representing a “clear and present danger” to Jews.

That “enemy” is clearly Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam and all who support them. Having identified the “enemy” and attempting to undermine the Million Man March before it happened, and attempting to raise money by suggesting all kinds of dire consequences for Jews after it succeeded, another “opportunity” has cropped up on which there will be an attempt to make capital by the ADL. According to the *New York Post*, in a needlessly sensational story by Kyle Smith, “Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno should ‘proceed vigorously’ to determine whether the Nation of Islam leader is required to register under the Foreign Agent Registration Act.” The law requires that anyone working on behalf of a foreign entity to influence U.S. policy must register with the Justice Department.

Does the leader of the Anti-Defamation League believe that the U.S. attorney general is so stupid, or cannot read well enough to realize that there were reports from the Libyan news agency JANA that Farrakhan had met with Gadhafi and that Gadhafi had “agreed to give him \$1 billion to ‘mobilize in a legal and legitimate form, the oppressed minorities, and at their forefront the Blacks, Arabs, Muslims and red Indians’”?

Of course the U.S. attorney general should find out more about the gift or the loan and how it is to be used, but it must be found out directly from Minister Farrakhan, not speculated about by the ADL, an organization bent on dividing Black Americans and demonizing Farrakhan. This also raises another question: Is the ADL required to register under FARA, or is it already registered? Certainly many Jewish organizations in America are pursuing similar goals, if the goals reported are in fact what the supposed money is to be used for. Certainly we cannot sanction a paragraph that is quoted but not really attributed in the *Post*: “Today we have found a loophole to enter the (U.S.) and confront it from within.” Apparently, the “U.S.” in parentheses was inserted and may mean something entirely different.

That “enemy” is clearly Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam and all who support them. Having identified the “enemy” and attempting to undermine the Million Man March before it happened, and attempting to raise money by suggesting all kinds of dire consequences for Jews after it succeeded, another “opportunity” has cropped up on which there will be an attempt to make capital by the ADL.

Neither the U.S. government nor Black Americans would stand still for a moment and watch Minister Farrakhan, Abraham Foxman, or any other organization undermine the United States and terrorize it. Nor will we sit still for the ADL to use Black people as pawns in a scheme to raise funds by spouting “anti-Semitism” at times when it really doesn’t exist.

Let the hearings be held by Peter King (R-L.I.), as he has called for in the Congress.

But there is one clue: No leader, no matter how arrogant or ignorant, gives a billion to any organization in a foreign country in order to overthrow it, and be proud that it is reported on the six o'clock news.

We have another clue for Mr. Foxman and the ADL. Get off the dime and meet with Minister Farrakhan as he suggested. Maybe Jews and Blacks have a better chance of coming together for our mutual protection from enemies in the U.S. who would destroy us both. Use Israel as an example. You could do worse!

Farrakhan's Libyan visit probed

(10 February 1996)

Cathy Connors, reporter, New York Amsterdam News

As Abraham Foxman and the ADL hand out awards to assorted individuals and organizations for "building bridges" of understanding and cooperation, his organization has apparently targeted the Muslims, Min. Farrakhan, and Rev. Al Sharpton for embarrassment and humiliation.

Probing the billion dollar pledge, promise, or grant to Farrakhan by Libya's president, Moammar Gadhafi, extremists are seeking grounds for a jail term for Farrakhan.

Cong. Peter King, a Republican from Long Island, requested a congressional report on possible laws Farrakhan might have broken, such as the Foreign Agents Registration Act which requires people doing business with or on behalf of foreign governments to register with the Justice Department. Private U.S. citizens visit and are visited by foreign heads of state during private visits or during private times arranged during state visits. The Logan Act of 1798 prevents private U.S. citizens from involvement in international and foreign affairs. Travel to Libya has been restricted for U.S. citizens. According to reports, Farrakhan could face up to 29 years in prison and possibly be fined.

Attorney General Janet Reno has been asked to investigate, and this move has brought a reaction from New Yorkers who view the probe as a "double standard." One said that tourists from the United States visit many individuals during their travels and are often invited to private homes and to embassies where they meet a wide variety of

“Think of the Polish, the Irish, the Jews who were never criminalized or vilified. Think of the money that goes back and forth to Israel, Ireland, Poland, Africa, the Caribbean, Asia. There are individuals who are registered foreign agents who buy and sell on behalf of foreign governments.”

people. During conventions abroad, they meet many who practice religions different from their own.

Rev. Al Sharpton told the *Amsterdam News* that the ADL and Jewish Alliance Organization have demanded that New York book stores refuse to sell his book. He also said that the probe of Farrakhan's visit to Libya is another insult to all people, especially to those of African descent.

"All kinds of people deal with foreign governments and religions. This is an attempt to demonize Farrakhan and to keep Blacks on an international plantation.

"Think of the Polish, the Irish, the Jews who were never criminalized or vilified. Think of the money that goes back and forth to Israel, Ireland, Poland, Africa, the Caribbean, Asia. There are individuals who are registered foreign agents who buy and sell on behalf of foreign governments."

Farrakhan has neither bought anything nor has he sold anything to Gadhafi. Whatever the billion dollar plan, pledge, or promise is, why not wait and discuss it with Farrakhan when he returns?

But I see this as a scenario that goes far beyond Farrakhan. By targeting the Muslims, one thinks of Jesus Christ who was crucified without a bill of particulars. And who put the Romans up to his crucifixion? Think about it.

A Black religious group, working for their own people, is targeted by extremists who want to keep Blacks "in their place." Cong. King, a non-Jew, wants to limit Black aspirations. Today it's Gadhafi, tomorrow it's Castro.

TIME WARNER CANCELS LECTURE SERIES: Hate groups forced a corporate giant's decision

(17 February 1996)

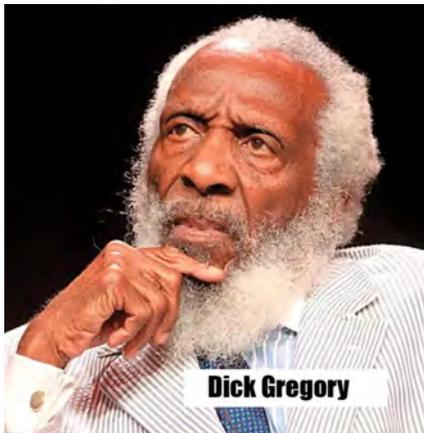
Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

On the very day that a *New Yorker* magazine piece appeared, revealing the soft underbelly of Time Warner's corporate structure and the difficulty they still face in getting approval from the Federal Communications Commission for their pending merger with Ted Turner's global communications colossus, Cable News Network (CNN), CEO Gerald Levin's subordinates were busily deciding that it would be best for them to cancel the highly acclaimed lecture series, "Our Roots Run Deep" celebrating Black History Month.

The program, organized by the Warner Music Group for their Black employees, was initially called into question by a threatened boycott of the Time Warner Co., including all of its divisions, by the Jewish Defense Organization, a fringe, would-be terrorist militant group founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane as the Jewish Defense League. Kahane has since been assassinated. Many members of the right wing group have been violently opposed to the peace process in the Middle East. Others have gone on record in support of those responsible for the assassination of Israel's premier, Yitzhak Rabin.

The *New York Post*, the Anti-Defamation League and the JDO urged, or rather, demanded, that Time Warner drop Al Sharpton, Conrad Muhammad and Steve Cokely as lecturers in the series, while not mentioning Dick Gregory or Susan Taylor by name, as far as can be ascertained.

Sharpton spoke on Feb. 8, despite threats he had received personally. Although under severe pressure from the *Post*, ADL and JDO, Time Warner executives gave no indication that the series would be discontinued following Sharpton's talk.



Less than 30 hours before Dick Gregory (in photo) was to appear, Gregory and I were having a late lunch with his wife, Lillian, at a midtown hotel, prior to her returning to Massachusetts, where their home is located. They were celebrating for the "30th time this week," according to Dick, their 37th wedding anniversary. Suddenly a bellman appeared.

Management had been told that the message was urgent and should be delivered to Mr. Gregory immediately.

Lillian was asked by Dick to read the telegram to him. He told me later that, "All the news I ever got from a telegram was bad news. I never got money, as some folks did."

Lillian began to read: "We are sorry to notify you." According to Dick, this was the modern day version of the telegrams sent to "widows and orphans by the War Department during the Second World War beginning with 'we regret to inform you'."

Dick was visibly shaken by the opening words. He said later that he had begun to shake as he tried to close his mind to visions of something having happened to one or more of their 10 kids, some left at home while Lillian made a quick trip to New York to catch his current show at the 47th Street Theatre, 304 West 47th St., and share their anniversary. "Instantly, I thought, before she continued to read the telegram, that God was punishing us for having stolen this little bit of time away from our children for ourselves," Dick said. Lillian Gregory continued to read, and this is what she read.

Dick Gregory:

We are sorry to notify you that the "Our Roots Run Deep" lecture series has been cancelled. Please contact Karen Lee or Juanita Stephens at Warner Brothers records for details. 212-275-4614.

Sincerely, Karen Lee and Juanita Stephens

Still shaken by receipt of a telegram with those opening lines, called urgent when it wasn't, Dick asked almost inaudibly, "Damn...why couldn't they call, fax, write or something? They're supposed to be in communications? And this is how they communicate?"

"Don't they know?," he said to no one in particular, "that no one, especially a Black entertainer, wants to mess up a date in February, especially if it has something to do with Black History Month?"

Always the pragmatist, I asked if he had been paid in advance for the gig. He replied, "It would be an insult to ask a big company like Time Warner to pay in advance for a date. I'm sure that they will honor their commitment to me, but they have dishonored the real meaning of Black History Month, a time bigger and more important than you and me, and certainly it is bigger than Time Warner."

Dick walked away, leaving the telegram on the table. When I called asking Time Warner for those who signed the telegram in order to get an official response, the call was ignored. There has been no response to the call a full day later. But Gregory did get paid. He called later in the evening after Lillian had arrived in Massachusetts that there was a check for the lecture already in his mailbox, sent by regular mail long before he was told that he was cancelled. "Peculiar way for a big company to do business," he said.

Time Warner, soon to be the largest communications empire in the world, if investors, the FCC, and Ted Turner believe that the existing leadership can make the merger work, has shown itself in this particular to be weak and irresolute, capricious and faint-hearted. If this is what we have come to expect of them in matters such as these, in which they have only betrayed and embarrassed their Black employees, what can we expect the next time the JDO, ADL and the *Post*, plan a real assault against them? They can sacrifice their Black employees and Black consumers, they must believe, but will they be able for long to fly in the face of human decency and courage by bowing to the demands of nitwits and terrorists without portfolio?

8 killed, Harlem community maligned, police and mayor come up with zilch

(2 March 1996)

**Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief,
New York Amsterdam News**

We take no comfort in the report in last Monday's *New York Times* relating conclusions of police department detectives in an ongoing investigation into the fire at Freddy's on 125th Street in December that set off unfounded accusations of bigotry, anti-Semitism, racism and conspiracy against innocent citizens of the most famous Black community in America.

Harlem reeled from the accusations by the mayor, police commissioner, all of the white newspapers, television and radio stations that Harlem was some kind of hotbed of Black anti-Semitism and that Black leaders, particularly Al Sharpton, had conspired with "outside agitators," in the words of Giuliani, to destroy non-Black-owned businesses there, particularly those owned by Jews, and to commit murder in the process.

It was [as] if those who wish Blacks ill had been let loose to nurture and expand their greatest nightmare and fondest dream: that Blacks in New York would be stupid enough to allow these accusations to set them off and force an armed confrontation between Black activists and the police that would spill over into the larger Black community and destroy it.

No conspiracy was found by the police, although the unnamed, crack NYPD detectives, in an official "leak" from the department and the administration, were not gracious enough to admit that there never was one, that it was, rather, a simple landlord-tenant dispute that escalated as we reported in the *AmNews* last Sept. 30.

Political opportunities, greed and an incredible arrogance compelled this sick, racist mayor to follow the path laid out by the ADL, Jewish Action Alliance and white media that killed Christmas in Harlem and left a totally false impression of the people there. It will take years before the innocent people of Harlem will be able to dispel the false image projected throughout the world by a callous and uncaring white media of a Harlem rife with degenerate psychopathic murderers and dope fiends living on welfare, while burning the city down.

Political opportunities, greed and an incredible arrogance compelled this sick, racist mayor to follow the path laid out by the ADL, Jewish Action Alliance and white media that killed Christmas in Harlem and left a totally false impression of the people there.

White media owes an apology to Harlem, as do the mayor and the police commissioner. And certainly those who have suffered the indignities of an unjustified, politically motivated police investigation based upon a false charge of anti-Semitism are owed an apology too.

The mayor will live to regret that he took a volatile and delicate racial situation in this city and turned it into something worse by foaming at the mouth when he should have been making an effort to find the truth and prevent further racial division in this city.

As for the relatives of those who died in the fire, they owe the city of New York a civil suit based upon failure to force compliance with fire and exit laws.

They owe the landlord of the building and the contractors working there a suit for not correcting fire, building code and OSHA violations. And they owe the owner of Freddy's, Fred Harari, suits ranging from wrongful death due to negligence to a host of others having to do with findings that are likely to be made by the district attorney's office of non-compliance with labor laws, exploitation of workers and possible acts of criminality.

How white media and the Jewish organizations that applauded their zeal and rushed to indict an entire community for anti-Semitism and worse is a disgrace. Unfortunately, in this case, all white media in this town are guilty, and there is no force in the Black community that is brave enough, rich enough or strong enough to take on, successfully, the self-righteous and racist *New York Times*, *Post*, *Daily News*, CBS, NBC, New York 1, Fox 5 and others (including radio) who lent their reporters and resources to the effort mounted by many Jewish organizations to exploit this tragic 125th Street multiple murder and fire as an example of endemic anti-Semitism in the Black community. The truth is that no such thing is true, yet this was the theme of the effort to discredit and accuse the Black community for months. It has now spread throughout the world. There is no way for Blacks to defend against it, for white media has bought the lie. It is apparent that none of the owners are willing to explore the truth, much less tell the truth, for it would mean admitting that they have lied.

Truth is the only weapon that we, as Black people, have, and we must never give in to the propaganda flood that has enveloped and practically destroyed our willingness to believe in ourselves and to fight those merchants of hate who have forgotten their own history as victims.

With Bob Grant at the mike, WOR means 'white only radio'

(11 May 1996)

George Wilson, guest writer, New York Amsterdam News

The recent hiring of Bob Grant by WOR Radio is tantamount to a declaration of war on the African-American community and upon all people of good will. The beast of hate radio has been resurrected by the Greenwich, Conn.-based Buckley Broadcasting Corporation, which is syndicating him nationally.

WOR long ago acquired the appropriate appellation White Only Radio. Now with the acquisition of Grant, WOR and Buckley have shed the country club image to become New York's de facto klavern. And it appears that WOR may be in violation of the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations, Section 73.2080, pertaining to FCC Equal Employment Opportunity laws.

The love of money is at the root of this manifestation of evil. WOR will now buy and sell advertising like never before, at the expense of tearing apart the delicate fabric that holds our diverse society together. But not all have taken the mark of the beast. The Dime Savings Bank immediately pulled its ads while travel show host Arthur Frommer resigned, saying, "I can't consort with evil."

Said Frommer, "If the filth of Bob Grant had been directed against Jews, or against Italians, or against Irish Americans, then it would have been inconceivable that WOR would have hired Bob Grant." This truth reinforces WOR's implicit policy of racial discrimination. Blacks are to them a negligible commodity that makes for tremendous ratings as objects of denigration, which has always been Grant's stock in trade.

Free speech has never been at issue in this controversy. Grant has hyper-freedom of speech. The issue is, should Bob Grant buy his own air time or should society at large pay his salary? With the plethora of sponsors on WOR, it is apparent the vast majority of adult Americans at one time or another patronize White Only Radio.

The Anti Defamation League (ADL) has heretofore refused to denounce the bigotry of Bob Grant, and it should behoove them to speak out for two reasons. The ADL has made numerous appearances on Grant's program over the years, the most recent one to assail a laundry list of Black Americans. Secondly, the ADL spends tens of thousands of dollars on ads in *The New York Times* and elsewhere to decry the danger of silence in the face of bigotry.



The ADL revealed its moral bankruptcy and supreme hypocrisy in November 1994 when news of a completed report was leaked to *Newsday*. The report was prepared by an underling at the ADL and was highly critical of Bob Grant. Grant then lobbied for the report to be squashed, which it was, influenced in part by the threat of financial boycott. The ADL denies the existence of such a report and, in doing so, are calling both *Newsday* and *Jewish Week* liars. I ask, who is lying? And why? And again I hearken back to the prophetic scenario where no person can buy or sell unless they take the mark of the beast.

Why all the uproar about Bob Grant? There are many reasons. Bob Grant is an evil man, able to deceive huge masses of people into believing that he is a great American. And he wields enormous influence on the electorate. Grant is a king-maker, helping to elect people whose policies oppress the poor. But most of all, Bob Grant [Jewish] has singled out the Black community with particular hatred, ill will and murderous desires. And we mustn't forget that over the years, Grant has permitted several white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups to recruit on his program by allowing them to give out their addresses and phone numbers.

I worry about the future of America. The Oklahoma City bombing, church burnings, the rapid rise of the militia movement and the proliferation of hate on the radio and the Internet all indicate that we the people have a very serious problem that must be dealt with. Now that WOR has served notice that they are part of the problem, let us unite to educate, boycott, and see that the law is enforced.

There's punishment for Black journalists who fall out of favor

2 November 1996

Dennis Schatzman, guest columnist, New York Amsterdam News

Fiscal Year 1995–1996 wasn't a particularly good year for Black journalists known for their strong opinions and low tolerance for disparate treatment leveled toward members of, and issues affecting, their race.

A veteran journalist and columnist for a New Jersey newspaper found himself out of a job recently because of his strong opinions about the lack of fairness on the part of management toward minority journalists. The writer was forced to take a job in an obscure Indiana town far below his demonstrated potential.

A Los Angeles journalist with a major newspaper was whisked off the coveted O.J. Simpson murder trial beat after fellow journalists screamed loud and long that she was being overly kind to the defendant in print.

A syndicated columnist was branded an "anti-Semite" in print by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) merely because he wrote a column explaining why "Jews need to know why some Blacks are defensive." Despite pleas from Jewish citizens, who know the journalist personally, to retract the statement, the ADL stuck by their slur and even called a meeting of advisors where an ADL top administrator continued to blaspheme the writer.

Another popular columnist with a national publication based in suburban Washington, D.C., was fired, allegedly for her strong opinions.

These are perilous times for Black Americans. Whites are feeling left out of the "American Dream," or so they think. Too many minorities are getting into schools or getting jobs normally meant for whites. In the minds of many of them, they're (minorities) even getting away with (hint, hint) "murder." Something must be done, some say. And the mainstream is getting its way. Just listen to the talk shows. Even some usually right-thinking and objective hosts like Larry King and Geraldo Rivera are picking up on the poll results and are feeding into the paranoia. And who can blame them? Ratings are ratings and money is money.

In this age of "blame it on O.J." it is not surprising that the nation's chroniclers of news and information also have their own way of putting "Negroes" in their place.

Next to the computer programming industry, news and information processing appears to be the last bastion of rags to riches. A one-time pauper with a good wit and the

ability and good luck to garner a regional or national following can make a million bucks or more. Witness Geraldo Rivera, Charles Grodin, Oprah Winfrey, Rush Limbaugh and any preacher on the TBN channel. None of them were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, but all of them now have silver spoons in their dining room's drawers.

Arsenio Hall once had it so good. But he acted out of school when he booked Minister Louis Farrakhan on his show and down he went. Now we're seeing it happening again.



I now worry about the Black journalists, columnists and talk show hosts who are honing in on this CIA/crack heroin controversy. What's going to happen to them? I know what will happen to the white ones. They'll be told to back off. And they will. And why wouldn't they?

After all, it doesn't affect them directly. But the Black ones? Now that's another story. They'll have to be whipped into line.

In this age of "blame i[t] on O.J.," that's what I'm thinking.

Anti-Defamation League commits blood libel against Blacks

(3 December 1998)

George N. Spitz, guest writer, New York Amsterdam News

Approximately 87 percent of Black voters cast their ballots for two Jewish candidates, Charles Schumer and Eliot Spitzer, in the recent election. This overwhelming Black support provided Senator-elect Schumer and likely Attorney General-elect Spitzer with their margin of victory. Notwithstanding, the so-called Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is circulating a study alleging that “58 percent of whites polled were not anti-Semitic, while only 21 percent of Blacks were not.” Abe Foxman, ADL’s executive secretary, never at a loss to perpetuate the myth of “Black anti-Semitism,” finds the study, if not the overwhelming backing for Schumer and Spitzer, “not only troubling, but also painful.”

Needless to say, Foxman detects nothing peculiar in a solid majority of non-Jewish whites, many obviously crossing party lines in a state where Democrats hold a substantial enrollment edge, voting for Republicans Al D’Amato and Dennis Vacco, the latter a certifiable incompetent.

Foxman is not the first New York City Jewish leader to commit blood libel against people of color. Slandering Blacks by calling them anti-Semitic was a favorite game of former Mayor Edward Irving Koch. This was despite the fact that Koch owed his victory over Mario Cuomo in the 1977 mayoral election to significant backing from Black leaders, including Percy Sutton, Cong. Charles Rangel, Basil Patterson and David Dinkins. In that election, Koch lost non-Jewish white neighborhoods, such as Astoria, Bay Ridge and Staten Island by margins ranging as high as four to one. Outside of Jews themselves, Blacks were the only ethnic group to stand with Koch. This did not stop Koch from characterizing Blacks as “basically anti-Semitic.”

It’s time for responsible Jewish leaders to protest the blood libel committed against Black people. They and the many Jewish elected officials, many of whom, including Public Advocate Mark Green and Comptroller Alan Hevesi, hold office courtesy of a Black vote that ranged as high as 95 percent.

New York, in the late ’30s and early to mid ’40s, was the scene of blatant anti-Semitism. I recall it as though it was yesterday. Jews were harassed in the streets and sometimes beaten up in New York City, particularly in Washington Heights, Flatbush and the South Bronx, all then lily-white neighborhoods. Moreover, this anti-Semitism consisted

Foxman is not the first New York City Jewish leader to commit blood libel against people of color. Slandering Blacks by calling them anti-Semitic was a favorite game of former Mayor Edward Irving Koch.

of Jews being openly denied housing and jobs, all within the law prior to the 1945 passage of legislation that barred bias in employment and a 1957 City Council act that prohibited discrimination in housing.

Blacks, of course, have never been in a position to bar Jews from employment and housing, and they have certainly not singled out Jews for street violence of the type practiced by white thugs associated with Father Charles Coughlin's Christian Front and his more violent offshoot, the Christian Mobilizers. Responsible Jews must call a halt to the blood libel promoted by Foxman, Koch and company against Blacks who, on the record, as demonstrated by the overwhelming backing they gave Schumer and Spitzer, certainly deserve better.

Pandora's box is opened

(24 August 2000)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

As the *Amsterdam News* went to press, we learned from a reader in California of a vicious telephone message that was being circulated by the Jewish Defense Organization, in sympathy with Abraham Foxman and the Anti-Defamation League's condemnation of an editorial in the *Amsterdam News* that ran 8/10/2000 and 8/17/2000, "The Democratic-Jewish connection: It gets curiouser and curiouser." The message is vicious and reflects the JDO's and the ADL's message of destruction to the Black press and anything else the Black press and Black people do who do not happen to follow their party line, and who have the temerity to oppose them publicly. The message appears below.

"The JDO declares a boycott against those advertisers wasting their money on a very anti-Semitic, anti-white rag called the *Amsterdam News*. This newspaper, which runs Protocols of the Elders of Zion-style article and editorial articles with all kinds of nonsense to try to create hatred against Jews, is a rag of poison in the Black community. It's pro-Farrakhan, pro-Khallid Muhammad and pro-Jew-Hating, Black Nazi, Al Sharpton. And the bottom line is, fools in the Jewish community, guilt ridden and ever liberal, are putting their money into that paper.

"It's time to break that paper in half. It's anti-Semitic, a hate rag that deserves to be buried. The editor, Tatum, a piece of garbage who has the same kind of hatred of Jews in his heart that we have suffered in the past,

is gonna pay the price—a total boycott. All advertisers cut off your money or we are going to boycott you, and that includes Macys, HMV and others.”

Should you wish to hear this message, which is something that any propaganda minister could have written, call (212) ***-**** in order to see how some misguided Jews are trying to destroy an inalienable American right—the freedom of the press. Take the time to call the number in order to hear the venom as well.

Shock waves from an editor that ‘nobody knows,’ and a newspaper that ‘nobody reads’

(24 August 2000)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

On the editorial and op-ed pages you will find reactions to the editorial “The Democratic-Jewish connection: It gets curiouser and curiouser,” that appeared in the *Amsterdam News* issues of Aug. 10 and Aug. 17. The title of the editorials is prophetic, especially that part that says, “it gets curiouser and curiouser.”

As you go through the letters and some blurbs from newspapers that are included, you must pose a question in your own mind as to whether or not this reaction would have been the same if a white newspaper, or a white columnist for that matter, had suggested a number of scenarios for this year’s election and guessed that one of these scenarios would obtain. We don’t think so, even if the columnist had been the presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, whose anti-Semitic views and admiration for Hitler are a matter of record. Yet Abraham Foxman holds him in high regard and there has never been an outcry from the organized Jewish community against this strange alliance.

The frustration and the anger of the organized Jewish community is understandable, but the uncontrolled rage is not. On the one hand, it is suggested that the *Amsterdam News* means nothing, that no one reads it and that it is totally unimportant, particularly in New York, where the largest Jewish population in America exists and votes. We don’t think so there either: all of the letters of condemnation come from Jews and, at this writing, from Jews only. Is it possible that Jews can see what no one else can see or have the intelligence to comment upon?

What has happened here is that organized Jews and individual Jews, many of them

saying that they have been friends of mine and the newspaper for 40 years, have written and called saying that Abe Foxman's interpretation of what we wrote in an editorial analyzing the possibilities in the election was accurate and that it was "blood libel," as former Mayor Ed Koch put it, and worthy of world condemnation, so said many Jewish politicians with whom we have broken bread and supported in the past, even over Black candidates whom we believed to be less qualified than they to serve our community. This is a matter of record. Nowhere can anyone find a film clip or a quote from a speech of mine—and there have been many, going back to the early 1950s—that even remotely suggest anti-Semitism on my part. To say that I stand on my record is enough.

But it goes beyond this. I refused interviews with most of the New York Press corps, knowing full well that they are so tied into and so fearful of bomb-throwers like the ADL that it is almost impossible to get a fair hearing. To say that the Fourth Estate in New York City is racist and prejudiced is probably correct, but that has been our experience whenever a debate has occurred concerning competing interests of Blacks and Jews.

The pitiful thing about all this is that respected journalists have lied. It is equally strange to us why the vast number of Jews in media who claim impartiality never tried to analyze what was really being said in an editorial that is so important to all of us at this time. They preferred, rather, to use the skirts of anti-Semitism in order to ignore what could be a terrible hour for Blacks and Jews politically in this country. They chose to foster and nurture a fight between Blacks and Jews rather than reach out for a solution. As one *Amsterdam News* reader put it, "Jews do not wish to hear the truth."

As for this election and the scenarios that I laid out, the results are already coming in. The Gore-Lieberman ticket did indeed have a bump in the polls following the convention. Alas, that bump only brought the Democrats up to a dead heat with the Republicans, according to the pollsters that are most respected in this city. If this does not change it spells disaster for the Democratic ticket, and only a massive infusion of money from whatever source will be able to beat George Bush, who is the quintessential white American who has no limit to the amount of money he can raise. He has a hole card—a virtual promise that he would select at least two Blacks to the most important slots in his administration, although there are virtually no Black Republicans. More than that, he named them.

The pitiful thing about all this is that respected journalists have lied. [...] They preferred, rather, to use the skirts of anti-Semitism in order to ignore what could be a terrible hour for Blacks and Jews politically in this country. They chose to foster and nurture a fight between Blacks and Jews rather than reach out for a solution. As one *Amsterdam News* reader put it, "Jews do not wish to hear the truth."

It may do well for Jews to review the frustration of many Black voters who have, for all their lives, supported Jewish candidates. There are 11 U.S. senators [11 percent of the 100-member U.S. Senate]. On the other hand, there is not a single Black U.S. senator. The Senate is the senior house of Congress, where the majority of the decisions for this country are made and where the final selection of a nominee to become a justice, or chief justice, of the U.S. Supreme Court is made. There are 25 Jews who serve as congressmen in the United States. There are only 38 Blacks, in spite of the fact that Jews represent less than 4 percent of the American population and Blacks represent 18 percent. There is clearly an inequity here that no one has wished to address over the 90 years in which this newspaper has been published.

Perhaps this year is a year in which Blacks should begin to demand, if for their vote alone, a piece of the pie; not to the exclusion of, but with the inclusion of Jews as well as Hispanics and other minorities in this country, on a level playing field.

With Abe Foxman's vile misinterpretation of what was written in the *Amsterdam News* we are coming dangerously close to a time when Blacks, who would or could be the margin of victory for either the Democrats or Republicans, find themselves and their leaders and institutions being "dissed," with no hope or a prayer of getting a fair hearing from the major newspapers, radio stations or television stations in this country. That includes Black media, for Black media is afraid to death that they would be adversely impacted economically if they let anyone know that they have any thoughts beyond MTV, racism in Africa or the latest comedy sitcom on BET.

Curiously enough, I believe that the outcome of this election for president of the United States could well be in the hands of Black voters, who have stayed at home heretofore, because they believed that there was nothing in it for them up to now. And that is the painful truth.

We do not know what is going to happen in the next few weeks before the presidential election. We do know that Blacks in America and New York see the world in a vastly different way than do the Jews. In spite of the many letters and telephone calls that we have gotten condemning our editorial from those who identified themselves as Jews from all over America—indeed, from all over Europe and Canada—there has not been a single one from a reputable Black organization or Black leader who is recognized as such. One or two have said publicly that they disassociate themselves from the remarks, but have not reduced that to writing as they have many times when we have written about other things with which they did not agree. But it is curiouser and curiouser why Jews have reacted so unreasonably and so vehemently and Blacks, who have suffered the same kind of angst, have not acted spontaneously in the same way.

This story is not yet over. We believe that much of what happens in New York with the Black and Jewish communities will determine whether the Democratic Party or the

Republican Party walks away with this election for president, as well as for U.S. senator in New York. (By the way, it was the ADL that made this an international story. It was not the *Amsterdam News*, for we do not have the resources to promote this kind of propaganda.)

If Blacks are to be a part of a victory at all, Blacks must be immediately moved into positions of power in both the Republican and Democratic campaign[s] in roles where the Black community itself can profit from the new \$200-million-plus economy of this election season, on the presidential level nationally as well as from additional money being raised for the U.S. Senate race in New York state. We have not been able to share at all economically up to this writing, and we implore both parties to end this discrimination post-haste.

There are wise heads in the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party. There is not one among them who could say honestly that elections are not bought in America as well as in the other states of the union and especially in New York. For that fiction to be promoted is to further “diss” Blacks who understand why we have been left out of the loop so many times before—we haven’t got the money, honey, and no way to get it.

That is the story, my friend, of an editorial written by an unknown writer in an unknown newspaper that all the newspapers in New York say that nobody reads. How, pray tell, did they get a copy of the paper from which to quote and why has it become “the mouse that roared,” whose mouse was heard around the world?

As for us, we look forward to an exciting election year where we may well be the deciding factor as to what party wins or loses.

'The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Human Suffering'

(21 September 2000)

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

Mr. Norman Finkelstein, a scholar with impeccable credentials who teaches at Hunter College of City University, has written an important book about the Holocaust. When in Europe recently, we heard of the book reviews, which were, in the main, quite favorable, and even when not favorable it was suggested as a "must read" for those who wish to know the truth of the Holocaust.

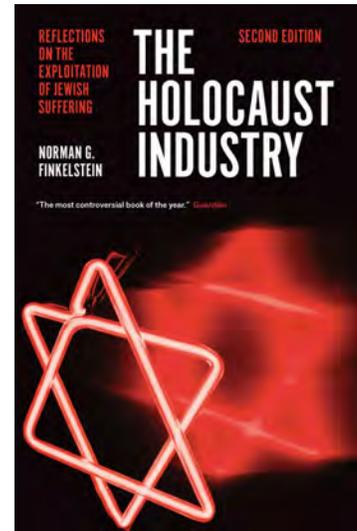
There was not a buzz about the book in literary circles here in New York when we returned from Europe, and we wondered why. We knew that there had been a devastating review in the *New York Times* that treated a scholarly work as a piece of garbage. Other than that, there was hardly anything at all that suggested that a book of this importance had been written.

Then came a surprise; a surprise in that a review of this book, written by Todd Venezia with the headline "Jewish writer condemned as a traitor," appeared on page 23 of the *New York Post* on Sept. 19. It was, to our way of thinking, a fairly accurate and fair-minded presentation of the writer and his book.

The *New York Post* surprised us because we almost never see any matter of scholarly or historical importance discussed in their pages. We believe that some editor there was asleep at the switch when this review was allowed to get into the papers.

The writer of this book is, himself, the child of Holocaust survivors who were liberated from concentration camps. All of his other relatives died or were killed in concentration camps. His credentials to criticize Jews, the Holocaust and the Holocaust industry simply could not be challenged.

He makes serious charges when he refers to icon Elie Wiesel as a "silly figure" for using his stature to generate a \$25,000 fee per appearance for him to lecture. Further, Mr. Finkelstein says, "the Holocaust industry has reduced the memory of the Jewish people's suffering to that of a Monte Carlo casino." He backhands such groups as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and calls them, essentially, liars for their interpretation of the Holocaust and their raising money on the backs of those who have died while offering little to those for whom they are alleged to be raising money in compensation who still live.



In short, Mr. Finkelstein claims that the works of the American Jewish Committee, the ADL and Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center are little short of being charades, for they have raised millions and millions of dollars—little of which went to the Jewish poor in America—in order to enhance the work of their own organization's support for Israel and the causes in America that they really cared about, or in which they had personal interests.



In a surprising conclusion, he contends that most of the people involved in the Holocaust industry are involved for their own profit and self-aggrandizement, especially Rabbi Hier, whose family takes in \$500,000 a year for their Holocaust work.

There is so much more in this book (\$23), published by Verso Press in London.

Our interest in this book led us to the writer and the publisher of the work, which is controversial, and whether advertised or approved of by newspapers and book reviewers, will take legs. For there are many elements of truth in Mr. Finkelstein's assessment that the book will live, no matter how much effort is made by those who run the Holocaust industry to condemn and suppress it.

In a telephone interview with the writer, we asked whether there had been any attempts at censoring his book. He answered:

The book officially came out in the United States and England in July [2000]. In England it was front-page news in every major British periodical and serialized across two editions of the British *Guardian*. I was also on more than 20 BBC radio and television programs when I went to England in the middle of July. The book then became front-page news in the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland. In Switzerland, the book is No. 1 on the best-seller list. In Germany, two books have been written about "The Holocaust Industry" and are coming out soon. Both are entitled "The Finkelstein Debate," from two different publishers.

In Canada, the book is No. 11 on the best-seller list. I have major interviews scheduled for Brazilian, Danish and Swedish news outlets. Transla-

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tion rights have been bought for publication in eight different languages: Dutch, Danish, Polish, Swedish, German, Arabic, Turkish and Portuguese. All this, and the book just came out in July. Compare all that with the United States.

In the United States to date, there have been only two reviews of the book. I sent out, prior to the book being published, 250 review copies together with quite extensive and expensive press packets. For small publishers, we went the limit. Initially there was a very small reaction, but still something. Maybe four or five places showed the courage to react.

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Brian Lamb of C-Span's "Book Notes" program offered a spot for Sept. 14. We confirmed it and they subsequently killed it.

Then *Talk Magazine* commissioned a profile of me and the book, which was given almost a 100-percent guarantee of publication. The author was Laura Secor, managing editor of *Lingua Franca* magazine. That too was killed. There was a small number of reactions, but every one of these was killed. There were also other

interests in reviewing the book and every one of these was killed. Now the book is essentially a non-book in the United States.

As Christopher Hitchens put it in *Nation* magazine last week, "The book now has a *samizdat* status in the United States of America. By that I mean circulated underground." Actually, now, just before the *Amsterdam News* called, I was talking to my publisher and we wanted to take out an ad in the *New York Times* book review section, and at the end of the ad we wanted to say, "available in all good bookstores." The ad department of the *New York Times* book review called and said, "You can't use the word 'good' because it implies that if they don't carry your book they are not good." We had to drop the word "good" and make it "major."

Basically, that is where matters stand. It is absolutely imperative, in my opinion, that the gangsters and profiteers who manage the Holocaust industry in this country be publicly exposed, those such as Abraham Fox-

man and the Anti-Defamation League, Elan Steinberg, the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee. Elie Wiesel I consider to be an exploiter. A salary of over \$500,000 for Rabbi Hier, his wife and son, who run the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles as a family business, is outrageous. According to their 1996 federal tax returns, they collectively took in over \$500,000 that year. Who knows? We can only speculate as to what was taken for expenses. Mr. Elie Wiesel gets paid \$25,000 in personal income for lectures, and we think this is a bit much.



Our final question to Mr. Finkelstein was: Where did you get this kind of courage, to attack an institution which you, yourself, describe as an industry? To this, Mr. Finkelstein replied:

I do not consider myself to be courageous. I do have integrity. Courage is a 5-year-old child going out to face a tank with a stone. Integrity is simply being able to get up in the morning, look in the mirror and face who you are.

It seems to us, here at the *Amsterdam News*, that there is an attempt at censorship of this book by those who benefit from the Holocaust industry, as described. As another writer put it, “truth crushed to Earth will rise again.”

We have not heard the last of “The Holocaust Industry” by Norman Finkelstein. Nor do we believe that Mr. Finkelstein can be effectively censored. His website is www.normanfinkelstein.com. A review of his book will appear in the *Amsterdam News* shortly.

Promoting a culture of victimization?

(28 September 2000)

Herb Boyd, writer for the New York Amsterdam News

Book Review: *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*, by Norman G. Finkelstein (Verso Press, London and New York, 150pp, \$23)

In Canada, Switzerland and other parts of Europe, Norman Finkelstein's *The Holocaust Industry* is on best-seller lists. But it suffers from the Rodney Dangerfield syndrome in America—it gets no respect, and hardly any reviews. That's perhaps understandable, if there's any truth to the stereotypical notion that Jews control the media in this country.

Whether or not Jews control the media, or are ostensibly its gatekeepers, as some contend, Finkelstein's thesis is certainly one to unnerve and upset most of the major Jewish organizations in the nation. The few reviews he will get are sure to be similar to those he received when he and Ruth Bettina Birn, a leading authority on the Holocaust, published *A Nation on Trial*. One notable critic denounced him as “a disgusting self-hating Jew.” Another accused Finkelstein of being “a notorious opponent of the state of Israel.”

We can expect the assault on Finkelstein to be more relentless and serious with his latest book, which makes its mission clear right from the epigram written by Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf, Hillel director, Yale University: “It seems to me the Holocaust is being sold—it is not being taught.”

But let's allow Finkelstein to speak for himself. The son of Holocaust survivors, Finkelstein writes, “In recent years, the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket. Purporting to represent all of world Jewry, living and dead, it is laying claim to Holocaust-era Jewish assets throughout Europe.”

Finkelstein supports this charge in two scintillating chapters: “Hoaxers, Hucksters and History” and “The Double Shakedown.” For almost a generation after World War II and the Nazi atrocity, the plight of the Jews was practically ignored by the Jewish elite, Finkelstein relates. But everything changed with the June Arab–Israeli war. It was not so much that the United States viewed Israel as a weak and isolated nation surrounded by warring hordes of Arabs, but now that Israel was a major strategic asset, the memory of

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the Holocaust could be exploited to enhance its newfound status. German corporations and Swiss banks were the immediate targets for funds.

The alleged Holocaust industry also quickly profited from the wave of “identity politics” and the “culture of victimization,” Finkelstein claims. “Yet, among groups decrying their victimization, including Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, women, gays and lesbians, Jews alone are not disadvantaged in American society,” he notes. “In fact, identity politics and the Holocaust have taken hold among American Jews not because of victim status, but because they are not victims.”

We are here reminded of Bill Tatum’s remarks about the economic clout of Jews in connection with Joe Lieberman’s selection as Democratic vice-presidential candidate and the stir that it caused a few weeks ago.

Among Finkelstein’s most startling assertion is his rebuke of Elie Wiesel, who, for many Americans, is the living reminder of the Holocaust. This image, the author charges, is consistent with the extortionate elements of the Holocaust industry. “Elie Wiesel’s performance as official interpreter of the Holocaust,” Finkelstein observes, “is not happenstance. Plainly he did not come to this position on account of his humanitarian commitments or literary talents. Rather, Wiesel plays this leading role because he unerringly articulates the dogmas of, and accordingly sustains the interests underpinning the Holocaust.”

If Wiesel can be the target of repudiation, then it doesn’t take much to imagine how Finkelstein dispatches such Holocaust falsifiers as the late Jerzy Kosinski and Binjamin Wilkomirski. As Finkelstein told Tatum during an interview in last week’s edition of this paper, the gangsters and profiteers of the Holocaust such as Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Elan Steinberg of the World Jewish Congress must be exposed. These are the culprits, he suggests, who have done the most harm to the legacy of Holocaust survivors.

“The Holocaust industry has always been bankrupt,” Finkelstein states in his final paragraph. “What remains is to openly declare it. The time is long past to put it out of business. The noblest gesture for those who perished is to preserve their memory, learn from their suffering and let them, finally, rest in peace.”

Somebody did blow up America

3 October 2002

Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher and editor in chief, New York Amsterdam News

An unwise and cowardly governor of New Jersey named the finest poet of New Jersey poet laureate. That is a signal honor reserved for those who are worthy of winning Pulitzers and other prestigious awards reserved for those who have accomplished that which, on an intellectual basis, serves to move our civilization along and to set examples for those who would wish to become intellectual leaders of our civilization.

Poet **Amiri Baraka**, also known as LeRoi Jones, wrote an epic poem about 9/11 that will live for as long as there is value attached to poetry in our time.

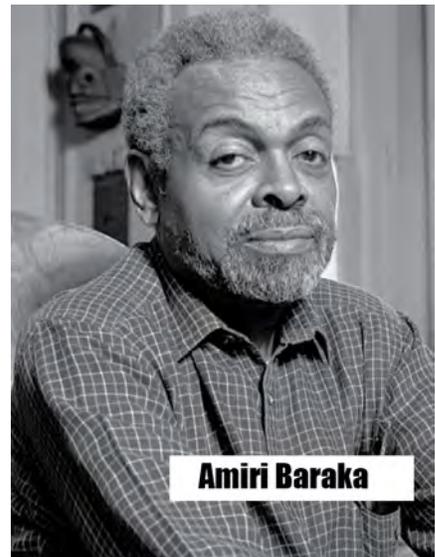
The governor of New Jersey, whose name is not important enough to remember for his wisdom or his intellect, James E. McGreevey, will be remembered not for naming Amiri Baraka poet laureate of New Jersey, but for having tried to withdraw the honor because some right-wing zealots who view themselves as American patriots who protect the reputation of Jews decided that Mr. Baraka's wonderful work was anti-Semitic.

If there were an ounce of thought put into the process of deciding that Mr. Baraka's work was anti-Semitic, or anti-anything else for that matter, and if those who made the decision to call the work anti-Semitic could read, they would have realized that blame was laid to all of us—Blacks, whites, Jews, gentiles, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and others—for having allowed a climate to develop in this world where man's inhumanity to man was such that almost 3,000 people could be killed and thousands more injured just because.

Just because you don't like me and I don't like you and we don't like each other. Just because you are Black and I am white and you are Jewish, there is justification for either of us to use terror and religion and the worst instruments of death ever conceived by man to destroy other men.

It was perfectly clear what Mr. Baraka was saying. He is a poet and does have poetic license. Whatever Jews, Muslims, Blacks or whites think of him, he has the right as a poet and a human being to express how he feels about an incident that will go down in history as one of the most cowardly acts of our time.

Did Mr. Baraka accuse the Jews of knowing about the incident prior to 9/11 and warning 4,000 Jews who worked at the World Trade Center not to go to work that day?



Amiri Baraka

We don't think so. He posed a question for the ages. If someone were willing or able to pull together all the books and records of all the companies in the World Trade Center at that time, perhaps one could determine whether there were 4,000 Jews in the World Trade Center or whether any company or companies had 4,000 Jews working in the World Trade Center at that time or 4,000 anybody else in the World Trade Center at that time and who had the ability to contact all of them and say that they should not come to work on 9/11.

Since practically all the records at the World Trade Center at that time were destroyed, who can prove one way or another whether it did or did not happen? That rumor has been circulating on the Internet since the historic occurrence of 9/11. One can believe it or not, and certainly a poet, or anyone else for that matter, has license to question who gave word to Jews only that they should escape the World Trade Center before the disaster of 9/11.

Mr. Baraka has every right to pose the question, even to make the statement as a poet and a human being. Who can prove that it did happen or did not happen? In the racist and schizophrenic society in which we live, only one question should be raised: Could it have happened? The answer is yes. Did it happen? Absent any proof to the positive or negative, the answer must be that we do not know—but we can certainly pose the question.

As for Mr. Baraka's relinquishing the honor of poet laureate of New Jersey: He would be out of his mind to do so. And he would dishonor himself and his craft.

Let the ADL and its minions live with their demons, no matter who or what they are, in order for them to decide how many worlds they live in.

For us the answer is simple. We honor Amiri Baraka for having been named poet laureate of New Jersey, criticism of his epic poem "Somebody Blew Up America" notwithstanding.

In the final analysis, somebody did blow up America, and somebody will blow up America again. Keep writing, Amiri Baraka. Keep writing, Leroy Jones. Keep writing, whoever you are and by whatever name you call yourself. We honor you.

Did Mr. Baraka accuse the Jews of knowing about the incident prior to 9/11 and warning 4,000 Jews who worked at the World Trade Center not to go to work that day? We don't think so. He posed a question for the ages.

Poetic Injustice

(3 October 2002)

Charles Brooks, guest writer, New York Amsterdam News

Social activist and prolific poet/writer Amiri Baraka has recently become the center of controversy since New Jersey Gov. James McGreevey asked Baraka to resign his position as poet laureate of New Jersey because of Baraka's poem "Somebody Blew Up America."

The flare-up began after Baraka read the poem at the 2002 Geraldine R. Dodge Poetry Festival at Waterloo Village in Stanhope on Sept. 19.

The controversial portion reads:

"Who knew the World Trade Center was gonna get bombed
Who told 4,000 Israeli workers at the Twin Towers
To stay home that day
Why did Sharon stay away?"

After speaking at a press conference yesterday at the Newark Library in New Jersey, Baraka spoke with the *Amsterdam News*. "They singled out a few lines, and then to say that it's anti-Semitic is incorrect. First of all, coming from the ADL [Anti-Defamation League], it's slander. It's a cover. They use the religion to cover their political ideology. Anytime you have an opinion that is independent of the ADL, you're cast as an anti-Semite. It's absurd," Baraka said.

The governor's spokesman, Kevin Davitt, said that the language used in Baraka's poem could be interpreted as stating that Israelis were forewarned of the September 11th terrorist attacks. "Mr. Baraka should clarify the intent of his language, apologize for any potential misinterpretation of his language and resign," Davitt said.

The Anti-Defamation League immediately characterized Baraka's "criticism" of Israel as anti-Semitic. ADL also maintains that Baraka's poem suggests that Israel knew of the pending terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and warned 4,000 Israeli World Trade Center workers not to come to work that day, implying that Israel was somehow involved in the 9-11 terrorist plot.

The ADL characterized Baraka's poem as a "big lie."

"It's a great hypocrisy, and people know this, especially those in high places, because they don't want to be hounded in the same way that I'm hounded now," Baraka said.

“First of all, coming from the ADL, it’s slander. It’s a cover. They use the religion to cover their political ideology. Anytime you have an opinion that is independent of the ADL, you’re cast as an anti-Semite. It’s absurd...”

In a letter written by William Davidson, ADL-New Jersey state chairman, and Charles Goldstein, ADL's regional director, to the governor, they said how pleased they were that the governor "condemned" Baraka's remarks and "urged" him to resign.

"While typically ADL does not take issue with the content of poetry or other forms of expression, no matter how repugnant, the fact that Mr. Baraka is the poet laureate of New Jersey and was introduced as such at a major New Jersey poetry festival attracting a large audience, brings his performance to a higher level of concern and spurs us to write you." The letter goes on to say: "It may be that as a poet, Mr. Baraka may say what he chooses, no matter how ugly, irresponsible or deceptive. However, we don't believe that the residents of New Jersey, nor their representatives, should have such venom spewed in their name. Therefore, we are pleased that as governor of the state of New Jersey you condemn Amiri Baraka's remarks and will urge him to consider resigning from his post as poet laureate of the state of New Jersey."

However, the poem—in its entirety—seems to suggest something different altogether. For example, throughout the poem, Baraka appears to contradict the American ideal by exposing several episodes, such as slavery, Jim Crow, assassinations, manifest destiny, racism, global oppression and genocide, through cynical yet engaging poetic verses. Baraka highlights these events by asking questions throughout the poem that begin with the word "who." Baraka explained: "The message of the poem was to show how Blacks were affected by terrorism. I mean, Blacks have been under terrorism since we've been here." Baraka continued, "I also wanted to show the people who also suffered from terrorism all over the world."

Kalamu ya Salaam, who is a poet, dramatist and music critic, told *AmNews* he doesn't agree with the implication that Baraka's poem is anti-Semitic. "First of all, I don't accept the general catchphrase of anti-Semitism as a criticism of Israel. You can criticize Israel but not be anti-Semitic. Secondly, the poem is just that—a poem. It's not a statement by a head of government. The poem only asks a question. And if we're afraid of questions, then we're really in trouble," Salaam explained.

A committee convened by the New Jersey Council for the Humanities and the State Council on the Arts selected Baraka as poet laureate last month. He was given a proclamation and a two-year, \$10,000 appointment to promote and encourage poetry. But Baraka's title of poet laureate and the grant money cannot be withdrawn, and he cannot be removed from the position unless he decides to resign, which he steadfastly refuses to do. The governor does not have the power to remove Baraka because he did not appoint him to the post.

Conclusion

Bro. Wilbert Tatum continued the struggle against the ADL's criminal operations, and over time much more has been revealed about the real history, role, and purpose of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In 2016, the Nation of Islam published ***The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews, Volume 3***, a 536-page exposé of the ADL's Founding Father Leo Frank, the B'nai B'rith president of its Southern chapter. Frank was convicted of the rape and murder of a white Gentile child in Atlanta in 1913. He and his Jewish supporters mounted the most vehemently racist defense and even tried unsuccessfully to blame two Black men for his crime. The ADL's Abraham Foxman maintains that Leo Frank—a racist, sexual murderer—inspired the ADL's “fight against bigotry.”

Addendum

(1) PAMPHLET: ***The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs*** (1993), by Abdeen Jabara. *The Amsterdam News* printed this pamphlet in its August 14, 1993 edition and includes a lengthy list of the ADL's spying victims. Jabara was vice-chairman of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. In 1993 he was barred by Israel from traveling to occupied Palestine.

(2) ARTICLE: “**ADL Caught in Spy Scandal of the Decade**,” by Jeffrey Steinberg, *Executive Intelligence Review*, vol. 23, no. 18 (April 26, 1996).

(3) ARTICLE: “**Dismantle the ADL: The Anti-Defamation League's record of racist counterinsurgency and espionage**” (2022). **The Mapping Project** is dedicated to “investigating local links between entities responsible for the colonization of Palestine, for colonialism and dispossession here where we live, and for the economy of imperialism and war” (<https://mapliberation.org>).

The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs

Abdeen Jabara

For decades, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has run a private nationwide spy network — a systematic, long-term, professionally organized political espionage operation complete with informers, infiltrators, money laundering, code names, wiretapping, and secret meetings. While it is not unusual for private political groups to gather information, the ADL spying is different. It is not only the scale which sets it apart — files on 950 organizations and nearly 10,000 individuals — but the focus. The ADL spied on groups which opposed its stated goals as well as those which supported its principles. More disturbing, however, is the League's collaboration with state, federal, and foreign intelligence gathering entities. This sharing of often confidential information and resources is not only illegal, but a violation of trust, a threat to civil liberties, and an infringement on the right to privacy.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has won a long-standing public reputation as an opponent of anti-Semitism, defender of minority rights, and promoter of racial justice. In January 1993, a less benign dimension of ADL surfaced. San Francisco newspapers broke the story of 24-year police officer Tom Gerard, who kept computerized files on thousands of Arab-Americans, 36 Arab organizations, 33 anti-apartheid organizations, 412 "pinko" organizations, 349 right-wing organizations, and 35 skinhead groups.

Gerard worked closely with Roy Bullock, a full-time salaried undercover investigator for ADL for the past 32 years. Bullock's records were even more extensive than Gerard's, with files on 77 Arab organizations, 647 "pinko"

and anti-apartheid organizations, 612 right-wing organizations and 27 skinhead groups.

The spy network to which Gerard and Bullock belonged is headquartered in the ADL's New York office under ADL director of "fact-finding," Irwin Suall, and his deputy, Thomas Halpern. As the League's chief West Coast undercover operative, Bullock maintained numerous contacts with law enforcement and federal officials, recruited informers, and worked with ADL operatives in other cities.

The ADL, which has a \$34 million annual budget has openly acknowledged compiling files on "extremist hate groups" and supplying reports on them to law enforcement agencies. Richard Hirschhaut, executive director of the ADL Central Pacific Region, also admitted that "the ADL does keep files on Arab-American groups or individuals who espouse anti-Jewish views or take credit for anti-Jewish acts."¹

Abdeen Jabara is an attorney in Michigan. He is a former president and current national vice-chair of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). He won a 12-year battle against FBI surveillance and forced the Bureau to destroy its files and admit that he had violated no laws and had merely exercised his constitutional rights. Reprints of this article from: ADC, 4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, #500, Washington, D.C. 20008.

1. Garth Wolkoff, "ADL Denies Wrongdoing in SFPD in Files-For-Sale Case," *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, January 22, 1993.

Bullock's and Gerard's files, however, revealed massive ADL operations directed not only against right-wing extremists and anti-Semitic groups, but also hundreds of mainstream and progressive groups. Included among the minority, anti-apartheid, ethnic, peace, religious, human rights, and other organizations and individuals — many of which ADL should have regarded as allies in the struggle against racism and bigotry — were the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), National Lawyers Guild, NAACP, Rainbow Coalition, Greenpeace, *Mother Jones*, Jews for Jesus, Americans for Peace Now, Irish Northern Aid, Asian Law Caucus, ACT UP, United Auto Workers, the board of directors of public television station KQED, the Department of Black Studies at San Francisco State University, *Los Angeles Times* South Africa correspondent Scott Kraft, Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Cal.), House Armed Services Committee Chair Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Cal.), and former Representative Pete McCloskey.²

Also named in the files were thousands of Arab-Americans, many who fear their names were passed on to Israeli intelligence agencies, potentially placing them in danger. ADL has frequent and close contact with Israeli officials, and despite repeated denials, has been linked to Mossad.³ Already, one Arab-American, a U.S. citizen included in Bullock's computer files, has been arrested by Israeli authorities when he returned to the Occupied Territories.⁴

Gerard, Bullock, and the ADL Spy Network

In mid-January the *San Francisco Examiner* began a series of front-page stories revealing that SFPD officer Tom Gerard was secretly supplying confidential data on thousands of people to an agent of the ADL.⁵ On December 10, 1992, the news report disclosed, authorities had executed search warrants on Gerard's home, that of ADL operative Roy Bullock, and on the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices of ADL.⁶ The news hit the Bay area like a bombshell. In fact, Bullock and Gerard had been under FBI investigation for more than two years for selling information about anti-apartheid activists to South African government agents.

Gerard, 50, had been a member of the SFPD since 1968. He claims that from 1982-85, he took a three-year leave of absence to serve with the CIA in El Salvador, Honduras, and



Jeffrey Blankfort

Roy Bullock

Guatemala as a bomb expert.⁷ After returning to the SFPD, where he served as liaison to the FBI, Gerard approached the Bay area chapter of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). He offered to liaise between the Arab-American community and the Police Department and to help with security at ADC public functions.

His collaborator Roy Bullock, a small-time San Francisco art dealer, had provided information on an unpaid basis to the FBI. Bullock's investigations for the ADL went back as far as 1954 in Indianapolis. In 1960, he moved to southern California and began working for the ADL, which forwarded copies of his written reports to its New York headquarters. Around 1979, Bullock moved to San Francisco where, in 1985, local ADL head Richard Hirschhaut introduced him to Gerard, and the two men began to investigate both right- and left-wing groups in the Bay area.

One of Bullock's chief assignments in San Francisco was to spy on Arab-American organizations and individuals, especially the ADC, which he joined in March 1983. He was removed from the membership rolls in July 1987, after it was discovered that he was an ADL agent.⁸

7. He also claimed to have served in Algeria and Afghanistan. The CIA, as is its policy, refuses to comment.

8. FBI interview of Bullock, January 22, 1993, p. 5. Bullock has an extensive history of infiltration. In 1957, he joined the U.S. delegation to the Sixth World

2. The *San Francisco Examiner*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Los Angeles Times* published innumerable articles on this scandal. Two reporters for the *Examiner*, Dennis Opatry and Scott Winokur, have vigorously pursued coverage of this case. See especially *San Francisco Examiner*, January 15, 17, 21, 22 and 28, and April 4, 8, and 9, 1993.

3. Dennis Opatry and Scott Winokur, "S.F. Spying Case Details Laid Bare," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 11, 1993. ADL attorney Barbara Wahl said that ADL had no "formal" ties to foreign governments and foreign agents, but that if the government requested intelligence information, it would be made available. Winokur, "ADL Denies Spying for Foreign Governments," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 15, 1993.

4. Opatry and Winokur, "Israeli Detainee Linked to S.F. Police Spy Case," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 12, 1993.

5. "Affidavit and Declaration of Inspector Ron Roth," SFPD, February 5, 1993; Police interview with Roy Bullock, January 25 and 26, 1993, released by the district attorney's office.

6. Philip Matier and Andrew Ross, "Former S.F. Cop Focus of Probe," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1993.

By 1986, Gerard had introduced Bullock to South African government agents. Bullock claims receiving \$16,000, which he split with Gerard, in exchange for information on local anti-apartheid foes and journalists. (Gerard denies the charge.)⁹ Their relationship continued after Gerard was reassigned in 1988 to the Gang Task Force within the SFPD. At about this time, the police officer introduced Bullock to the San Francisco field office of the FBI, apparently so that

The inquiry emphasized their connection to South African intelligence and the fact that several FBI reports on the Nation of Islam were missing from FBI files.¹²

Police Search Gerard, Bullock, and ADL Offices

By October 1992, Gerard and Bullock were about to lose their covers as the FBI passed its intelligence about the two to the SFPD and the story began to leak out. Gerard fled to a

house he had been building on a remote island in the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the U.S.

Before leaving, however, he neglected to erase his computer. When authorities searched his houseboat during the December 10 raids, they found 7,011 files on individuals, including extensive files on San Francisco's Arab-American community and Arab-American activists around the U.S. Some information originated with law enforcement agencies across the country and centered on fundraising for Palestinian groups. One file listed members of the Palestinian Arab Fund, a registered charity with 11 chapters in California and other states. Unidentified people alleged that they saw organization charts on U.S. Arab-American groups, transcripts of secret tape recordings of their meetings, and photos of pro-Palestinian demonstrations in Gerard's files.¹³

In Gerard's locker, police found some souvenirs of his CIA days, including 10 passports in different names, a black executioner's hood, photos of dark-complected men bound and blindfolded, CIA manuals, and a teletyped message, "Biodata of the Nominees to be Trained in Human Resource Exploitation (Interrogation) Course." Stamped "Secret" and referring to El Salvador, it listed 13 names. The police inventory also noted a black loose-leaf binder filled with business cards, names, addresses and three pages with more than 100 names and phone numbers titled "International Activities Division-



Craig Lee/San Francisco Examiner

Tom Gerard, who claimed to have worked for the CIA with Salvadoran death squads, at his arraignment on eight counts of stealing government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary, and conspiracy, May 12, 1993.

Bullock could fill in the intelligence-gathering function the SFPD had relinquished. Bullock began feeding the FBI information in exchange for access to their intelligence.¹⁰

In November 1990, when Police Chief Willis Casey shut down the political surveillance unit and adopted new guidelines limiting surveillance, Gerard should have destroyed his files. Instead, he entered 7,000 names into his home computer and transferred copies to Bullock.

In 1990, Bullock's and Gerard's foreign entanglements on behalf of ADL appear to have precipitated an FBI investigation.¹¹

Youth and Student Festival in Moscow and, by prior arrangement with the FBI, gave them a briefing on his return. During the mid-1980s, Bullock attended a few meetings of the San Francisco chapter of ADC. Later, under the name Buchanan, he visited the Washington ADC office where he was spotted as an ADL infiltrator by ADC staff. He had also headed a National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) lobbying mission to Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) (who was one of the people on whom he kept files).

9. Bob Drogin, "Ex-Spy Threatens CIA Scandal," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1993, p. A3.

10. SFPD interview of Bullock, January 25, 1993, pp. 64-66.

11. Press reports also include an alternative explanation of the origin of the FBI investigation of Gerard. A colleague of Gerard's told reporters that Gerard's commanding officer, Captain John Willett, suspected Gerard of selling information on Arab-Americans and called in the FBI. Gerard had, he said, refused to cooperate.

12. Phil Bronstein, "Suspect in Cop Spy Case Tells Story," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1993; and FBI interviews of Bullock, February 8, 1993, p. 17; January 26, 1993, pp. 1-22. In May 1991, Gerard was invited to go on an expense-paid ADL law enforcement mission to Israel along with ten other U.S. police officers involved in intelligence work. For some years, ADL had been sponsoring these junkets either to reward police officers who exchanged information or to lay the groundwork for future relationships. San Francisco's former police chief and current mayor, Frank Jordan, went on an ADL trip to Israel in 1987. "What better way to learn about bomb threats than to cooperate with the people dealing with them all the time?" asked Jordan. (Marshall Krantz, "Israelis Warn Top S.F. Cop About PLO Terrorism in the U.S.," *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, July 10, 1987; Dennis J. Opatrny, "Jewish Group Paid for Jordan Trip to Israel," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 28, 1993.)

13. Scott Opatrny and Lance Williams, "Ex-S.F. Cop Target of Spying Probe," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 5, 1993.

Special Activities Group" which handles the CIA's paramilitary activities, such as support for guerrilla movements. "That's the who's who of the CIA," Gerard told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Oooh, that's gonna make people nervous." He had stashed the material in 1985 when he left the CIA in case he ever needed protection from the Agency. "The term is graymail," he said. "Do what you gotta do."¹⁴

While Gerard granted interviews from his safe haven in the Philippines, the ADL and Bullock stonewalled. ADL said that it had consented to the December 10 search of its San Francisco and Los Angeles offices and had been advised that it was not the target of the investigation. It declared itself merely a civil rights organization that collected information about "anti-Semites, racists and extremists from many sources." A spokesperson declined to reveal ADL's sources and information collection methods and claimed that no information went to Israel; as far as Gerard was concerned, "the relationship we [ADL] had with him," said Richard Hirschhaut, "was the same as with thousands of police officers around the country."¹⁵

Bullock also claimed he had operated within the law and that his computer files were legally obtained. In addition to those on the 950 organizations, police found files on 9,876 individuals. Bullock had been paid during his 32-year employment at the ADL indirectly through prominent Los Angeles attorney Bruce Hochman, and received approximately \$170,000 over a five-year period ending in 1993.¹⁶ By going through Hochman, both Bullock and the ADL sought to portray Bullock as a self-employed individual only one of whose clients was the ADL. As of May 1993, ADL was continuing to pay Bullock \$550 a week because he was "damn good."¹⁷

When the extent of the Gerard-Bullock-ADL spy operation began to emerge, ADL launched an extensive public damage control effort. ADL attorney and executive committee member Barbara Wahl set the stage for distancing her organization from the illegal operation. Bullock, she asserted, was operating as an "independent contractor."

"He's never been instructed nor did we condone the breaking of the law. ...We don't know if he did...[and] have no knowledge of him going through the trash of target groups."¹⁸

14. Drogin, *op. cit.*; Susan Sward and Bill Wallace, "Spy Case Suspect Posts Bail," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1993, p. A19.

15. See Elliot L. Bien and Richard S. Hirschhaut, "The ADL's Job is to Fight Hatred," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 24, 1993; *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, January 22, 1993; Richard Hirschhaut, letter to the editor, *San Francisco Examiner*, February 3, 1993. (Bien is ADL President and Hirschhaut is Regional Director.)

16. Opatny and Winokur, "S.F. Spymaster Revealed," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 4, 1993; letter of attorney Bruce I. Hochman to Inspector Ron Roth, SFPD, April 1, 1993, with copy of check #15216 for \$3,300 covering weeks of April 14 through May 1993. Bullock was not the only investigator on the ADL payroll. Documents released by the SFPD revealed code-names for at least six others who operated out of ADL fact-finding offices in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, St. Louis, Washington, and Los Angeles.

17. Paul Feldman and Richard Paddock, "Spy Furor Forces ADL to Defend Its Image," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1993, p. B4.

18. Richard Paddock and Kenneth Reich, "ADL Officials Deny They Condoned Illegal Spying," *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 1993.

The distance closed when many of the files seized from Bullock's home turned out to be the same as those in the ADL offices. ADL's credibility vanished when, after months of ADL denials, Wahl admitted the League had gathered information and passed it on to Israel. She rejected connections with other foreign governments, presumably including South Africa. But she did not explain why the Los Angeles ADL offices had files on anti-apartheid activities and activists, dating back to the 1950s.¹⁹ An FBI report confirmed that Gerard and Bullock gave information to the South Africans.²⁰

"The scandal," notes Daniel Levitas, former executive director of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, "...has completely tainted the ADL's credibility and reputation with regard to objectivity." It may also land some people in jail. The League faces criminal prosecution on up to 48 felony counts including gaining illegal access to police computers. Journalist Robert Friedman quotes a source saying that indictment is "99 percent certain."²¹

While admitting to rifling through garbage and "pooping and snooping on people in the U.S.," Gerard, too, denied criminal wrongdoing. "I shouldn't say I did no wrong," he demurred. "I should say I showed poor judgment. ...But as far as criminal acts, no way." He complained he was being set up as a fall guy by Bullock. When he bought his computer from Bullock, he said, "the files were already in there." He charged that the SFPD and FBI were leaking damaging information on him and threatened that if indicted for selling confidential law enforcement information, he would expose illegal CIA support for Latin American death squads. The

"The relationship [ADL] had with [Gerard] was the same as with thousands of police officers around the country." —Richard Hirschhaut

threat was partially fulfilled in a three-hour interview with a *Los Angeles Times* reporter when Gerard discussed illegal CIA support for the death squads.²²

On May 6, Gerard suddenly and surprisingly returned to San Francisco where he was arrested and booked on eight counts of stealing government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary, and conspiracy. He said he returned because he was afraid the CIA had put out a contract on him and thought he would be safer in the U.S. He was released on \$20,000 bail.²³

19. FBI interview with David Gurvitz, March 8, 1993. Gurvitz was an undercover ADL agent in Los Angeles; and Jane Hunter, "ADL Spies and the FBI," *Middle East Report*, April 30, 1993, p. 12.

20. FBI interview of Bullock, January 26, 1993, pp. 1-8.

21. Robert I. Friedman, "The Enemy Within," *Village Voice*, May 11, 1993, p. 28.

22. Drogin, *op. cit.*

23. AP, "Arrest in Secret Documents Case," *New York Times*, May 9, 1993.

While Bullock, Gerard, and the ADL ran for cover and tried to off-load responsibility on each other, the media relegated the targets of the secret surveillance to being merely bit players. Meanwhile under an extensive ADL spin control campaign, the story is being treated as an exotic spy thriller rather than the serious erosion of personal political freedoms and invasion of privacy that it is.²⁴

The Privatization of Domestic Spying

Domestic spying has a long history in the U.S. — only slightly longer than the practice of trivializing its social and political consequences. During the 1970s, fallout from the Watergate scandal and the death of J. Edgar Hoover (which resulted in freeing some of his secret blackmail files) briefly focused media and public attention on a formidable legacy of domestic political surveillance. Citizens and organizations, mostly on the left, felt encouraged to initiate legal and political challenges to the spy operations that had been carried on for decades by federal, state, and local agencies. With legal and monetary resources far less than those of their opponents, they launched long and costly lawsuits and in several cases won damages for denial of their constitutional rights.²⁵ Other cases ended with settlement agreements stipulating that the surveilled parties be notified or that files be destroyed. In the process, media coverage helped raise public awareness of a massive and consistent pattern of violation of citizens' rights by government.

Eventually some reforms were enacted. But while the new legislation, policy guidelines, and laws curtailed government political surveillance, private political spying increasingly filled the intelligence gap.

At a time when established governmental systems for monitoring subversion have been cut back, these counter-subversive operations acquire special importance; they must continue the data collection and storage practices formerly shared with governmental agencies, intensify their own propaganda efforts, and — a new mission — promote renewed official involvement in surveillance and related activities directed against dissent.²⁶

... translating the country's
democratic ideals into a way of life
for all Americans since 1913.



In fact, these new networks were not strictly private. They were frequently aided and abetted by police agencies or officers, and often had connections to both domestic governmental spying and foreign intelligence operations.

Major right-wing private intelligence operations today include John Rees' *Information Digest*, the International Freedom Foundation, the Council for Inter-American Security, Lyndon LaRouche's *Executive Intelligence Review*, and Sun Myung Moon's Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles. They identify individuals and organizations associated with a particular issue, and then amass as much personal identifier information as possible: address, phone number, weight, birth date, marital status, social security number, organizational memberships, photograph, driver's license, auto license number, political data, etc.

The ADL maintains another of these private spy operations, one which has particularly close ties to official resources. "FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that special agents in charge of FBI field offices throughout the nation were explicitly ordered by Bureau headquarters in Washington, D.C. during the 1980s to cooperate with the ADL."²⁷

Political Spying in San Francisco

The historical relationship between private and public spy efforts in San Francisco and the involvement of ADL is unique only in that so much detail has been exposed. In 1984, seeking to avoid a repeat of the 1968 Chicago Democratic presidential convention fiasco, the SFPD generated masses of intelligence on potential disrupters. Investigators targeted 95 groups including the ACLU and Catholic Charities of Oakland. When ACLU sought its files in 1989, the SFPD declined, claiming that the information would identify informers.²⁸

The SFPD-ACLU political tug-of-war and the media revelations helped set the stage for several reforms.²⁹ In 1990, the two groups cooperated to draw up new surveillance guidelines. These precluded police surveillance of organizations not explicitly engaged in criminal acts and barred investigation of individuals simply because they belonged to a targeted organization.³⁰

24. April 25, 1993, was virtually the first time the *New York Times* covered the ADL spy story with a piece essentially in keeping with the ADL efforts at damage control. The *Times*, like other newspapers, had frequently used the ADL as an information resource and has cited "Jewish intelligence sources."

25. *Spanish Action Committee of Chicago v. City of Chicago*, Case No. 80-C-4714 (N.D. Ill., July 2, 1984); *Hobson v. Wilson*, 556 F.Supp. 1157 (D.D.C., 1982); *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, U.S. 642 F. Supp. 1357 (S.D.N.Y., 1986).

26. Frank J. Donnet, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1981), p. 414; quoted in Chip Berlet, "Communism in the U.S.: The Hunt for the Red Menace," *CovertAction*, Number 31 (Winter 1989), p. 8.

27. *Examiner* Staff Report, "Anti-Defamation League: A History of Collecting Data," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 1, 1993.

28. Steve Burkholder, "Red Squads on the Prowl: Still Spying after All These Years," *The Progressive*, October 1988, p. 22.

29. Chicago had curbed police spying almost a decade earlier after a lawsuit by surveillance targets. In 1980, Seattle had gone so far as to enact an anti-spying ordinance, while efforts in Detroit to pass a similar ordinance were defeated through the opposition of Mayor Coleman Young. ("Curbs on Police Spying," *The Progressive*, October 1988, p. 21.)

30. *San Francisco Police Department: Civil Disturbance Section Guidelines*.

ADL's response to the police reforms seemed bizarre for an organization with a stated dedication to civil liberties. Bitterly denouncing Mayor Art Agnos and Police Chief Willis Casey, ADL Pacific Regional Director Richard Hirschhaut opposed both the dismantling of the SFPD Intelligence Unit and the designation of San Francisco as a sanctuary for conscientious objectors. The reform, he said, "creates a climate that anything goes in San Francisco. That climate can lead to serious harm. It's dangerous."³¹

The SFPD Intelligence Unit did not completely disappear. It changed its name to the Civil Disturbance Section and added a separate Hate Crimes Unit. Hirschhaut also opposed limiting the purview of this unit to gathering information on hate groups only *after* a crime had been committed. "Before, a feeling or intuition about a group or organization could come from some seasoned law enforcement officials because their guy can tell something different about a hate group. None of that can happen now," he said. By giving tacit approval to all protesters, he continued, the sanctuary declaration paved the way for anti-Semitic and anti-Israel sentiment.³²

ADL's Mission

ADL's vehement support for SFPD surveillance operations was an ironic betrayal of its original principles. The League's 1913 founding charter defined its mission to oppose "the defamation of the Jewish People" and asserted that "its ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike."³³ Over the years, the League won widespread respect for its active support of civil rights and its vigorous opposition to racist segregation and white supremacy groups.

The gradual undermining of that broad mission is linked to both internal and external factors. From its very inception ADL sought acceptance by, and alliance with, those in power. It regarded "good working relationships" with the law enforcement community as pivotal. Toward this end, ADL has openly participated in seminars and informational programs



Flick Reinhard

The ADL surveilled demonstrations like this pro-Palestinian march in Washington, D.C., 1988.

and worked cooperatively with federal, regional, state, and local law enforcement officials.³⁴ That close relationship facilitated Gerard's and Bullock's crimes.

External factors also precipitated ADL's violation of its original principles: the post-World War II Cold War struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; and the creation in 1948 of an independent Jewish state dependent on Western, especially U.S., support.

On the first score, the U.S. government saw radical domestic movements, particularly the Communist Party, as a major subversive threat to national security. ADL's first known involvement in the resultant repression of leftists came to light in hearings before a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives in October 1947.³⁵ The hearings investigated the authority of the Civil Service Commission to compile an "investigators' leads file" containing "facts, rumor and gossip bearing upon the views, opinions, and acts of individuals who were neither federal employees nor applicants for positions coming under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission." The result, charged Subcommittee Chair Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.), would be "a most admirable smear list" based on "hearsay." Hoffman indicated that the source of much of the information on alleged subversives was the American Jewish Committee and the ADL.³⁶

31. Garth Wolkoff, "San Francisco Charged With Encouraging Hate," *Detroit Jewish News*, February 15, 1991.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Quoted in Leo O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel*, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1986).

34. Bien and Hirschhaut, *op. cit.*

35. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, *Investigators' Leads File: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments*, 80th Congress, 1st session, October 3, 6, and 7, 1947.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Organizations Found in ADL Files

Pinko

Act Now
ACTUP
Action for Animals
Adrian 17
African Black Students Org./S.F. State
African Network
African National Reparations Org.
African People's Socialist Party
African Peoples Solidarity Comm.
African Students Org.
Africans United for Progress
AFSCME Local 3218 (Vice Pres.)
AFSCME Local 3508
Alexandria Assn. of Human Rights
Advocacy
All Peoples Congress
Alliance for Philippine Concerns
Alliance to Stop First Strike
Alliance to Stop Police Abuse
Allied Printing Trades Council
Alternative Information Center
Ameri-Can
American Civil Liberties Union
American Indian Center
American Indian Movement
American Indian Student Org.
American Muslim Mission
Americans for Peace Now
Anarchist Collective
ANC Meeting
Ang Katipunan
Anti-Apartheid Comm./AFSCME
Anti-Militarism Comm.
Anti-Racist Action
April 19th Comm. Against Nazis
Arab Beach Socialist Party
Arab Lesbian Network
Armenian National Comm.
Armenian Peoples Movement
Arms Control Research Center
Artists and Videomakers Against the War
Artists and Writers Out Loud
Artists Television Access
Asian Law Caucus
Audio Archives
Author of Measure J
Babyton Burning
Back Country Action Network
Bad Cop/No Donut
Barricada Internacional
Bay Area Anti-Racist Action
Bay Area Coalit. for Reproductive Rights
Bay Area Friends of Christic Institute
Bay Area Jewish Task Force on Cont. Am.
Bay Area Natl. Conf. of Black Lawyers
Bay Area Peace Council
Bay Area Peace Navy
Bay Area Reporter
Bay Area Times
Bay Area Vets Against War in Mid. East
Beebe Memorial C.M.E. Temple
Ben Linder Construction Brigade
Big Mountain Native People's Support
Bir Zeit Univ. Instructor
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
Black Freedom Fighters Coalition
Black Men United for Change
Black Studies Department/S.F. State
Black United Fund
Boricuan Popular Army for Puerto Ricoan Independence
Boycott Coke
Boycott Shell Comm.
Breakthrough
Brigada Antonio Maceo
Brothers of African Descent
Bulletin in Defense of Marzian

Calendar Magazine (Gay)
California Voice
Campaign Against Apartheid
Campus Peace Comm.
Canadians for Justice in the Middle East
Capp Street Center
Capp Street Foundation
Carpenters Local 22
Casa El Salvador
Casa El Salvador Mailing List
Center for Constitutional Rights
Center for Democratic Renewal
Center for Investigative Reporting
Center for Middle East Studies
Center for the Study of the Americas
Cent. Amer. Research Institute
Chico Chicano Studies (U.C. Berkeley)
Chip From the Top
Church Network on the Philippines
Citizens for Representative Government
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
Commission of Inquiry
Comm. Against Lockheed D-5
Comm. for Academic Freedom in Israeli-Occupied Territories
Comm. for Equality and Justice
Comm. for Freedom in Argentina
Comm. for Peace and Democracy in Iran
Comm. for Perm. Israel-Palestinian Peace
CISPES
Clatur
Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt
Comm. to Support the Revolution in Peru
Communist Party U.S.A.
Communist Workers Party
Communist Youth Brigade
Community-Labor Coalition for Social & Econ. Justice
Community United Against Violence
Continuing the Peace Dialogue
Contra Watch Newsletter
Copwatch
Council for the National Interest
Council on Foreign Relations
CounterSpy
CoverAction Information Bulletin
CoverAction
Cuba Resource Group
Cuban Information Project
Delta Sigma Beta
Democratic Society of America
Democratic Workers Party
Dennis Banks Defense Comm.
Diablo Valley Peace Center
Direct Action Against Racism
Doghouse Newsletter
Downside Records
Dykes and Gay Emergency Response
Earth Island Institute
East Bay Women for Peace
El Centro de la Raza
El Tecolote
Emergency Coalit. for Palestinian Rights
Emergency Coalition to End War
Emergency Comm. to Stop Flag Amendment
Endorse of Proposition W
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting
Fighting Back
Filipino East Bay Network
Filipino Organization Comm.
FMLN-FDR West Coast Representative
Food First
Food Not Bombs
Free S.A. Labor Comm.
Freedom for S.A. Refugees Campaign
Freedom for S.A. Refugees Center
Freedom Rising-Africa Solidarity Comm.
Freedom Road Socialist Org.
Freedom Socialist Party
Friends of Nicaragua
Friends of Yash Gvul
Frontline
Frontline Managing Editor
Gay American Indians

Gay and Lesbian Labor Alliance
Global Exchange
Global Options
Green Giant Frozen Foods Workers Comm.
Greenpeace
Group for Critical Study Colonial...
Guardian
Guatemala News and Information Bureau
Harvey Milk Club
Hotel and Restaurant Employees #2
ILWU Local 6, President
ILWU Local 10
INCAR
In These Times
Independent Grocers Assn.
Info. Network Against War and Fascism
Information Services on Latin America
Instituto del Pueblo
Interfaith Center on Corporate Accountability
Interfaith Task Force on Cont. Amer.
Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Ctr.
Int'l. Campaign to Free Geronimo Pratt
Internat. Comm. Against Racism
Internat. Indian Treaty Council
Internat. Jewish Peace Union
Internat. League for Human Rights/
N. Amer. Chapter
Internat. Socialist Org.
International Workers Party
Irish National Aid
Irish Northern Aid
Irish Republican Socialist Comm.
Israel Foreign Affairs
Israelite Against Occupation
Japanese-American Citizens League
Jewish Comm. on the Middle East
John Brown Anti-Klan Comm.
KPOO Radio
KOED-TV Board of Directors
KUNA
Labor Comm. on the Middle East
Labor for Peace
Labor Video
LAGAL
La Raza Coalition of Berkeley
La Raza Union
Latin America Support Comm.
Lavender Mafia
Lawyers Comm. on Cont. Amer.
League of Filipino Students
Leonard Peltier Alliance Group
Lesbian Agenda for Action
Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention
Liberation Support Movement
Libros Sin Fronteras
Line Of March
L.A. Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East
L.A. Observer
L.A. Student Coalition
MADRE
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
Mandela Reception Comm.
Marxist Internationalist Movement
Marxist Tours
Mariposa Peace Network
Marxist-Leninist Party
Media Review
Middle East Children's Alliance
Middle East Comm. for National Conference of Black Lawyers
Middle East Peace Network
Midwest Labor Institute
Mobilization Support Group
Modern Times Bookstore
Mother Jones
Movimiento de Agrupacion Popular
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano
NABET Local 51/Executive Board
NALG Local 214
Natl. Alliance of Third World Journalists
NAACP
National Call to Action
Natl. Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays

Natl. Comm. Against Repressive Legislation
National Conference of Black Lawyers
National Forum of S.A.
National Midwest
National Org. of African Students in N. Am.
National Rainbow Coalition
National Response Comm./NBAU
National Student Cent. Am. Action Network
National Student Lobby
National Union of Farmers
Network of Arab-American Students
Network Solidarity with Chile
New African Peoples Org.
New Alliance Newspaper
New Alliance Party
New Americas Press
New Jewish Agenda
New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rico
Newspaperists
Nicaragua Cultural Center
Nicaragua Information Center
Nicaragua Information Center Bulletin
Nicaragua Interfaith Comm. Action
Nicaragua Network News
No Apologies/No Regrets
No Business As Usual
No Justice, No Peace
North Bay Anti-Racist Action
North Star
Northern California Ecumenical Council
Now Magazine, Toronto (Canada)
Nuremberg Actions
Oakland Education Association
O.C. Coalition for Peace in the Middle East
OCAW
OCAW Local 8149
October 6 Justice Project
Oregon Philippines Concerns Comm.
Out Of Control Comm.
Outrage
Pacific Foundation
Pakistan Democratic Comm.
Pan African Movement of the U.S.
Parado Socialista Chileno
Parado Socialista Puertofortuense
Parsons Defense Comm.
Patrice Lumumba Coalition
Paul Robeson Friendship Society
Peace and Conflict Studies
Peace and Freedom Comm.
Peace and Freedom Party
Peace and Justice Comm.-School Board
Peace and Solidarity Alliance
Peace and Solidarity Comm.
Peace Cafe
Peace Research Center
People Against Racist Terror
Peoples Anti-War Mobilization
Peoples Architecture Collective
Peoples Law Office
Peoples Park
Peoples Video
Peoples World
Parshing Plovshares
Philippine Organizing Comm.
Philippine Resource Center
Philippines Human Rights Lobby
Plugs of Resistance
Plumbers and Fitters Local 393
Portland Cent. Amer. Solidarity Comm.
Prison News Service
Project Impact
Project National Interest
Public Eye
Queer Nation
Quinn Defense
Radical Film Collective
Radical Women
Rainbow Coalition
Rainbow Lobby
Refuge and Resist
Republic of New Afrika
Revolutionary Books
Revolutionary Communist Party
Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade
Revolutionary Worker
Revolutionary Workers League
Richmond Education Assn
Roots Against War
San Fernando Valley Peace Coalition
San Francisco Bay Guardian

S.F. Coalition of Labor Union Women
S.F. Labor Council/WAL-CIO
San Francisco Sentinel
S.F. Univ. Labor Studies
National Midwest
San Francisco Weekly
S.F. Women for Peace
SANE/FREEZE
Sardereba
Science for Nicaragua
SEIU Local 535
SEIU Local 616
Serbian Unity Congress
Shell Boycott Comm.
Simon Wiesenthal Center
Sister City Assn.
Socialist Action
Socialist Party Political Org.
Socialist Workers Party
Society of In Ash Et-U.S.A.
SOHPI Study Group (UC Berkeley)
Solidarity
S.A. Forum
S.A. Freedom Through Education Foundation
S.A. Internat. Student Congress
South Africa's Workers Org.
South Bay Nicaragua Solidarity Comm.
So. African Liberation Support Comm.
Southern African Media Center
Spartacus Youth League
Spartoist League
Stevens, Hinds & White, Attorneys
Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network
Student Cln. Against Apartheid and Racism
Student Pugwash
Students Against Intervention
Students Against Intervention in Cent. Am.
Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf
SWAPO
SWAPO Meeting
Tanz News Agency
Teamsters Local 921, S.F. Teamsters for a Democratic Union
Technica
The Black Scholar
The Data Center
The Dezen I Foundation
The Fishman
The Nuclear Resister
Third World Resources
Toronto Anti-Interventional Coalition
Trustees, IAM Local 565 (Sunnyvale)
Ubiquitous
Unified Against Genocide
Union del Barrio
Union of Democratic Filipinos
Union Publications
United Auto Workers
United Auto Workers, Local 119
United Colors
United Farm Workers
United Front Against Fascism
U.S. Anti-Apartheid Newsletter
U.S. China Review
U.S. Comm. for Friendship with the GDR
U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange
U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society
U.S. Out of S.A. Network
U.S. Peace Council
U.S.-USSR Friendship Society of S.F.
U.S.A. Movement Banning Apartheid
Univ. of Calif., Berkeley
UTU Local 1730
Vanguard Public Foundation
Venceremos Brigade
Vietnam Veterans Action
Vietnam News Agency
Villa Zapata Workers Comm.
Voice of the Uprising
Washington Office on Africa
WBAI-FM (Pacific Foundation), New York
Weatherman Underground
Witness for S.A.
Woman, Inc.
Women Against U.S. Intervention
Women in Black
Women of Color Coalition Center
Women of Color Resource Project
Womens Int. League for Peace and Freedom
Workers World Party
Yes On W Comm.
Young Koreans United
Young Koreans United of S.F.

Arab

Arab-American Islamic Center
Arab Book Center
Arab People's Council
Arab Relief Function
Arab Studies Quarterly/Middle East Research & Information Project
Arab-American Islamic Solidarity
Arabic Book Center
Bethlehem Assn.
Black Muslims
Comm. for a Democratic Palestine
Comm. of Correspondence
Council of Arab American Orgs.
Dem. Front for the Liberation of Palestine
Democratic Palestinian Youth
Department of Near Eastern Studies
El Falah
Family Sponsors Project
Gen. Union of Palestinian Students
Inst. of African-Arabic Studies
Iranian Students for Islamic Revolution
Iraqi Intelligence Report
Islamic Jihad
Islamic Society of Orange County
Israeli Civil Rights Assn.
JIFNA Assn.
Khilafah
Law in the Service of Man
Masjid Al-Islam
Masjid Al-Saffi Mosque
Middle East Justice Network
Muslim Mutadha. Iran Assn.
Muslim Students Assn.
Muslim Students Union
Nation of Islam
National Assn. of Arab-Americans
National Lawyers Guild
November 29th Comm.
Occupied Land F. Youth
Palestine American Youth
Palestine Arab Club
Palestine Arab F. of Palestine Democratic Youth Org.
Palestine Human Rights Campaign
Palestine Solidarity Comm.
Palestine Women's Org.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
Progressive Muslim Alliance
Sacred House of Islam
Union of Palestinian Women's Association

ANC

A Movement Banning Apartheid
African National Congress
All African People's Revolutionary Party
All-African Students Conference
Alternative Education (RSA) (SACHED)
Anglican Church of South Africa
Anti-Apartheid Comm.
Anti-Apartheid League
Apartheid Boycott Campaign
Art Against Apartheid
Aristo Against Apartheid
Bay Area Free South African Movement
Berkeley Anti-Apartheid Network
Cancer Research S.A. Forum
Democratic Society of America
Dennis Brutus Defense Comm.
Evangelical Lutheran Church/S.A.
Free Moses Mass (S.A. Committee)
Journalist LA Times (in S.A.)
National Namibia Campaign
Pan African Congress
Pan African Congress of Azania
Patriotic Front
Patriotic Front Organizing Comm.
S.A. Ecumenical Task Force
S.F. Anti-Apartheid Comm.
South African Students Congress
Southern Africa Solidarity Center
Univ. of Calif. Divestment Coalition

Categories and names are as they appeared in Gerard's and Bullock's files (except abbreviations).

Right

Adolph Hitler Church
 Aid and Abet
 Alarming Cry
 Alarm
 Alert
 American-Africanist Union
 American Agriculture Movement
 American Challenge
 American Christian Ministry
 American Firm
 American Front
 American Front Vikings
 American Immigration Control Foundation
 American Independent Party
 American Liberty Assn.
 American Nazary
 American National Front
 American Nazi Party
 American Patriot and Rifle Assn.
 American Resistance
 American White Separatists
 Americans for Constitutional Justice, Inc.
 Americans for National Security
 America's Destiny/Natl. Video Network
 America's Promise
 America's Promise Ministries
 Answer
 Anti-Abortionist
 Anti-Catholic League
 Anti-Racist Action
 Anti-Wisdom Letter
 Anti-Zionist
 Applied Research
 Arizona Kindred
 Arizona Patriots
 Arizona White Battalion
 Arizona White Battalion Skinheads
 Aryan Awake
 Aryan Brotherhood
 Aryan Christian Knights
 Aryan Federation
 Aryan Identity
 Aryan Nationalist Church
 Aryan Nations
 Aryan Nations Brotherhood
 Aryan Nations Liberty Nat
 Aryan Nations Report
 Aryan Resistance Movement
 Aryan Socialist Youth Party
 Aryan Territorial Alliance
 Aryan Update
 Aryan Wolfpack
 Aryan Women's League
 Aryan Women United
 Aryan Workers League
 Aryan Youth Force
 Aryan Youth Movement
 Assemblies of the Called Out Ones
 Assembly of Yahweh the Eternal
 Associates for the Christian Life
 Auburn Skins
 Basic Bible Church of America
 Bay Area Patriots (Justice Times)
 Beaverton Boot Boys
 Bible Believer's Fellowship
 Bible Educator Ministry
 Bible Study Group
 Bible Truth Research
 Blue Six Skinheads
 Boer Freedom Movement
 Bo Gritz for President
 Bomber Boys
 Braxas Foundation
 Buffalo Area Skinheads
 Burbank Punk Org.
 Calif. Health Care Advocates
 Calif. White Vikings
 Calvary Temple Bible Church
 Canadian Alliance
 Canadian Knights of the KKK
 CASH/Romantic Violence
 CBA Bulletin
 Center for Nationalist Studies
 Center for Study
 Chaldean Report
 Chicago White Vikings
 Christian American Advocates
 Christian American Research League

Christian Anti-Communist Party
 Christian Aryan Patriots
 Christian Bookstore
 Christian Comm. to Teach Bible Law
 Christian Conservative Churches of Am.
 Christian Consulting Co.
 Christian Crusade for Truth
 Christian Defense League
 Christian Educator
 Christian Forum Newsletter
 Christian Guard
 Christian Heritage
 Christian Heritage Conference
 Christian Identity Church
 Christian Identity Skinhead
 Christian Israel Covenant Church
 Christian Israel Fellowship
 Christian Law Journal
 Christian Legal Education Assn.
 Christian Outreach Library
 Christian Patriot Crusader
 Christian Patriots Defense Fund
 Christian Patriots Defense League
 Christian Patriots God and Country Book
 Christian Research
 Christian Sons of Liberty
 Christian Task Force
 Christians for Truth & Religious Freedom
 Christians on Point Newsletter
 Christ's Covenant Church
 Christ's Covenant People
 Christ's Identity Church
 Church of Elijah
 Church of Israel
 Church of Israel in the Wilderness
 Church of Jesus Christ
 Church of Jesus Christ at Philadelphia
 Church of Jesus Christ Christian
 Church of the Covenant, Sword and Arm
 Church of the Creator
 Church of the Swastika
 Church of WAR
 Church of White Separation
 Citizens Bar Association
 Circle Bible Study
 Citizens Clew
 Citizens Council
 Citizens for Fraud-Free Elections
 Citizens for God and Country
 Claremont Institute
 Club of Life (LaRouche)
 CODOH
 Colorado Kindred
 Comm. for American/1960s
 Comm. of Ten Million
 Comm. To Clean Up the Courts
 Comm. to Debate the Holocaust
 Comm. to Reexamine WWII
 Comm. to Restore the Constitution
 Common Tilt Bond and Trust
 Confederate Knights of America
 Covenant Church of Our Redeemer
 Covenant Ministries
 Covenant of Christ Church
 Covenant of Jesus Christ
 Covenant People's Advocate
 Criminal Politics
 Crossen Democratic Party U.S.A.
 Crusade Against Corruption
 David Duke
 Defender of the American Constitution/54
 Desert Fox Enterprises
 Destiny Publishers
 East Side Boot Boys
 East Side Mafia
 East Side White Pride
 Editorial Research Service
 Electro-Magnetic Research Center
 Bochim City
 Euro-American Alliance
 Erotic Intelligence Review
 Faith Skins
 First Covenant Church
 Focus
 Force 751
 Foundation for Am. Christian Education
 Fraternal White Knights
 Fraternity of Preparation
 Freedom Through Truth Foundation
 Free German Workers Party
 Ghostbrider

GLK Smith Donor/1959
 God's Plan for Good Health Newsletter
 Gospel Foundation
 Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church
 Gospel of the Kingdom Mission
 Grand Dragon Indiana, Knights KKK
 Gresham Aryan Resistance
 Hammathood/Young Blood
 Hammer Skins
 Heartland WAR Director
 Heirs of the Blessing
 Hepzibah Ranch
 Heritage Library
 Hoskins Report
 H.U.G. Liberty
 Identity
 (Identity)/American Covenant Church
 Identity Baptist
 (Identity) Church
 (Identity)/Kingdom Spirit
 (Identity)/Kingdom Messenger
 (Identity) Study Group
 Imperial Order of the Black Eagle
 Institute for American Research
 Institute for Historical Review
 Internat. Conspiratological Assn.
 International Mod Monthly
 Internat. Research Institute/ISS
 International Moneyline
 Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK
 Irish Republican Army
 Irvine Values Coalition
 Israel Identity Fellowship
 Jackin's Junction
 Jewish Defense League
 Jewish Defense Org.
 Jews for Jesus
 John Birch Society
 Jopps Gospel Tabernacle
 Jopps Tabernacle Ministry
 Kahana
 Kingdom Bible Institute
 Kingdom Christian Fellowship
 Kingdom Courier
 Kingdom Identity Ministries
 Kingdom Messenger
 Kingdom Seekers Ministry
 Kingdom Truth Fellowship
 Ku Klux Klan
 Ku Klux Klan #87
 LaPorte Church of Christ
 LaRouche for President
 Las Vegas Skinheads
 Legal (Justice Times)
 Legion for the Survival of Freedom
 Legion of the New Order
 Liberty Lobby
 Liberty Lobby Fat Cat
 Liberty Net
 Liberty Trust
 Lightbearers of Jesus the Church
 Lightshow Healing Mission
 Lords Covenant Church
 L.A. Death Squad
 Los Angeles Sentinel
 M.A.C. and Company
 Mafelous O'Boys
 MASH
 McAlvany Intelligence Advisor
 McCalden Revisionist Newsletter
 Minneapolis Baldies
 Ministry of Christ Church
 Mission to Israel
 Morningstar Chapel
 Multiplication Unlimited, Inc.
 National Alliance
 National Aryan Front
 National Aryan Skin Heads
 National Assn. for Advancement of White People
 National Christian Church
 National Democratic Party
 National Educator
 National Euro-American Society
 National Identity Church
 National Justice Foundation
 National Knights of the KKK
 National Media Services
 National Org. for White America
 National Prayer Network
 NSDAP-AO
 National Socialist Dept. of Preservation

National Socialist Front
 NS Kindred
 National Socialist League
 National Socialist Vanguard
 National Socialist White American Party
 National Socialist White Peoples Party
 National Socialist Youth Corp.
 National States Rights Party
 National Vanguard
 National White Awareness League
 National White Resistance Network
 National Youth Alliance/71
 Nevada Comm. of the Status
 New American Man
 New Beginnings
 New Christian Crusade Church
 New Covenant Christian Church
 New Covenant Church
 New Dawn
 New National, U.S.A.
 New Order
 New Order Legion
 News Beginnings
 Institute for American Research
 Northern Hammerkins
 Northern Press
 Northern World
 Northview Assembly of God
 Northwest Knights of the KKK
 Northwest Separatists
 Northwest Territory Knights KKK
 Oklahoma White Knights
 OMAGA
 Operation Rescue
 Organized Organizer
 Outcalled of God
 Peace
 Peace Amendment
 Panic Org. (LaRouche)
 Pasadena Gospel Temple
 Patriot Defense Fellowship Program
 Patriotic Network
 Patriots of the New Order
 Patriots Research Reports
 People Concerned About Today's Education
 Phoenix Journal Express
 Polar Publications
 Polish Post Eagle
 Polonian
 Populist Action Committee
 Populist Party/Carta
 Portland Bible Study Group
 Posse Comitatus
 POWAR
 Pro American Press
 Prophetic Herald
 PUSH
 Racial Loyalty
 Radio Free America
 Reconstituted National Party
 Redeem Our Country
 Reichskins
 Remaria
 Remnant Church
 Renaissance
 Restoration Ministries
 Restoration of Bible Church
 Rockrama Records
 Rockin White Pride
 SACIO
 Salem Skins
 San Diego Identity
 Self-Determination Comm.
 Self Proclaimed Identists
 Sharpskins
 Shepherd's Chapel, Inc.
 Shoc Boy
 Skinhead Alliance
 Skinhead Dogs
 Skinheads
 Skins and Punks Against Racism
 Socialist National Front
 Soldiers of Israel
 Sons of the Covenant
 South East Boot Boys
 South Side Players
 Southern Justice
 Southern Justice League
 Southern White Knights
 Spotlight
 SS-Action Group

SS of America
 Stone Kingdom Ministries
 Stop Homosexual Advocacy in Education
 Stop Immigration Now
 Stop IRS Levy (Justice Times)
 Strikeforce
 Students for America
 Survival
 Sword of Christ
 Tax Protester
 Tautonic Times
 The Alarming Cry
 The American Film
 The American Freeman Assn.
 The American Front
 The American Israelite Crusader
 The Assembly of Jesus Christ
 The Bible Educator
 The Box Public Access Cynism
 The Christian Guard
 The Citizens Claw
 The Coleman Report
 The Connector
 The Final Solution
 The Illinois Knights of the KKK
 The Jubilee
 The League of Peace Advocates
 The Lord's Work, Inc.
 The New Order
 The New Paganism
 The Order
 The Other Side
 The Patriot Review
 The Pure American Party
 The Regulators
 The Servant
 The Southern Justice
 The Speaker Newsletter
 The Transval Separatists
 The Upright Oakleaf
 The Vigilantes
 The White Barret
 The White Church
 The White Knights in the Heartland
 The White Patriot
 The White Wardens
 Ther's Hammer Kindred, Inc.
 Traditional Values Coalition
 United Klans of America
 United Skins
 United Southern Skins
 United White Working Class
 Unity of Aryan Women
 U.S. Skins
 U.S.A. Nationalist Party
 U.S.N.A.
 Utah State Guard
 Viking Viewpoint
 Voice of Liberty Newsletter
 W.A.S.H.
 W.A.U.M.G.
 WAR Subscription List
 WAR/Skins
 WAR/Skins, San Diego Unit
 Western Hammerkins
 White American Political Assn.
 White Aryan Resistance
 White Awareness
 White Camelia Knights of the KKK
 White Christian Women
 White Knights of the KKK
 White Liberation Movement
 White Nationalist League
 White Peoples Party
 White Point Publishing
 White Pride Skins
 White Student Patriot Union
 White Student Union
 White Unity
 White Unity Party
 White World Newsletter
 White Youth Alliance
 Woodbrook Chapel
 Word of Christ Mission
 Wyoming Knights of the KKK
 Youngblood
 Your Heritage Church
 Your Heritage Protection Assn.
 Your Maine to Oregon Independent Informer
 Youth for Hitler

Rep. Fred Busby (R-Ill.) pressed Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming:

Busby: Do you have any knowledge as to who in your organization contacts the Anti-Defamation League...and checks their files, and how often they go to their offices and check their files for leads for your files?

Flemming: I do not know, and I do not have such information.

Busby: How does this information get into your files, then?

Flemming: There may be some contacts. In some instances it may be publications.³⁷

No matter how the government obtained the files, it is clear that, as far back as 1947, ADL had been collecting names of alleged subversives which were used in anti-communist repressions.

Spying extended to leaders of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Henry Schwartzchild, who worked in the ADL publications department between 1962 and 1964, reported that the ADL had spied on the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. on behalf of the FBI.³⁸

Redefining Anti-Semitism

The founding of the State of Israel and, even more so, the 1967 Middle East War changed ADL's view of its mission. Prior to World War II, the League focused on domestic issues and "historically distanced itself from the issues of Israel and Zionism." Until 1967, it supported Israel without making that country central to ADL policy or Jewish identity. Then, ADL philosophy became: "Anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism," i.e., "criticism of Israel reflects insensitivity to American Jews and constitutes a form of anti-Semitism."³⁹

This change in mission sparked internal opposition. Saul E. Jofes had been an officer of B'nai B'rith, ADL's parent organization, for 25 years. After he was fired as Executive Secretary of the International Council of the B'nai B'rith in 1970, he lamented that B'nai B'rith

has become an international organization engaged in other things besides charitable, religious, and educational activities. It is no longer non-profit. It engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the Government of Israel. Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. ...[I have resisted] attempts by Israeli Zionists to dictate B'nai B'rith policy.⁴⁰

37. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

38. George Cothran and Peter Hagerty, "Spies for Zion," *San Francisco Weekly*, April 28, 1993.

39. O'Brien, *op. cit.*; Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York: ADL, 1974). Foster was ADL general counsel; Epstein was ADL national director.

40. *Saul E. Jofes v. Rabbi Joy Kaufman*, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, C.A. No. 3271-67, pp. 3, 7, 8. Affidavit filed in a 1970 employment termination lawsuit.

Among the documents attached to the Jofes affidavit was a letter from ADL National Director Benjamin R. Epstein to Jofes:

As you know, the Anti-Defamation League for many years has maintained a very important, confidential investigative coverage of Arab activities and propaganda. ...Our information, in addition to being essential for our own operations, has been of great value and service to both the U.S. State Department and the Israeli Government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge of each that we were the source.⁴¹

Targeting Critics of Israel and Arab-Americans

As part of its goal of promoting Israeli interests, the ADL has long sought to undermine support in the U.S. for Palestinian and Arab rights. It has labeled Arab-American and pro-Arab groups as either a "mouthpiece of the PLO" or in the pay of petro-dollar governments.⁴²

Critics of Israeli policy, including Noam Chomsky, were targeted for investigation. The MIT professor's 150-page dossier included articles, letters, and statements by and about him. Chomsky concluded that his talks are regularly monitored and that ADL used its files in a "coordinated effort to discredit or counter" critics of Israeli policies.⁴³

In November 1983, the ADL circulated to many campus Jewish leaders a secret list of campus groups and of academics and other professionals involved in Middle East studies. Stamped "Confidential," the blacklist was accompanied by a letter from ADL New England Director Leonard Zakim denouncing their contribution to the "alarming increase in anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Israel propaganda." On November 30, 1984, the Middle East Studies Association passed a resolution protesting the "creation, storage or dissemination of blacklists, enemy lists" or surveys that call for boycotting individuals or for intimidating scholars. Jeffrey Ross, the League's National Director of Campus Affairs, called the list "an unfortunate incident that would not be repeated," but reaffirmed ADL's commitment to collect and disseminate information on anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities.⁴⁴

More worrisome to Arab-Americans was the revelation in the 1970s that ADL was collecting data on Arab-American political activity and providing it to the FBI on a regular basis. Moreover, according to a former high Israeli intelligence official, the U.S. and Israel regularly traded information on Arabs, including U.S. citizens living in the U.S.⁴⁵

41. *Ibid.* The July 7, 1961 letter was written as part of a request to the International Council of B'nai B'rith for a \$25,000 grant to carry on these activities.

42. George White, "Detroit's Arab-American Community: Thriving and Active," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 5, 1982; and Irving Spiegel, "Jewish Unit Asserts Arabs Run Big Drive Against Israel in U.S.," *New York Times*, November 7, 1975.

43. Naseer H. Aruri, "The Middle East on the U.S. Campus," *The Link* (New York), May-June 1985, pp. 5-6.

44. Colin Campbell, "Middle East Scholars Upset By List," *New York Times*, January 30, 1985.

45. David Young, "Arabs in U.S. Accuse FBI of Spying on Them," *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1975.

This collaboration continues and has resulted in harassment of Arab-Americans. After the ADL provided information to the federal authorities on seven Palestinian men and one Kenyan woman living in California, the targets were rounded up in dragnet arrests and charged with violating the McCarran-Walter provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act or other technical violations of their immigration status. While this case generated a considerable amount of media criticism of the government's attempts to use the immigration law for political purposes, very little appeared about the ADL's role in the case.⁴⁶

Israel and the ADL Mission

The disclosure of Bullock's and Gerard's secret files, dramatic as it is, simply spotlights ADL's well-established pattern of information gathering. This case provides indisputable evidence of ADL's inappropriate relations with official intelligence and police organizations.

The San Francisco revelations have galvanized public outrage. Many individuals and groups are demanding the release of all files and a full and impartial investigation of possible criminal wrongdoing. Activists attending packed meetings of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the Police Commission suspect that the SFPD has been consistently flouting its own guidelines by conducting or abetting illegal spying.

Ninety organizations, including *CovertAction*, have asked the National Lawyers Guild (also a target of the spying) to obtain their files. A group of 19 people and groups opposed to apartheid or Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories have launched a class action suit charging Gerard, Bullock, Hirschhaut, and the ADL with violating California laws by collecting and disseminating confidential information.⁴⁷

Arab-American groups are working particularly hard to bring the case to national attention and to challenge the SFPD to conduct a vigorous investigation. Hundreds of individuals have sent in notarized requests for their files. Many more around the country are trying to determine if their local police department exchanged information with the ADL on Arab-Americans in their communities. The targeted groups are concerned that political considerations and hardball public relations efforts by the ADL will force San Francisco law enforcement officials to downplay criminal wrongdoing by the ADL and its staff.⁴⁸

Never before has the close collaboration of a private political spy network with regular law enforcement officials been exposed to the degree that it has here. The implications are enormous. Many individuals and organizations have given support to ADL and what it purported to stand for: com-

bating racism and religious hatred and sensitizing Americans to discrimination. These same groups now find that they were targets of ADL spying and that by supporting ADL, they were, in effect, supporting secret surveillance on themselves. ADL's cooperation with federal, state, and local police agencies which spied on progressives has damaged hopes for a broad-based civil rights coalition and agenda. Because of their past experience with ADL on Palestinian and Arab-American issues, Arab-Americans especially have reacted with fear and distrust.

ADL's response has been to defend its methods, downplay its role, and lash out against its critics. When ADL National Director Abraham Foxman went on a damage control tour of West Coast media offices and Jewish organizations, he denounced ADL critics as "anti-Semitic, undemocratic, and anti-American...bastards."⁴⁹ In light of consistent stonewalling and attacks, it is perhaps unrealistic to expect ADL to acknowledge officially and forthrightly its wrongdoing, to confine future information gathering to legitimate areas, and to end its dissemination of information on Arab-Americans and others.

What is required then is a carefully thought out and organized program of informational campaigns, lawsuits, organized public pressure, and condemnation from leaders of all sectors of society to place offenders on notice: The abuses of private/public political surveillance will not be tolerated. This effort is a challenge that faces Arab-Americans, anti-apartheid activists, and progressives. It is also a challenge for those ADL members and supporters who believe that the ADL mission does not include political spying. •

49. Garth Wolkoff, "ADL chief lashes out at critics, press, D.A.," *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, May 7, 1993.

46. Ron Soble, "Deportation Bid in Arab Case Focuses on Magazines," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1987.
 47. *Shabbas, et al. v. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, et al.*, Civil Action No. 951031, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco. Filed April 14, 1993.
 48. Opatry and Winokur, "S.F. Police to Limit Its Spy Probe," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 25, 1993.

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ADL caught in spy scandal of the decade

by Jeffrey Steinberg

Henry Schwartzschild waited a long time to go public with his personal horror story about the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Today an employee of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), he resigned from a high-ranking position in the ADL's publicity office in the mid-1960s when he discovered, to his shock, that the ADL was spying on Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. on behalf of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. It was not until the spring of 1993—nearly 30 years after he quit the ADL—that Schwartzschild came forward and told about the League's efforts against Dr. King.

In an April 28, 1993 interview, Schwartzschild told *San Francisco Weekly*: "They [ADL] thought King was sort of a loose cannon. He was a Baptist preacher and nobody could be quite sure what he would do next. The ADL was very anxious about having an unguided missile out there."

Perhaps Schwartzschild felt vindicated by the recent San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) raids on the ADL's offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, in which police seized evidence that the ADL had been illegally spying on 1,000 political, religious, labor, and civil rights organizations all across America, and had maintained dossiers on hundreds of thousands of activists—an Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco confided to an *EIR* investigator that, in its New York City headquarters, the ADL maintains active dossiers on over a million American citizens. Perhaps he went public when he learned that the ADL had been spying on his current employer, the ACLU.

Schwartzschild's revelations added another nail to the coffin of the ADL, further confirming that the League, for a long time, has been little more than a right-wing, racist hate-group masquerading as a Jewish civil rights lobby. To call the ADL a "Jewish civil rights" group, is like calling the Ku Klux Klan a Southern Christian men's association.

The SFPD and Assistant San Francisco District Attorney John Dwyer deserve credit for bringing the ugly truth about the ADL to public light. On Dec. 10, 1992, SFPD officers raided the Bay Area and Los Angeles offices of the ADL, on the basis of evidence that at least one longtime ADL paid operator, Roy Bullock, had been passing classified government files to agents of the South African government, in return for cash payments that totaled more than \$16,000. The SFPD inherited the spy probe from the FBI, which discovered back in 1990 that a confidential FBI investigative file on the Nation of Islam had been sold to intelligence agents of South Af-

rica—during the bad-old-days of the apartheid regime.

The FBI probe ran into a serious diplomatic snag the moment that agents discovered that the conduit of the pilfered FBI file to the South Africans was a full-time ADL employee, who had, at one point, doubled as a paid undercover agent for the FBI. However, this arrangement was not a fluke. In a Feb. 4, 1985 memo to special agents in charge of the Bureau's 25 biggest field offices, Director William Webster had *ordered* agents to enter into collaboration with the ADL to "monitor and report the activities of domestic terrorist groups." Webster wrote: "Each receiving office should contact the Regional ADL Director(s) listed in your Division and establish this liaison. FBIHQ need not be notified of the results of these contacts with the exception of any significant cases or problems." The Webster memo had been released to *EIR* investigator Scott Thompson prior to the FBI's discovery of Bullock's South Africa spying, so there was no denying the ADL-FBI collusion.

The ADL-Pollard spy ring

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Tufts Fletcher School of Diplomacy. A former Mossad officer who was assigned to be the liaison with ADL's parent organization, B'nai B'rith, Ra'anana is today a fixture in the ADL's lecture circuit, where he is a leading opponent of the Rabin-Peres peace initiatives.

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The profile that emerged from those seized files was one of a vast, nationwide spy operation. And, in stark contrast with the ADL's claims that they monitor only "extremist" and "anti-Semitic" organizations, investigators found that the ADL was, in fact, collaborating with, and, in some cases, running the hate-groups, and deploying them against religious, political, and civil rights organizations.

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Committee (AADC). Bullock then turned around and planted stories in the press, accusing the Arab-American groups of being tied to neo-Nazis! The proof? Pilfered copies of their membership lists, with the names of the prominent neo-Nazis included. (When the Jewish Defense League blew up the southern California headquarters of the AADC in 1985, killing its director, Alex Odeh, Bullock was an active "member" of the group. He was one of a handful of trusted AADC activists who had a key to the office at the time of the bombing. Paradoxically, FBI Director Webster denounced the "Jewish underground" at that time, as the greatest terrorist threat to the United States, while simultaneously pushing for ADL-FBI collusion!)

Similar dirty tricks were used against groups such as the ACLU, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the New Jewish Agenda, the United Auto Workers, Greenpeace, the Christic Institute (an outfit in Washington, D.C. that filed a lawsuit against Oliver North, Richard Secord, Ted Shackley, and other figures in the George Bush-led Iran-Contra apparatus), and the Rainbow Coalition. The ADL launched similar dirty tricks against U.S. Reps. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), a leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), and Sen. Allan Cranston (D-Calif.). They even spied on Yigal Arens, the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, because he was part of the Israeli peace lobby. Portland's Jewish mayor, Vera Katz, who had lived on a kibbutz in Israel for years and set up a sister city program, was also a target of ADL spying.

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Ultimately, intense political pressure, from both the ADL and its "friends in high places," including inside the permanent bureaucracy at the U.S. Department of Justice, blocked felony indictments. The ADL paid out \$75,000 into a fund to "combat hate crimes"!

ADL caught in spy scandal of the decade

by Jeffrey Steinberg

Henry Schwartzschild waited a long time to go public with his personal horror story about the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Today an employee of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), he resigned from a high-ranking position in the ADL's publicity office in the mid-1960s when he discovered, to his shock, that the ADL was spying on Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. on behalf of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. It was not until the spring of 1993—nearly 30 years after he quit the ADL—that Schwartzschild came forward and told about the League's efforts against Dr. King.

In an April 28, 1993 interview, Schwartzschild told *San Francisco Weekly*: "They [ADL] thought King was sort of a loose cannon. He was a Baptist preacher and nobody could be quite sure what he would do next. The ADL was very anxious about having an unguided missile out there."

Perhaps Schwartzschild felt vindicated by the recent San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) raids on the ADL's offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, in which police seized evidence that the ADL had been illegally spying on 1,000 political, religious, labor, and civil rights organizations all across America, and had maintained dossiers on hundreds of thousands of activists—an Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco confided to an *EIR* investigator that, in its New York City headquarters, the ADL maintains active dossiers on over a million American citizens. Perhaps he went public when he learned that the ADL had been spying on his current employer, the ACLU.

Schwartzschild's revelations added another nail to the coffin of the ADL, further confirming that the League, for a long time, has been little more than a right-wing, racist hate-group masquerading as a Jewish civil rights lobby. To call the ADL a "Jewish civil rights" group, is like calling the Ku Klux Klan a Southern Christian men's association.

The SFPD and Assistant San Francisco District Attorney John Dwyer deserve credit for bringing the ugly truth about the ADL to public light. On Dec. 10, 1992, SFPD officers raided the Bay Area and Los Angeles offices of the ADL, on the basis of evidence that at least one longtime ADL paid operator, Roy Bullock, had been passing classified government files to agents of the South African government, in return for cash payments that totaled more than \$16,000. The SFPD inherited the spy probe from the FBI, which discovered back in 1990 that a confidential FBI investigative file on the Nation of Islam had been sold to intelligence agents of South Af-

rica—during the bad-old-days of the apartheid regime.

The FBI probe ran into a serious diplomatic snag the moment that agents discovered that the conduit of the pilfered FBI file to the South Africans was a full-time ADL employee, who had, at one point, doubled as a paid undercover agent for the FBI. However, this arrangement was not a fluke. In a Feb. 4, 1985 memo to special agents in charge of the Bureau's 25 biggest field offices, Director William Webster had *ordered* agents to enter into collaboration with the ADL to "monitor and report the activities of domestic terrorist groups." Webster wrote: "Each receiving office should contact the Regional ADL Director(s) listed in your Division and establish this liaison. FBIHQ need not be notified of the results of these contacts with the exception of any significant cases or problems." The Webster memo had been released to *EIR* investigator Scott Thompson prior to the FBI's discovery of Bullock's South Africa spying, so there was no denying the ADL-FBI collusion.

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Addendum

This article is a snapshot from the [Mapping Project](#): a project created by activists and organizers in [eastern Massachusetts](#), investigating local links between entities responsible for the colonization of Palestine, for colonialism and dispossession here where we live, and for the economy of imperialism and war.

Dismantle the ADL: The Anti-Defamation League's record of racist counterinsurgency and espionage

“Zionism *never* spoke of itself unambiguously as a Jewish liberation movement, but rather as a Jewish movement for colonial settlement in the Orient.”

-Edward Said

“I first met with you in the spring of 2014, when I was relatively new on the job...

I sang your praises as an organization that fights for inclusivity and diversity, equality and justice...that works with us to fight hate crime and terrorism...

I labeled that last speech a love letter to the ADL. Three years later I can say, from the perspective of the FBI, we're still in love with you.”

-FBI Director [James Comey](#)

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is a non-profit organization founded in 1913. Masquerading as a “civil rights” group, the ADL is a counterinsurgency organization with international reach. Its mission is to protect the mutual interests of the US and Israeli governments - and to eliminate solidarity among oppressed and colonized peoples, especially concerning Palestine.

The ADL carries out this mission by spying on and criminalizing activists, using its close connections to governments, police forces, schools, and corporations. When it is not directly attacking activists and organizers, the ADL undermines their work by pushing its own state-sanctioned, pro-Israel programs. And while the ADL claims to represent Jews and to fight “antisemitism” on their behalf, the organization has a record of supporting anti-Jewish state violence and normalizing Nazis.

The ADL wants to bury these facts, which is why it has been attempting to shut down the Mapping Project since it was released on June 3, 2022: [pressuring web hosts and even a foreign government](#) to take down our site, mobilizing the ADL's partners in the [FBI](#) and [district attorney's office](#) to try to [criminalize our project](#), and getting [politicians](#) to parrot the ADL's talking points. This behavior is consistent with the ADL's over a century long record of counterinsurgency and espionage, which we review below.

Reaching the “Zenith of Deliberate Injustice”: The ADL persecutes communists and Jews

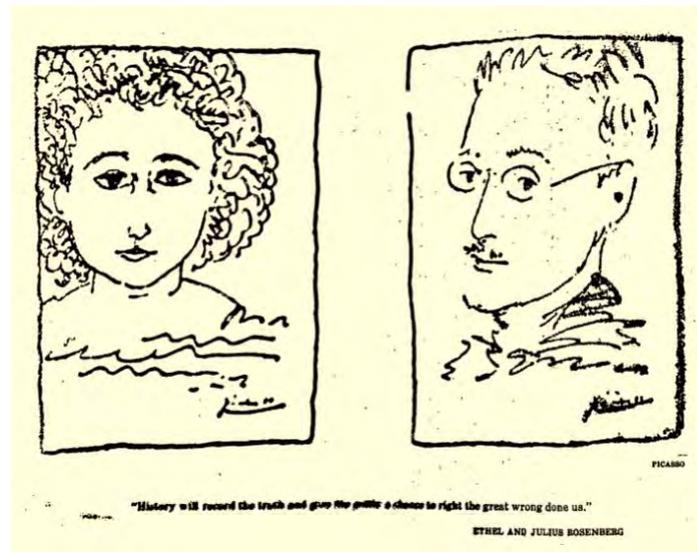
Liberal critics of the ADL mistakenly portray it as a “civil rights” group whose valuable work against racism is being “undermined” in recent years by its “Israel advocacy.” But the ADL’s history refutes this convenient narrative.

For one, the ADL and the order of B’nai B’rith that established it supported the zionist colonization of Palestine even prior to Israel’s founding in 1948. In the 1930s and ‘40s, B’nai B’rith funneled millions of dollars to the Jewish National Fund, an agency that works to dispossess Palestinians of their lands. The ADL sold millions of dollars’ worth of “Israel bonds” to support the new colony and also sent it “\$4,000,000 worth of materials and goods” in 1948. And already in the 1950s, the ADL was trying to stifle the “boycott of Israel” and “boycott[s] against gentiles doing business with Israel,” and handle those “firms complying with the Arab boycott” – which sounds very much like the ADL’s recent anti-BDS work.

Moreover, since the ADL is invested in Jews assimilating into US white supremacy, and since the zionist project it supports requires the backing of imperial powers, the organization has served the US government’s repressive agenda from the start.

After the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in 1917, the ADL joined the US government’s persecution of communists and other radicals challenging capitalism. The ADL began a media campaign that suggested that all Jews are anticommunists who support the US state. The ADL also signaled its allegiance by keeping quiet on the US government’s crimes. When the US government forced Japanese people into concentration camps in the 1940s, this so-called “civil rights” group briefly noted the events in its publication without taking a position (decades later, ADL co-opted the injustices of Japanese internment to promote itself and the US government’s “apology” for these crimes).

In the 1950s, during the anticommunist campaign spearheaded by US senator Joseph McCarthy, the ADL began spying on dissident Jews, turning over files to the House Un-American Activities Committee and FBI. The ADL and allied groups created their own “anticommunist committees,” and started a “purge of the Jewish left from the organized Jewish community” (the American Jewish Committee even told the US Congress in 1953 that “Judaism and communism are utterly incompatible”). Groups like the ADL leveraged their image as “Jewish organizations” to claim the persecution of dissident Jews had nothing to do with anti-Jewish racism.



A pamphlet with Pablo Picasso's drawing of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, from the FBI's extensive files on the Rosenbergs

The tragic consequences of the ADL's allegiance to the state were made clear in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a Jewish couple (and US citizens) accused of espionage by the US government. The ADL wrote letters to Jewish organizations instructing them not to support "any meetings or attempts to develop pro-Rosenberg sympathy" in their communities. In 1952, at the height of the vicious campaign against the Rosenbergs, the ADL declared:

The Communists, in their worldwide propaganda attack defending the convicted atom spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, provide a vivid example of the technique of falsely charging anti-Semitism to hide conspiracy.

With this blessing from the ADL, the US government executed Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by electrocution on June 19, 1953.

Unlike the ADL, some Jews at the time, from rabbis to poets, defended the Rosenbergs and tried to prevent their murder by the US government. Prominent Black activists, artists, and religious leaders also rallied to the Rosenbergs' defense, including Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois (who wrote a poem about the couple). In January 1953, months before their execution, Du Bois called the persecution of the Rosenbergs "the zenith of deliberate injustice":

...in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg we reach the zenith of deliberate injustice. We are set to kill a mother and father and orphan their little children because we think that they believe in social remedies for evident ills which many others do not believe. This is the main charge...we use perjurers to say the Rosenbergs gave to the Soviet Union information which the Rosenbergs never possessed. We promise them pardon if they will betray persons they never knew and give information they never had.

This awful crime we threaten to commit in order to protect a nation which thinks it needs this sacrifice of blood to save its soul. Such a soul is not worth saving.

The ADL gave cover to this zenith of injustice, which hasn't stopped it from also co-opting Du Bois in recent years and watering down his radical message. The organization has since continued to criminalize those who fight against injustice, especially if they also dare to challenge zionism.

The ADL is a counterinsurgency and surveillance group with international reach

The ADL is a highly funded group: according to tax records, in 2020 ADL reported over \$221 million in assets and over \$91 million in total revenue, with roughly \$85 million coming from donations (ADL generally doesn't disclose the identities of its donors). The ADL uses its considerable resources to surveil and stifle organizations and individuals that challenge white supremacy, zionism, or US imperialism, along with liberal groups that don't but are still considered a threat to the ADL's agenda. We provide only a few illustrative examples below.

Defaming Black organizations that challenge white supremacy

During the 1960s, the ADL and other zionist groups attacked Black organizations in the US that fought against white supremacy and correctly linked zionism and racism.

In 1967, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) published an article in its newsletter that accurately described zionism as a colonial movement premised on white supremacy. The article explained that the zionist project "received maximum help, support and encouragement from Great Britain, the United States, and other white western colonial governments," noting that this support made it possible for colonizers to take over lands and homes of non-Jewish Palestinians through "terror, force, and massacres," wiping out Palestinian villages in order to create "Israel." The article gave statistics that showed that native Palestinian Jews were a small minority in Palestine at the time of the 1917 Balfour Declaration. The subsequent influx of Jews into Palestine, as the article argues, was part of a colonization effort that aimed to get rid of non-Jewish Palestinians and take their land (thus turning many Palestinians into refugees).



Excerpts from "The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge," which appeared in SNCC's July 1967 newsletter.

The SNCC article argued that this zionist colonization of Palestine fit within a broader imperialist agenda, noting that the 1947 United Nations Partition Plan was at first endorsed by “only by white European, American and Australasian states” – and that “ISRAEL WAS PLANTED AT THE CROSSROADS OF ASIA AND AFRICA WITHOUT THE FREE APPROVAL OF ANY MIDDLE-EASTERN, ASIAN OR AFRICAN COUNTRY!”

Finally, the article pointed out that zionism is a form of white supremacy that harms Jews as well: “dark skinned Jews from the Middle-East and North Africa are second-class citizens in Israel” because “the color line puts them in inferior position to the white, European Jews.” The article also acknowledged that Jews “who are not Zionists and cannot support the horrors committed by Zionists in the name of Judaism have spoken out,” but that their voices were being systematically suppressed.

The SNCC article, in short, was too truthful about zionism – so the ADL had to step in.

In an [August 1967 Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin](#), the ADL called SNCC a “Negro extremist” organization, accusing it of “[Anti-Semitism](#)” and comparing it to the KKK. Dore Schary, then ADL’s national chairman, stated in the 1967 bulletin that the ADL considers SNCC’s support for the Palestinian struggle to be “a tragedy in the race relations,” adding that:

‘Snick’ [SNCC] is no longer a responsible civil rights group. It ties itself to the Chinese-Soviet and now Arab propaganda machines in the United States...I do not think the majority of Negroes go along...‘Snick’ represents a minuscule minority of the Negro people. Americans generally rejected this kind of extremism, whether it comes from a group like ‘Snick’ or one like the Ku Klux Klan. It is an irony that ‘Snick’ should tie itself to the Arab cause when an Arab country, Saudi Arabia, still maintains slavery.”



JTA bulletin from August 1967 where groups including the ADL smear SNCC for publishing an article that was critical of Israel and zionism. The article was [written by Ethel Minor](#) and did not represent SNCC’s official position as an organization.

The ADL has continued to vilify Black social movements against white supremacy and to condescendingly tell them what counts as “responsible” resistance. In 2016, the ADL attacked the Movement for Black Lives for its statement of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle, calling it “Anti-Semitic.” As Emmaia Gelman wrote, grassroots organizations oppose the ADL precisely because the organization undermines the work of “internationalist, intersectional anti-racism.” For this reason, parents, teachers, and staff asked the New York Department of Education in 2018 not to partner with the ADL, and called out the ADL’s usual maneuver of first suppressing and then co-opting social justice movements:

As a white-led corporate NGO, the ADL’s disrespect for rising leadership in communities of color is appalling. In 2016, the ADL denounced the Movement for Black Lives policy platform emerging from Black Lives Matter, because it linked Black and Palestinian experiences of violence and opposed genocide. The ADL scolded M4BL to “keep your eyes on the prize” by “sticking to” work that the ADL deemed appropriate. Disturbingly, the ADL now offers lesson plans on Black Lives Matter.

In 2020, a variety of social justice groups, including Palestinian Youth Movement and Critical Resistance, similarly called on grassroots organizations and various institutions to drop the ADL because of its “pattern of attacking social justice movements led by communities of color, queer people, immigrants, Muslims, Arabs, and other marginalized groups, while aligning itself with police, right-wing leaders, and perpetrators of state violence.”

Surveilling and criminalizing Palestinian and Arab activists – and anyone who might show solidarity with the Palestinian struggle

The ADL’s counterinsurgency efforts have largely been aimed at Palestinian and other Arab organizations that support the Palestinian liberation struggle. The ADL has surveilled, smeared, and even infiltrated such groups in attempts to frame them as “antisemites.”

A letter from July 7, 1961, written by then ADL national director Benjamin Epstein, explains the goal of these espionage operations:

Anti-Defamation League for many years maintained a very important, confidential investigative coverage of Arab activities and propaganda...we have maintained an information-gathering operation since 1948 relating to activities emanating from the Arab Consular Offices, Arab United Nations Delegations, Arab Information Center, Arab Refugee Office and the Organization of Arab Students...

Our information in addition to being essential for our operations, has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli government. All data have been made available to both countries with full knowledge to each that we were the source...In many cases our information has exposed Arab plans before they have been put into effect. [emphases added]

The ADL used its connections on college campuses to engage in such surveillance. In 1983, ADL created a booklet with names of individuals and organizations that the organization considers as “pro-Arab propagandists,” and according to the *New York Times*, “the list, stamped ‘confidential,’ was mailed to several dozen campus Jewish leaders in November 1983 by the Anti-Defamation League’s New England office.” The booklet came with a cover letter from then ADL of New England’s executive director Leonard Zakim stating: “Should you need more information on these individual groups or any

others, please call us. Also, if you have any knowledge of any individuals or groups not listed in the booklet, please pass the information on to us so that we can have a more complete and useful listing.”

But this booklet was only one small part of the espionage operation the ADL carried out in the mid to late twentieth century.

The wide scope of this operation became clearer in the 1990s, when the ADL was forced to settle in a lawsuit following revelations that it had worked with police in California to spy on organizations and individuals.

The files that emerged from the lawsuit show that the ADL had surveilled over 10,000 individuals and over 900 organizations engaged in a variety of causes – from Palestinian and Indigenous liberation to various anti-racist and migrant justice work, labor organizing, and gay liberation. This broad net was meant to catch any organization that might show solidarity with the Palestinian struggle or otherwise threaten US-Israeli interests. The files also confirm that the ADL colluded with governments, turning over information on anti-apartheid Black activists to the South African Apartheid government and information on Palestinian activists to the Israeli government.

The organizations that the ADL spied on included:

- General Union of Palestinians Students (GUPS)
- Institute for Palestine Studies
- Palestine Congress of North America
- Palestine Human Rights Campaign
- Palestine National Council
- Palestine Solidarity Committee
- Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
- The Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada
- Association of Arab-American University Graduates
- League of Arab Students
- American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism
- Jewish Alliance Against Zionism
- Union of Iranian Students

as well as:

- American Indian Movement (AIM)
- National Indian Treaty Council
- Asian Law Caucus
- Japanese-American Citizens League
- ACT UP
- Centro Legal de la Raza
- Irish Northern Aid

The San Francisco Labor Council and 20 trade union locals were also surveilled. The ADL also tracked individuals, from graduate students to prominent writers such as Edward Said, Walid Khalidi, Eqbal Ahmad, and Noam Chomsky.

The ADL used two key informants for their espionage operation in California: Tom Gerard, a San Francisco police officer, and Roy Bullock, a former weight lifter who presented himself to the activists he spied on as an “art dealer.”

Some of the people spied on by these ADL informants wound up dead.

One individual the ADL spied on in California was Alex Odeh, a Palestinian who served as the west coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). Odeh was killed in 1985 when his Los Angeles office was bombed by pro-Israel activists, after which investigators found a key and the floor plan to Odeh’s office in the files which the ADL-hired spy, Roy Bullock, had compiled on Odeh.



Alex Odeh, the west coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) who was surveilled by the ADL-paid infiltrator (Roy Bullock) and later killed by pro-Israel militants who bombed his California office.

Bullock had infiltrated the ADC and helped the ADL frame the group as “antisemites.” Jeffrey Blankfort, an activist who was himself also spied on by the ADL, reported that Bullock became a member of a local ADC chapter, and as a former weight lifter was tasked with handling the ADC’s security. As Blankfort wrote, Bullock obtained pamphlets from the ADC which he then planted “at the convention of the Holocaust-denying Journal of Historical Review” in order to frame the ADC for “working with anti-Semites.”



Chris Hani speaking in 1991. An ADL-hired informant spied on Hani while Hani was in California and turned the information over to the Apartheid South African government. Hani was later assassinated in South Africa.

Another individual the ADL spied on was prominent Black South African activist Chris Hani, who was assassinated in South Africa on April 10, 1993, shortly after a speaking tour in California. While on tour, Hani was followed by one of the ADL-hired police officers who prepared a lengthy report on Hani for the South African apartheid government. Israel, of course, long supported and armed South Africa’s apartheid government, and with the ADL’s help hoped to eliminate the solidarity between the

Palestinian and South African liberation struggles. The ADL and Israel understood that such solidarity could increase the use of shared tactics such as boycotts and divestments against both regimes. (Publicly, the ADL pretended to be critical of South Africa's apartheid while downplaying Israel's alliance with the regime, and later lobbied for post-apartheid South African politicians to support Israel.)

The ADL continues to surveil and encourage infiltration of groups that challenge white supremacy today. Following the white supremacist attacks in Charlottesville Virginia in 2017, ADL created a "primer for law enforcement" in which it encouraged US police to film and plant undercover agents in anti-racist and anti-fascist groups in order to gather intel for prosecution.

The ADL promotes a racist, pro-Israel agenda by working with police forces, schools, and corporations

In addition to attacking organizations that challenge white supremacy and zionism, the ADL also promotes a pro-Israel agenda by working closely with US police, as well as schools and corporations.

One of the ADL's main channels to police is through trainings. The ADL conducted its first police training in February 1951, titled "The Policeman and His Role in the Field of Human Relations," to an audience of fifty police officers. The ADL saw the police as key to ensuring the civil rights movement didn't get too radical. In its 1964 report, the ADL described "an increasing tendency toward extremism in both white and Negro communities," adding that "police forces and other law enforcement agencies have an increasingly crucial role these days in maintaining peaceful and harmonious relations in the community." The report states that the ADL had at that time provided trainings for "more than 130 top police executives from 31 states."

The ADL has since expanded its trainings for police substantially, while centering cops in its "educational" materials and downplaying the structural racism of US society. In the 1980s, the ADL's "A World of Difference" program, supposedly meant to "combat prejudice" in schools, heavily featured the police (who the ADL absurdly referred to as a "community organization").



Screenshots from ADL video about "A World of Difference" program, showing how the ADL got cozy with police, who are described in the video as one of the "community organizations."

As Emmaia Gelman writes, various anti-racist and queer groups opposed ADL’s “A World of Difference” because it “presented a narrow view of bias that elevated the Nazi holocaust and minimized experiences from slavery to internment” and “taught Islamophobia rather than challenging it.” These groups also called out the ADL’s omission of anti-gay violence from its programs “at a moment when it was a key project of white supremacists and predominant among ‘bias crimes,’ exacerbated by the AIDS crisis.” Because it is invested in white supremacy, the ADL also opposed the most modest anti-racist policies that such groups have advocated, like affirmative action in college admissions.

But resistance to the ADL’s racism from activists didn’t matter to the organization; it was set on working with the cops.

The attacks of September 11, 2001 gave the ADL an opportunity to expand its relationships with US police. In the climate of heightened anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism, the ADL ramped up its police trainings, arranging all-expenses-paid trips to the “National Counterterrorism Seminar in Israel” for US police and related agencies. By 2016, the ADL could boast in an annual report that “100% of major U.S. metropolitan police departments have sent participants to the ADL’s National Counterterrorism Seminar in Israel and the ADL’s Advanced Training School in Extremist and Terrorist Threats.” Through these collaborations, the ADL encourages domestic police to identify with Israel, to view Palestinians as “terrorists,” and to see those who speak or act in solidarity with Palestinians as “terrorist sympathizers.”



The ADL’s Oren Segal – who in 2006 “was recognized by the FBI for his exceptional service” – conducting racist training for police on so-called “domestic Islamic extremism.”

As the Mapping Project has documented, Israel is frequently “a point of reference” for policing and counterinsurgency in the US. It’s not that the US needs Israel to teach it colonial brutality and counterinsurgency but rather that the two regimes continually exchange notes and tactics. The colonization of Palestine produces methods that can be applied not only in Jenin but also Los Angeles and Baghdad; it’s also telling that the Israeli army called the fake Palestinian town it has built for practicing urban warfare “Chicago.”

In our local area, the ADL of New England coordinates annual junkets to Israel to foster these exchanges. On these trips, Massachusetts police officials learn about “counterterrorism” from Israeli state agents (see appendix below for more information on ADL of New England). The ADL of New England used the [2013 Boston Marathon bombings](#) and the outpouring of anti-Muslim racism that followed as a [pretext](#) for [expanding such programs](#), much like the national ADL used the attacks of September 11, 2001. The ADL of New England [sponsored](#) Israel trips for numerous municipal police forces, as well as for Boston’s field office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), New England’s Homeland Security Department, US Marshalls Service, US Secret Service, various County Sheriffs’ offices, and university police forces. The ADL of New England’s director Robert Trestan [explained](#) that these trips are meant to align local policing tactics with Israeli ones:

It is critical that Massachusetts police departments be able to equally prevent and respond to crime while protecting us from the threat of terrorism. The Israel national police have been on the frontline combating terror for decades and are able to share their firsthand experience in keeping the public safe despite multiple threats.

Even when the trainings take place in the US, Israel is there. In 2019, for instance, ADL of New England coordinated a “Law Enforcement Seminar” in Foxboro, MA that featured [presentations](#) from an “Israeli counterterrorism expert” on “The Ten Commandments of Counterterrorism” and “Actionable Strategies for Securing Events and Open Spaces in Communities.” The ADL of New England also produced multiple [dossiers](#) on “extremism” which they shared with New England police departments. Moreover, the ADL is listed as an “official partner” of the Boston and [Massachusetts Countering Violent Extremism \(CVE\) programs](#) – programs that, as the Muslim Justice League [noted](#), work to “falsely legitimize discrimination against Muslims and dissidents.”



The ADL loves the cops, and the cops love it back. Photos of FBI director James Comey, who has professed his [“love”](#) for the ADL, speaking at the organization’s [conference](#) in 2017, and ADL giving [awards](#) to police officers in [California](#) and [Washington DC](#).

Along with other zionist groups such as the [AJC](#) and JCRC, ADL of New England has also [mobilized opposition](#) to local BDS efforts, including attempts in 2018 and 2021 to pass [BDS-like resolutions](#) in the city council of Cambridge, MA. This is a continuation of an old agenda: the ADL had already [declared in 1976](#) that “the Arab boycott [of Israel] is immoral because it is unfair, discriminatory and destructive of the open American marketplace” and that “there must be laws against it.” Over the last decade, the ADL has [played a leading role](#) in the (so far failed) attempts to pass such laws in Massachusetts, which if passed would impose civil and/or criminal penalties on Massachusetts residents that boycott Israel.



ADL CEO and former Obama administration staffer Jonathan Greenblatt at a ceremony celebrating the opening of US embassy in Jerusalem in 2018. Greenblatt said that “the opening of the United States Embassy in Jerusalem is a historic milestone 2000 years in the making” and that “Jerusalem is Israel’s eternal capital.”

The ADL also pushes its anti-Palestinian agenda through a slew of corporate partnerships. It works as a “content vetting” partner with companies such as Google and Microsoft to remove “antisemitic” - which often means “pro-Palestinian” - content from these companies’ platforms, and pressures these companies to continue to [suppress Palestinian voices](#).

The ADL also enforces a pro-Israel agenda through school partnerships. The ADL of New England and allied zionist groups worked with the [public school district](#) in Newton, MA to review the curriculum and train teachers, and [pressured the district](#) to change content that was deemed insufficiently pro-Israel. In 2019, the ADL [noted](#) the success of these interventions, explaining how it was able to change the school district’s “Understanding and Celebrating Middle East Day”: “thanks to our advocacy, combined with the [Israel American Council](#) organizing parents and working directly with teachers, the [Newton public] school changed the program and Israel was prominently and positively featured throughout the [Understanding Middle East] day.”

The ADL supports US empire’s projects around the world

The ADL’s activities are profoundly shaped by the US government’s interests abroad. As is [well-documented](#), Israel has long backed the US’s imperialist agenda by training, arming, and spying on behalf of US-backed regimes across the world. The ADL plays a supporting role in this alliance: it smears governments that threaten US and Israeli interests as “antisemitic,” while downplaying or ignoring the crimes of US-backed regimes.

The ADL’s work in Latin America, which began prior to 1948, provides illuminating examples. As the [ADL’s 1941 report](#) states, the organization used its connections to Jewish communities in Latin America to promote a US-friendly agenda. The ADL collected information about the region’s “good-will movements, democratic trends and Fifth Column Activities,” and sought to strengthen “Pan-American ties” while keeping track of “subversive activities in other nations.”

As the ADL’s later work in the region shows, “subversive activities” is code for developments that threaten the US-Israeli agenda.

Consider Chile, for example, where Salvador Allende, a socialist, served as the elected president until he was assassinated in 1973 in a US-backed coup. Although Allende had expressed support for Israel,

his government's plans to nationalize industries threatened US capitalist interests. Zionists were also worried that Allende's left-wing government might show solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

The director of the ADL's "Latin American Affairs Department," Morton Rosenthal, then smeared Allende, employing racist tropes that equate Jews with capitalism. In a 1971 article titled "Jews in Marxist Chile - On the Way Out?", Rosenthal concluded that:

The long term prognosis for Jewish communities of Latin America is not hopeful. As capitalists, they will be hurt by spreading socialism. As Jews they will be targets for followers of Moscow and nationalistic anti-Semitic elements who view them as alien. As part of the 'establishment,' they will be targets for the impoverished and exploited masses now groping for revolutionary changes in the social order and an end to their marginal, often sub-human, conditions.

Allende's government was replaced by the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, who was supported by both the US and Israel, and Chile became a testing ground for the neoliberal policies crafted by right-wing US economists and their protégés - policies enforced under Pinochet's regime of mass executions, torture, and disappearances of socialists and other dissidents.

The story is similar in Nicaragua. The Somoza family took power in Nicaragua with US assistance in the 1930s and was friendly to US corporations seeking to exploit Nicaragua's workers and natural resources. Both the US and Israel supported the Somoza dictatorship against the socialist Sandinistas. (The Somozas had ties to Zionist groups prior to 1948, and sold weapons to the Haganah Zionist militia.) In 1979, the Sandinistas went against US interests by overthrowing the Somoza government. The US and Israel trained and armed the Nicaraguan contras, which fought against the Sandinistas and were known for their brutal massacres and rapes. Israel, which was the major arms provider to US-backed militias in Central America in the 1970s, sent weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the contras. The Sandinista government, which had a relationship with the PLO, cut diplomatic ties with Israel after Israel bombed Lebanon in 1982.

Predictably, the ADL began smearing the Sandinistas as "antisemites." The ADL's Latin America "expert" Morton Rosenthal accused the Sandinista government in 1983 of "exiling" the "entire Jewish community" of Nicaragua, claiming this was a result of the Sandinistas' "solidarity" with the PLO. These charges were refuted, including by a delegation of Jews from the US that visited Nicaragua and reported that they "found nothing to substantiate charges of anti-Semitism by the ruling Sandinista government." In fact, the ADL had falsely presented the experiences of a handful of right-wing Jewish families with strong business ties to the Somoza family as representative of Nicaragua's "entire Jewish community." Rosenthal later backpedaled. Yet, as the *Washington Post* noted at the time, after ADL's campaign "the Reagan administration has added anti-Semitism to its accusations against the Nicaraguans," and US politicians began condemning Nicaragua's "government-sponsored antisemitism."

As the *Los Angeles Times* reported, the campaign claiming the Sandinista government was "antisemitic" was revived in 1985, "less than a month before [US] Congress is expected to vote on a \$14-million aid package to fund anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua." The Somoza-supporting Nicaraguan Jewish families that the ADL based its charges of "antisemitism" on, by then living in the US, participated in the campaign, and appeared in press conference alongside contra leaders. Even the *Los Angeles Times* acknowledged that this campaign might have something to do with the Reagan

administration's interest in toppling the Sandinista government, and the fact that the Sandinista government supported the PLO and had cast votes against Israel in the United Nations.

In the same year, the ADL published propaganda to cover up Israel's extensive support for US-backed militias around the world, claiming that Israel works with "Third World countries to help them improve their economies through self-help projects," aiding farming, health care, and labor organization (as opposed to profiting from arms sales, raising international support for zionism, and doing the US's bidding).

In recent years, the ADL has continued to watch over Latin America, taking positions that magically mirror those of the US government. Consider two examples:

Venezuela: The US has been attempting to overthrow the Maduro government in Venezuela, which has resisted US encroachment while the country has been suffering from US sanctions. Unsurprisingly, the ADL labeled Maduro's government as "antisemitic," systematically interpreting every reference to "Zionist" as synonymous with "Jewish," while claiming that Venezuela is under "the influence of Iran, and its proxy Hezbollah." In 2019, Juan Guaidó, the politician the US hoped to install in place of Maduro, brazenly declared himself president of Venezuela in hopes of catalyzing a coup. The US and its allies quickly recognized Guaidó, although he had never been elected. The ADL, as expected, referred to Guaidó as "declared interim President Juan Guaidó, whose bid to take over the government is supported by more than 50 countries."

Brazil: The Bolsonaro government in Brazil is notoriously white supremacist. The government has systematically attacked Brazil's Indigenous communities, making way for US corporations that exploit Brazil's resources. Bolsonaro has associated with contemporary Nazis, while some officials in his government have echoed Nazi propaganda. He was also endorsed by former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, who said Bolsonaro "sounds like us" and praised him for "talking about the demographic disaster that exists in Brazil and the enormous crime that exists there, in the black neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro." But Bolsonaro is a close ally of the US and Israel, which is why the ADL hasn't launched a major campaign against his government, but only condemned his egregiously racist behavior when it got media attention and was condemned by other zionist groups and avoiding comment was impossible.

The ADL will also deny historical atrocities when doing so suits the interests of the US and Israel. The ADL long denied that the Armenians suffered a genocide under the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century. This reflected the position of the US and Israel, who have long been allied with Turkey, a NATO member, that denies the genocide. Israel also arms Turkey, including through Israeli companies such as Elbit. The ADL was strongly criticized by Armenian communities in the US for its genocide denial, and later by US politicians when the US government's position shifted. Eventually, the ADL was forced to apologize and acknowledge the Armenian genocide. It's notable that this eventual acknowledgment came only after US and Israeli relations with Turkey began to grow more strained over a series of confrontations set off by the war in Iraq, and after the Turkish government gave open support to breaking the Israeli siege on Gaza.

All these cases illustrate how the ADL's positions have nothing to do with facts or history but are narrowly pinned to Israeli and US imperial interests.

The ADL sanitizes Nazis when doing so aligns with US imperial interests

The ADL's allegiance to US empire can lead it to sanitize threats of racist violence, even from Nazis. The current situation in Ukraine demonstrates this fact.

Prior to the recent war in Ukraine, in 2019, the ADL [reported](#) that the [Azov battalion](#) - a Nazi-filled group that is now part of the Ukrainian national guard - "has ties to neo-Nazis and white supremacists." But when the war that the [US government](#) and [weapons companies](#) are deeply invested in broke out, the ADL began downplaying Ukrainian Nazis. Responding to the war, the ADL [stated](#) in February 2022 that "Ukraine is a democracy with equal rights for its Jewish citizens, including the right to be elected to its highest office, as President Zelensky has demonstrated," and suggested that reports of Nazi elements in Ukraine's government are "antisemitic" and amount to Russian state propaganda. The US state department later adopted the same line, asserting that "[To Vilify Ukraine, The Kremlin Resorts to Antisemitism.](#)"

The ADL proceeded to promote materials that downplay Ukrainian Nazism. In March 2022, the ADL [published an interview](#) of David Fishman, a Jewish Theological Seminary professor, conducted by ADL Director of European Affairs Andrew Srulevitch, titled "Why is Putin Calling the Ukrainian Government a Bunch of Nazis?" In the interview, Srulevitch asked Fishman about segments of the contemporary Ukrainian nationalist movement that venerate [Stepan Bandera and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army](#) (also known as UPA), who are known to have collaborated with the Nazis during World War II. (Members of the Azov battalion, for example, [revere](#) Bandera and the UPA.) Fishman responded: "For Ukrainian nationalists, UPA and Bandera are symbols of the Ukrainian fight for Ukrainian independence. The UPA allied with Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union for tactical - not ideological - reasons."

But as Daniel Lazare notes in [a 2015 article about Bandera](#), "although Bandera and his followers would later try to paint the alliance with the Third Reich as no more than 'tactical,' an attempt to pit one totalitarian state against another, it was in fact deep-rooted and ideological." Bandera and his supporters, Lazare explains, "played a leading role in the anti-Jewish pogroms that broke out in Lviv and dozens of other Ukrainian cities on the heels of the German invasion," and "served the Nazis by patrolling the ghettos and assisting in deportations, raids and shootings." In recent years, the Ukrainian government has [named streets after Bandera](#) and other Nazi collaborators, and officially embraced groups such as the UPA as national heroes.

Despite this record, as *Electronic Intifada* [reported](#), ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt featured the [interview](#) with Fishman in an ADL national newsletter with the framing that "anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and other misinformation are spreading in the wake of the invasion." (Imagine what the ADL's response might have been if a country that wasn't allied with the US had a Nazi army unit like the Azov battalion, one in which soldiers have swastika tattoos and whose [commander once said](#) his nation must "lead the White Races of the world in a final crusade for their survival...against the Semite-led Untermenschen.")

Much like the ADL's [insistence](#) seventy years earlier that defenders of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were "falsely charging anti-Semitism to hide conspiracy," the ADL's framing of the war in Ukraine shows that the organization is willing to excuse anti-Jewish violence when doing so aligns with the geopolitical [objectives of the US government](#).

The ADL's position on Ukraine isn't unique; there is a broader and disturbing push by zionists to sanitize Ukrainian Nazism given the US-backed war. Some zionist organizations have been trying to rehabilitate the image of the Azov battalion, which ironically is armed by Israel. The *Times of Israel*, a newspaper owned by hedge-fund billionaire and zionist donor Seth Klarman – whose foundation gave over \$3.6 million to the ADL between 2001-2019 – tried to convince readers that a group of armed Nazis with swastika tattoos isn't as bad as it might seem. The *Times of Israel's* March 2022 interview with Jewish Ukrainian nationalist Konstantyn Batozsky attempted to pull off this feat:

“I was shocked when I saw guys with swastika tattoos,” he [Batozsky] said about the Azov members he got to know. “But I talked with them all the time about being Jewish and they had nothing negative to say. They had no anti-Jewish ideology.”

He insists that the image of Ukraine as a hotbed of antisemitism is absurd.

“I don't practice, but still everyone knows I am Jewish – I have such a Jewish face! And I never experienced antisemitism from Ukrainians,” he insisted. “The military guys I am working with now really don't care that I am a Jew.”

Because of their commitment to US empire, zionists end up condoning Nazis in these absurd ways.

Dismantle the ADL

Despite the ADL's atrocious record, we often hear that the group nonetheless collects valuable information about racist incidents and white supremacist groups, and ADL's statistics are frequently cited – sometimes even by independent anti-fascist or anti-racist organizations. Unfortunately, any potentially useful information the ADL might collect gets distorted by the organization's own racist agenda: its advocacy for a white-supremacist colonial project in Palestine, its commitment to strengthening US police forces, and its devotion to US imperialism. The ADL's statistics on “antisemitism” are hopelessly confounded with challenges to Israel and zionism, and as many have observed, the ADL doesn't even say how exactly these statistics are compiled, making the numbers useless.

The truth is that the ADL is a racist counterinsurgency and surveillance group that cannot be reformed. Like other repressive organizations, the ADL should be dismantled. Whatever resources the ADL has should go towards repairing the many harms it has done.

Further reading on the ADL

Friedman, R. How The Anti-Defamation League Turned the Notion of Human Rights on Its Head, Spying on Progressives and Funneling Information to Law Enforcement, *The Village Voice* (1993)

Blankfort, J. ADL Spies, *Counterpunch* (2013)

Ames, M. The Kings of Garbage, or, the Adl Spied on Me and All I Got Was This Lousy Index Card, *Pacific Standard* (2014)

Gelman, E. The Anti-Defamation League Is Not What It Seems, *Boston Review* (2019)

Abunimah, A. Israel lobby group ADL rehabilitates Hitler's accomplices in Ukraine, *Electronic Intifada* (2022)

Drop The ADL: Communities say no to the Anti-Defamation League in our schools, coalitions, and movements

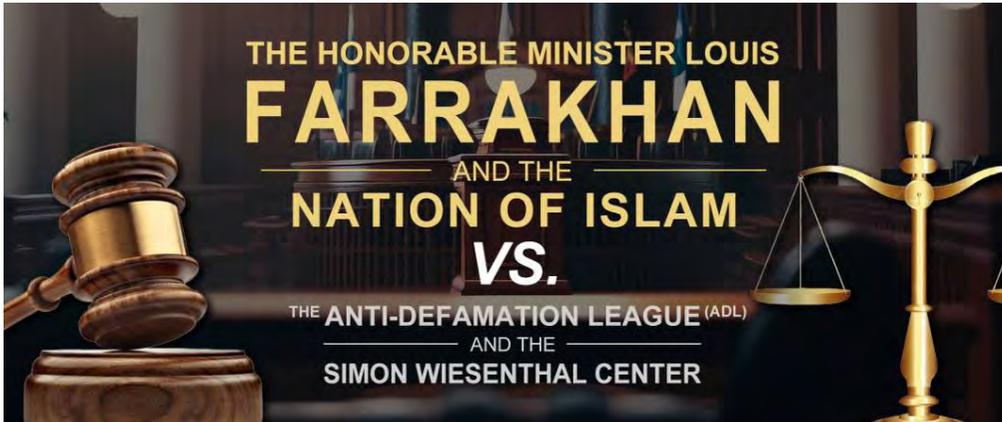
Select documents on ADL's counterinsurgency operations and police trainings

- ADL letter reporting its surveillance of Arab organizations and individuals (July, 1961)
- Files emerging from investigation of ADL's California espionage operation
- ADL's "counterterrorism" Israel trips for Massachusetts state police

Appendix: The ADL in New England

In 2016 alone, the following senior officials from the police and related agencies participated in the ADL-sponsored, all-expenses-paid "Massachusetts Counter-Terrorism Seminar in Israel": Joseph Carafelli, Chief of Police, Revere Police Department; Dan Conley, District Attorney, Suffolk County; Kevin Coppinger, Chief of Police, Lynn Police Department; Matthew Etre, Special Agent In Charge, ICE-Homeland Security Investigations; Randall Halstead, Superintendent of Police, Boston Police Department; Rabbi William Hamilton, Chaplain, Massachusetts State Police, ADL Board Member; Michael Kent, Chief of Police, Burlington Police Department; Daniel Kumor, Special Agent in Charge, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives; Joshua Margulies, Environmental Safety Officer, Mount Auburn Hospital; Kevin Molis, Chief of Police, Malden Police Department; Richard McKeon, Colonel, Massachusetts State Police; Helena Rafferty, Deputy Chief of Police, Canton Police Department; Marian Ryan, District Attorney, Middlesex County District Attorney's Office; William Taylor, Superintendent of Police, Lowell Police Department; Steven Tompkins, Sheriff, Suffolk County Sheriff's Office; Richard Wells, Chief of Police, Milton Police Department.

Other senior officers who have participated in ADL-sponsored trips to Israel include (but are not limited to): Cambridge Police Deputy Superintendent Paul Ames; Boston Police Chief William Gross; MBTA Transit Police Deputy Chief Joseph O'Connor; MBTA Transit Police Deputy Lewis Best; MBTA Transit Police Chief Ken Green; Superintendent of the Massachusetts State Police Kerry Giplin; Massachusetts State Police Lieutenant Colonel Sharon Costine; Bedford Police Chief Robert Bongiorno; Chelsea Police Chief Brian Kyes; Everett Police chief Steve Mazzie; Framingham Police Chief Ken Ferguson; Gloucester Police Chief Len Campanello; Marblehead Police Chief Robert Picariello; Newton Police Chief Howard Mintz; Wellesley Police Chief Terrence Cunningham; United States Marshalls Service Marshall John Gibbons; United States Secret Service Assistance Special Agent in Charge Tom Baker; Middlesex County Sheriff Peter Koutoujian; Chief of Police of the Arlington Police Department Frederick Ryan; a representative from New England Homeland Security; The Chief of Police from the Somerville Police Department; The Chief of Police from the Watertown Police Department; The Chief of Police from the Worcester Police Department; The Chief of Police from the Haverhill Police Department; The Chief of Police from the Foxborough Police Department; The Chief of Police from the Wakefield Police Department; The Sheriff from the Plymouth County Sheriff's Department; Chief of the Cambridge Fire Department Gerard E. Mahoney. Local university police departments that have participated in ADL's Israel junkets include Tufts University Police Department, Boston University Police Department, Northeastern University Police Department, MIT Police, and Suffolk University Police Department.



On October 16, 2023, **The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan** and the **Nation of Islam** (N.O.I.) sued the **Anti-Defamation League**, its CEO, **Jonathan Greenblatt**, and the **Simon Wiesenthal Center** and its Director of Global Social Action, **Rabbi Abraham Cooper**, in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York for 1st Amendment violations and defamation.

For over 40 years, the Defendants have falsely labeled **Minister Farrakhan** and the **N.O.I.** as “anti-Semites” and as “anti-Semitic” because of a difference in theological viewpoints, and for his pointing out misbehavior of some members of the Jewish community.

Minister Farrakhan: “In the Holy Qur’an it reads, ‘And mix not up truth with falsehood, nor hide the truth while you know.’ **The Honorable Elijah Muhammad** told us and taught us that hiding the truth leads to all kinds of mischief-making and vile behavior, hatred, and even death. So we thought it is now time for us to legally respond to these false charges.”

To read the press release and case documents, scan the QR CODE below or visit <https://noi.org/noivad/>

