

The Anti-Defamation League: Protector of civil rights or silencer of free speech?

An AMP research project. Updated 2014

Contents

Introduction	4
AMP's stance on anti-Semitism	5
Examining the Anti-Defamation League:	
A protector of civil rights or silencer of free speech?	6
New Anti-Semitism	6
Manufactured anti-Semitism?	8
The Anti-Defamation League: What you should know	11
Influencing a reinterpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act	11
Opposing Park 51 mosque	12
Hypocrisy	13
Using anti-Semitism when it suits them to open doors	13
Award to Rupert Murdoch	13
Kissinger vs. Helen Thomas	
Armenian genocide incident	14
Affirmative Action	14
Censorship	
Screening of "Miral" at United Nations	15
Chicago Public Library	15
Cancellation of Tony Judt lecture	
Trying to quash publication of Norman Finkelstein's book	
French embassy cancels NY book launch	17
Espionage	17
History of espionage	
Intelligence gathering continuing today	19
Lawsuits involving the ADL	
Libel judgment against the ADL	
Conclusion	
Sources	
Articles	
Books	
Miscellaneous	

Introduction

When one thinks about fighting anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry, one main organization comes to mind – the Anti-Defamation League. Many Americans consider the organization as the champion of civil rights and accept without question its charges of anti-Semitism or anti-Americanism.

What most people don't know, however, is that the ADL has a long history of domestic espionage, spying on members of the Communist party, members of black, Latino and Asian organizations as well as labor unions and liberal Jewish groups. The ADL is also a lobby organization and spends a good portion of its budget on lawmakers, influencing decisions on many topics, from Supreme Court appointments to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. It has also, especially through its long-standing director Abraham Foxman, gone to great lengths to quash any viable discussion on the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Tactics have included censorship, intimidation, and smearing and labeling people it does not agree with as anti-Semites or anti-Americans.

The Anti-Defamation League was formed in 1913 by the B'Nai B'rith, one of the oldest American Jewish organizations, in response to the conviction and subsequent lynching of Leo Frank for the murder of Mary Phagan, 13, a shop floor worker at the National Pencil Company of Atlanta, Ga. Suspicion fell heavily upon Mr. Frank after Mary's murder, not because evidence pointed to his culpability, but because of his Jewish religion and ethnicity.

On its website, the ADL says its mission in those early days was "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all." Anti-Semitism was prevalent in the United States during the early 20th century, thanks in part to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. While fighting bigotry and anti-Semitism is a laudable task, some ADL actions throughout its history call into question its mission and goals. The ADL bills itself as the "nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency, [which] fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all."

Under the screen of fighting for civil rights, the ADL actually began spying on American citizens and reporting their activities to Congress in the 1930s. The domestic espionage eventually was enlarged to include surveillance and information gathering on Americans engaged in peaceful social justice movements. On occasion, the ADL would hand this information over to foreign governments, including Israel and South Africa.

As early as the 1930s, records show the ADL was spying on American citizens – including the newly formed National Lawyers Guild - and reporting on their activities to the original House Committee on Un-American Activities, chaired by Rep. Martin Dies, according to journalist Jeffrey Blankfort in his article, "The back-of-the-envelope history of the Anti-Defamation League," published on Mondoweiss on July 31, 2010.

This cooperation lasted for years. In fact, a communist magazine, "Jewish Life," printed an internal ADL memo, dated July 3, 1953, in its September issue of that same year. The memo dealt with a meeting that took place in the office of the House Un-American Activities Committee on July 2, 1953, according to journalist Lenni Brenner. The memo details how the ADL advised committee members to deal with uncooperative Jewish witnesses.

"'The witnesses should be confronted with materials from the ADL's report, 'The Troublemakers,' and our two pamphlets on Communism ... in the future, Committee investigators would be sent to the ADL and AJC [American Jewish Committee] for material on prospective witnesses." Brenner quoted the memo in his 1996 white paper, "The Anti-Defamation League's National Director is Crazy Like a Foxman." This type of domestic espionage continued into the 1990s, when federal agents raided the ADL's West Coast offices and uncovered illegally obtained confidential and personal files on nearly 1,400 individuals and about 700 organizations. Some of the information was handed over to Israel while some information on South African anti-Apartheid activists was sold to the South African Apartheid government, court documents show.

From domestic spying to thwarting public events that weren't in lockstep with its philosophy about Israel, the ADL has morphed from a small office concerned about incidents of anti-Semitism into a mega organization that expends a great deal of money, time and energy making sure criticism of Israeli policy is extinguished.

Professor Noam Chomsky writes in his 1983 book, "Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians," that the ADL now "specializes in trying to prevent critical discussion of policies of Israel by such techniques as maligning critics, including Israelis who do not pass its test of loyalty, distributing alleged 'information' that is often circulated in unsigned pamphlets, and so on. In Israel, the ADL is casually described as 'one of the main pillars' of Israeli propaganda in the United States." (p. 14)

The ADL has tried to smear or malign most successful pro-Palestinian activists, and the American Muslims for Palestine is no exception. And because many people are unaware of the ADL's history or its antics throughout the years, the multimillion-dollar organization can still get away with calling itself a civil rights institution.

The purpose of this booklet is to bring to light many of the incidents with which the ADL has been involved so Americans can begin to see a clearer picture about the ADL and its true purpose – to keep any meaningful discussion about illegal and unjust Israeli policies from the public.

AMP's stance on anti-Semitism

The American Muslim for Palestine's stance on anti-Semitism is clear: Anti-Semitism, like all bigotry, is abhorrent and should never be tolerated. AMP does not equivocate in this stance.

However, we reject the amended definition as currently used by Zionists, which includes under the umbrella of anti-Semitism any criticism of Zionism, Israel's occupation of Palestine and its discriminatory and illegal policies.

Anti-Semitism is discrimination against Jews based upon their religion or shared ethnicities. Criticizing the racist Apartheid State of Israel is not anti-Semitic.

The use of "New Anti-Semitism" will be discussed later in this booklet. For now, it's best to look at the currently accepted definition according to Webster's dictionary, which says, "Anti-Semitism is hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group." The Oxford English Dictionary defines it this way: "hostility to or prejudice against Jews."

Examining the Anti-Defamation League:

A protector of civil rights or silencer of free speech?

In March 2011, under pressure from Israeli authorities, Facebook shut down a page created by Palestinian students calling for a march of Palestinian refugees to demand their rights to return to their homeland. The Anti-Defamation League wasted no time in taking credit for the social network's action, issuing a statement that it "is continuing to monitor Facebook for other problematic cause pages and continues to be in touch with Facebook officials on the issue."

That's no surprise. The ADL has grown from an organization founded nearly 100 years ago to fight anti-Semitism to a powerhouse intent on stifling any discourse critical of Israeli policies stemming from its occupation of Palestine. In fact, some, like New York Rabbi Shea Hecht, argue the ADL – a \$60-million-per-year organization – manufactures charges of anti-Semitism where none exists in order to justify its existence.

New Anti-Semitism

Particularly troubling is the ADL's use of the term "New Anti-Semitism," which equates even the questioning of Israeli policy to hatred for all Jews. Throughout the years, ADL leadership have been all too willing to attack and discredit those who support Palestinian self-determination or who criticize Israeli policies. Conflating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism was apparent in Arnold Forster's and Benjamin Epstein's 1974 book, "The New Anti-Semitism," and in the 1982 book, "Real Anti-Semitism in America," by Nathan Pearlman and his wife Ruth. Abraham Foxman, the ADL's current director, seems obsessively preoccupied with anti-Semitism.

Throughout the argument for New Anti-Semitism is the idea that "Israel's interests – understood implicitly as the interests of a rejectionist Greater Israel that denies Palestinian rights – are the 'Jewish interests,' so that anyone who recognizes Palestinian rights or in other ways advocates policies that threaten 'Israel's interests' as the authors conceive them is ... 'objectively' anti-Semitic," Professor Chomsky writes in his book "Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and The Palestinians."

Chomsky also quotes from Perlmutters' book: "Those who are 'innocent of bigotry' are now placing Jews in 'greater jeopardy' than traditional anti-Semites, with their advocacy of peace, criticism of U.S. interventionism, opposition to bloodthirsty tyrants and torturers, etc. This is the 'real anti-Semitism,' and it is exceedingly dangerous. So the Anti-Defamation League has its work cut out for it." (p.15)

It was this concept of anti-Semitism that so troubled an Israeli filmmaker, he produced a documentary on the topic.

"Being an Israeli Jew, I've never experienced anti-Semitism itself, but it's a phrase that always seems to be in the air," Yoav Shamir says at the onset of "Defamation." "Three words seem to appear over and over again: Holocaust, Nazi and anti-Semitism. Living in a country that was founded to give the Jewish people a safe place to live in, I found this really disturbing so I decided I wanted to learn more about this subject. ... I wanted to find out how the ADL actively fights anti-Semitism."

The next scene takes place in the ADL's New York headquarters, where Regional Director Bob Wolfson tries to define anti-Semitism for Shamir. On a large easel he draws a triangle and divides it horizontally into three sections. Pointing at the base, he said, "It starts with an insult, or a denigrating statement," and then drawing a large circle at the pinnacle he continues, "At the very top what you have is genocide. And everything in between is every bad thing that can happen to somebody."

Shamir inquires about the 1,500 incidents of anti-Semitism per year the ADL says it investigates. New York Director Joel Levi asks an employee to recount all the reports of anti-Semitism the office received over a two-week period. The clerk finds three complaints from people who were denied time off work for a religious holiday, one call about a purported anti-Semitic website and one about a newspaper article that had "anti-Semitic undertones."

Levi shrugs his shoulders. "Five in two weeks," he said. "It's impossible to predict."

The ADL would need to investigate about 28.8 cases per week to reach 1,500 cases in a year.

The ADL is an enormous organization with annual revenue of \$53.8 million, according to its 2012 IRS 990 tax form, the last year for which reliable data is publicly available. It has a staff of 409 in 28 offices nationwide. Included on the tax form is its mission, summed up to eliminate "anti-Semitism in the United States and around the world, while providing knowledgeable leadership on a national level for the American Jewish community."

If the ADL is tasked with stopping the 'defamation' of the Jewish people and to secure justice for all, one has to wonder then, why it works to train thousands of law enforcement officers around the country every year; why it sends newsletters to more than 40,000 of them; why its national director Foxman -- who survived the Holocaust by being given protection by a Christian family -- spends so much time in Israel and meeting with heads of state around the world; and why the organization spends so much time lobbying Congress on everything from legislation to judicial appointments, and why Foxman spends so much time smearing with McCarthy-like precision anyone advocating for Palestinian rights.

The ADL did not return AMP's repeated requests for comments.

The ADL's tax form states it has four employees in Washington DC, three of whom spend 75 percent of their time and the other 5 percent lobbying members of Congress on issues from "federal hate crime laws, global anti-Semitism, the Middle East peace process, immigration issues, the use of government money to fund faith-based organizations and counter-terrorism."

In addition, the tax form states the ADL spent nearly \$418,000 in "direct contact with legislators, their staffs, government officials or a legislative body," an increase of more than \$35,000 since 2009. The total budget for lobbying activities was nearly \$530,000, a 9.5 percent increase from 2009. The organization also said it attempted to influence foreign, national, state or local legislation and public opinion on a legislative matter.

Many argue the ADL has morphed from its mission of upholding civil rights for all people to an organization that first and foremost supports the state of Israel. In a Jan. 28, 2009, article, "The Defamation League," which appeared in The Nation just 10 days after the end of Operation Cast Lead where the Israeli military killed more than 1,400 Palestinians in Gaza -- Eric Alterman writes about the ADL's attack on journalist Bill Moyers who "broadcast a less than laudatory commentary about Israel's Gaza's invasion." Foxman accused Moyers of "moral equivalency, racism, historical revisionism and indifference to terrorism," Alterman writes. He continues: "But for the likes of Foxman, any action Israel takes is de facto defensive and solely in the interests of peace, no matter how warlike."

And that seems to be the crux of the 'New Anti-Semitism.'

Manufactured anti-Semitism?

The ADL and Foxman have been so vehement in their defense of Israel they turn a blind eye to its occupation of Palestine and the resultant human rights abuses, and that's causing many in the Jewish community to question the ADL's relevance to 21st century realities.

In a piece for the New York Times magazine dated Jan. 14, 2007, with the headline, "Does Abe Foxman have an anti-Semite problem?" writer James Traub poses this question: "So what's the problem, the thing Abe Foxman is fighting or Foxman himself?"

Traub, who is Jewish, writes, "With anti-Semitism apparently waning, the ADL might well have moved away from its original identity in favor of either promoting tolerance and diversity or leading the nonsectarian fight against extremism. But for Foxman, fighting anti-Semitism was always the core of the mission. The ADL's world became increasingly binary — 'good for the Jews,' 'bad for the Jews''

And some could argue that binary extends all the way to Israel - 'good for Israel,' 'bad for Israel.'

While the most recent polls show that there has been a small uptick in anti-Semitism around the world, the percentage of anti-Jewish incidents in Europe and the United States is far smaller than for anti-Muslim incidents, according to a spring 2008 survey by the Pew Research Center's Pew Global Attitudes Project. For instance, in the United States, 7 percent of survey respondents reported anti-Jewish feelings, while 23 percent were against Muslims. While there were larger increases in bigotry in some European countries, the increases in anti-Muslim sentiment were much larger than for anti-Jewish feelings.

"Granted, the breadth of European anti-Semitism should not be overstated. This rise in negative attitudes toward Jews has for the most part been modest, and anti-Jewish sentiments in Europe remain much less common than anti-Muslim views," a Pew report on the data stated.

Given this information there are some who question the integrity of ADL's claims that anti-Semitism is rampant.

One such skeptic is Rabbi Shea Hecht of New York, a leader in the New York Jewish community who was also appointed to the city's Commission on Human Rights. Hecht told filmmaker Shamir in "Defamation," that the term 'anti-Semitism' is often overused and misused. And as far as the ADL's stated purpose that it fights discrimination against Jews? Hecht isn't convinced.

"If a guy's job is created only because of anti-Semitism, I'm a little nervous of his reports. Are they accurate?" Hecht asks. "He [Foxman] has to create a problem because he needs a job."

Reviewing the ADL's 2012 IRS 990 tax form, it's clear to see that Foxman is paid well for his services, which Shamir describes as the global "symbol of the fight against anti-Semitism." In 2012, based on the IRS 990 tax forms for the Anti-Defamation League and the Anti-Defamation League Foundation, Foxman's base salary was \$587,260 with benefits and "other compensation" of \$3.8 million, totaling nearly \$4.4 million. (A large portion of the 'other compensation' -- \$3.2 million – stems from a supplemental retirement plan that will be paid out over time and not in one lump sum, according to the tax form.)

"Listen, clearly the ADL has been responsible in certain areas to flare up things as much as they helped things," Hecht said. "Of course, now that I've said that, I'm on the ADL's blacklist now so Mr. Foxman is not going to come to my home for dinner."

That 'blacklist,' real or perceived, was very much on the mind of Israeli journalist David Sheen, who conducted a contentious hour-long videotaped interview with Foxman in October 2010.

Sheen, who works full-time for Ha'aretz newspaper and also is a filmmaker and writer for independent media, had requested the interview to gain some understanding into the ADL's stance against animal rights and environmental groups, areas that Sheen said fall outside the ADL's mission. He also wanted clarification on the ADL's honoring of media mogul Rupert Murdoch, who he described as decidedly anti-immigrant and Islamophobic. Murdoch's award was an odd choice from an organization that says it works to protect civil rights for all, Sheen told AMP in a Skype interview. He had planned to use his interview with Foxman to write an article for an online alternative news magazine.

Throughout the video Sheen remains calm and respectful, despite Foxman's increasing ire and personal attacks. "In the end I didn't write the article," Sheen said. "I felt bullied. I was afraid to write the article for fear he'd use all of his political power to blacklist me as a journalist."

Instead, Sheen posted the unedited video in its entirety online so Foxman's behavior would become a matter of public record without anyone being able to criticize him for biased editing, he said.

Award-winning journalist and author Max Blumenthal, a friend of Sheen's, blogged about the incident on Oct. 28, 2010, in an article titled, "Meltdown of the Macher: Abe Foxman loses it, calls Israeli interviewer bigoted and condemns the Seinfeld 'Soup Nazi.'"

Blumenthal writes: "At around the 28-minute mark of the video, after Sheen has poked and prodded Foxman about the ADL's denunciation of the animal rights group PETA – an unusual line of questioning to be sure – Foxman suddenly launches into a forceful condemnation of the "Soup Nazi" character from the TV show Seinfeld. ...

"'If you don't understand [the Holocaust] then you don't learn the lessons,' Foxman remarks. 'So if in New York we have a restaurant where a guy calls himself a Soup Nazi because he decides what kind of soup you're going to eat, or buy, that's a trivialization, you've learned nothing from history, and yeah, we do care, and we'll speak out against it.'

"For the rest of the interview, Foxman and Sheen manage not to discuss a single issue of substance. Instead Foxman rails against Sheen almost uncontrollably, accusing him of setting him up. ... Foxman launches into a crazed diatribe that ends with him calling Sheen (what else?) a bigot."

Sheen told AMP he was "very disappointed" with Foxman and said he's frustrated that an organization that purports to speak on behalf of the Jewish community has no real interest in dialoguing with Jews who don't necessarily agree with the ADL.

"I don't think that Abe Foxman has the right to determine how Holocaust discussions occur," said Sheen, who used the term Holocaust several times when discussing the treatment of animals. "Just because he was the child of Holocaust survivors, or as an infant he was a Holocaust survivor, doesn't give him that right.

"He conducts a very large campaign to berate, humiliate and castigate those who don't agree with his opinion. His understanding of political correctness is very biased."

However, there is a segment of the Jewish community who feel the ADL gives them their identity as Jews, according to some ADL supporters who traveled with Foxman on an ADL mission to Auschwitz. Shamir included the trip in "Defamation."

"The ADL helps to reinforce our Jewish identity because we're not orthodox and we don't have a religious life," one woman says in Shamir's documentary. "That's why we have to support Israel. Israel is our insurance policy."

But Professor Norman Finkelstein sees things differently. He blames pressure from Zionist lobby groups such as the ADL for DePaul University's denial of his tenure in 2007.

"The irony is that the Nazi Holocaust has become the ideological weapon for a laundry list of wars of aggression," Finkelstein says in "Defamation."

The Holocaust "is not being used to educate people, it's not being used to enlighten people, it's not being used to make people more moral," Finkelstein said. "The suffering is used as another pretext or excuse to humiliate, degrade and torture the Palestinians. That's the problem. The suffering comes as a package.

"Here is the suffering. Now we blow up your house. Here is the suffering. Now we take your land. Here is the suffering. Now we shoot artillery shells at your village. It's a packaged deal with Israel and its American supporters. It's not just suffering. It's suffering that is then just wrapped up in a club and the club is used to break the skulls of the Palestinians. That's the problem."

Finkelstein takes umbrage with the ADL's policing of terms related to the Holocaust and questions why everyone else has to tiptoe around the subject when Holocaust imagery is so prevalent in Israeli society, something about which he questions Shamir in "Defamation."

"The whole society focuses on Nazis and Hitler ... but we have to be pious with Abe Foxman?"

The ADL is not exclusive when it comes to spreading vitriol on peace and social justice groups – it labels non-Jews and Jews alike as anti-Semites. On Oct. 21, 2013, the ADL once again published its Top 10 list of "anti-Israel" groups in America. Among the list is the American Muslims for Palestine; Jewish Voice for Peace, an organization heavily involved in the Palestinian call for the boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel but which also supports a two-state solution; Friends of Sabeel-North America, a Christian peace group, which also supports a two-state solution; was listed as was the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, Students for Justice in Palestine and others.

The ADL also named AMP national Director of Media and Communications Kristin Szremski as the third most "anti-Israeli speaker" speaking at a BDS conference at the University of Pennsylvania in February 2012. In addition, the ADL has issued several press releases about AMP and also disseminated false information and Islamophobic rhetoric to media outlets in cities where the national organization has held events.

For his part, Shamir said he had been unsure how the ADL would react upon the release of "Defamation."

Foxman had a private screening of the film. "He got really upset," Shamir said. "He took it kind of personal. He said I needed a therapist. That tells me a lot about Foxman."

In a May 8, 2009, statement about "Defamation," the ADL said, "... Rather than document anti-Semites and their hatred of Jews and the Jewish State of Israel, the film belittles the issue and portrays the work of ADL and that of his own country as inconsequential."

Shamir and his film are among a long litany of people and organizations the ADL has maligned over the years, including former President Jimmy Carter; veteran White House correspondent, the late Helen Thomas; actor Mel Gibson; professors Norman Finkelstein, Stephen Walt, John Mearsheimer, and Hatem Bazian, AMP's chairman; Dr. Osama Abu Irshaid, AMP national board member; and Arun Gandhi, grandson of India's legendary leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

What troubles journalist Sheen so much is that Foxman "deemed himself above reproach," he said. "It's sad that it [the ADL] doesn't feel the need to answer to its own audience. … How dare he not feel that he doesn't have to justify the positions they take, especially those that are controversial?"

And it appears that Foxman feels strongly on this point. In both "Defamation" and Sheen's videotape, when pressed for information on how decisions are made at the ADL, Foxman nearly shouts, "It's none of their God-damned business."

But there is more to the ADL than just Foxman's histrionics. The organization, from its inception, has been implicated in domestic espionage, censorship and outright bullying.

The following section explores some of these issues.

The Anti-Defamation League: What you should know

A certain amount of controversy has followed the Anti-Defamation League since its inception in 1913. And since Abraham Foxman, a Holocaust survivor, took the helm in 1987, the ADL has been exposed in an international espionage scheme that collected information on Americans and in some cases sold it to foreign governments (although this began under Foxman's predecessor Irwin Suall); has filed legal briefs on bills before Congress, and on appointees to the U.S. Supreme Court; has come out in opposition to the "Park 51" mosque in New York City; played a role in the denial of tenure to former DePaul University Professor Norman Finkelstein; successfully lobbied to get speaking venues shut down and made several attempts to quash publication of books. Most recently, the ADL played a role in influencing the U.S. Department of Education to amend its interpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, thereby jeopardizing federal funding to universities if Jewish students complain that class lectures or student events presenting the Palestinian narrative make them feel uncomfortable.

Influencing a reinterpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act

For several years, Zionist organizations --including the Anti-Defamation League -- lead by the Zionist organization of America, have lobbied the U.S. Department of Education to amend its interpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to include Jewish students as a protected ethnic minority. In October 2010, they were successful. The implications for free speech on college campuses are enormous as universities now could lose federal funding if Jewish students successfully equate the presentation of pro-Palestinian programs with anti-Semitism.

"ADL has significant concerns about harassment and intimidation of Jewish students on college campuses – including in the context of heated debate over Israel. ... Though 'religion' is not explicitly included in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, harassment or intimidation that holds Jewish students responsible for the acts of other Jews, or of Israel is better understood as ethnic or 'national origin' discrimination than as religious discrimination. This is especially true in the context of severe anti-Israel activities directed against Jewish students," an ADL press release dated March 17, 2011, states.

In asking for a clarification of this "reinterpretation," David Thomas, U.S. Department Education spokesman, wrote in an email, "In an October 26, 2010, Dear Colleague Letter on Harassment and Bullying, OCR [the office of civil rights] explained that discrimination against a student who is a member of a religious group violates Title VI when 1) that discrimination is based on the group's actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics, rather than solely on its members' religious practices; or 2) when that discrimination is based on the student's actual or perceived citizenship or residency in a country whose residents share a dominant religion or a distinct religious identity."

In other words, since Israel bills itself as a Jewish state, of which all Jews everywhere are automatic citizens, Jewish students and their Zionists backers can file complaints that pro-Palestinian events or even class lectures discussing illegal Israeli policy can be classified as discriminatory based upon their perceived ethnicity and citizenship of a country that shares a "dominant religion."

In March 2011, the education department's office of civil rights began an investigation into charges that anti- Semitism created a hostile environment for Jewish students and staff at the University of California, Santa Cruz. The complaint, however, had been filed in June 2009, a full year before the re-interpretation of Title VI. Thomas did not answer a question about how the new interpretation could be applied retroactively, though it was posed to him three times in three emails.

Since then, Zionists have file numerous Title VI complaints against other universities. Most, if not all, have been dismissed by the US Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights. On Sept. 8, 2011, the Shurat HaDin, an Israeli law organization, sent hundreds of letters to American university and college presidents warning them their federal funding could be in jeopardy if anti-Israel activities are allowed to take place on campus, according to an article published in the Jerusalem post, titled, "US colleges to receive warning letters on anti-Semitism."

AMP Chairman Dr. Hatem Bazian, a Palestinian-American professor of Near Eastern and Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, takes issue with the amended understanding of Title VI. While he agrees that Jewish as well as Muslim students should be protected from discrimination based upon their religious identity under Title VI, he believes the reinterpretation is being used to actually stifle debate about Israel, he said. "Attempts to silence opposition to the illegal Israeli occupation and policies is un-American and amounts to political and academic censorship," Bazian said.

Opposing Park 51 mosque

In a show of stunning hypocrisy, the organization that sometimes calls out Islamophobia can also at times be Islamophobic. For instance, in May 2014, the ADL condemned noted bigot Pamela Geller for running bus ads in Washington DC with a picture of Adolf Hitler and the slogan, "Jew Hatred is in the Quran." But the ADL opposed the construction of the Cordoba Community Center, which was being built two blocks away from the World Trade Center in New York, the site of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Foxman's opposition flew in the face of reason. Using the politically charged moniker – Ground Zero mosque – bestowed upon the project by ultra-right wing Islamophobe Pamela Gellar, Foxman cast aspersions on that Muslim community even while saying he believes in the freedom of religion. By using the Ground Zero label, he linked the Cordoba community, a peaceful Sufi group under the leadership of Imam Faisel Abdul Rauf, to those who flew airplanes into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and into a field in Pennsylvania.

Foxman also cast suspicion on the group in his July 28, 2010, press release, by dropping unsubstantiated innuendos from the blogosphere that "... some legitimate questions have been raised about who is providing the funding to build it, and what connections, if any, its leaders might have with groups whose ideologies stand in contradiction to our shared values." He also tried to present himself as taking a moral high ground by saying it 'was not right' for the Cordoba community to build its mosque in the shadow of the World Trade Center because it would cause victims of 9/11 more pain.

To add insult to injury, Foxman wrote in an Aug. 2, 2010, op-ed on the Huffington Post that a "better way for Muslims seeking reconciliation and moderation would have been for them to reach out to the families of the victims." Foxman seems to ignore the fact that Muslims were victims as well – more than 340 of them perished in the attacks. By suggesting the Cordoba community should seek reconciliation again cast aspersions upon them as Muslims and holds them responsible for the acts of nine terrorists.

Finally, Foxman did what he does best – and that is to try to stigmatize anyone who does not agree with him or the ADL – this time by accusing those who pointed out his bigotry of engaging in "demagoguery."

Hypocrisy

The ADL's stance against the Park 51 mosque is not that unusual given other astounding shows of hypocrisy in its 98-year history.

Using anti-Semitism to open doors

In at least one case shown in the "Defamation" documentary, Foxman admits to manipulating what he calls others' anti-Semitic notions for his own benefit. In other words, he has no problem exploiting what he calls anti-Semitic notions in order to gain access to influential people and heads of state.

Sitting with filmmaker Shamir in the back of a limousine, which is following a police escort through Rome on the way to the Vatican, Foxman tries to explain why he has access to such powerful people. "They believe we have more power than what we are," Foxman says. "I've always said the Jews are not as powerful as Jews think we are, nor are Jews as powerful as our enemies think we are.

"They do believe that we can make a difference in Washington and we're not going to convince them otherwise," Foxman says. "It's the perception of the power of the Jewish community, which is one of the signs of anti-Semitism." Foxman pauses. "It's a very thin line."

Award to Rupert Murdoch

On Oct. 13, 2010, the ADL awarded Rupert Murdoch, the CEO of News Corp – the parent company of FOX News -- its annual International Leadership Award, for his "stalwart support of Israel …" Many blasted the ADL for choosing Murdoch, given that FOX News and its right-wing pundits often engage in race-baiting, Islamophobia and hate speech. In addition, hosts like Glen Beck often use Nazi imagery – something the ADL has complained about in the past -- in their shows to describe those outside the Tea Party segment of society.

(The award was granted before the major 'eavesdropping' controversy surrounding Murdoch and his company and that resulted in the closure of the British tabloid News of the World in July 2011.

Kissinger vs. Helen Thomas

The ADL did not hold back in its campaign to get veteran journalist, the late Helen Thomas, sacked from the White House Press Corps and to have her name removed from several journalism awards -- most notably from the Society of Professional Journalists lifetime achievement award -- after she was taped saying, "Jews should get the hell out of Israel."

In a Dec. 8, 2010, op-ed in the Huffington Post, Foxman called Thomas an anti-Semite and a "90-year-old has-been."

Yet, when more tapes from President Richard Nixon were released at the end of 2010 and it was revealed that then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who is Jewish, was not interested in helping Soviet Jews immigrate to Israel, the ADL gave him a pass. In fact, the ADL said Kissinger's anti-Semitic remarks should not tarnish his entire body of work.

"And if they put Jews into gas chambers in the Soviet Union, it is not an American concern," Kissinger can be heard saying on the tapes. The ADL issued a statement on Dec. 13, 2010, stating, "Kissinger's remarks on Nixon Tapes reveal 'disturbing flaws,' but do not change his legacy."

Armenian genocide incident

In August 2007, the ADL fired New England Regional Director Andrew H. Tarsey after he broke ranks and referred to the murder of 1.5 million Armenians as genocide. An Aug. 18, 2007, Boston Globe article by Keith O'Brien said Tarsey "had been struggling with the national position for weeks and finally told Foxman in a phone conversation that he found the ADL's stance 'morally reprehensible.'"

The firing brought a rain of criticism down upon the national office. "My reaction is that this was a vindictive, intolerant and destructive act, ironically by an organization and leader whose mission -- fundamental mission -- is to promote tolerance," O'Brien quoted former ADL board member Steve Grossman as saying.

In a three-page response to the incident, Foxman never mentions the word 'genocide.' He does, however, explain that Israel's safety and its relationship with Turkey — which perpetrated the genocide under the Ottoman Empire — was "paramount," the Globe reported. In other words, standing by Israel trumped telling the truth about the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of people.

Four days after the firing, the ADL changed its stance and recognized the Armenian genocide.

Affirmative Action

Jews and blacks had forged a strong alliance from the early days of the ADL. That bond remained in place mostly until the 1970s, when Affirmative Action became a key component of the Civil Rights Movement. Contrary to its stated mission of working for civil rights for all people, the ADL vehemently opposed Affirmative Action.

In the 1988 book, "Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times between Blacks and Jews in America," by Jonathan Kaufman, the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist described the breakdown between blacks and Jews when Affirmative Action became

prevalent in the Civil Rights movement.

He tells the story of Jack Greenburg of the Legal Defense Fund, who began filing lawsuits and legal briefs on behalf of African Americans in the 1970s. He successfully fought a case against the New York prison system, which had never promoted a black corrections officer above entry level position. When the case was appealed, Greenburg was "dumbstruck" to learn the ADL had filed a brief opposing the Affirmative Action plan, Kaufman writes.

Greenburg felt, "Some officials of the ADL, the most vociferous opponents of affirmative action, had become haters," Kaufman writes. (p. 118)

Censorship

Screening of "Miral" at United Nations

In March 2011, the ADL urged the president of the United Nations General Assembly to cancel a screening of the film "Miral," which it said presented "a personal history of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians from the perspective of the Palestinian narrative," something the ADL found objectionable.

The press release dated March 14, 2011, then tried to link the movie to the previous day's funerals of five Israeli colonizers, all members of one family who had been killed in their West Bank settlement.

"It is unfortunate that the film is scheduled to be shown on the day following the funerals of five Israeli victims who were murdered in a heinous attack ... a stark reminder of the truly devastating nature of the conflict and the toll of human lives it has taken," the press release stated, as if only the Israeli narrative of human loss and suffering is important.

The movie played as scheduled.

Chicago Public Library

The ADL purports to be defenders of free speech, but only when that speech does not enter upon the realm of exposing Israeli atrocities and violations of international law. Throughout its history, there are many examples of the ADL exerting undue pressure to silence viewpoints opposing its own.

Perhaps the most well-known case occurred in 1989, when the ADL attempted to influence a reading list on the Middle East compiled by a librarian at the Chicago Public Library, according to journalist Robert Friedman in his article, "The ADL: The Jewish Thought Police," (Village Voice, July 27, 1993).

In 1989, librarian David Williams first came to the attention of the ADL and other Zionist groups when he created a bibliography, consisting of 147 books on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for his employer, the Chicago Public Library. The diverse and comprehensive list "was widely praised by academics, and was used as a teaching aid by the prestigious Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Chicago," Friedman writes.

After a patron complained the bibliography was "biased," the library's director of collection development reviewed the bibliography and determined that it was fair and balanced, according to the article. But that didn't stop the ADL and the Jewish Community Relations Council, which waged a fierce campaign against the bibliography, reaching out to library administrators, trustees and even the president of the Chicago library board, Cindy Pritzker.

After a long, drawn-out battle, Williams – who by then had been labeled an anti-Semite – offered the ADL a deal: He would add more pro-Zionist books to the canon. But the ADL wanted more, according to Friedman. "The ADL demanded that [Chief Librarian Samuel F.] Morrison place 38 books it chose in a new bibliography and forbid Williams from working on this and future reading lists," according to the article.

Finally, in January 1990, the Chicago Public Library caved into the Zionist pressure. It ordered a new bibliography be drawn up, containing 30 book titles provided by the ADL, and they prevented Williams from working on it. The lobbying backfired for the ADL, however, and a flurry of bad press caused the organization to back away from its demands. But not before it was too late for Williams, who was transferred to a rural branch.

But that wasn't to be Williams' last tangle with the ADL.

In 1992, Williams, who had for years been sending memos to the American Library Association about Israeli censorship of books, presented a resolution at the annual American Library Association convention to call upon the government of Israel "to end all censorship and human rights violations in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and in Israel itself."

Though the resolution passed that year, it was challenged vigorously the following year by a "well-oiled coalition of Jewish librarians backed by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith," according to the Village Voice article. The resolution was overturned the following year, after a heavy campaign staged by the ADL that included a personal request to ALA Director Peggy Sullivan, vociferous letter-writing campaigns and broad-based mobilization of Jewish librarians.

Cancellation of Tony Judt lecture

In October 2006, the ADL was instrumental in the cancellation of a speech on the Israel lobby and U.S. foreign policy to be given by New York University Professor Tony Judt at the Polish Consulate in New York.

According to professors Stephen M. Walt and John J. Mearsheimer, authors of the book, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," the Polish Consul General admitted he had received two phone calls from the ADL, which he described "as exercising a delicate pressure ... We are adults and our IQs are high enough to understand that." (p. 186)

The lecture was cancelled.

"I find the whole thing in the end, depressing," Judt told the Jewish newspaper The Forward, in an article titled, "A 'Lobby' Prof Asks: Can We Talk?" by J.J. Goldberg, published Oct. 13, 2006. "Anti-Semitism is a real thing, and it's a serious thing. I've written about it and I care about it. So to find myself attacking the ADL for implicitly accusing people of anti-Semitism – it seems, well, upside down." The article continued: "Press accounts suggest the ADL and the AJC [American Jewish Committee] had a hand in the cancellation of his speech. Judt says the ADL was doing precisely what Mearsheimer and Walt claim it does, muzzling dissent."

Trying to quash publication of Norman Finkelstein's book

The ADL tried on at least one occasion to stop the publications of a book by Professor Norman Finkelstein, according the Mearsheimer and Walt in "The Lobby."

"In 1998, for example, the ADL called on the publisher of Norman Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn's "A Nation on Trial," (Metropolitan Books) to halt its release. ... "A Nation on Trial" elicited both praise and criticism from respected scholars. Yet, ADL head Abraham Foxman said, "A Nation on Trial" should not have been published, insisting that the issue was ... what is 'legitimate criticism' and what goes beyond the pale." (p. 184)

French embassy cancels NY book launch

In October 2006, the ADL played a large role in the cancellation of the New York launch of French author Carmen Callil's book, "Bad Faith," which examines Vichy France's collaboration with Nazi Germany, according to Reuters.

While the scholarship and the content of the book were widely praised, it was a small postscript that prompted charges of anti-Semitism and caused the cancellation of the book launch at the French Embassy in New York, the article dated Oct. 10, 2006, stated.

The postscript states: "What caused me anguish as I tracked down Louis Darquier was to live so closely to the helpless terror of the Jews of France, and to see what the Jews of Israel were passing on to the Palestinian people."

These are only a few of the many examples of ADL intimidation, labeling and attempts to silence diverse views on the Middle East.

Mearsheimer and Walt summed up the ADL's tactics in their book, "The Lobby."

"Unfortunately, some pro-Israel individuals and groups have occasionally taken their defense of Israel to illegitimate extremes, attempting to silence individuals who hold news they dislike. This endeavor can involve intimidating and smearing critics of Israel, or even attempting to damage or wreck careers." (p. 185)

Just ask Professor Finkelstein or veteran journalist Helen Thomas about "wrecked careers." Finkelstein has said the ADL was instrumental in DePaul University's failure to offer him tenure, thus ending his teaching career in Chicago. And Thomas came under ADL ire after comments she made concerning Israel in June 2010 were taken out of context, twisted and then used to get her hounded from the White House Press Corps, a position she had held for more than 50 years.

Espionage

"The Anti-Defamation League is an organization that sets a tone in every area of society that makes one think twice of making any criticism of Israel," journalist Jeffery Blankfort told AMP in a telephone interview.

"The ADL has organized to silence and eliminate all critical voices of Israel from academia and the media and has targeted professors, particularly those who are African American, and who are critical of Israel," Blankfort wrote 2002. He should know. He was one of hundreds of Americans about whom the ADL obtained – much of it illegally -- personal and political information with the help of an infiltrator, Roy Bullock, and a dirty San Francisco cop named Tom Gerard.

According to a Los Angeles Times article dated April 21, 1993, San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith investigated whether Bullock and the ADL "violated state law by collecting confidential information on at least 1,394 political activists and private citizens." Authorities also found data among ADL files on at least 700

organizations, including the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, the American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP.

Under heavy political pressure, Smith dropped the charges against the ADL but not before releasing a 700page document detailing prosecutors' charges against Bullock, Gerard and ADL. Here are some of the key points contained in that document, according to Blankfort.

The ADL supplied confidential information to foreign governments that it obtained from police and federal agents in the U.S.

Bullock, who had been collecting information for the ADL since 1954, was also being paid by a South African intelligence agent to provide information on South African exiles and anti-Apartheid activists to the South African government.

Bullock reported to the South African government on the visit to California of Chris Hani, the man most assumed would succeed Nelson Mandela, shortly before Hani was murdered in South Africa.

Bullock was discovered to have the floor plan and key to the office of Los Angeles Arab American leader Alex Odeh, who was murdered by a pipe bomb placed in his office in 1985.

According to the Los Angeles Times article, the ADL paid Bullock "surreptitiously" for about 33 years. At the time of the investigation, Bullock was receiving \$550 per month.

"He scanned obscure publications, attended demonstrations and listened to speeches, making note of people who might be of concern to the league. ... In this way, he amassed files in his computer on more than 950 groups and nearly 10,000 people. He said he passed along some of the information of the data – including confidential police information – to the Anti-Defamation League; he also traded some data to law enforcement agencies for more information," the article stated.

History of espionage

According to many sources, the ADL has had a long and storied history of espionage. In fact, its leaders began collecting information on fellow Americans and turning it over to Congress and law enforcement just a few years after its founding, published reports say.

The ADL was formed in 1913 in response to the lynching and murder of Leo Frank, who had been wrongfully convicted of the murder of 13-year-old Mary Phagan in Atlanta, Ga.

But by 1937, the ADL had started spying on and keeping files on communists or communist sympathizing organizations, according to Blankfort, in an article titled, "The back-of-the-envelope history of the Anti- Defamation League," published on July 31, 2010, on the Mondoweiss website.

Arnold Forster joined the League in New York in 1938. Before that he had created the Junior Guild, a loose group of

friends who investigated incidents of anti-Semitism, writes journalist Friedman in "The ADL: Jewish Thought Police." The Guild quickly became loosely affiliated with the ADL in New York. Forster wrote, "I 'assigned the members to cover meetings of such as the KKK, Christian Front and German-American Bund, check backgrounds of anti-Jewish activists

"At the onset of the Cold War, the ADL was running perhaps the largest private spy agency in America, regularly feeding the FBI information not only on anti-Semitic groups like the KKK and the American Nazi party, but also on Jewish leftists and members of the Communist Party," Friedman writes.

A 1947 congressional hearing revealed the ADL also had been providing information on the newly formed National Lawyers Guild "and on individuals applying for government jobs to the original House Committee on Un-American Activities, chaired by the notorious racist and anti-Semite, Rep. Martin Dies, which came to be referred to simply as the Dies Committee," wrote Blankfort, whose own personal and confidential file was found among the ADL's possession in the 1993 espionage case.

Blankfort sued along with two other plaintiffs, and the case was settled out of court. (See section, 'Lawsuits involving the ADL.')

In the 1950s and 1960s, the "ADL spied on Martin Luther King and passed its files to J. Edgar Hoover's FBI," Friedman writes.

"While the ADL's public face was that of an organization determined to rid the country of neo-Nazis and skinheads, its raison d'être in the absences of any serious threats of anti-Semitism, was not defense of Jews, per se, but defense of Israel and the intimidation and public humiliation of its critics," Blankfort writes.

Intelligence gathering continuing today

While part of Blankfort's settlement agreement with the ADL included the promise the organization would no longer illegally collect intelligence on private citizens and organizations, the ADL continues to collect data and information on people it considers to be "extremists," it admits in its 2009 Annual Report.

"The components of this mission [fighting hate] are manifest in this year's Annual Report ... It starts with our information gathering ... ADL prides itself on its vast data collection and its care in getting it right with regard to those who promote hate ..." the report's introduction states.

And the ADL's definition of who is extreme, i.e., 'promotes hate,' is quite broad and includes many accomplished and respected journalists, academics, lawyers; anyone, actually, who rails against Israel's illegal policies and its oppressive occupation of the Palestinian people. From former Congressman Paul Findley, who opposed Israel-friendly foreign policy measures in Congress, to AMP's chairman, Dr. Hatem Bazian, no one who speaks out against Israeli policy is immune from ADL's tactics.

Painting pro-Palestinian activists with this broad brushstroke of 'promoting hate' or espousing extremism is just one weapon the ADL uses to stifle meaningful dialogue about Israel. And this tactic is in perfect keeping with a long-time Zionist philosophy.

Israeli Abba Eban of the Labor Party, writes, "One of the chief tasks of any dialogue with the Gentile world is to prove that the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism [generally understood as criticism of policies of the Israeli state] is not a distinction at all," according to Professor Noam Chomsky in his book, "Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians." (p.15).

This ideology of linking criticism of Zionism and Israel to anti-Semitism actually goes all the way back to Israel's first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, in his angry reaction to the British court's implication of Zionist leaders in arms-trafficking in 1943, Chomsky writes.

"Henceforth, to be anti-Zionist was to be anti-Semitic," Ben Gurion is quoted as saying.

But Chomsky takes it one step further: "It is, however, primarily in the post-1967 period that the tactic has been honed to a high art, increasingly so, as the policies defended became less and less defensible." (p.16).

Lawsuits involving the ADL

Criminal charges were never pursued against the ADL, any of its employees or board members in the 1993 domestic espionage case, although several civil lawsuits were filed.

According to court documents obtained by AMP, at least three major lawsuits were brought against the ADL and its agents Roy Bullock and Tom Gerard by individuals and organizations the ADL had spied upon. Participating were hundreds of plaintiffs, included the National Lawyer's Guild, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, National Association of Arab Americans, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, International Jewish Peace Union, Palestine Solidarity Committee, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the American Indian Movement.

And in the midst of the complicated suits with multiple litigants, counterclaims against the ADL were made by the county of Los Angeles. Similarly, the city of San Francisco filed a civil suit against the ADL, which was settled in 1994, according to an article in the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs.

Two of the three civil suits were settled in the 1990s with positive findings for the plaintiffs, according to published reports. One of these, a class action lawsuit with more than 800 plaintiffs, was settled in 1999.

The third suit lingered until 2002, mostly because of the ADL's legal wrangling, Blankfort said. For instance in one such move, five years into the lawsuit, the ADL convinced a judge the ADL was a "journalistic organization," and as such as the right to collect information on people and organizations.

In the end, however, activists Blankfort, Anne Poirer and Steve Zeltzer prevailed. They were the only three left of the 17 people who initially brought suit, Blankfort said. Represented pro bono by former Congressman Pete McCloskey, whose name also was included in the ADL's files, the trio settled for about \$178,000 and, unusual for these types of cases, were not bound by a 'no disclosure' clause.

For its part "The ADL said 'we didn't do it and we won't do it again," Blankfort said of the settlement. And in what Blankfort calls a public relations ploy to regain credibility, the ADL agreed set up several funds to fight hate crimes, school education and to improve relations among Jews, blacks and other minorities.

Libel judgment against the ADL

Before the espionage case came to light, the ADL was embroiled in another damaging lawsuit brought by William and Dorothy Quigely, a Colorado couple whom the ADL publicly had labeled as "anti-Semites."

The couple sued the ADL and its Mountain States director Saul F. Rosenthal for defamation and libel, and, in April 2000, a Denver jury awarded the Quigleys \$10.5 million after agreeing Rosenthal had made more than 40 false and defamatory public statements against them, according to a Denver Post article.

The issue began with a dispute over dogs between neighbors – the Quigleys, who are Catholics, and Mitchell and Candace Aronson, who are Jewish. The Aronsons then electronically eavesdropped on the Quigleys' cordless telephone and took 100 hours' worth of tapes to Rosenthal, who said publicly, the couple was involved in "a vicious anti-Semitic campaign," that included plans to paint oven doors on the Aronson's garage door.

In March 2001, a federal judge upheld the verdict and judgment, and wrote that based upon its position as a "wellrespected civil rights organization, it is not unreasonable to infer that public charges of anti-Semitism by the ADL will be taken seriously and assumed by many to be true without question. In that respect, the ADL is in a unique position of being able to cause substantial harm to individuals when it lends its backing to allegations of anti-Semitism."

In the end, an appeals judge upheld the original verdict but reduced the award to \$9.75 million, according to the Associated Press.

Amicus briefs; acting as a 'movant'. It is true that in keeping with its mission of fighting anti-Semitism and for civil rights, the ADL has a stable of lawyers filing amicus briefs on a breadth of issues that usually pertain to protecting First Amendment rights.

Amicus curiae actually means 'friend of the court.' These briefs are filed by groups that are not parties to a particular dispute but nevertheless have a stake in its outcome, according to the ADL website. A quick perusal of the tens of court case documents viewed by AMP, the ADL – through its amicus briefs – supported First Amendment rights.

However, sometimes the ADL has acted in ways that contradict its primary mission of fighting bigotry. Such was the case when the organization filed amicus briefs against Affirmative Action in a 1970s case brought against the New York prison system, according to author Jonathan Kaufman in his book, "Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America."

The ADL also inserted itself into a controversial 2001 case in Alabama, in which a lawyer sued state Supreme Court justice Roy S. Moore to remove from the court building's rotunda a monument bearing the Biblical Ten Commandments, according to court documents. In this case, the ADL acted as a "movant," which means they filed a brief asking the judge to side with the plaintiff, Stephen R. Glassroth.

In all, the ADL was listed as a defendant or as counter-defendant in 21 out of 41 cases initiated in federal district courts, according to the electronic court document systems, PACER. Some of the cases were frivolous, or were dismissed on technical grounds, such as a personal injury case where the complainant was representing herself. But many of the cases were closed by court order or documents such as the original complaint were not available electronically.

Conclusion

As awareness about the occupation of Palestine grows – especially the effective, global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement – so, too, do the ADL's efforts to stop the transfer of this information to the American public.

Its greatest weapon is charging an individual, organization or institution as being anti-Semitic. As a federal judge wrote in his decision against the organization in a 2001 defamation case, "... the ADL is in a unique position of being able to cause substantial harm to individuals when it lends its backing to allegations of anti-Semitism."

Many have suffered because of this label, including Professor Norman Finkelstein and the late journalist Helen Thomas. The ADL has hurled this accusation as well as the insidious "anti-American" moniker against the American Muslims for Palestine as well. But, the charges aren't sticking because the American public has become thirsty for credible knowledge on the issue of Palestine and the Middle East conflict.

In keeping with its mission of education, AMP's booklets, brochures, fact sheets and other materials keep to high journalistic and ethical standards. AMP will continue to feed the public's thirst for credible knowledge on the topic of Palestine and the Middle East. AMP, along with other social justice organizations, will continue to present the truth. The more we educate ourselves on this issue, the more we continue to question Zionist tactics, the stronger the movement will become and the less power Zionist organizations will have on stifling the truth. After all, the truth is the voice that will break through the cushion of silence with which the ADL is trying to smother the pro-Palestinian peaceful resistance movement in the United States.

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