

VOL. 71 - 76th YEAR
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1993
NO. 73
**ADL STRIKES BACK AT ACCUSERS,
SAYING IT DID NOTHING ILLEGAL**
By Tom Tugend

LOS ANGELES, April 20 (JTA) -- The Anti-Defamation League, which is being investigated for possibly illegal surveillance activities, has struck back at its accusers, contending they are trying to deflect attention away from misconduct in their own ranks.

San Francisco police seized documents in ADL's Los Angeles and San Francisco office two weeks ago, and law enforcement officials said the Jewish organization, founded to fight racism and anti-Semitism, may face multiple felony charges on eavesdropping and other illegal activities.

ADL has remained silent for months as rumors abounded that it used illegally obtained police records in the operation of a national "spy network."

But the ADL has now started to counter the accusations, maintaining it has not broken any laws and that if confidential material reached its hands, then violations within the law enforcement intelligence community itself should be the real focus of police concern.

The authorities say they suspect illegal acts were carried out in connection with an alleged national intelligence network that kept tabs on more than 950 organizations and as many as 12,000 individuals, many of them involved in right-wing, white supremacist or Arab-American activities.

No formal charges have been issued in the case, although a police affidavit released in connection with the searches outlined the suspected violations.

"There has been an orchestrated effort to paint us as villains in an affair in which ADL is a bit player," Barbara Wahl, a Washington-based ADL attorney, said in an interview here.

"The real issue is what has been going on in the (San Francisco) intelligence community, who is keeping track and have they been following their own guidelines?" she said.

ADL Acknowledges Payments

ADL involvement in the highly publicized case goes back to an investigation last fall of Tom Gerard, then a San Francisco police inspector, who has been accused of giving confidential police intelligence files to Roy Bullock, a private investigator.

In transcripts released by San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith, Bullock describes himself as a "spy master" who had been working for the ADL since 1954. During that period, Bullock also allegedly supplied information to the FBI and the South African government.

Wahl acknowledged for the first time that Bullock had for many years funneled information to ADL and has been regularly paid, up to \$550 a week, through an intermediary.

But Wahl and Melvin Salberg, a New York attorney who is ADL's national chairman, emphatically denied the existence of a spy network or that ADL had been an information conduit for Israel's Mossad intelligence service or the South African government.

Wahl sought to draw a sharp distinction

between the vast amounts of information gathered by Bullock for a variety of clients or for his personal interest, and the much smaller flow of information he supplied to ADL.

ADL insists there is nothing sinister about maintaining files on groups or individuals.

"About 99 percent of the information (in the files) is from public sources," such as publications and fliers, said Wahl. "We have the best clipping service you ever saw."

"We do not have a friends list, a foes list or a watch list," she added.

But Wahl acknowledged that some of the information Bullock received from law enforcement agencies or collected for his own purposes may have been included in the reports he passed on to ADL.

On some points, the ADL representatives declined to answer reporters' questions. Asked, for instance, whether ADL employed persons to infiltrate organizations and write reports on them, Wahl responded that it was not appropriate to comment.

But Salberg did confirm that the national ADL office had been aware of the employment of Bullock in San Francisco.

Class-Action Suit Filed

Wahl rejected charges that ADL had failed to supply police with promised documents, necessitating an intensive police search of ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles on April 8.

"Nothing can be further from the truth," she said, maintaining that ADL had cooperated fully with law enforcement officials.

Wahl also explained why ADL had refrained in past months from responding to the three-month barrage of charges and reports in newspapers here.

"We bit our tongues and stayed quiet because we were told by (District Attorney) Smith that ADL was not a target in the investigation centering on Gerard and Bullock," she said.

Smith now says formal charges are expected to be filed against ADL.

Last week, former U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-Calif.) filed a class-action suit against ADL, claiming invasion of privacy and seeking \$2,500 in statutory damages for each person on whom ADL obtained confidential police information.

McCloskey, a frequent critic of Israel, was joined by 19 plaintiffs, among them Yigal Arens, son of former Israel Defense Minister Moshe Arens. The younger Arens is a computer scientist at the University of Southern California.

Wahl described the suit as "riddled with errors" and containing "gross legal deficiencies."

Salberg said that ADL will take its case to the press and public and that "we will come out stronger than before."

He reported receiving firm messages of support from civil rights and Jewish organizations, among them the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

"The work of ADL is vitally important, even if it did something incorrect. Let's not throw out the baby with the bath water," said Mark Spiegel, chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation Council here.

NEWS ANALYSIS:**ISRAELIS AND ARABS WILL CONFRONT
NEW REALITY ONCE PEACE TALKS RESUME**

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, April 20 (JTA) -- If and when Israelis and Palestinians sit down in Washington to resume the stalled Middle East peace negotiations, both sides will be confronted with a number of dramatic developments on the ground that have taken place during the four-month hiatus in the talks.

The peace talks appeared poised to resume next week, possibly on April 27, assuming that the Palestinian and Arab parties do not announce another last-minute delay.

On paper, perhaps, the negotiators will take up where they left off in Washington in mid-December. But in the field -- on the disputed land that is the substance of the peace process-- the past four months have seen radical changes.

The developments, ranging from Israel's expulsion in December of 415 Moslem extremists to the ongoing closure of the administered territories initiated earlier this month, could provide a new context and impetus for the conflicting sides to make real progress.

Israel's deportation of the fundamentalists to Lebanon and all the subsequent fallout have affected political thinking in the region in several ways -- many of them clearly not anticipated by either Israel or the deportees.

Among other issues, the deportations highlighted the dangers of fundamentalism and the fears generated by this powerful force in the region.

A new strategic axis of disparate and unlikely partners, sharing a common fear of fundamentalism and committed to fighting it, appears to be evolving in the region and even beyond.

The fact, on the other hand, that the deportations failed in their goal to check the wave of terror attacks on Israelis is another development that will be factored into the resumed peace talks in different, and possibly, contradictory ways.

The parties to the peace talks all share an unspoken interest in making progress in the peace talks before the fundamentalist forces, which reject all political solutions to the conflict, become too strong to be overwhelmed just by the successful conclusion of a peace accord.

Territories Now Seen As Burden

Perhaps the most significant of developments is the continuing closure of the territories.

Although imposed by Israel to stem the bloody wave of attacks that terrorized Israel last month, the closure has simultaneously caused serious political and psychological fallout, as well as economic and social consequences, that will affect the peace negotiations as they go forward.

The closure has led many Israelis to think of the territories as a dangerous burden and to envision their country without these lands.

Those voices in Israel urging that the temporary closure be seen as the harbinger of an eventual reshaping of Israel approximately as it was before capturing the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 are not now on the margins of political life.

In fact, some of those voices are in the political mainstream and in the ruling coalition.

Some former military leaders have also lauded Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's decision to seal off the territories and its consequences.

"The state was reborn, and we have returned to the roots of the pre-Six-Day War days," said reserve Maj. Gen. Avigdor (Yanush) Ben-Gal, former Israel Defense Force commander of the northern front.

"The state looks cleaner and calmer and its residents less neurotic," Ben-Gal said in an interview with the Ma'ariv newspaper.

On the Palestinian side, leaders who have attacked the closure as a form of collective punishment, heaping hardship on workers left without jobs in Israel, also acknowledge that the closure is molding Israeli public opinion in a direction the Palestinians want.

It is Israel's political right that has found itself in a bit of a quandary. When the closure was imposed and terror attacks carried out by Palestinians from the territories came to a halt, a collective sigh of relief and approval went up -- not only from Meretz and the left, but from across the political spectrum.

But the opposition Likud and its rightist allies, after decades of preaching the doctrine of "Greater Israel," find themselves in danger of losing their sympathetic audience.

The vast bulk of the people -- to the extent that their temper can be measured by polls and press -- are showing themselves to be content living in a smaller Israel, without the trauma of daily knifings.

No Quick Settlement With Syria

As the peace negotiations in Washington are set to resume, policy-makers and pundits from all the parties concerned are straining to interpret these changes, to fathom what impact they will have on the talks.

One effect is fairly certain: The Israeli-Palestinian dimension of the peace process has taken center-stage again. Thoughts of coming to a quick Israeli-Syrian settlement on the Golan Heights have all but evaporated.

The Palestinians have shown during these past hectic days of diplomatic wrangling that they are the key factor. Without their consent to attend, none of the other Arab parties was prepared to resume the talks.

Israeli sources say this lesson has been learned well in top policy-making circles here. Rabin, they say, has come full circle.

When he took office last year, the prime minister said he was seeking a speedy deal with the Palestinians on autonomy and implied that Syria was "on a back burner."

Later, with the Palestinian talks dragging and President Hafez Assad sending encouraging signals from Damascus, Rabin was felt to have swung around to favoring a separate deal with Syria.

The Labor Party leader seemed ready to implement the "land-for-peace" equation he has endorsed in principle.

Now Rabin is focusing on the Palestinians once again -- and is understood to have resigned himself to the notion that there is no separate deal to be cut with any single Arab protagonist.

In the first year since the peace process began in Madrid, the parties failed to make any substantive breakthroughs toward peace.

The question that will need to be answered fairly quickly, once the talks get under way again, is whether Israelis and Palestinians will have the political sagacity to "cash in" on the dramatic, and in many respects propitious, developments on the ground.

ISRAELI JOURNALIST WARNS OF THREAT AFTER INFILTRATING NEO-NAZI GERMANY

By Matthew Fleischer

NEW YORK, April 20 (JTA) -- An Israeli journalist and former intelligence agent who infiltrated German neo-Nazi groups for the past five months warned this week that the size and reach of the rightist movement in Germany has been severely underestimated by its government.

Yaron Svoray, a child of Holocaust survivors who posed as a rightward-leaning journalist with high-finance connections, befriended the leaders of several extremist groups and discovered thousands of members previously unacknowledged by the German government.

"I believe that the German government estimate is only a quarter," Svoray said. "That is, you should take their estimate and multiply by four."

Svoray cited one group, the Nationalistic Front, which the government says has 130 members.

The group's leader, Meinholf Schoenborn, challenged Svoray to verify a membership list of 8,600 -- any of whom, Schoenborn said, would report immediately to Schoenborn's office to say "Yes, mein Fuhrer."

Svoray, 38, said he had traveled to Germany four times since October and visited with neo-Nazi leaders for hours of interviews, dinners and nights out carousing, which included urination on effigies of Jews. He also watched as the skinheads attacked some Cypriot refugees.

"Initially it was one of the most horrific experiences of my life," Svoray said. "It was revolting. But I actually had to stay and look, the way you do at an accident."

'A Wink, A Nod' From Police

Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the primary sponsor of Svoray's investigation, said Svoray's major discovery was a previously overlooked charismatic neo-Nazi leader named Wolfgang Juchem.

Svoray says that Juchem, who lives near Frankfurt and lectures regularly throughout eastern Germany, claims to have 2,000 financial backers and a network of sympathizers numbering nearly 10,000.

During the investigation Svoray used an Australian passport with the name Ron Furey, which he chose for its resonance with "Fuhrer," and claimed to write for a right-wing American publication.

The Wiesenthal Center distributed to reporters pictures showing Juchem smiling broadly with his arm around the Israeli Svoray.

Svoray observed that the neo-Nazis had friends in certain German police precincts like Hesse, where Svoray said local neo-Nazi leader Heinz Reisz was told in advance of police raids and often "given a wink, a nod and a goodbye by the police."

He assessed Juchem, a polished former intelligence official who describes himself as having "put in 30 years of good service to the German nation," as the likeliest candidate to unify the fragmented movement.

In contrast, he believed the youthful skinhead groups posed less of a threat.

Hier believes it was important to conduct an independent test of the German estimates.

"The government has been late to act in monitoring these groups," he said.

ISRAELI EXPERTS BLAME FBI FOR THE TRAGEDY IN WACO

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, April 20 (JTA) -- Israeli anti-terrorist experts say the FBI is to blame for the tragedy in Waco, Texas, in which 86 cult followers of David Koresh are believed to have died in a blazing fire Monday.

Among those criticizing the FBI were Commander Assaf Hefetz, deputy inspector-general of the Israeli police and the founder of the border police's anti-terror unit, and Knesset member Rehavam Ze'evi, former anti-terror adviser to the prime minister.

Both Hefetz and Ze'evi said they failed to understand why the FBI rushed to storm the cult's compound, instead of waiting until the besieged Branch Davidians were forced to surrender.

The Waco operation was a failure, partly because it was too slow, said Hefetz, who directed the rescue operation of a hijacked Egged bus in the early 1980s during which several Israelis were killed.

The Waco operation should have been carried out quickly, not allowing the other party to take any action on its own, Hefetz said.

He said the use of tear gas gave cult members the opportunity to carry out an apparent mass suicide.

"The purpose of the action should have been to spare as many lives as possible and not to take action which would endanger lives," Hefetz said.

"I don't know what their considerations were, but it is quite clear that they have not taken into account all the alternatives," he added.

"Everything should have been done to spare human lives," said Ze'evi, since the continued siege presented no threat to the American people.

Israeli Believed Dead

Ze'evi, who is known to oppose any negotiations with terrorists, said the U.S. authorities could even have given in to Koresh's demands.

Alternatively, he suggested, other tactics should have been used to tire him out.

The mother of Pablo Cohen, an Israeli who was a member of the Koresh gang and believed to have died in the fire, also questioned why the Americans rushed into the fortified complex.

"It is very difficult for me to understand how responsible authorities could take such action," a sobbing Shulamit Cohen said in a radio interview.

The authorities were well aware of the fact that they were facing a lunatic, Cohen said, and therefore they should have been particularly careful in their action.

Cohen had not heard from her son since the beginning of the siege in February. Shortly before Passover, she sent him a cassette and a Haggadah, which the FBI told her reached her son.

The last time Cohen spoke to him was a week before the gunfight that started the 51-day standoff.

She tried to reach him by phone following the incident, but the line was constantly busy.

Pablo Cohen, a musician, met Koresh during a visit to Israel two and a half years ago. Koresh suggested that Cohen join his musical band, which performed with his cult.

Cohen originally joined Koresh in the United States for six months, returned to Israel and went back to Koresh about a year and a half ago.

SURVIVORS JOIN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE CEREMONIES

By Deborah Kalb
States News Service

WASHINGTON, April 20 (JTA) -- Holocaust survivors joined with members of Congress in the Capitol Rotunda on Tuesday for the annual Days of Remembrance ceremony commemorating victims of the Nazi Holocaust.

This year's ceremony came in the midst of an event-packed week leading up to the opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum on April 26.

But the main purpose of Tuesday's ceremony was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

About 1,000 people crowded into the Rotunda, a stately room beneath the Capitol dome decorated with large paintings depicting American history.

"A half a century ago, the world averted its eyes" from the Nazi menace, said Harvey Meyerhoff, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

Now, he pointed out, the U.S. government itself "declares forever that we will avert our eyes no more."

One of the ceremony's more moving moments came when Metropolitan Opera soprano Roberta Peters gave an impassioned rendition of the Yiddish song "Es Brent" (It's burning).

The Bronx-born Jewish opera singer received sustained applause and attention, just as she had Sunday at a similar gathering in New York's Madison Square Garden.

Actor Jonathan Silverman, known for his portrayal of Neil Simon's youthful heroes, read from the final letter of Mordecai Anielewicz, the young leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising who perished at the Mila 18 bunker.

Vladka Meed, the underground courier for the ghetto and a founder of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, told of her experiences smuggling weapons into the ghetto as a member of the Jewish Fighting Organization.

A Week Of Observances

Rep. Sidney Yates (D-N.Y.), a member of the Holocaust Memorial Council, delivered the keynote address with the repeated theme, "This is a day for remembrance."

Yates, the dean of Jewish members of Congress, recalled how some members of Congress in the war years introduced legislation to try to save 20,000 Jewish children from the Holocaust.

The bill, although supported by first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, former President Herbert Hoover and members of religious groups, died in committee.

And so "20,000 children became numbers" among the dead of the Holocaust, said Yates.

Survivors and others in attendance, including representatives of the Gypsy, Polish and gay communities, lit candles in remembrance of the Holocaust victims from their groups.

Tuesday's events in the Capitol were but one of many observances, which were to culminate in the museum's dedication Thursday.

Last Friday, the National Archives put a document from the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials on display to the public.

The document consists of notes, a typed transcript and the official translation of a 1943 speech by SS chief Heinrich Himmler and includes

a written reference to the Nazi policy of extermination of the Jews.

On Sunday, clergy from a variety of religious denominations gathered for an ecumenical service at the National Cathedral to commemorate the museum's opening.

Also on Sunday, members of B'nai B'rith and other read names of about 2,000 Holocaust victims at an annual ceremony on the steps of the Capitol. Readers included new Russian immigrants, children and Holocaust survivors. Similar ceremonies were planned in other cities across the nation and around the world.

And on Wednesday, a tribute was to be held at Arlington National Cemetery to remember the liberators and rescuers of the Holocaust.

Tuesday's ceremony was part of an annual civic commemoration of the Holocaust, which was mandated by Congress in 1979.

HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT BANS SWASTIKA AND OTHER NAZI OR COMMUNIST SYMBOLS

By Agnes Bohm

BUDAPEST, April 20 (JTA) -- The Hungarian Parliament has passed a bill banning the display for non-educational purposes of the Nazi swastika and several other political symbols.

The resolution, passed last week in a 130-73 vote with 23 abstentions, aims to limit the display and use of insignia associated with autocracy.

Also included in the ban are the SS badge, the arrow cross of the wartime Hungarian fascists, and the Communist symbols, the hammer and sickle and the red star.

Opposition members of Parliament voted against the bill because they did not agree with banning the red star, as it is used in many different states and flags.

Furthermore, the red star is accepted in Western Europe as a broad symbol for the political left, although that is not the case in Hungary.

Those who distribute, display or use in public these insignia could be punished by up to a year in prison or by a fine.

Exceptions to the ban were made for uses or displays done for the purposes of education, science, art or providing historical information.

Impetus for the new bill came out of a demonstration of skinheads last October in front of the Parliament building on the anniversary of the 1956 revolution against the Communists.

The Hungarian police came under criticism because they failed to remove from the square young skinheads who wore ultra-rightist SS symbols.

Hungary's efforts to combat neo-Nazism as well as its sensitivity to the victims of Nazism was also demonstrated this week during commemorations here of Holocaust Remembrance Day.

Thousands of young people marked the day with a torchlight procession Sunday in Budapest.

Afterward, a unique commemoration was held at the Madach Theater, attended by Parliament Speaker Gyorgy Szabad, who is Jewish, several government and church leaders, party and social organization officials, foreign diplomats and leaders and members of the Hungarian Jewish community.

The Israeli ambassador to Hungary, David Kraus, also attended. In his speech he warned that "the shadow of fear and distress is still cast upon the present and the future."

Tribute was also paid to those non-Jews who had risked their lives sheltering those persecuted.