

# The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs

Abdeen Jabara

**F**or 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."<sup>1</sup>

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.



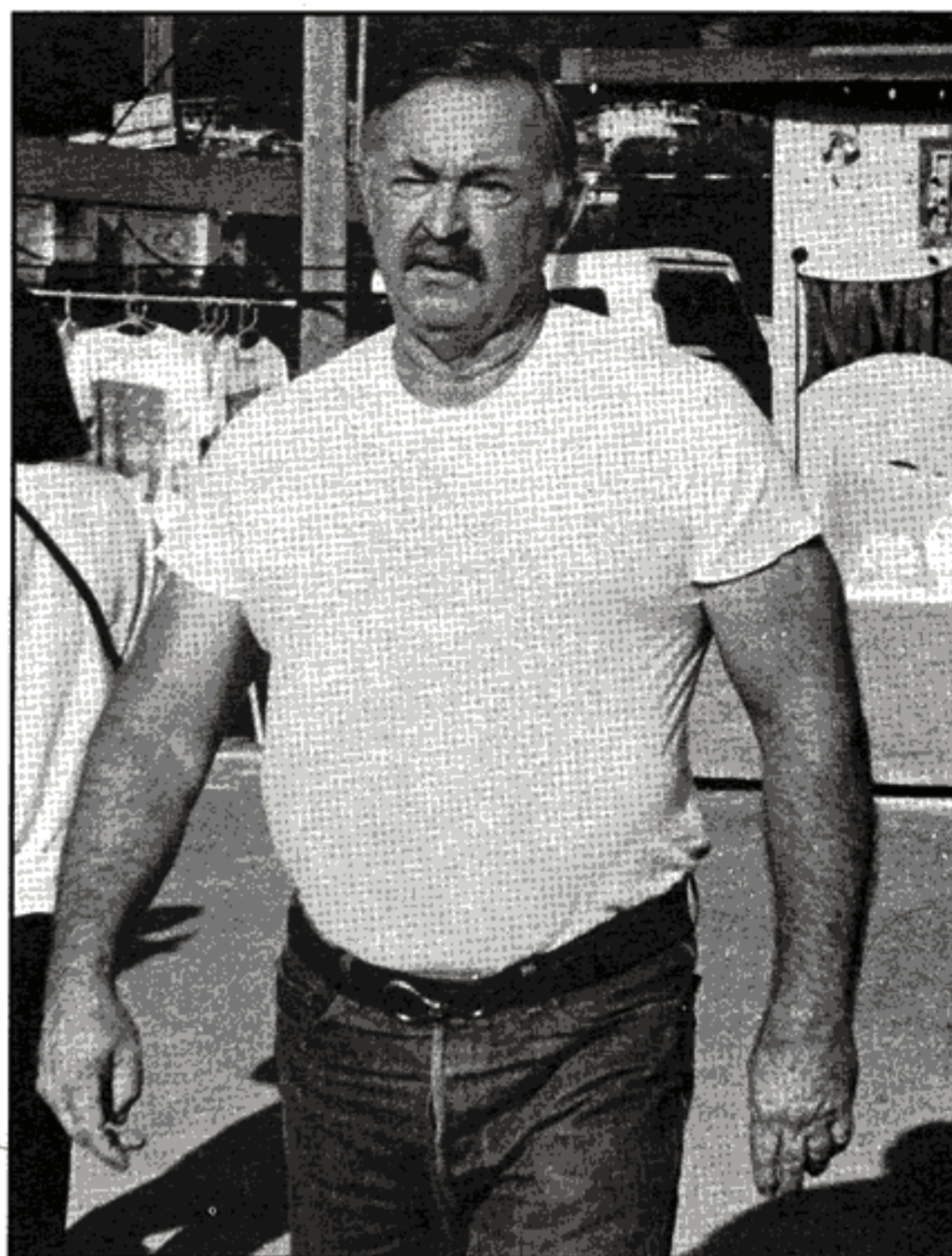
Bullock's and Gerard's files, however, revealed massive ADL operations directed not only against right-wing extremists and anti-Semitic groups, but also hundreds of mainstream and progressive groups. Included among the minority, anti-apartheid, ethnic, peace, religious, human rights, and other organizations 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

#### 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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 Opatrny 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 Opatrny 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. Opatrny 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.)<sup>9</sup> 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

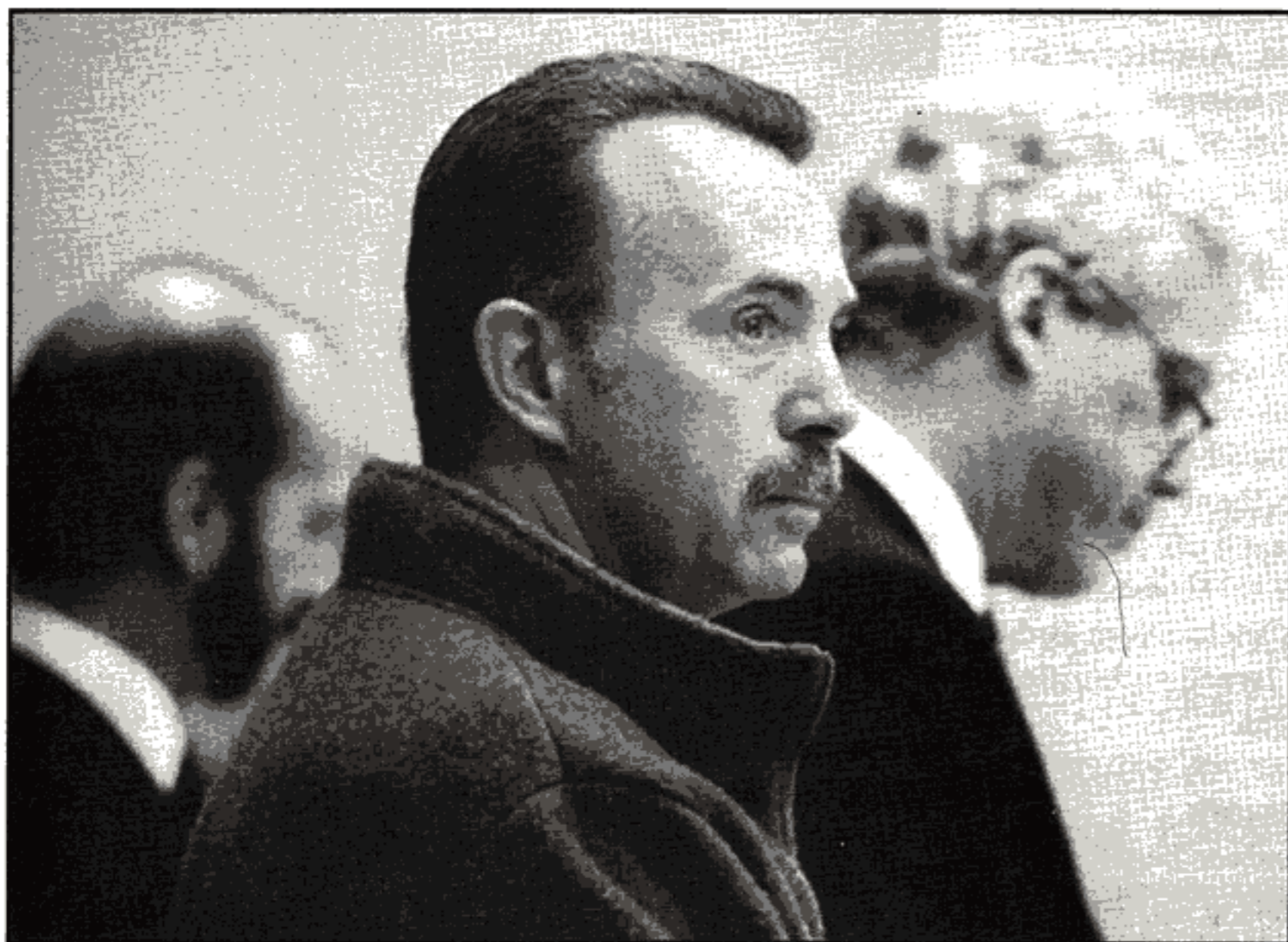
The inquiry emphasized their connection to South African intelligence and the fact that several FBI reports on the Nation of Islam were missing from FBI files.<sup>12</sup>

### 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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

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."<sup>14</sup>

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."<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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."<sup>17</sup>

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."<sup>18</sup>

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. Opatrny 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.<sup>19</sup> An FBI report confirmed that Gerard and Bullock gave information to the South Africans.<sup>20</sup>

"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."<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>

### 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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. Donner, *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.

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."<sup>27</sup>

### 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.<sup>28</sup>

The SFPD-ACLU political tug-of-war and the media revelations helped set the stage for several reforms.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

...translating the country's  
democratic ideals into a way of life  
for all Americans since 1913.



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*.



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."<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup>

### 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."<sup>33</sup> 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



Rick 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

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 Peoples Socialist Party  
 African Peoples Solidarity Comm.  
 African Students Org.  
 Africans United for Progress  
 AFSCME Local 3218 (Vice Pres.)  
 AFSCME Local 3506  
 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  
 Amer-I-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 Baath 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  
 Babylon 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 Cent. 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  
 Beebee Memorial C.M.E. Temple  
 Ben Under 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  
 Rican Independence  
 Boycott Coke  
 Boycott Shell Comm.  
 Breakthrough  
 Brigada Antonio Maceo  
 Brothers of African Descent  
 Bulletin In Defense of Marxism

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  
 Chair: Chicano Studies (U.C. Berkeley)  
 Chop 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-Occu-  
 pied Territories  
 Comm. for Equality and Justice  
 Comm. for Freedom in Argentina  
 Comm. for Peace and Democracy in Iran  
 Comm. for Perm. Israeli-Palestinian Peace  
 CISPES  
 Cistur  
 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  
 CovertAction Information Bulletin  
 CovertAction  
 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 Coalit. to End War  
 Emergency Comm. to Stop Flag  
 Amendment  
 Endorser 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 Yesh 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 Cent. Amer.  
 Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Ctr.  
 Intl. 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.  
 Internationalist Workers Party  
 Irish National Aid  
 Irish Northern Aid  
 Irish Republican Socialist Comm.  
 Israeli Foreign Affairs  
 Israelis Against Occupation  
 Japanese-American Citizens League  
 Jewish Comm. on the Middle East  
 John Brown Anti-Klan Comm.  
 KPOO Radio  
 KQED-TV Board of Directors  
 KUNA  
 Labor Comm. on the Middle East  
 Labor for Peace  
 Labor Video  
 LAGAL  
 La Raza Coalition of Berkeley  
 La Raza Unida  
 Latin America Support Comm.  
 Lavender Mafia  
 Lawyers Comm. on Cent. Amer.  
 League of Filipino Students  
 Leonard Peltier Alliance Group  
 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.  
 Maoist Internationalist Movement  
 Marazul 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  
 NALC 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 Midweek  
 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 Afrikan Peoples Org.  
 New Alliance Newspaper  
 New Alliance Party  
 New Americas Press  
 New Jewish Agenda  
 New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto  
 Rico Independentistas  
 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.  
 Partido Socialista Chileno  
 Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno  
 Partisan 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  
 Pershing Plowshares  
 Philippine Organizing Comm.  
 Philippine Resource Center  
 Philippines Human Rights Lobby  
 Pledge 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  
 Refuse 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/AFL-CIO  
 San Francisco Sentinel  
 San Francisco Weekly  
 S.F. Univ., Labor Studies  
 S.F. Women for Peace  
 SANE/FREEZE  
 Sardaraba  
 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 El-U.S.A.  
 SOHRI 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  
 Sparticist League  
 Stevens, Hinds & White, Attorneys  
 Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network  
 Student Ctn. 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  
 Tass News Agency  
 Teamsters Local 921, S.F. Teamsters  
 for a Democratic Union  
 Tecnica  
 The Black Scholar  
 The Data Center  
 The Dazen-I Foundation  
 The Irishman  
 The Nuclear Resister  
 Third World Resources  
 Toronto Anti-Interventional Coalition  
 Trustee, 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 (Pacifica 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.

Categories and names are as they  
 appeared in Gerard's and Bu-  
 lock's files (except abbreviations).



Adolph Hitler Church	Adolph Hitler Church	Adolph Hitler Church	Adolph Hitler Church
Ald and Abet	Ald and Abet	Christian Comm. to Teach Bible Law	Gospel of Christ Kingdom Church
Alarming Cry	Alarming Cry	Christian Conservative Churches of Am.	Gospel of the Kingdom Mission
Alarum	Alarum	Christian Consulting Co.	Grand Dragon Indiana, Knights KKK
Alert	Alert	Christian Crusade for Truth	Gresham Aryan Resistance
American-Afrikaner Union	American-Afrikaner Union	Christian Defense League	Hammerhead/Young Blood
American Agriculture Movement	American Agriculture Movement	Christian Educator	Hammer Skins
American Challenge	American Challenge	Christian Forum Newsletter	Heartland WAR Director
American Christian Ministry	American Christian Ministry	Christian Guard	Heirs of the Blessing
American Firm	American Firm	Christian Heritage	Hepzibah Ranch
American Front	American Front	Christian Heritage Conference	Heritage Library
American Front Vikings	American Front Vikings	Christian Identity Church	Hoskins Report
American Immigration Control	American Immigration Control	Christian Identity Skinhead	H.U.G. Liberty
Foundation	Foundation	Christian Israel Covenant Church	Identity
American Independent Party	American Independent Party	Christian Israel Fellowship	Identity/American Covenant Church
American Liberty Assn.	American Liberty Assn.	Christian Law Journal	Identity Baptist
American Mercury	American Mercury	Christian Legal Education Assn.	Identity Church
American National Front	American National Front	Christian Outreach Library	Identity/Kingdom Spirit
American Nazi Party	American Nazi Party	Christian Patriot Crusader	Identity/Kingdom Messenger
American Pistol and Rifle Assn.	American Pistol and Rifle Assn.	Christian Patriots Defense Fund	Identity Study Group
American Resistance	American Resistance	Christian Patriots Defense League	Imperial Order of the Black Eagle
American White Separatists	American White Separatists	Christian Patriots God and Country Book	Institute for American Research
Americans for Constitutional Justice, Inc.	Americans for Constitutional Justice, Inc.	Christian Research	Institute for Historical Review
Americans for National Security	Americans for National Security	Christian Sons of Liberty	Internat. Conspiratological Assn.
America's Destiny/Natl. Video Network	America's Destiny/Natl. Video Network	Christian Task Force	International Mod Monthly
America's Promise	America's Promise	Christians for Truth & Religious Freedoms	Internat. Research Institute/JBS
America's Promise Ministries	America's Promise Ministries	Christians on Point Newsletter	International Moneyline
Answer	Answer	Christmas Star Church	Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK
Anti-Abortionist	Anti-Abortionist	Christ's Covenant Church	Irish Republican Army
Anti-Catholic League	Anti-Catholic League	Christ's Covenant People	Irvine Values Coalition
Anti-Racist Action	Anti-Racist Action	Christ's Identity Church	Israel Identity Fellowship
Anti-Wiesel Letter	Anti-Wiesel Letter	Church of Elijah	Jackie's Junction
Anti-Zionist	Anti-Zionist	Church of Israel	Jewish Defense League
Applied Research	Applied Research	Church of Israel in the Wilderness	Jewish Defense Org.
Arizona Kindred	Arizona Kindred	Church of Jesus Christ	Jews for Jesus
Arizona Patriots	Arizona Patriots	Church of Jesus Christ at Philadelphia	John Birch Society
Arizona White Battalion	Arizona White Battalion	Church of Jesus Christ Christian	Joppa Gospel Tabernacle
Arizona White Battalion Skinheads	Arizona White Battalion Skinheads	Church of the Covenant, Sword and Arm	Joppa Tabernacle Ministry
Aryan Awake	Aryan Awake	Church of the Creator	Kahane
Aryan Brotherhood	Aryan Brotherhood	Church of the Swastika	Kingdom Bible Institute
Aryan Christian Knights	Aryan Christian Knights	Church of WAR	Kingdom Christian Fellowship
Aryan Federation	Aryan Federation	Church of White Separation	Kingdom Courier
Aryan Identity	Aryan Identity	Citizens Bar Association	Kingdom Identity Ministries
Aryan Nationalist Church	Aryan Nationalist Church	Circle Bible Study	Kingdom Messenger
Aryan Nations	Aryan Nations	Citizens Claw	Kingdom Seekers Ministry
Aryan Nations Brotherhood	Aryan Nations Brotherhood	Citizens Council	Kingdom Truth Fellowship
Aryan Nations Liberty Net	Aryan Nations Liberty Net	Citizens for Fraud-Free Elections	Ku Klux Klan
Aryan Nations Report	Aryan Nations Report	Citizens for God and Country	Ku Klux Klan #87
Aryan Resistance Movement	Aryan Resistance Movement	Claremont Institute	LaPorte Church of Christ
Aryan Socialist Youth Party	Aryan Socialist Youth Party	Club of Life (LaRouche)	LaRouche for President
Aryan Territorial Alliance	Aryan Territorial Alliance	CODOH	Las Vegas Skinheads
Aryan Update	Aryan Update	Colorado Kindred	Legal (Justice Times)
Aryan Wolfpack	Aryan Wolfpack	Comm. for American/1960s	Legion for the Survival of Freedom
Aryan Woman's League	Aryan Woman's League	Comm. of Ten Million	Legion of the New Order
Aryan Women United	Aryan Women United	Comm. To Clean Up the Courts	Liberty Lobby
Aryan Workers League	Aryan Workers League	Comm. to Debate the Holocaust	Liberty Lobby Fat Cat
Aryan Youth Force	Aryan Youth Force	Comm. to Reexamine WWII	Liberty Net
Aryan Youth Movement	Aryan Youth Movement	Comm. to Restore the Constitution	Liberty Trust
Assemblies of the Called Out Ones	Assemblies of the Called Out Ones	Common Title Bond and Trust	Lightbearers of Jesus the Church
Assembly of Yahowah the Eternal	Assembly of Yahowah the Eternal	Confederate Knights of America	Lighthouse Healing Mission
Assembly of Yahweh	Assembly of Yahweh	Covenant Church of Our Redeemer	Lords Covenant Church
Associates for the Christian Life	Associates for the Christian Life	Covenant Ministries	L.A. Death Squad
Auburn Skins	Auburn Skins	Covenant of Christ Church	Los Angeles Sentinel
Basic Bible Church of America	Basic Bible Church of America	Covenant of Jesus Christ	M.A.C. and Company
Bay Area Patriots (Justice Times)	Bay Area Patriots (Justice Times)	Covenant People's Advocate	Malicious Ol' Boys
Beaverton Boot Boys	Beaverton Boot Boys	Criminal Politics	MASH
Bible Believer's Fellowship	Bible Believer's Fellowship	Croatian Democratic Party U.S.A.	McAlvany Intelligence Advisor
Bible Educator Ministry	Bible Educator Ministry	Crusade Against Corruption	McCalden Revisionist Newsletter
Bible Study Group	Bible Study Group	David Duke	Minneapolis Baldies
Bible Truth Research	Bible Truth Research	Defender of the American Constitution/54	Ministry of Christ Church
Blue Six Skinheads	Blue Six Skinheads	Desert Fox Enterprises	Mission to Israel
Boer Freedom Movement	Boer Freedom Movement	Destiny Publishers	Morningside Chapel
Bo Gritz for President	Bo Gritz for President	East Side Boot Boys	Multiplication Unlimited, Inc.
Bomber Boys	Bomber Boys	East Side Mafia	National Alliance
Braxas Foundation	Braxas Foundation	East Side White Pride	National Aryan Front
Buffalo Area Skinheads	Buffalo Area Skinheads	Editorial Research Service	National Aryan Skin Heads
Burbank Punk Org.	Burbank Punk Org.	Electro-Magnetic Research Center	National Assn. for Advancement of White
Calif. Health Care Advocates	Calif. Health Care Advocates	Elochim City	People
Calif. White Vikings	Calif. White Vikings	Euro-American Alliance	National Christian Church
Calvary Temple Bible Church	Calvary Temple Bible Church	Executive Intelligence Review	National Democratic Party
Canadian Alliance	Canadian Alliance	Faith Skins	National Educator
Canadian Knights of the KKK	Canadian Knights of the KKK	First Covenant Church	National Euro-American Society
CASH/Romantic Violence	CASH/Romantic Violence	Focus	National Identity Church
CBA Bulletin	CBA Bulletin	Force 751	National Justice Foundation
Center for Nationalist Studies	Center for Nationalist Studies	Foundation for Am. Christian Education	National Knights of the KKK
Center for Study	Center for Study	Fraternal White Knights	National Media Services
Chalcedon Report	Chalcedon Report	Fraternity of Preparation	National Org. for White America
Chicago White Vikings	Chicago White Vikings	Freedom Through Truth Foundation	National Prayer Network
Christian American Advocates	Christian American Advocates	Free German Workers Party	NSDAP-AO
Christian American Research League	Christian American Research League	Ghostrider	National Socialist Dept. of Preservation



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.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup>

### 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."<sup>39</sup>

This change in mission sparked internal opposition. Saul E. Jofte 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.<sup>40</sup>

Among the documents attached to the Jofte affidavit was a letter from ADL National Director Benjamin R. Epstein to Jofte:

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.<sup>41</sup>

### 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup>

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.<sup>45</sup>

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. Jofte v. Rabbi Jay 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.

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.



ment 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.<sup>46</sup>

### 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.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup>

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-

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. Opatrny and Winokur, "S.F. Police to Limit Its Spy Probe," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 25, 1993.

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."<sup>49</sup> 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.

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