

**ISRAELI ENVOY TO U.N. CONFIDENT DEPORTATION ISSUE WILL BLOW OVER****By Deborah Kalb**  
States News Service

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Israel's ambassador to the United Nations expressed confidence this week that world condemnation of Israel's expulsion of more than 400 Palestinians to Lebanon would soon blow over.

Once the Middle East peace talks resume, the deportations will be regarded as "marginal," Ambassador Gad Yaacobi told B'nai B'rith leaders here Monday.

Speaking to the organization's international board of governors, Yaacobi called the deportations a "short-term issue," and said he was "hoping for the best" concerning Israel's relations with the incoming Clinton administration.

The envoy said he did not see "a real change in U.S. policy" toward Israel with the incoming administration. He said he planned to meet later Monday with incoming U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, and expressed hope that his relations with her would be as good as those with the current envoy, Edward Perkins, and his predecessor, Thomas Pickering.

Yaacobi said the deportation issue should be viewed in the context of the rise of Islamic fundamentalist movements like Hamas.

These fundamentalist groups have supported terrorist attacks in the Middle East and are "semi-Nazi" in that they not only reject the State of Israel, but "see every Jew as a personal enemy," he said.

Yaacobi said he believed all the parties in the peace process, including the Palestinians, would stay in the negotiations.

**PLO Says Talks Are Suspended**

But in Cairo, the Palestine Liberation Organization said Monday that it had suspended Palestinian participation in any talks with Israel until the deportees were returned.

The announcement came at an emergency meeting of Arab foreign ministers in the Egyptian capital.

On the other hand, the Syrian foreign minister was quoted as telling his Arab colleagues that the Israeli deportations should not impede the bilateral peace talks Israel has been holding with Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians.

"If we have to suspend the negotiations, let us start by suspending the multilateral negotiations, in which a number of Arab nations are taking part," Farouk al-Sharaa was quoted as saying.

"This would definitely be a bigger blow to Israel than suspending the bilateral talks," he added.

Sharaa pointed out that boycotting the bilateral talks would frustrate the Arabs' goal of getting Israel to give up land it captured in the Six-Day War of 1967.

But here in Washington, Ambassador Yaacobi said that as far as the Gaza Strip was concerned, it would not so much be giving up as "getting rid of."

Peace, he said, is "not just about security."

If peace were achieved, he said, Israel would have a "better quality of life," and higher levels of economic growth.

The ambassador said that Israel now has relations with 119 of the 179 U.N. member states, and once the two halves of the former Czechoslovakia are seated, the total will be 120 of 180, or two-thirds.

Instead of defensively viewing the United Nations as a "dangerous place," he said, Israel now sees the world body as an opportunity to create closer relations with other countries.

**RABIN ASKS U.S. TO HALT ARAB AID TO HAMAS GROUP**  
By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has urged the U.S. administration to bring about a halt in funding by Arab Americans of Hamas Moslem fundamentalists in the administered territories, according to reports here.

The reports come amid international political fallout over the Dec. 17 expulsion by Israel of over 400 Moslem fundamentalists who remain stranded in a strip of southern Lebanon between Lebanese and Israeli army checkpoints.

Pro-Hamas supporters are concentrated in Arab communities in Virginia and California, according to a weekend report on Israel Television by Ehud Ya'ari, a highly regarded Arab affairs correspondent.

Other media reports say Washington has already informed Israel it has no legal recourse against the activities of a Hamas leader in Virginia, Sheik Moussa Marzouk.

American authorities have also taken no action against a leader of the more radical Islamic Jihad fundamentalists.

Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, a leader of the Islamic Jihad in Egypt, is currently in the United States.

The blind Moslem leader, who preaches in Brooklyn and New Jersey, has reportedly been involved in incitement to murder of tourists in Egypt and of Egyptian leaders.

And he has been tied to El Sayyid Nosair, who is serving a prison sentence for crimes associated with the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the anti-Arab Kach movement.

Jerusalem has also asked Washington to exert pressure on Saudi Arabia to stop transfer of funds to Hamas activists in the territories.

**DUTCH MINISTER CANCELS ISRAEL TRIP FOLLOWING A REQUEST FROM ARAFAT**  
By Henriette Boas and Ruben Vis

AMSTERDAM, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers has asked his minister of justice to postpone a planned visit to Israel following a request by Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasir Arafat.

Lubbers admitted that Arafat had asked him to use his good relations with Israel to help resolve the standoff over more than 400 Moslem fundamentalists deported by Israel last month and now stranded in Lebanon.

The Dutch premier apparently acceded to the

request and decided to put some pressure on Israel. Lubbers asked his newly appointed foreign minister to inform his colleague, Justice Minister Ernst Hirsch Ballin, that his trip must be postponed.

The move became Foreign Minister Peter Kooijmans' first official act since assuming his position earlier this month.

A former professor of international law, Kooijmans replaced Hans van den Broek, who became a member of the European Commission in Brussels.

Both men are considered to be pro-Israel and the announcement of the postponement came as a surprise here.

Protesting the postponement, pro-Israel organizations in the Netherlands said the action would be viewed as a strong signal of support for the Hamas activists.

The justice minister's trip was to have been low-profile from a political perspective. He was to be hosted by Justice Minister David Libai and give several lectures in Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, the Dutch minister of culture and welfare, Hedy d'Ancona, was due to go ahead this week with a five-day visit to Israel during which she will attend the Jan. 14 opening of "The World of Anne Frank" exhibition in Tel Aviv.

D'Ancona, whose father is Jewish, issued a statement seeking to downplay any political import to the trip. A spokesman said the minister would seek to "spread the message of Anne Frank," the Dutch Jewish girl who died in a Nazi concentration camp after her family's hiding place in Amsterdam was revealed.

Separately, Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall last week canceled a scheduled visit to Israel. A spokesman said the trip was "postponed" because of scheduling difficulties. He denied a report in the Israeli press that the move was linked to the deportation issue.

*(Contributing to this report was JTA correspondent Gil Kezwer in Toronto.)*

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Professor Yuval Ne'eman, a nuclear expert and former minister of science, said the report was a "rehash" of claims made to a British paper by Mordechai Vanunu, a former employee at the nuclear reactor in Dimona who is now serving a long jail term for security offenses.

Ne'eman, a founder of the right-wing Tchiya party, said the Jan. 10 report could have been motivated by an American desire to exert pressure on Israel to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

He said the article might represent a suggestion to Jerusalem and to the new U.S. administration that "Israel is strong enough to be able to make territorial concessions."

Israel reportedly has as many as 50 to 200 nuclear weapons, according to the Times.

Another Israeli expert cast doubt on a claim made in the Times article that Israel in 1991 bought from Britain supercomputers capable of nuclear weapon and missile design.

"I haven't seen such computers in Israel,

and I don't know on what basis the claim is made," said Dr. Shai Feldman, head of the arms limitation project at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

Feldman believes the administration of Bill Clinton taking office Jan. 20 will continue efforts by President Bush to apply pressure on Israel to sign the non-proliferation treaty.

"But Clinton also wants to guarantee the safety of Israel, and I don't think real pressure will come until peace is reached in the Middle East," he said.

Ne'eman, who has stated Israel is not in possession of atomic weapons, said Israel should not sign the treaty "and tie its own hands.

"The treaty is in any case a fiction. Look at (Iraqi dictator) Saddam (Hussein). He signed the pact, but this does not prevent him from getting nuclear material from many other countries."

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By Sunday morning, Avi Britstein, a 46-year-old engineer from Ramat Gan, was off respiratory-assist machines, breathing on his own and chatting with his family.

He spoke to reporters in a firm and confident voice from his bed at the Sheba government hospital in Tel Hashomer.

The operation marked the first time a foreigner's heart had been brought to Israel for transplant. Two livers were imported some time ago, but the woman who received both died some years ago.

Britstein, who suffers from cardiac muscle atrophy, said he first learned last Thursday night that a heart was en route from Cyprus and that he would be operated on within hours.

Dr. Ya'acov Lavi, head of the Sheba transplant team, received word at 6 p.m. Thursday that the heart of a brain-dead 42-year-old Cypriot woman was available in Limassol.

"Within three hours, we had organized a twin-engine plane to fly our team over. By 9 p.m. we were already on our way," he said.

An ambulance was awaiting them on the runway at the Nicosia airport and the Israeli doctor and nurses were rushed to the hospital at Limassol under police escort.

The Israeli team, with the assistance of Cypriot surgeons, removed the heart, placed it in a portable refrigerator and flew back to Israel, where Britstein had already been prepared to receive the transplant.

Lavi, who brought the heart from Ben-Gurion Airport to Tel Hashomer, performed the transplant procedure.

Cyprus agreed to joint surgical procedures in which hearts will be transplanted at Sheba Hospital, and livers and other organs will be jointly transplanted into Israelis in Cyprus, said the Israeli hospital's deputy director-general, Dr. Ze'ev Rothstein.

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**NEO-NAZIS CHARGED WITH SUBVERSION  
IN GERMAN MOVE AGAINST EXTREMISTS**

By David Kantor

BONN, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Two former members of the National Democratic Party, a neo-Nazi group, were charged last week with espionage and subversive activities.

The state prosecutor in Munich said the defendants, whose names have not been released, were agents of Stasi, the notorious secret police of former East Germany.

The defendants, a married couple, had worked for more than 20 years with Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm, Germany's most important arms producer.

The investigators found that the political activities of the defendants within the neo-Nazi group were related, at least in part, to their occupation as East German agents. Nevertheless, they were described by the prosecution as convicted right-wing extremists.

In the state of Hesse, meanwhile, the Finance Ministry has ordered the removal of copies of two neo-Nazi publications from a state-owned-and-operated spa in Bad Nauheim, some 20 miles north of Frankfurt.

The spa has until now been offering guests copies of both weekly newspapers in the main lobby as well as in other waiting halls of the luxurious facility.

The publications, the National Zeitung and the Deutsche Wochenzeitung, are published in Munich. Their owner and editor in chief is Gerhard Frey, a well-known neo-Nazi activist who runs the German People's Union, a political group with some representation in state and communal Parliaments.

The papers' availability at the spa was brought to the ministry's attention by Farzin Borzoui, an activist working on behalf of the rights of foreigners who live in Germany. The order to remove the papers came last Friday.

Borzoui complained first to the spa's management, but its director, Eduard Ait, said he would not remove the newspapers, as they were not subject to any legal restrictions.

In related news, German citizens are continuing to rally against far-right extremism.

In Cologne, more than 200,000 people held a huge vigil in the town center last Saturday to show solidarity with foreigners living here and to condemn violent attacks against them.

**VANDALS DESECRATE JEWISH CEMETERIES**

BONN, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Unknown vandals last week desecrated a Jewish cemetery in Florsheim, a small town not far from Frankfurt.

According to police, 10 gravestones were overturned, and some of them carried away and thrown in a nearby creek.

Police believe the desecration occurred at the beginning of last week. It was discovered later in the week.

The town authorities released a statement condemning the desecration in sharp terms. Mayor Norbert Hegmann said that he requested a speedy and full investigation to identify the perpetrators and bring them to court.

A desecration of a Jewish cemetery was also reported in another nearby town, Hochheim. Here also, several gravestones were overturned.

Police investigators believe that in both cases the perpetrators were politically motivated.

**POLISH LEADER TO TAKE PART  
IN WARSAW GHETTO CEREMONY**

By Michel Di Paz

PARIS, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has agreed to take part in ceremonies next April commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

Suchocka told leaders of the European Jewish Congress last weekend that she will participate in events sponsored by world Jewish organizations and the Polish government to commemorate the ghetto resistance to the Nazis.

Members of the congress' executive board, holding their first-ever meeting in Warsaw, also raised the issue of restitution for Jewish assets seized by the Nazis and then by the Communists.

Discussion of the issue has been prompted by the onset of a process of privatization in the former Communist states of Eastern Europe. Leading the delegation was Jean Kahn, president of the European Jewish Congress, an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress.

On other matters, Suchocka reportedly agreed to a plan on the teaching of the Holocaust in Polish schools. She also said she would welcome help in organizing a seminar for members of the Polish Parliament in fighting racism and anti-Semitism.

The question arose as part of the larger issue of a resurgence of racism and anti-Semitism throughout the European continent, particularly in Germany and Eastern Europe.

A special center for combatting anti-Semitism is being established by the European Jewish Congress in Paris, to be funded by a special grant from the European Council and the European Parliament.

**BATTLE OVER ANCIENT BONES  
SPURS ANTI-ORTHODOX VIOLENCE**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- The war over ancient bones unearthed at a Jerusalem highway construction site escalated to anti-Orthodox vandalism this past weekend.

Sixteen cars had their tires slashed Friday night in areas where haredi, or fervently Orthodox, Jews live in the capital. Some of the cars were also sprayed with anti-haredi graffiti.

It was the latest act in a nasty tug-of-war between the haredim, the Israel Antiquities Department and residents of Jerusalem's French Hill neighborhood, who are sorely in need of a new highway to alleviate continuous traffic jams.

Israel's High Court of Justice is due to hear arguments this Thursday from the Jerusalem municipality, which favors the highway construction, and Athra Kadisha, the haredi group dedicated to protecting Jewish gravesites.

Last week, the court issued a temporary order freezing work at the site.

The battle over the gravesite has taken on strong anti-Orthodox colors. One of the slogans spray-painted on cars was "Every doss will have his day," using the pejorative term "doss" to describe a "dati," or religious Jew.

Leaders of the neighborhood association of Pisgat Ze'ev, which has been fighting the haredim over the French Hill site, condemned the tire-slashing and graffiti.

"This is sickening," said Yuval Navon, association chairman. "You know how such things begin but you can't know where they'll end."

**BEHIND THE HEADLINES:****PARADOX OF ANTI-SEMITISM: WHAT CAUSES THE DISSONANCE AND AT WHAT COST?**

By Debra Nussbaum Cohen  
[Part 2 Of A Series]

NEW YORK, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- While Jews no longer face the widespread discrimination and bias which marked their American experience until relatively recently, surveys commissioned by Jewish communal agencies regularly uncover alarming trends in both anti-Semitic attitudes and the quantity and quality of anti-Jewish incidents.

But different surveys attempting to measure Americans' attitudes toward Jews, taken within a few years of each other, can turn up markedly different results and can help explain the paradox of anti-Semitism in America today.

The results, say critics, often depend upon the way anti-Semitic attitudes are measured; how survey questions are asked and in what context.

Survey results, they say, depend on the way questions are positioned.

If poll respondents are asked to rank ethnic and religious groups that they feel have too much influence, for example, the results can be quite different than if they are asked simply if they feel Jews wield too much influence in the United States.

When asked to compare, respondents regularly rank many ethnic, religious and business groups as having more influence than Jews.

What does the Anti-Defamation League press release headline, "Nearly 40 million adults -- one in five Americans -- hold strongly anti-Semitic views" really mean, for example?

The conclusions of the most recent survey of attitudes, commissioned by the ADL, were that approximately one-fifth of Americans hold "hard-core" anti-Semitic attitudes.

**Emphasizing The Bad News**

And although the percentage of Americans who hold anti-Jewish attitudes had declined 9 percent since it commissioned its last survey in 1964, the ADL chose to emphasize the bad news rather than what might be considered encouraging, critics say.

But "what has come down is percentage" points, ADL National Director Abraham Foxman pointed out, not the actual number of people holding anti-Semitic views.

"People have said we have created anti-Semitism by saying it," he said.

But by revealing that there is a problem, "the American people, faced with the truth, will be more likely to deal with it."

Still, in contrast, other surveys and polls gauging anti-Semitic attitudes which define "hard-core" differently have uncovered much less alarming findings.

The Gallup polling firm, in a 1981 survey, found that only about 5 percent of Americans met the definition of "hard-core anti-Semite."

And in a 1979 Roper poll, less than 3 percent of respondents answered yes when asked point-blank if they were inclined to be anti-Jewish.

Another piece of the puzzle of modern anti-Semitism in America lies in Jewish history.

Some observers have pointed out that the perception of greater prejudice than really exists is natural, and inevitable, given the recent past.

"It just takes one teen-ager with spray paint to get everyone worried," said Ken Stern,

program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism at the American Jewish Committee.

"We're sort of in the golden age now; Jews are more integrated into society, there's less measurable overt bigotry. But people always see bigotry as something that strips them naked," he said.

According to Earl Raab, an expert on anti-Semitism at Brandeis University, Jews are afraid to say that anti-Semitism is not serious because it might be serious tomorrow.

ADL's Foxman agrees, attributing it to the post-Holocaust mentality. "After Auschwitz, the Jewish community's antennae to anti-Semitic acts vibrate very actively.

"An incident is magnified many times," he said, referring to the fact that many people may hear about one incident of vandalism, for example, and all will be very concerned about a possible increase in anti-Jewish bigotry.

**Anxiety Level Is High**

"Our anxiety level is high. Unfortunately, we've earned it. If I had to choose between hypersensitivity or clinical detachment, I'd choose the former. It's part of our baggage, our history, our experience," said Foxman.

But at what cost?

The dramatic and attention-grabbing nature of anti-Semitic incidents can often push other, more amorphous issues to the backburner of the national Jewish agenda. The fight against anti-Semitism also attracts large sums of money.

The ADL, for example, has a \$30 million operating budget for 1993.

But that figure does not represent a diversion from other Jewish causes, Foxman emphasized. Half the money comes from non-Jewish sources like corporate donations, he said, and only \$1.25 million comes from Jewish federations.

The rest is raised from the Jewish community through fund-raising dinners, direct mail and other solicitations, Foxman said.

Sociologist Steven M. Cohen agreed with Foxman's assessment. The money raised by communal organizations to fight anti-Semitism is not the same money that would otherwise go to fund Jewish educational programs, for example, he said.

While Foxman asserted that the most important challenge facing American Jewry is not anti-Semitism but Jewish continuity, he rejected the notion that too much money is spent on fighting anti-Semitism.

"That's b.s.," he said. "Anyone making these comparisons is short-sighted.

"Money spent on fighting anti-Semitism by the Jewish defense agencies is \$50-60 million a year, a pittance in terms of the disease which has wiped out one-third of our people and is virulent all over the world."

But even if the financial cost is limited, there is a price of another sort being paid by the Jewish community for its focus on anti-Semitism, said one observer.

Numerous studies have shown that anti-Semitism has been one of the primary reasons that Jews who are on the threshold of breaking away from the organized community decide to disengage completely, according to Jerome Chanes, co-director of domestic concerns at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

"The most effective approaches to Jewish continuity are less about negative reasons (to stay connected to the Jewish community) and have more emphasis on positive focus," Chanes said.

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BONN, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Two former members of the National Democratic Party, a neo-Nazi group, were charged last week with espionage and subversive activities.

The state prosecutor in Munich said the defendants, whose names have not been released, were agents of Stasi, the notorious secret police of former East Germany.

The defendants, a married couple, had worked for more than 20 years with Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm, Germany's most important arms producer.

The investigators found that the political activities of the defendants within the neo-Nazi group were related, at least in part, to their occupation as East German agents. Nevertheless, they were described by the prosecution as convicted right-wing extremists.

In the state of Hesse, meanwhile, the Finance Ministry has ordered the removal of copies of two neo-Nazi publications from a state-owned-and-operated spa in Bad Nauheim, some 20 miles north of Frankfurt.

The spa has until now been offering guests copies of both weekly newspapers in the main lobby as well as in other waiting halls of the luxurious facility.

The publications, the National Zeitung and the Deutsche Wochenzeitung, are published in Munich. Their owner and editor in chief is Gerhard Frey, a well-known neo-Nazi activist who runs the German People's Union, a political group with some representation in state and communal Parliaments.

The papers' availability at the spa was brought to the ministry's attention by Farzin Borzoui, an activist working on behalf of the rights of foreigners who live in Germany. The order to remove the papers came last Friday.

Borzoui complained first to the spa's management, but its director, Eduard Ait, said he would not remove the newspapers, as they were not subject to any legal restrictions.

In related news, German citizens are continuing to rally against far-right extremism.

In Cologne, more than 200,000 people held a huge vigil in the town center last Saturday to show solidarity with foreigners living here and to condemn violent attacks against them.

**VANDALS DESECRATE JEWISH CEMETERIES**

BONN, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Unknown vandals last week desecrated a Jewish cemetery in Florsheim, a small town not far from Frankfurt.

According to police, 10 gravestones were overturned, and some of them carried away and thrown in a nearby creek.

Police believe the desecration occurred at the beginning of last week. It was discovered later in the week.

The town authorities released a statement condemning the desecration in sharp terms. Mayor Norbert Hegmann said that he requested a speedy and full investigation to identify the perpetrators and bring them to court.

A desecration of a Jewish cemetery was also reported in another nearby town, Hochheim. Here also, several gravestones were overturned.

Police investigators believe that in both cases the perpetrators were politically motivated.

**POLISH LEADER TO TAKE PART  
IN WARSAW GHETTO CEREMONY**

By Michel Di Paz

PARIS, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has agreed to take part in ceremonies next April commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

Suchocka told leaders of the European Jewish Congress last weekend that she will participate in events sponsored by world Jewish organizations and the Polish government to commemorate the ghetto resistance to the Nazis.

Members of the congress' executive board, holding their first-ever meeting in Warsaw, also raised the issue of restitution for Jewish assets seized by the Nazis and then by the Communists.

Discussion of the issue has been prompted by the onset of a process of privatization in the former Communist states of Eastern Europe. Leading the delegation was Jean Kahn, president of the European Jewish Congress, an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress.

On other matters, Suchocka reportedly agreed to a plan on the teaching of the Holocaust in Polish schools. She also said she would welcome help in organizing a seminar for members of the Polish Parliament in fighting racism and anti-Semitism.

The question arose as part of the larger issue of a resurgence of racism and anti-Semitism throughout the European continent, particularly in Germany and Eastern Europe.

A special center for combatting anti-Semitism is being established by the European Jewish Congress in Paris, to be funded by a special grant from the European Council and the European Parliament.

**BATTLE OVER ANCIENT BONES  
SPURS ANTI-ORTHODOX VIOLENCE**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- The war over ancient bones unearthed at a Jerusalem highway construction site escalated to anti-Orthodox vandalism this past weekend.

Sixteen cars had their tires slashed Friday night in areas where haredi, or fervently Orthodox, Jews live in the capital. Some of the cars were also sprayed with anti-haredi graffiti.

It was the latest act in a nasty tug-of-war between the haredim, the Israel Antiquities Department and residents of Jerusalem's French Hill neighborhood, who are sorely in need of a new highway to alleviate continuous traffic jams.

Israel's High Court of Justice is due to hear arguments this Thursday from the Jerusalem municipality, which favors the highway construction, and Athra Kadisha, the haredi group dedicated to protecting Jewish gravesites.

Last week, the court issued a temporary order freezing work at the site.

The battle over the gravesite has taken on strong anti-Orthodox colors. One of the slogans spray-painted on cars was "Every doss will have his day," using the pejorative term "doss" to describe a "dati," or religious Jew.

Leaders of the neighborhood association of Pisgat Ze'ev, which has been fighting the haredim over the French Hill site, condemned the tire-slashing and graffiti.

"This is sickening," said Yuval Navon, association chairman. "You know how such things begin but you can't know where they'll end."

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES: PARADOX OF ANTI-SEMITISM: WHAT CAUSES THE DISSONANCE AND AT WHAT COST?

By Debra Nussbaum Cohen  
[Part 2 Of A Series]

NEW YORK, Jan. 11 (JTA) -- While Jews no longer face the widespread discrimination and bias which marked their American experience until relatively recently, surveys commissioned by Jewish communal agencies regularly uncover alarming trends in both anti-Semitic attitudes and the quantity and quality of anti-Jewish incidents.

But different surveys attempting to measure Americans' attitudes toward Jews, taken within a few years of each other, can turn up markedly different results and can help explain the paradox of anti-Semitism in America today.

The results, say critics, often depend upon the way anti-Semitic attitudes are measured; how survey questions are asked and in what context.

Survey results, they say, depend on the way questions are positioned.

If poll respondents are asked to rank ethnic and religious groups that they feel have too much influence, for example, the results can be quite different than if they are asked simply if they feel Jews wield too much influence in the United States.

When asked to compare, respondents regularly rank many ethnic, religious and business groups as having more influence than Jews.

What does the Anti-Defamation League press release headline, "Nearly 40 million adults -- one in five Americans -- hold strongly anti-Semitic views" really mean, for example?

The conclusions of the most recent survey of attitudes, commissioned by the ADL, were that approximately one-fifth of Americans hold "hard-core" anti-Semitic attitudes.

### Emphasizing The Bad News

And although the percentage of Americans who hold anti-Jewish attitudes had declined 9 percent since it commissioned its last survey in 1964, the ADL chose to emphasize the bad news rather than what might be considered encouraging, critics say.

But "what has come down is percentage" points, ADL National Director Abraham Foxman pointed out, not the actual number of people holding anti-Semitic views.

"People have said we have created anti-Semitism by saying it," he said.

But by revealing that there is a problem, "the American people, faced with the truth, will be more likely to deal with it."

Still, in contrast, other surveys and polls gauging anti-Semitic attitudes which define "hard-core" differently have uncovered much less alarming findings.

The Gallup polling firm, in a 1981 survey, found that only about 5 percent of Americans met the definition of "hard-core anti-Semite."

And in a 1979 Roper poll, less than 3 percent of respondents answered yes when asked point-blank if they were inclined to be anti-Jewish.

Another piece of the puzzle of modern anti-Semitism in America lies in Jewish history.

Some observers have pointed out that the perception of greater prejudice than really exists is natural, and inevitable, given the recent past.

"It just takes one teen-ager with spray paint to get everyone worried," said Ken Stern,

program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism at the American Jewish Committee.

"We're sort of in the golden age now; Jews are more integrated into society, there's less measurable overt bigotry. But people always see bigotry as something that strips them naked," he said.

According to Earl Raab, an expert on anti-Semitism at Brandeis University, Jews are afraid to say that anti-Semitism is not serious because it might be serious tomorrow.

ADL's Foxman agrees, attributing it to the post-Holocaust mentality. "After Auschwitz, the Jewish community's antennae to anti-Semitic acts vibrate very actively.

"An incident is magnified many times," he said, referring to the fact that many people may hear about one incident of vandalism, for example, and all will be very concerned about a possible increase in anti-Jewish bigotry.

### Anxiety Level Is High

"Our anxiety level is high. Unfortunately, we've earned it. If I had to choose between hypersensitivity or clinical detachment, I'd choose the former. It's part of our baggage, our history, our experience," said Foxman.

But at what cost?

The dramatic and attention-grabbing nature of anti-Semitic incidents can often push other, more amorphous issues to the backburner of the national Jewish agenda. The fight against anti-Semitism also attracts large sums of money.

The ADL, for example, has a \$30 million operating budget for 1993.

But that figure does not represent a diversion from other Jewish causes, Foxman emphasized. Half the money comes from non-Jewish sources like corporate donations, he said, and only \$1.25 million comes from Jewish federations.

The rest is raised from the Jewish community through fund-raising dinners, direct mail and other solicitations, Foxman said.

Sociologist Steven M. Cohen agreed with Foxman's assessment. The money raised by communal organizations to fight anti-Semitism is not the same money that would otherwise go to fund Jewish educational programs, for example, he said.

While Foxman asserted that the most important challenge facing American Jewry is not anti-Semitism but Jewish continuity, he rejected the notion that too much money is spent on fighting anti-Semitism.

"That's b.s.," he said. "Anyone making these comparisons is short-sighted.

"Money spent on fighting anti-Semitism by the Jewish defense agencies is \$50-60 million a year, a pittance in terms of the disease which has wiped out one-third of our people and is virulent all over the world."

But even if the financial cost is limited, there is a price of another sort being paid by the Jewish community for its focus on anti-Semitism, said one observer.

Numerous studies have shown that anti-Semitism has been one of the primary reasons that Jews who are on the threshold of breaking away from the organized community decide to disengage completely, according to Jerome Chanes, co-director of domestic concerns at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

"The most effective approaches to Jewish continuity are less about negative reasons (to stay connected to the Jewish community) and have more emphasis on positive focus," Chanes said.