

[Jesse] Jackson: 'There is a broad base of objectionable language used by a lot of people in high places. It's not just Farrakhan.' To make all black leaders responsible for his words, it might be argued, is just another kind of bigotry."

### ADL is out for contributions

McNeil/Lehrer News Hour, on PBS, Feb. 3: Rep. Charles Rangel is interviewed along with ADL National Director Abraham Foxman and two other guests. Rangel questioned the ADL's motivation in putting Minister Khalid Muhammad's comments in a full-page ad in the *New York Times*.

**Rangel:** If reporters want to do this [report anti-Semitic remarks], fine. But with all the racism that exists in this country, with all the anti-Semitism, can't we find some positive way to work together to expose it without publicizing people and asking people to send in contributions? Which leads to what—repudiations. . . . I'd like to say to Mr. Foxman: If groups get together, it doesn't really matter whether it's anti-Semitism, or racism, or anti-Catholicism, we can all get together to reject it. But if we did, then you would not be able to find people to repudiate it, nor do I think you would be able to get the contributions, because you won't have the emotion there—

**Foxman:** —Congressman Rangel, I respect you too much for that comment. That was really an unnecessary—you fight racism, and to accuse us of doing this for contributions is beneath my respect of you.

**Lenora Fulani**, on the same program, at one point asked: "If the black and Jewish . . . leadership want to do something positive, why aren't they investigating the ADL? Why didn't Reverend [Jesse] Jackson stand with Dr. Fred Newman and push Attorney General Janet Reno to investigate what you [ADL] have been doing [i.e., spying] in this country for the last 20 years?"

**Foxman:** —There goes the conspiracy theory again.

**Fulani:** "[Black leaders must say,] You [ADL] will not dictate the terms on which the black and Latino community lives its life."

**A.M. Rosenthal**, *New York Times*, Feb. 4, in a column entitled "Bigots and Journalists": "*Time* magazine has printed a news story disclosing that fighting black anti-Semitism by asking black leaders to stand against it is a way of 'enforcing racial correctness' and 'it might be argued, is just another kind of bigotry. . . .' On Feb. 3, Mr. Farrakhan slapped custard all over *Time's* face. . . . He fired the fellow and said his language was 'repugnant.' But he stood by the 'truths' the said aide spoke. Since those 'truths' were a foul mess of religious and racial trash, Mr. Farrakhan's weasling moves me no more than his earlier announcement that he would play a violin piece by Mendelssohn."

**Richard Cohen**, *New York Post*, Feb. 7, in a column entitled "Deeply Rooted Bigotry": "Farrakhan's bigotry is so deep, so unquestioned, that he cannot himself recognize it. He is a classic post-Holocaust Jew-hater."

## The ADL's sordid racism and hate

In stark contrast to its Madison Avenue-manufactured reputation as a civil rights agency fighting "hate crimes," the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) is in reality one of the leading hate groups in America today. While many Jewish activists and organizations have justly earned a reputation for being strong advocates of civil rights, the ADL has historically sided with the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, and other well-known racist organizations in fighting against progress in the fields of integration, economic development, equal education, and racial harmony.

The following are highlights of some of the more egregious instances in which the ADL, to use an old television expression, was "caught in the act of being itself."

### Working for J. Edgar Hoover

1964: Henry Schwarzschild, an official in the publications department, quits the ADL in protest against the League's spying on Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. on behalf of the FBI. On April 28, 1993, *San Francisco Weekly*, a Bay Area newspaper, provided the following account about the ADL collusion with J. Edgar Hoover against the civil rights leader:

"ADL was spying on Martin Luther King and passing on the information to J. Edgar Hoover, a former ADL employee said. 'It was common and casually accepted knowledge,' said Henry Schwarzschild, who worked in the publications department of the ADL between 1962 and 1964.

"Schwarzschild, now with the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, said the ADL spied on King meetings because they were afraid that if the famed civil rights leader stirred a white backlash against blacks in the South, it would encompass Jews as well. 'They thought King was sort of a loose cannon,' he said. '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. The Jewish community was small but very well settled in the Deep South. [The ADL] were concerned about their well-being. After all, the Klan always lumped blacks with Jews.'

"Of the ADL spies he knew, Schwarzschild said: 'They would be very FBI-ish about it. They were dedicated people,

# legacy of crimes

organizational bureaucrats. They generally bought into that doctrine that vigilance is the eternal price of liberty.’ ”

## ADL behind bombings against Jews

June 30, 1968: ADL Southern Regional Director Adolph Botnick plays a pivotal role in a staged bomb attack against the home of a prominent Jewish businessman in Meridian, Mississippi. Botnick, on behalf of the ADL, pays two indicted Ku Klux Klan murderers, Alton Wayne Roberts and Raymond Roberts, a total of \$69,000 to set up the attack on the home of Meyer Davidson by two Klan underlings, Thomas A. Terrants III and Kathy Ainsworth. Terrants and Ainsworth walk into an FBI and sheriff's ambush, and in the ensuing shootout, Ainsworth is killed and Terrants is shot 70 times (he miraculously survived).

The Roberts brothers, who were paid by the ADL to stage the incident, were at the time under indictment for the 1964 Philadelphia, Mississippi Klan murders of three civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner. Alton Wayne Roberts was the triggerman in the cold-blooded execution of the three civil rights volunteers, yet the ADL interceded to get him a minimum sentence of less than 10 years in prison (he was released from jail after serving three years), presumably in payment for the services he rendered to the League in Meridian.

In 1993, *Los Angeles Times* Washington, D. C. bureau chief Jack Nelson, who covered the original Meridian incident in 1970, published a book-length exposé of the ADL's role in the Ainsworth-Terrants affair. The ADL has joined with the FBI in attempting to get Nelson fired from the *Los Angeles Times* because of his coverage of the Meridian affair.

## Disruption and slander

Oct. 22, 1968: ADL “fact finder” Carl Gershman, under the supervision of Irwin Suall, who to this day is still the chief of the League's Fact-Finding Division in New York, writes a memo titled “The Meaning of the SNCC-Black Panther Party Split,” suggesting ways to exploit policy differences among black activists to further disrupt their activities. The document was released years later as part of a Freedom

of Information Act (FOIA) suit against the FBI's infamous Cointelpro operation, which targeted domestic political organizations for disruption and violent attacks. Gershman's report was passed to the Special Agent in Charge of the Los Angeles office of the FBI, who in turn provided it personally to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

According to an account of the Cointelpro efforts directed against black militant organizations such as the Black Panthers and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) entitled *Racial Matters*, “Division Five [FBI Counterintelligence Division] tried to disrupt the Panthers by manipulating Rabbi Meir Kahane and the ‘vigilante-type’ Jewish Defense League, leaking information to college administrators and sources in the Anti-Defamation League, and working with newspaper columnists. The FBI compared Panther ideology with ‘the traditional anti-Semitism of organizations like the American Nazi Party and even more traditional anti-Semitism of the late Adolf Hitler.’ In the case of the JDL, the FBI did not limit itself to ‘the furnishing of factual information’ because Kahane's group could not ‘be motivated to act’ unless ‘the information . . . concerning anti-Semitism and other matters were furnished . . . [with] some embellishment.’ ”

According to Kahane biographer Robert I. Friedman, Kahane was himself an FBI informant at the time he founded the JDL. And during the period that the JDL was being deployed to disrupt black political activists, Kahane was being bankrolled by the head of the Brooklyn, New York branch of the ADL, Bernard Deutch.

## Pro-Nazi rallies and riots

Feb. 16, 1979: Jewish Defense League *agent provocateur* Mordechai Levy, working also as an operative for Irwin Suall's ADL Fact-Finding Division, uses the alias “James Gutman” to obtain a rally permit from the U.S. Park Police for a pro-Nazi demonstration at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. The permit application states that the Chicago-based National Socialist Party of America will hold a “white power rally to show white masses unity of the white race, and to show the world niggers and Jews are cowards.” At the same time that Levy, using his Gutman alias, is organizing area KKK and Nazi Party activists to attend the rally, he is also organizing a counter-demonstration by Jewish, leftist, and black activists in the hopes of triggering a riot.

1984: James Rosenberg, a full-time employee of Irwin Suall at the ADL's Fact-Finding Division, is interviewed on a Minneapolis TV broadcast titled “Armies of the Right,” trumpeting the threat of neo-Nazi and racist political organizations. On the broadcast, Rosenberg presents himself as “Jimmy Anderson,” the head of the Christian Defense League in Queens, New York, and delivers a racist and anti-Semitic diatribe to the television audience. Nowhere in the broadcast are the viewers informed that “Anderson” is really an ADL employee.

## Spying on Americans

1990: The San Francisco field office of the FBI discovers that longtime ADL employee Roy Bullock is passing confidential FBI documents on the Nation of Islam to agents of the South African government in return for cash payments. They discover the ADL-South Africa connection in the course of an investigation of South African scientific espionage in the Silicon Valley. Eventually, the FBI passes the investigation to the San Francisco Police Department, which conducts a year-long probe of ADL spying, beginning in November 1992. The San Francisco police probe reveals that the ADL has been spying on 950 domestic political, religious, and civil rights organizations, in many instances obtaining confidential government data and passing it on to South African and Israeli agents or using it to conduct its own private Cointelpro-style actions.

On March 3, 1993, FBI agents interviewed David Gurvitz, a former employee of the ADL's Fact-Finding Division at its Los Angeles office. According to the official FBI 302 (field report) form describing the interview:

"Gurvitz was shown a copy of a thirty-seven page document regarding the Nation of Islam (NOI), which begins with the table of contents page. Gurvitz identified it as a copy of a document he had once found in the files of the Los Angeles ADL office. Gurvitz said he believed it to have been originally a product of the FBI, although he had never seen its original cover page. Gurvitz explained that when he originally came across this document, it was attached to a memo from former Los Angeles ADL employee Betsy Rosenthal. The memo indicated Rosenthal had obtained the document from 'official friends' and that it should be treated confidentially. Gurvitz explained that 'official friends' is ADL parlance meaning a law enforcement source. Gurvitz indicated that the version presently shown to him is a photocopy and has numerous words which have been inked out. Gurvitz indicated that the version he first saw also contained the inked-out portions, but was not a photocopy; i.e., the portions were actually masked with ink. This, Gurvitz explained, allowed him to hold the document up to a light and read through the inked areas. Some of these areas mentioned FBI sources. From this Gurvitz concluded the document had been produced by the FBI. . . . Gurvitz eventually gave a copy of the NOI document to Bullock, and he sent another copy to Mira Boland, an ADL investigator in Washington, D.C. Gurvitz sent a copy to Boland after she told him she was writing a newspaper article about the NOI."

Gurvitz also told the FBI: "Bullock was being paid by the South Africans for information relating to anti-apartheid organizations in the San Francisco area. Bullock said the information was of a type which Bullock was already gathering on behalf of the ADL, so Bullock did not have to go much out of his way to get information of value to the South Africans. Bullock said his South African contact was a man named Louis. Louis paid Bullock for the information in, as

Bullock described it, 'crisp, new \$100 bills.' Bullock told Gurvitz he was receiving monthly payments."

On Dec. 10, 1992, San Francisco Police raided the homes of Roy Bullock and Bullock's "official friend," San Francisco Police Inspector Tom Gerard, as well as the ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Among the documents seized are surveillance reports written by Bullock for the ADL and the South Africans on a number of American and African black political figures including black studies professor Leonard Jefferies, African National Congress official Chris Hani, and South African Anglican Rev. Allan Boesak.

## Targeting the black community

Nov. 3-4, 1991: The ADL holds an invitation-only conference in Montreal, on the theme "Anti-Semitism Around the World." An entire day of the conference is devoted to anti-Semitism in the United States, focusing particularly on black anti-Semitism. Panelists include *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen, ADL National Chairman Melvin Salberg, ADL National Director Abraham Foxman, and University of Arizona Prof. Leonard Dinnerstein.

Dinnerstein delivers a diatribe against "black intellectuals," characterizing them as historically the worst anti-Semites in America: "One group that appears particularly anti-Semitic today, and I could have given this speech 25 years ago and not changed a word, is the blacks. The most recent poll that I have seen, which is the Yankelovich poll, shows that the educated blacks and the less-educated whites are the ones who are most anti-Semitic. Black anti-Semitism's envy and ambivalence toward Jews has been constant and continuous in American society as far back as slavery days."

Dinnerstein targets W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Ralph Bunche as "Jew-haters." "During the 1930s, many blacks were either gleeful or indifferent to the plight of European Jewry," he said. Dinnerstein urges the audience to reconsider the entire idea of a black-Jewish alliance, arguing that it is neither possible nor desirable.

July 1992: ADL issues a report titled "The Anti-Semitism of Black Demagogues and Extremists," targeting the Nation of Islam and other black organizations. The report is released and widely circulated at a conference in Brussels of the World Jewish Congress, headed by ADL National Commissioner Edgar Bronfman. ADL officials, including Abraham Foxman and *New York Post* editorial page editor Eric Breindel, are speakers. Breindel tells the audience that the 1991 riots in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, New York were "the first formal anti-Semitic pogrom in the western world since the early 1890s." The Nation of Islam was singled out by ADL speakers for "anti-Semitic black consciousness raising."